

# **Gabriel Harvey: an edition of the anti-Nashe tracts**

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**Volume II**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise stated, all biblical quotations are taken from the 'Bishops' Bible' (STC 2107), all classical works cited in the Loeb Classical Library edition, and all of Shakespeare's works in the most recent Arden edition available; a page-reference is only given in the explanatory notes when an editor or translator's note has been cited. (The contested *Edward III* and *Two Noble Kinsmen* are not printed by Arden.) Citing Marlowe's translation of Ovid's *Amores*, I have used Marlowe's references and not those of the LCL edition, as it omits Book III Elegy VI. The Marprelate tracts have been quoted in the Scholar Press facsimile reprint (the titles are abbreviated below): the exception that I have made is for *Certaine Minerall and Metaphisicall Schoolpoints*, the Bodleian Library copy of which (reproduced by Scholar) is badly damaged. I regret that Joseph L. Black's 2008 edition of the tracts appeared too late for me to make use of it. The 1958 'Supplement' to McKerrow which is appended to the second edition has separate pagination, so on the few occasions when I have quoted from it I have treated it as a separate volume; it will be found at the end of the fifth volume. Illustrations in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* appear on unnumbered pages at the end of the volume, in alphabetical order of the entry which they illustrate (so 'envy figs 1-2' appears after 'emblematics' and before 'fables').

### ABBREVIATIONS OF ONLINE DATABASES

COPAC	<i>Copac National, Academic, and Specialist Library Catalogue</i> < <a href="http://copac.ac.uk">http://copac.ac.uk</a> > [accessed 29 July 2010]
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i> < <a href="http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home">http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home</a> > [accessed 29 July 2010]

### ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS

1Parnassus	<i>The First Part of the Return from Parnassus</i>
2Parnassus	<i>The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus</i>
3PL	<i>Three Proper, and wittie, familiar Letters</i>
CT	<i>Christs Teares ouer Ierusalem</i>
Epistle	<i>Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges...</i> [The Epistle]
Epitome	<i>Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges...</i> [The Epitome]
FL	<i>Fovre Letters, and certaine Sonnets</i>
FQ	<i>The Faerie Queene</i>
GWW	<i>Greenes, Groats-worth of witte</i>
HWY	<i>Have with You to Saffron-Walden</i>
Just Censure	<i>The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior</i>
LG	<i>A Theologicall Discovrse of the Lamb of God and his Enemies</i>
LS	<i>Nashes Lenten Styffe</i>
NL	<i>A New Letter of Notable Contents</i>
PP	<i>Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Diuell</i>
PS	<i>Pierces Supererogation</i>
PWH	<i>Pappe with an Hatchet</i>
QUC	<i>A Qvippe for an Vpstart Courtier</i>
SC	<i>The Shepheardes Calender</i>
SLW	<i>Symmers Last Will and Testament</i>
SN	<i>Strange Newes of the intercepting certaine letters</i>
UT	<i>The Vnfortunate Traueller</i>

### ABBREVIATIONS OF REFERENCE WORKS

Aarne	Antti Aarne, <i>The Types of the Folktale: a classification and bibliography</i> , trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson, 2nd edn (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1961)
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> , 56 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875-1912)
BCP	<i>The first and second prayer books of Edward VI</i> (London: Dent, 1910)
Briggs	Katharine M. Briggs, <i>A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language</i> , 4 vols (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970-71)
CE	<i>The Catholic encyclopedia</i> , ed. by Charles G. Hebermann et al, 17 vols (London: Caxton Publishing Co., 1907-12)
Cooper	Thomas Cooper, <i>Thesavrus Linguae Romanae &amp; Britannicae</i> (London: Thomas Berthelet for Henry Wykes, 1565)



- Corro Antonio del Corro, *The Spanish Grammer: VVith certeine Rules teaching both the Spanish and French tongues*, trans. by John Thorius (London: John Wolfe, 1590)
- CRC Larry D. Benson, *A Glossarial Concordance to the Riverside Chaucer*, 2 vols (New York, London: Garland, 1993)
- Cruden Alexander Cruden. *A Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testament: or a Dictionary and Alphabetical Index to the Bible* (London: Joseph Ogle Robinson, 1831)
- CSP Foreign Elizabeth *Calendar of state papers, foreign series, of the reign of Elizabeth, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, 23 vols (London: Longman, Green; H.M.S.O., 1863-1950)
- CSP Ireland Elizabeth *Calendar of the state papers relating to Ireland, of the reign of Elizabeth, preserved in the Public Record Office*, eds H.C. Hamilton, E.G. Atkinson, R.P. Mahaffy, 10 vols (London: H.M.S.O, 1867-1912)
- DBF *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, eds J. Batteau et al, 16 vols (Paris: Letouzey, 1933- )
- Dent R.W. Dent, *Shakespeare's proverbial language: an index* (Berkeley, CA: London: University of California Press, 1981)
- Dent<sup>2</sup> R.W. Dent, *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, CA; London: University of California Press, 1984)
- Dessen, Thomson Alan C. Dessen, Leslie Thomson, *A dictionary of stage directions in English drama, 1580-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- DNB *The Dictionary of National Biography*, eds Leslie Stephen, Sidney Lee, 22 vols (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1885-1901; repr. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949-50)
- EB *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edn, 29 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-11)
- Florio John Florio, *Qveen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (London: Melch. Bradwood for Edw. Blount and William Barret, 1611)
- FP<sup>1</sup> Eugène and Émile Haag. *La France protestante*, 1st edn, 10 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1846-58)
- FP<sup>2</sup> Eugène and Émile Haag. *La France Protestante*, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Paris: H. Bordier, 1877-88)
- LASP Foreign Elizabeth *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I, preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. by Richard Bruce Wernham, 6 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1964-93)
- Lemprière John Lemprière. *Lemprière's Classical Dictionary of Proper Names Mentioned in Ancient Authors*, ed. by F.A. Wright (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949)
- McKerrow R.B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913)
- Minsheu John Minsheu. *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (London: Edm. Bollifant, 1599)
- OCD *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds N.G.L. Hammond, H.H. Scullard, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)
- OCIL *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature*, eds Peter Hainsworth, David Robey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)
- ODEP *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd edn, rev. by F.P. Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970)
- ODNB *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, eds H.C.G. Matthew, Brian Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
- ODP J.N.D. Kelly. *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986)
- ODS David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
- OER *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. by Hans J. Hillerbrand, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

- Onions C.T. Onions, *A Shakespeare Glossary*, rev. by Robert D. Eagleton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986)
- Perceval Richard Perceval, *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (London: John Jackson for Richard Watkins, 1591)
- Skeat Walter W. Skeat, *A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words*, ed. by A.L. Mayhew (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914)
- Smith Charles G. Smith, *Spenser's Proverb Lore* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970)
- STC *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, ed. by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, 2nd edn, 3 vols, rev. by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-91)
- Sugden E.H. Sugden, *A Topographical Dictionary to the Works of Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925)
- Thompson Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, 6 vols (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1955-58)
- Tilley Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950)
- Young Robert Young, *Analytical Concordance to the Holy Bible*, 8th edn (London: Lutterworth Press, 1939; repr. 1958)

## *Fovre Letters, and certaine Sonnets*

*FL* was entered in the Stationers' Register on December 4, 1592:

John wolf.      Entred for his Copie Doctor HARVIES *Letters and certen Sonnettes touchinge ROBERTE GREENE and THOMAS NASHE...*vj<sup>d</sup> S  
This was entred in a court holden this Day. (Arber 1875-94: 2.623)

Francis R. Johnson suggests that it had been completed and issued before this: 'the fact that the book was entered in a court makes it more probable that the entry was made after the original publication' (1934: 219-20). The Second Letter is dated 5 September (p. 8.23), the Third Letter 8-9 September (p. 8.23), the Fourth Letter 11-12 September (p. 27.6), and the prefatory epistle ('To all courteous mindes...') 16 September (p. 2.40). Johnson assumes that printing of the first edition 'must have been completed shortly after 16 September 1592, and the book was probably issued before the end of September' (1934: 218). Judging by the amount of standing type retained in the setting-up of the second edition, he conjectures that 'the printing of the second edition was begun without delay, probably before the end of October 1592' (Johnson 1934: 219).

### *Early Editions*

There are reasons to believe that the Second Letter was issued independently, before the rest of *FL*. (See pp. xxix-xxx of the introduction to Volume I.) However, the sole copy of *FL*'s earliest extant issue is in the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library. This has *Three Letters, and certaine Sonnets* on the title-page and is, of course, lacking the Fourth Letter (Johnson 1946: 134). *FL* went through two editions in 1592. As Johnson notes, the title-pages of both are identical (1934: 214):

*Title:*            'FOVRE LETTERS. | and certaine Sonnets: | *Eſpecially touching* Robert Greene, and  
                     *other parties, | by him abuſed: | But incidently of diuers excellent perfons, | and ſome*  
                     *matters of note. | To all courteous mindes, that will vouchſafe the reading. |*  
                     [Printer's device (McKerrow 226)] | LONDON | Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, | 1592.'

*Format:*        Quarto.

*Collation:*     A<sup>2</sup>, A<sup>4</sup> (A wanting), B-I<sup>4</sup> (I<sup>4</sup> wanting), K<sup>4</sup>, L<sup>2</sup>

The copy of the first edition described by Johnson as 'the former Bridgewater Library copy (Huntington Library accession No. 61336)' is apparently the sole surviving copy (1934: 213). The title-page of this first edition, the title-page verso with 'The particular Contents' on it, and the prefatory epistle to the reader (sig. <sup>1</sup>A2<sup>r-v</sup>), are on two conjugate cancel-leaves, replacing the first title-page, which read *Three Letters, and certaine Sonnets* (Johnson 1934: 213-14). The first letter is on sigs <sup>2</sup>A2<sup>r</sup>-<sup>2</sup>A2<sup>v</sup>; the second on sigs A3<sup>r</sup>-[B4]<sup>v</sup>; the third on sigs C1<sup>r</sup>-G3<sup>r</sup>; the sonnets and other verses on sigs G3<sup>v</sup>-I3<sup>v</sup> (Johnson 1934: 214-15). The fourth letter, after the sonnets, occupies six leaves, consisting of a

quarto sheet and another half-sheet. The first leaf of the first sheet has the signature K, but the second and third are signed (?)<sup>2</sup> and (?)<sup>3</sup> respectively. Johnson conjectures that the decision to add the Fourth Letter was taken while the sonnets were being set up, and that a separate compositor subsequently set up the Fourth Letter, adding the signature K to the first leaf as the sonnets had been set up before the Fourth Letter was printed (1934: 215-16). He points out that Nashe, who deals with Harvey's points in order, answers the sonnets before the Fourth Letter, and infers that he had read the first edition (Johnson 1934: 213, 220).

**Title:** 'FOVRE LETTERS, | and certaine Sonnets: | *Eſpecially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, | by him abuſed:* | But incidently of diuers excellent perſons, | and ſome matters of note. | *To all courteous mindes, that will vouchſafe the reading.* | [Printer's device (McKerrow 226)] | LONDON | Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, | 1592.'

**Format:** Quarto.

**Collation:** A-I<sup>4</sup>, K<sup>2</sup>

I have examined three copies of the second edition of *FL*: the Bodleian Library copy (shelf-mark: Tanner 744, facsimile reprint by Scolar Press, henceforth *BD*), the Huntington Library copy (on EEBO, henceforth *H*) and the British Library copy (shelf-mark 96.b.16. (1.), henceforth *BL*). As Johnson says (1934: 213), the second edition, unlike the first, has pagination and running-titles, and the Fourth Letter appears before the Sonnets. On *BD*, p. 26 is mispaginated '29'; p. 33 '25'; pp. 36-37 '28' and '29': p. 39 is mispaginated '41' and pagination (or mispagination) is then continuous until p. 73 (or '75'). On *H* and *BD*, only p. 26 and pp. 39-73 are mispaginated. Whereas on sig. E<sup>v</sup> *H* and *BL* have 'Supplicatiō', *BD* has 'Supplicatio', the tilde having apparently not inked. Whereas on sig. E2<sup>r</sup> *BD* reads 'narrations, and verie proble'. *H* and *BL* read 'narratiōs, and verie probable'. It might be inferred, then, that *BD* was an earlier issue, and these errors were corrected in *H* and *BL*.

That Harvey initially envisaged the Third Letter as the last might be inferred from his words at the end: 'assuredly I would be the first, that should cancell this impertinent Pamflet: and throw the other two Letters, with the Sonnets annexed, into the fire' (p. 22.29). The Fourth Letter is described as 'violently extorted after the rest' (p. 26.42). Whether Wolfe 'extorted' it from Harvey, and if so whether it was what was required, is open to debate. It deals very little with *QUC* and *PP*, as Nashe in *SN* noted: 'The fourth letter [. . .] this many a long summers day, I dare jeopard my maydenhead had line hidden in his deske; for it is a shipmans hose, that will serve any man as well as *Green* or mee' (1958: 1.327.4-8). Nashe's insinuation – that the occasional references to these two writers were added subsequently – may be borne out by Harvey's enigmatic phrase on p. 23.34: 'Were nothing els discoursively inserted, (as some little else occasionally presented it selfe) [. . .]'.

### *Modern Editions*

Although Collier examined the first edition, and described it in his 1837 catalogue of the Bridgewater Library (Johnson 1934: 214), he and all other modern editors except Biller use the second edition as their base-text.

*Archaica. Containing a Reprint of Scarce Old English Prose Tracts with Prefaces, Critical and Biographical.* ed. by Egerton Brydges, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1815)

*Archaica* appeared serially, in nine parts, each with separate pagination. *FL* is 'Part IV'. Brydges modernizes Harvey's spelling and punctuation, changing Harvey's rhetorical questions to exclamations. Generally – though not systematically – he puts the names of works in italics, and personal names in block capitals. He also breaks the text up with frequent paragraph indentations. His one explanatory note is the identification in a foot-note (on p. 8) of Greene's 'fellow-writer' as Nashe.

*Fovre Letters, and certaine Sonnets*, ed. by J.P. Collier ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1870)

Collier reproduces 'The Particular Contents' on the verso of the title-page as in the original, but interpolates his 'Introduction' between this and Harvey's epistle to the reader. His introduction and Harvey's epistle are paginated i-vi; the rest is paginated 7-81. Although he retains the long 's' ('ſ') and a certain amount of Harvey's spelling, Collier makes many alterations in punctuation (he tends to replace Harvey's colons with semi-colons or commas).

He also makes the following changes (largely though not systematically). Where a modern text would read a medial 'v' rather than a 'u', or an initial 'u' rather than a 'v', or a 'j' rather than an 'i', Collier makes the emendation. He de-capitalizes initial letters of nouns, so that in several places he replaces an initial 'S' with a long 's'. He reads 'and' where Harvey's text has an ampersand. He de-italicizes personal names but italicizes the names of texts.

Frequently (like Brydges) Collier turns Harvey's rhetorical questions into exclamations by changing question-marks to exclamation-marks. Frequently (like Brydges) he breaks up the text with paragraph indentations. In fact his choice of where to make indentations coincides so frequently with Brydges's that it is tempting to think that he used this as his copy-text, especially as he has several readings in common with Brydges which appear in none of the copies of *FL* that I have examined: 'brother's' for 'brothers' (p. 16), 'shy' for 'slye' (p. 17), etc.

*Shakspeare Allusion-Books Part I*, ed. by C.M. Ingleby (London: N. Trübner, 1874), pp. 123-49

Ingleby reproduces 'The Third Letter' because of Harvey's 'remarkable notices of Robert Greene [. . .] and for his supposed allusions to Shakspeare' (p. xxii). 'A few Notes and Corrections to Gabriel Harvey's Third Letter' is on p. xxxvi. The title-page is reproduced on p. 123, complete with an

imitation of the printer's device. Ingleby's very careful transcription attempts to reproduce every particular of Harvey's spelling and punctuation (long 's' included) except for contractions (the missing 'm' or 'n' is in italics, so 'cōueied' becomes 'conueied'). Lines are numbered in fives.

I have not been able to identify Ingleby's copy-text; he refers to it as 'the old copy'. In the 'Notes and Corrections' he mentions the compositor's error 'Dammeo' (for 'Dammes'), on sig. G<sup>v</sup>. This is on neither *BD*, *H* nor *BL*. Ingleby's care in reproducing the text extends to retaining several errors: he does not supply the missing bracket on sig. E2<sup>v</sup> (see p. 16.42-27 *n.*).

*The Works of Gabriel Harvey, D.C.L.*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, 3 vols (London, Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1884-85), I. 151-254.

Grosart claims the 'British Museum' quarto of *FL* as his 'exemplar', adding: 'Mr. J. Payne Collier reprinted this in his (so-called) Yellow Series, with even more than his ordinary inaccuracy' (p. 152). However, many of Collier's readings which do not appear in *BL* appear in Grosart: 'kindly kindly' for 'kindly' (p. 171), 'his' for 'is' (p. 188), 'lanquisheth' for 'languisheth' (p. 197), 'smacke or discretion' for 'smacke of discretion' (p. 200), etc. Presumably, Grosart used Collier's edition as a copy-text and then made corrections from *BL*. (Grosart's name appears on Ingleby's list of subscribers. Occasionally Grosart has the same reading as Ingleby, although this may be coincidence.)

Largely Grosart retains contractions, the long 's', and 'u'-v' transposition, as well as Harvey's punctuation. However, there are a great many variants, not only those which he shares with Collier but ones which he seems to have originated himself. When Grosart is supplying missing letters or words (or which he deems to be missing), he places them in square brackets (as in 'dea[d]ly'); changes to the text are not otherwise noted, although sometimes he suggests a variant reading (or modern spelling) in his 'Glossarial-Index' (III, 99-208).

*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. by G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), II, 230-38

Smith reproduces four passages from the Third Letter (sig. C3<sup>r-v</sup>, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>, sigs D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>v</sup>, sigs F4<sup>v</sup>-G<sup>r</sup>) and two from the Fourth (sigs G4<sup>r</sup>-H<sup>r</sup>, sigs H<sup>v</sup>-H2<sup>r</sup>). Explanatory notes are on pp. 427-29. The lines of Harvey's text are numbered in fives. Smith's variants are almost all in the area of punctuation, which he alters so totally as to make the question of what his copy-text was a little academic (although he cites a suggested alternative reading of Ingleby's) (p. 429). Harvey's spelling he generally leaves intact, although the long 's' is not reproduced.

*Fovre Letters and certaine Sonnets*, ed. by G.B. Harrison (London: Bodley Head, 1922; repr. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966)

An old-spelling edition, without the long 's'. In the reprint, there is no prefatory matter and Harrison does not state what his copy-text was; according to Janet Biller, who examined the 1922 edition, this is

given as 'B.M. c.40 d.14' (1969: cxvi). However, from the great number of places in which his text concurs with Grosart's (e.g. 'vntowerd' for 'vntoward'), he would seem to have used this (or a transcript), and then made corrections from a copy of the second edition. He has a page of 'Errata' (p. 103), which states that 'the following emendations only have been made in the text of the original'; the sixteen variants listed do not, however, constitute the only ways in which his edition differs from the second edition. The variants for which Harrison alone seems responsible are very largely accidental.

'Gabriel Harvey's *Four Letters* (1592): A Critical Edition', ed. by Janet Elizabeth Biller (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1969)

According to COPAC, Biller first submitted this (as a master's 'Thesis') to the University of Birmingham in 1967. This is presumably an augmented version. Biller uses the first edition as her base-text, giving variants from the second edition at the foot of the page; occasionally she adopts a reading from the second edition. Her explanatory notes are on subsequent pages to the text: p. 29 has Harvey's text, pp. 29a and 29b have Biller's notes, p. 30 has Harvey's text, and so on. The lines of Harvey's text are numbered in fives, although on pp. 70-88 the line-numbering is separate for every sonnet. Biller's dissertation has been cited by some professional scholars, including Virginia F. Stern (1979: 38n., 97n.), James H. Nielson (1993: 81), and Penny McCarthy (2000: 38).

#### *This Edition.*

I have used the second edition of *FL* as my base-text. Emendations have been made only when a compositor's error seemed to have been made in this: these are noted in the list of textual variants (Appendix F). All other variations from the text of the second edition must be regarded as my errors.

The editions of 1592 collated by Biller she calls *A* and *B*. It is necessary to justify my decision to take *B* as my base-text. The following is a list of textual variants given by Biller. The signatures in the far-left-hand column are those of the second edition (*B*). I have also given the page- and line-numbers of Biller's edition and mine. It will be noted that no variants appear in the Sonnets (sigs H3<sup>r</sup>-[K2]<sup>r</sup> of *B*), which, as Johnson says (1934: 218-19), appear largely to have been set in *B* with standing type from *A*.

sig.	JEB	PBR	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>
1. A2 <sup>v</sup>	p. 4.3	p. 2.38	no	nor
2. A3 <sup>r</sup>	p. 6.5	p. 3.20	lew	leawd
3. [A4] <sup>r</sup>	p. 8.15	p. 4.12	an undaunted	undaunted
4. B <sup>v</sup>	p. 12.17	p. 5.23	content	contented
5. B <sup>v</sup>	p. 13.3	p. 5.28	what Catoes	Catoes
6. B2 <sup>r</sup>	p. 14.6	p. 5.43	I was now	I was
7. B2 <sup>v</sup>	p. 16.2	p. 6.19	fortune	fortunes
8. B3 <sup>v</sup>	p. 18.23	p. 7.16	that can bite	that bite

9. [B4] <sup>v</sup>	p. 21.1	p. 8.1	have have	have
10. C <sup>v</sup>	p. 24.16	p. 9.29-30	or satisfy	to satisfy
11. C3 <sup>r</sup>	p. 28.7	p. 10.32	admirable	admirable
12. C3 <sup>v</sup>	p. 29.16	p. 11.2	detractation	detractations
13. [C4] <sup>r</sup>	p. 31.15	p. 11.31	rather what	rather
14. [C4] <sup>v</sup>	p. 33.5	p. 12.3	yet in	yet the
15. D <sup>r</sup>	p. 33.18-19	p. 12.12	and...known	om.
16. D <sup>r</sup>	p. 34.10	p. 12.19	Haud	Hand
17. D <sup>v</sup>	p. 35.9	p. 12.34	Doctor	a Doctor
18. D <sup>v</sup>	p. 35.16	p. 12.38	in a good	in good
19. D2 <sup>r</sup>	p. 36.22	p. 13.4	in their	with their
20. D2 <sup>v</sup>	p. 37.22	p. 13.18	coovenous	covetous
21. [D4] <sup>r</sup>	p. 42.3	p. 14.32	seene played heere	seene
22. [D4] <sup>r</sup>	p. 42.7	p. 14.34	after his manner	after this manner
23. [D4] <sup>v</sup>	p. 43.10	p. 14.49	this conclusion	his conclusion
24. [D4] <sup>v</sup>	p. 43.13	p. 14.51	flinty	flintly
25. [D4] <sup>v</sup>	p. 44.5	p. 15.10	heare that	heare the
26. [D4] <sup>v</sup>	p. 44.18	p. 15.21	still and still	and still
27. [D4] <sup>v</sup>	p. 45.1	p. 15.21	highest, and highest	highest
28. E3 <sup>v</sup>	p. 52.8	p. 17.29	such Inckhorne	Inckhorne
29. E3 <sup>v</sup>	p. 52.12-13	p. 17.32	but to backebite	to backebite
30. E3 <sup>v</sup>	p. 52.19	p. 17.36	Invectives	Invective
31. [E4] <sup>r</sup>	p. 53.20	p. 17.49	they onely have it	they have it onely
32. F3 <sup>v</sup>	p. 63.14	p. 20.50	or to encounter	nor to encounter
33. F3 <sup>v</sup>	p. 63.15	p. 20.50	Adventurers	Adventures
34. H <sup>r</sup>	p. 98.18	p. 25.28	wearer	weaver
35. H2 <sup>v</sup>	p. 103.14	p. 26.39	sufficiently	sufficient

Biller states of the second edition: 'No intentional textual alterations, it should be noted, can be shown to have been made' (1969: c). Of the variant readings of the second edition, she declares that 'taken generally, they seem the result of a deterioration, rather than any systematic correction, of the text' (1969: ci). Biller notes that the second edition often replaces the colons of the first with commas, citing this as 'further evidence [. . .] of textual degeneration'; she states that the colons 'make Harvey's characteristically long "periods" more comprehensible' (1969: ci).

It appears to me that Biller exaggerates the textual corruption of *B*. On four occasions, a reading in *B* seems to me demonstrably to show a substantive error (variants 14, 15, 20 and 29). On five occasions, however, Biller accepts as superior a reading in *B* (variants 1, 2, 9, 16 and 30). The majority of variations between the two editions do not seem to me to affect the sense. On three occasions (variants 11, 24 and 35), Biller stigmatises as an error a reading in *B* where *B* makes what is an adjective in *A* an adverb, or vice versa, whereas, as E.A. Abbott notes, the two were treated as



indistinguishable in Elizabethan grammar (1870: 17-18). Variant 31 does not, by the standards of contemporary syntax, constitute a substantive error (see p. 11.15 *n.*). In the case of variant 32, Biller gives a reading from *B* which occurs on none of the copies of *B* which I have examined.

Since both *A* and *B* contain errors, it is not easy to determine which edition has superiority. This situation is not unparalleled. McKerrow gives, as an example of corrections made to a text by the author during printing, Barnabe Barnes' play *The Devil's Charter* (1607); however, he notes that some of the 'corrections' are themselves incorrect (1928: 208-09). To produce a reliable version of a text which went through multiple editions, an editor would need, in McKerrow's words, 'to determine [. . .] the most authoritative text [. . .] and to reprint this as exactly as possible save for manifest and indubitable errors' (1939: 7). Elsewhere he stated more exactly his criterion for choosing a copy-text:

if an editor has reason to suppose that a certain text embodies later corrections than any other, and at the same time has no ground for disbelieving that these corrections, or some of them at least, are the work of the author, he has no choice but to make that text the basis of his reprint (Nashe 1958: 2.197).

Nashe describes Harvey lodging with Wolfe for 'Three quarters of a yere' while 'inck-squitting and printing against me' (Nashe 1958: 3.87.7-9); G.R. Hibbard credits this (1962: 211), noting that it correlates roughly to the period between the date of the composition (and presumable printing) of *FL*, September 1592, and Harvey's last contribution to *PS*, the prefatory epistle dated 16 July 1593 (p. 41.30). Biller also accepts this (1969: xc), although she assumes that Harvey's sojourn with Wolfe came to an end in April 1593, the date at the end of the third 'book' of *PS* (p. 140.11). In either case, were Nashe's statement to be correct, it would cover the period during which both editions of *FL* were produced. Harvey's own copies of printed texts of his from the 1570s exist, with manuscript corrections of errors in his own hand; Stern also notes how frequently he marks up errors in his copies of the books of other authors (1979: 219-20, 146). For a second edition of *FL* to be set up from the first, without authorial involvement, while Harvey was lodging with Wolfe and had opportunity to be involved, would perhaps be unusual, given Harvey's evident belief 'that nothing would be committed to a publike view, that is not exactly laboured' (p. 9.9).

In contrast to Biller, Johnson gives precedence to the second edition:

The book gives every evidence of having been printed in a leisurely and reasonably careful manner from a complete text. The finished volume can at no point be separated bibliographically into sections corresponding to the individual letters and the sonnets; both the third letter and the sonnets begin in the middle of a page. Exactly the reverse is true of the first edition. It contains no headlines or page numbers, and the frequent occurrence of both literal and textual errors gives abundant evidence of a change in plan during the course of printing, shown by the presence of a cancel title-page and preface, and by the fact that the fourth letter does not follow the third, but comes at the end, after the sonnets. (Johnson 1934: 213)

Warren B. Austin notes of the title-page that, while Greene's name appears in large type, Harvey's does not appear at all. He infers from this, not unreasonably, that the saleability of the tract depended to a large extent on how soon it appeared after Greene's death (1955: 376). From the printer's and the reader's point of view, *FL* might be seen as part of the body of texts – *Greenes Newes from Heauen*

*and Hell* (1593), *Greenes Funeralls* (1594), *Greene in Conceipt* (1598) – which hit the press in the period following Greene’s death in order to exploit his popularity (see also p. 13.4 *n.*). That it had something of a hasty genesis is suggested by Harvey’s apologetic words at the end of the Third Letter, when he describes his work as ‘not spedily dispatched, but hastily bungled-up’ (p. 22.44), and at the beginning of the Fourth, when he calls it ‘that, which with more hast, then speede is dispatched’ (p. 23.12).

An edition using *A* as its base-text is open to the criticism of perversely reproducing a text initially produced piecemeal and in haste to capitalise on a news event, when another edition of the same text, produced, as Johnson says, in a more ‘leisurely’ manner, is available. On the other hand, an edition of *FL* using *B* as its base-text is open to the criticism of imposing a specious sense of order on a text which is by its nature fragmentary and disconnected. I have decided on balance to do the latter. I have been as conservative as possible in reproducing the second edition, incorporating only five readings from the first: the four (variants 14, 15, 20 and 29) where corruption in *B* seems substantively to impair Harvey’s sense, and a fifth (variant 23) where the *A* reading is preferable, as Harvey is citing *PP*: ‘all my thoughts consorted to this conclusion’ (Nashe 1958: 1.158.15). I have corrected some minor errors in the second edition (largely turned letters and errors in punctuation), readings which do not substantially affect its accuracy but which it would have been perverse to retain. I have tried to keep these to a minimum: all are noted in Appendix F. For instance, I have retained the second edition’s ‘dilicate’ (sig. D2<sup>v</sup>), a viable early-modern form – see *Mirroure of Madnes*: ‘sweete and pleasaunt waters wherewith my dilicate handes maye be washed’ (Sandford 1576: sig. Biii<sup>r</sup>) – but I have emended ‘Piliticke’ (sig. E3<sup>v</sup>): ‘i’ and ‘o’ appear next to each other in the case of type replicated in Joseph Moxon’s 1683 *Mechanick Exercises* (see McKerrow 1928: 9), and it would have been an easy mistake for a busy compositor to make.

## Explanatory notes

- p. 2.3 *that is*] i.e. that which is. Omitting relatives is not unusual in Elizabethan syntax (see Abbott 1870: 164-67).
- p. 2.10 *Herostratus*] Also Erostratus, Eratostratus: Ephesian who in 256 B.C. burnt down the Artemision or Temple of Artemis, solely out of a desire for fame: the civic authorities forbade the speaking of his name on pain of death (Lemprière).
- p. 2.12-14 *But...wits*] Harvey makes the same pun (Greene as a dead flower) on p. 14.21: see *OED* flourishing *ppl. a.* 1 for the wordplay involved. Possibly his name suggested this slightly macabre joke to Harvey: in *GWW*, the author tells his wife of their son, 'He is yet Greene, and may grow straight enough, if he be carefully tended' (1592a: sig. F3<sup>v</sup>). If Nashe is among the 'green wits' in question, this would accord with Harvey's frequent references to his youth (e.g. p. 6.29, p. 22.23-26). Possibly Harvey means Greene's readers (see p. 13.25-27).
- p. 2.15 *although... practise*] Pierce in his Supplication styles himself the Devil's 'distressed Orator' and 'single-soald Orator' (Nashe 1958: 1.165.4-9). Harvey will prove to be fond of this epithet for Nashe. Here he is splicing it with the phrase 'the devil and his dam', proverbial for 'the devil and worse' (see *OED* dam *sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2 †b, Tilley D225). The sense of 'orator' used by Nashe is 'One who offers a prayer' (*OED* †2). The lexis was commonplace. Thomas Blandie ends the dedication to Leicester of his 1576 translation of Osorius by calling himself 'your Honours most humble and daily Oratour': as Rosenberg comments, this conventional practise 'was an inheritance from the Middle Ages when the clerical author or scribe naturally promised to pray for his patron's soul' (1955: 172-74). Harvey's pun involves the more familiar sense.
- p. 2.18-19 *To...perilous*] Biller quotes Tilley E202: 'It is good to prevent an evil in the beginning' (1969: 2a).
- p. 2.19-20 *Venome... Taile?*] Stephen Batman, collecting lore about the dragon, mentions that it 'hath not so much venim as other serpents' but that the strength in its tail is such that it can use it to fight and kill elephants (1582: fol. 360<sup>r-v</sup>).
- p. 2.22 *other*] i.e. 'others': see Abbott 1870: 24 for Shakespearean examples.
- p. 2.24 *Lacedemonian*] Sugden defines Lacedæmon as 'Either (1) Sparta itself, or (2) the territory (Laconia) of which Sparta was the capital, i.e. the S.E. province of the Peloponnesus [. . .] It was through the legislation of Lycurgus in the 9th cent. B.C. that S[parta] became one of the leading cities of Greece [. . .] The object of Lycurgus was to make the Sns. warriors [. . .] the boys were trained to endure hardship and were encouraged to steal, though they were severely punished if they were caught. The story of the boy who let a stolen fox gnaw his vitals rather than let it be discovered that he had stolen it, is well known'. Lycurgus himself, retiring from Sparta at the end of his reign, made all the citizens swear that they and their descendants would abide by his laws until his return: he subsequently committed suicide and had his ashes thrown into the sea so that the Lacedæmonians would be bound by their oath forever (Lemprière).
- p. 2.24 *Romane*] For Romans' proverbial preference for death over a shameful life, see *Hamlet* V.2.346, *Julius Caesar* V.3.89, *Antony and Cleopatra* IV.15.87, *Macbeth* V.8.1-2.

- p. 2.27-28 *in shame...Calumny*] For the allusion here, see p. 12.27-28 n.
- p. 2.31-32 *dust...up*] Cf. 'He that blows in the dust fills his eyes with it' (Tilley D648; the earliest instance is from 1640).

### The First Letter

- p. 3.2 *Emmanuel Demetrius*] Emanuel van Meteren (1535-1612), a Dutch merchant and historian. According to J.A. van Dorsten, he is the 'reuerend E.M. of Antwerp' from whose works Thomas Churchyard and Richard Robinson translated *A true discourse historicall of the succeeding gouernours in the Netherlands, and the civill warres there begun in the yeere 1565 with the memorable seruices of our honourable English generals, captaines and souldiers, especially vnder Sir Iohn Norice knight, there performed from the yeere 1577. vntill the yeere 1589. and afterwards in Portugale, France, Britaine and Ireland, vntill the yeere 1598* (1602). Harvey's stated aim at the end of the Second Letter – to write of the exploits of English soldiers (and especially Norris) in France, Portugal and the Low Countries – would therefore give him a reason to seek van Meteren's acquaintance and examine documents of his (see p. 8.3 ff.). He was also one of the agents via whom Horatio Palavicino sponsored Leicester's campaign (Dorsten 1962: 22, 26n., 86). Laurence Stone calls him the 'consul in London' and states that he wrote 'an account of the defeat of the Armada', but does not give its name (1956: 24). Andrew Hadfield states that he was a cousin of Jan van der Noot, to a translation of whose *Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings* Spenser's translations of Petrarch and Du Bellay were appended (ODNB art. Spenser).
- p. 3.14 *Christopher Bird*] 'A fellow townsman of Harvey's who came from a prominent Walden family' (Stern 1979: 95n.). 'He was born in 1537 or 1538 [. . .] matriculated from Christ's, Cambridge, in 1553 [. . .] was living at Walden in 1591 as steward for Lord Rich; and was buried there in 1603' (Eccles 1982: 62). Nashe's insinuations in *SN* that the postscript and sonnet are by Harvey himself (1958: 1.273.26-30, 275.18-23) are credited by Chauncey Sanders (1931: 3n.) and G.R. Hibbard (1962: 191). Perhaps p. 3.40-41 are rather at odds with the tone of Bird's letter.
- p. 3.24 *the...Walden*] 'John Harvey [. . .] for at least one year (October 1572 to October 1573) held the chief office of the town, that of Treasurer' (Stern 1979: 4n.).
- p. 3.25 *foure...where*] Stern says 'He enrolled Gabriel, Richard and John the younger at Cambridge as pensioners. The fourth and youngest brother Thomas has left few traces' (1979: 5), but notes p. 36.6.
- p. 3.27-28 *one returning sicke*] John Harvey the younger. In the Third Letter Harvey identifies the dead man as his physician brother (p. 12.31-37).
- p. 3.29 *the publication...Pamphlet*] 'The *Quip* was entered in the Stationers' Register on July 20, 1592, and presumably run off the presses within the next few weeks' (Miller 1951-52: 279).
- p. 3.29-30 *Livor...benè*] 'Spite sleeps after death, and good is only heard of those who wish well to all'. Cf. Appendix D, l. 13. 'Pascitur in vivis livor; post fata quiescit' comes from Ovid's *Amores*, I.xv.39.
- p. 3.34 *Connycatcher*] McKerrow comments, 'In reference to his pamphlets on "Conny-catching"' (Nashe 1958: 4.168). Greene's highly popular texts about the criminal underworld went through multiple editions (see Johnson 1954).

- p. 3.34 *Dreame*] *QUC* takes the form of a dream: 'The vision [. . .] was but a dreame, and therefore I wish no man to hold any discourse herein authentically' (Greene 1592b: sig. B3<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 3.35 *haute*] i.e. halter: one of the Fool's songs in *King Lear* rhymes 'halter' with 'daughter' and 'slaughter' (I.4.316-20).
- p. 3.39 *desperate Dick*] McKerrow defines this as 'desperado, swaggering ruffian', giving other examples (Nashe 1958: 4.303).
- p. 3.40 *Sir reverence*] A corruption of 'saving your reverence', 'An apologetic phrase introducing [. . .] some remark that might offend the hearer' (see *OED* *sir-reverence sb.* †1b, *reverence sb.* 5 †a).
- p. 3.40 *A scurvy Master of Art*] Greene was awarded an MA at Cambridge in 1583 and was incorporated MA at Oxford in 1588; his fondness for advertising this on the title-pages of his works is similarly alluded to in *IParnassus* 209 (Leishman 1949: 146).
- p. 3.42 *He*] i.e. Harvey.
- p. 3.43 *With...mutes*] McKerrow glosses, 'he says little and, so far as possible, keeps silence' (Nashe 1958: 4.168). The two words reappear in the Third Letter, again in the context of Harvey's reluctance to enter the quarrel (p. 17.21-24).
- p. 3.46 *Robin-good-fellow*] A mischievous spirit in English folklore: 'heretofore Robin goodfellow, and Hob goblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now' (Scot 1584: 131). In his marginalia, Harvey seems to use the name to mean 'a sociable person' (1913: xv. 151); see 'good fellow' in Glossary. The frequency with which Greene was referred to as 'Robin' is attested to by Thomas Heywood: '*Greene*, who had in both Academies ta'ne / Degree of Master, yet could never gaine / To be call'd more than *Robin*: who [. . .] might have / (With credit too) gone *Robert* to his grave' (1635: 206). The author of *Greenes Newes* gives Greene the same nickname (McKerrow 1911: 61).
- p. 3.49 *Miserrima...inimico*] 'Most miserable fortune, to lack an enemy'.

## The Second Letter

- p. 4.5 *the absence of M. Demetrius*] Harvey's desire to visit van Meteren seems to have been frustrated: see p. 60.30-31.
- p. 4.7 *Dow-gate*] 'One of the old water-gates of the city of Lond., W. of Lond. Bdge., at the bottom of D[owgate] Hill [. . .] It gave its name to the D. ward, which was bounded by Swan Lane to the E. and D. Hill to the W., and extended N. not quite so far as Cannon St.' (Sugden). The ferry running between Dowgate wharf and St. Saviour's Dock would have made the Bankside (p. 6.9) accessible to someone living there.
- p. 4.7-8 *the plague*] In the summer of 1592 this was rife (see Stow 1598: 435-36).
- p. 4.8 *pickle herring*] Many texts of the period mention herrings as typically eaten by poor people. The *Astrological Prognostication* attributed to Nashe mentions 'the poore, that, all Lent, ground their fare on the benefit of Salte fishe and red herring' (1958: 3.382.23); in *Canaans Calamitie*, herring is imagined as one of the things which the inhabitants of Jerusalem scrounge for during the siege when starving (Deloney 1912: 432); in 1527, a Colchester man accused of heresy was made to distribute herring among the poor as part of his penance (Oxley 1965: 8), etc.
- p. 4.10 *the printer*] McKerrow points out that the printer of *QUC* was John Wolfe, Harvey's printer (Nashe 1958: 5.78).
- p. 4.11 *the matter...brothers*] The passage in the first edition of *QUC* (where the Rope-maker talks of his sons) appeared on sigs E3<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>r</sup>, and was removed from the subsequent editions (see Appendix C). E.H. Miller concurs with Harvey's version of events insofar as he assumes 'that Greene himself supervised the excisions. It was hardly in the interests of his printer, John Wolfe, to de-sensationalize a tract that was turning out to be a best-seller' (1951-52: 277-78).
- p. 4.11-12 *confession...imputations*] Hibbard describes this and p. 5.43-44 as 'nonsense, since there is nothing in Greene's attack that would provide ground for legal proceedings' (1962: 185-86).
- p. 4.16 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 4.20 *Elderton*] William Elderton, ballad-writer. Contemporary references to him frequently make mention of his red nose or his capacity for alcohol consumption generally (see Rollins 1920). Harvey's reference to him further on in this letter (p. 7.19-20), and Nashe's response ('We are to vex you mightily for plucking *Elderton* out of the ashes of his Ale [. . .] now, when he is as dead as dead beere') make it obvious that he had died by this point (Nashe 1958: 1.280.10-13). *DNB* concludes that he 'died in or before 1591'. Another reference, in *PP*, gives the impression that a ballad of his had mocked Richard Harvey after his *Astrological Discourse*: '*Elderton* consumd his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bearbayting him with whole bundles of ballets' (Nashe 1958: 1.197.7). This would seem to have been the 1583 ballad beginning 'Trust not the conjunctions or Judgementes of men when all that is made shalbe unmade againe' (Stern 1979: 70).
- p. 4.22-23 *they...reckonings*] During this period, a 'scot' could be a 'payment, contribution, "reckoning"; esp. payment for entertainment' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1). 'Scot-free' could therefore mean 'Free from payment of "scot", tavern score' (*OED*). A 'reckoning' is both 'a bill, esp. at an inn or tavern' and 'The action of rendering an account of one's life or one's conduct' (*OED vbl. sb.* 3a, 4b). Harvey

makes this favourite pun in *PS* (p. 103.28-29); the theory that has Shakespeare in *As You Like It* III.3.9-12 alluding to Marlowe's death has him making the same one (1975: xxxiii-iv).

- p. 4.28 *when...backward*] Bells were rung backwards during times of public crisis, e.g. during the Northern Rebellion of 1569 (Neale 1934: 190).
- p. 4.29 *Death...boltes*] Death was traditionally represented as carrying a dart or long arrow. Glossing *Paradise Lost* II.666-73, Fowler cites Stephen Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* (1509) (Milton 1998: 143 n.).
- p. 4.32-33 *if Titius...nothing*] Biller comments, 'Harvey probably means simply, *if one writer continues to upbraid another*' (1969: 10a). See p. 9.25-26 n.
- p. 4.33 *I neither...hatchet*] For the anti-Marprelate pamphlet's attack on the Harvey brothers, see Appendix B.
- p. 4.35 *Zoilus*] Greek grammarian (fl. 259 B.C.), who was severely critical of Homer; he earned the name *Homeromastix*, or punisher of Homer (Lemprière). Like Momus, his name epitomised excessive criticism and mockery and frequently appeared in prefatory epistles in the Elizabethan era, hence 'those Zoiluses and Momuses of whom Elizabethan authors almost ritually complained' (Gregory 2000: 371).
- p. 4.36 *flurt at*] Nashe's response in *SN* ('Titius *shall not upbraid Caius* [. . .] *nor Zoylus anie more flurt Homer*') (1958: 1.281.8-10) is cited by *OED* as an instance of 'flirt' in the sense of 'To sneer or scoff at, flout' (4b).
- p. 4.36 *Thersites*] The round-backed, bandy-legged Greek soldier who is beaten and rebuked by Odysseus for railing against Agamemnon (Homer, *Iliad* II.211-277). According to Robert Kimbrough, he occupied 'a secure place in Latin rhetoric books as an example of the railing detractor', and fulfilled this function in an interlude, *Thersytes* (c. 1562). Thomas Bradshaw in *The Sheperd's Starre* (1591) cites the proverb *Thersitica facies* to describe ugliness being found in an ill-mannered person (Kimbrough 1964: 38-39); cf. also p. 19.12-13.
- p. 4.42 *Archilochus*] 'A poete of Lacedemonia. that wrate in the kynde of verses, *Iambici*' (Cooper); Cooper and Nashe (1958: 1.285.3-8) both repeat the story of his invective verses driving a man to suicide.
- p. 4.42 *Aristophanes*] Cooper calls him a 'poete moste eloquent in the tongue of the Atheniens, although he was borne at the Rhodes. He wrate .54. comedies, wherein he spared not them, whiche than lyved'. See also p. 67.19 n.
- p. 4.42 *Lucian*] Lucianus (d. 180 A.D.), Syrian poet: 'some of the moderns have asserted that he was torn to pieces by dogs for his impiety' (Lemprière). Harvey would seem to have owned a 1563 edition of Lucianus's collected Greek and Latin works in four volumes; that he was much attached to it is inferable from Spenser's present to him on 20 December 1578 of four jest-books, which he was required to read in twelve days on pain of forfeiting his volumes of Lucian (Stern 1979: 226, 228).
- p. 4.43 *Julian*] Julianus, the Roman Emperor who sought to reverse the Christianization of the Empire, was also an author (Lemprière). Privately, Harvey admired the Emperor's ironic praise of his enemies in *Misopogon* (see Stern 1979: 142). Lucian and Julian are again referred to in *NL*: 'Though *Greene* were a Julian, and *Marlow* a Lucian: yet I would be loth, *He* [i.e. Nashe] should be an Aretin'

- (p. 157.16-17). Hale Moore notes that 'Harvey uses the names Julian and Lucian here as synonyms for pagan and scoffer' (1926: 342).
- p. 4.43 *Aretine*] Pietro Aretino; his *cognome* came from his birthplace of Arezzo in Tuscany, which led to his being confused with other writers. (Smith glosses the 'Unico Aretino' referred to in a letter of Harvey's to Spenser as 'Bernardo Accolti (d. 1534) famed as an *improvisatore*' (1904: 1.379); McPherson disagrees (1969: 1552n.).) 'The later Elizabethans thought of Aretino as the pornographer *par excellence* [. . .] In Aretino's own lifetime (1492-1556), however, he was thought of in England as the Scourge of Princes, the successful politician and polemicist' (McPherson 1969: 1551). The difference in tone between Harvey's references to Lucianus and Aretino here and in *3PL* (he compares Spenser's *Dreames* to '*Lucian, Petrarche, Aretine, Pasquill*, and all the most delicate, and fine conceited Grecians and Italians' (Spenser 1912: 628)) did not go unnoticed by Nashe (1958: 1.283-84). Harold S. Wilson sees this discrepancy as marking the difference between Harvey's private and public writings (1948: 720) – a view reinforced if, as Harvey claimed (p. 9.39, p. 10.15-17, p. 17.10-11), the letters were published without his consent. McPherson, however, sees it as marking a change in Harvey's personality and reading habits (1969: 1557) – which is reinforced if the satirical writing Harvey refers to in the Third Letter included Aretino (p. 9.39-44). Stern infers Harvey's ownership of Wolfe's 1588 edition of Aretino's *Quattro Comedie* from some marginalia in his copy of Euripides (1979: 200).
- p. 4.44 *Tully*] According to Plutarch, 'Cicero was often carried away by his love of jesting into scurrility [. . .] he treated matters worthy of serious attention with ironical mirth and pleasantry' (*Demosthenes and Cicero* 1.4).
- p. 4.44 *Horace*] According to Lemprière, his work 'is deservedly censured for the licentious expressions and indelicate thoughts which he too frequently introduces'. For a contemporary view of this aspect of Horace's reputation, cf. Stanyhurst: in the dedication to his translation of Virgil, he writes of the moral 'preheminencie' of the *Æneid* and *Metamorphoses* over Horace, Juvenal and Persius, who 'over this that theyre Verses in camfering wise run harshe and rough, perfourming nothing in matter but biting quippes, taunting Darcklye certeyn men of state that lived in theyre age' (1583: sig. A2<sup>r-v</sup>).
- p. 4.44 *Mother Hubbard*] Spenser's *Complaints of the World's Vanity* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 29 December 1590 and had appeared in print by 19 March 1591. The poem 'Mother Hvbberds Tale' was interpreted as containing satire against William Cecil, Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer. It was omitted from the 1611 folio of Spenser's works but reinstated after the death of Cecil's son Robert in 1612 (Brink 1991: 157).
- p. 4.47 *Salust*] Crispus Sallustius (d. 35 B.C.), Roman historian. Lemprière notes 'his licentiousness, and the depravity of his manners [. . .] no one seems to have been more severe against the follies of the age and the failings of which he himself was guilty in the eyes of the world'. These tendencies caused him to be stripped of the rank of senator; his affair with Fausta, daughter of Sulla the dictator, was discovered by her husband, who beat him. His attacks on Cicero came in the form of his history of Catiline's conspiracy. Salust's stylistic relationship with Cicero is touched on by E.K., in the letter to Harvey that prefaces *SC* (Spenser 1995: 19-20).



- p. 4.48 *Clodius*] Clodius, a noble but debauched young Roman, entered Caesar's house disguised as a woman to get access to Caesar's wife Pompeia: Cicero, formerly his friend, was forced to give evidence against him. Acquitted after bribing the judges, Clodius subsequently became Tribune and persecuted Cicero, leading to his banishment (Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, XXVIII-XXXII). Plutarch also cites him as one of the corrupting influences on the young Antony (*Life of Antony*, II.4).
- p. 4.48 *artificiall*] Pace Biller (1969: 11a), here perhaps the word does not mean 'Displaying much skill' or 'scholarly' but 'not natural in character, stylised'. Ascham in *The Scholemaster* quotes John Cheke as saying, 'in *Salust* writing, is more Arte then nature [. . .] he doth not expresse the matter lively and naturally with common speech [. . .] but it is carried and driven forth artificiallie'. Ascham then asks Cheke 'why *Caesar* and *Ciceroes* talke, is so naturall and plaine, and *Salust* writing so artificiall and darke' (1904: 297-98).
- p. 4.50 *in...Chawcer*] 'Mother Hvbberds Tale' emulates Chaucer stylistically (in rhyming couplets of iambic pentameters) and in subject matter (with an unflattering portrait of the Anglican clergy to parallel Chaucer's of the fourteenth-century clergy).
- p. 4.51 *Skelton*] Although Spenser named his alter ego in *SC* after one of Skelton's works, Sidney Lee asserts that 'Sixteenth-century critics [. . .] treated Skelton as [. . .] a scurrilous buffoon' (*DNB*). For instance, Richard Harvey in *LG*, attacking the Martinist pamphleteers, wrote 'bad causes have bad successes: my Lord Cardinall [. . .] was little the better for *Skeltons bald ductum* Rymes' (1590b: sig. a2<sup>r</sup>). A collection of 'farcical anecdotes, many of them plainly apocryphal' was published by Thomas Colwell in 1566 as 'Merie Tales Newly imprinted and made by Master Skelton, Poet Laureat' (*DNB*). Given that the tone of all of Harvey's references to Skelton in the anti-Nashe tracts is derogatory, it is important to note that 'the very first peece of English Ryme that ever the autor committed to wrytinge' is in Skeltonic metre, and that the elegy for George Gascoigne in his 'Letter-Book' has a verse mentioning Skelton and Scogan among the eminent Englishmen (Chaucer, Gower, More, etc) that Gascoigne will meet in Heaven; this shows an acquaintance with *Colin Cloute* and was subsequently scored through by Harvey (1979: 34-35, 33).
- p. 4.51 *Scoggin*] In 1565-6 'the geystes of Skoggon gathered together in one volume' was licensed to Colwell. The collected tales purport to be the jests of John Scogan (*fl.* 1480), fool to Edward IV: according to them, he offended the king and removed to the French court, where his activities subsequently got him banned from France. His historicity is supported by Holinshed, but according to Lee 'Holinshed evidently derived his information from the book of "Jests"' (*DNB*). *The geystes of Skoggon* and another book by (or attributed to) Skelton were two of the jest-books given to Harvey by Spenser (Stern 1979: 228). Skelton and Scogan were often yoked together, as figures from a previous age epitomizing excessive raillery, and simply because of the similarity of their names. In *PS*, for example, Harvey writes of 'Sir Skelton, and Master Scoggin' (p. 71.33), 'Scoggin the Joviall foole, or Skelton the Malancholy foole' (p. 79.32) and lists 'M. Scoggin, M. Skelton' among the 'worshipfull Clarkes of the whetstone' (p. 104.48-49).
- p. 5.16-18 *Plutarch...infirmities?*] In *SN*, Nashe seems to identify the text of Plutarch's in question when he calls Harvey 'an indifferent untoward civill Lawyer, who hath read *Plutarch De utilitate*

*capienda ab inimicis*’; similarly in *HWY*, he claims that Harvey ‘takes a new lesson out of Plutarch, in making benefit of hisemie’ (1958: 1.294.9, 3.35.15).

- p. 5.16 *Macchiavell*] The tone of references to Machiavelli in Harvey’s printed works is often different from that of those in his marginalia (see Jameson 1941: 649). Cf. p. 152.21-22 *n*.
- p. 5.22 *to digest...iron*] To suffer abuse: see p. 111.18 *n*.
- p. 5.24-26 *Saint...crafte*] Harvey is referring to a story that appears in the first edition of *QUC* on sigs F1<sup>r</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>. Saint Peter is kindly entertained by ‘a company of shoemakers’, and asks Christ that ‘they may ever spende a groat afore they can yearn two pence’; Christ grants it; Peter realises that he meant to say ‘that they maye yearne a groat afore they spend two pence’, but Christ tells him it cannot be recalled, ‘and heereof by saint *Peters* boone it grew, that all of the Gentle craft are such good fellows & spendthriftes’. In the third and subsequent editions, Peter and Christ were replaced by Mercury and Jupiter (Miller 1951-52: 279). This story perhaps takes on a different light if Harvey’s account of Greene’s being deeply in debt to his shoemaker landlord (p. 4.7, p. 6.48-7.5) is true.
- p. 5.27-28 *Cesars might*] Caesar is cited as the archetypal great soldier in *All’s Well That Ends Well* III.6.49, *Othello* II.3.115-16 and Whitney 1586: 47.
- p. 5.28 *Catoes integrity*] Like ‘Caesar’, ‘Cato’ was also a surname. Cooper states that ‘Of this name, twoo were moste excellent: Marcus Cato Censorius, because he alwayes used the gravitie and rigour that was wont to be in the correctours of maners, called *Censores*’ and ‘*Cato Uticensis* (so called because he slewe hymselfe in the towne Utica, to whom the other *Cato Censorius* was great graundfather’. If Harvey means an individual, perhaps he is more likely to mean the elder. Plutarch notes his temperance, that as a young advocate he would refuse to accept fees from those whose cases he pleaded, and that in office he scrupulously avoided private gain (see *Life of Marcus Cato*, I.3-7, IV.3-4. X).
- p. 5.38 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 5.41 *Tarleton*] Richard Tarlton, comedian, had died on 5th September 1588 (*DNB*). It may be that he is mentioned in this context because he had joined in the mockery of Richard Harvey’s *Astrological Discourse* (cf. p. 16.40-42 & *n*): this would explain the hostile anecdote about him on p. 14.31-38. Cf., however, *IParnassus* 269, where a dispirited Ingenioso exclaims ‘O fustie worlde, were there anie commendable passage to Styx and Acheron, I would goe live with Tarleton’ (Leishman 1949: 148).
- p. 5.50 *I was...name*] A.H. Bullen assumes that Harvey ‘had never seen Greene’ (*DNB* art. Greene). However, in Wolfe they had at least one mutual acquaintance (see p. 4.10). Stern suggests that Harvey may have proof-read Greene’s *Perimedes* for Wolfe (1979: 101*n*).
- p. 6.1 *a Master of Arte*] See p. 3.40 *n*.
- p. 6.1 *ruffianly haire*] Henry Chettle, describing Greene in *Kind-Harts Dreame*, concedes ‘his haire was somewhat long’ (1593: sig. B3<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 6.2 *piperly*] ‘Resembling, or befitting, a piper; paltry, trashy, beggarly, despicable’ (*OED*). Perhaps significantly, the earliest example in the *OED* is from John Harvey the younger’s *Discoverive Probleme*. Richard Harvey also uses the word in *LG*: ‘stale jestes and balde toyes, unwoorthy any

witty stage, and too piperly for *Tarletons* mouth'; 'let not [. . .] any other piperly makeplay or makebate, presume overmuch of my patience' (1590b: sig. a<sup>v</sup>, a3<sup>r</sup>). A marginal gloss to the passage in *QUC* where the Ropemaker talks of his sons reads 'all the Poets in England will have a blow at your brecch for calling them poperlye makeplaies': this mistake perhaps suggests the word was of recent coinage or was dialect. Stern suggests Richard Harvey meant 'peppery' (1979: 89); John Scottowe's famous picture of Tarlton, however, shows him playing a pipe (*ODNB*).

- p. 6.3 *Tarletonizing*] This passage is cited in *DNB* in support of Tarleton's 'power of improvising doggerel verse on themes suggested by the audience'. For an example of these rhymes see McKerrow's quotation from *Tarltons Jestes* (Nashe 1958: 4.151-52).
- p. 6.9 *Banckeside*] 'The dist. in Southwark running along the Surrey side of the Thames from St. Saviour's Ch. and Winchester House to the point where Blackfriars Bdge. now stands. The row of houses on the river-side was a series of brothels' (Sugden).
- p. 6.9 *Shorditch*] 'A parish in N.E. Lond., lying South of Old St., between City Road and Bethnall Green [. . .] S[horeditch] had the worst of reputations as a haunt of loose women and bad characters generally' (Sugden).
- p. 6.10-11 *pawning...short*] The extensive section of *QUC* dealing with the pawnbroker does suggest an acquaintance with this sort of process (Greene 1592b: sigs D2<sup>r</sup>-D3<sup>r</sup>), as does the similar passage on 'the abhominable life of brokers' in *The Defence of Conny-catching* (1881-86: 11.77-79).
- p. 6.13 *Ball*] Cf. the description of 'Roberto' in *GW*: 'The shamefull ende of sundry his consorts, deservedly punished for their amisse, wrought no compunction in his heart: of which one, brother to a Brothell he kept, was trust under a tree as round as a Ball' (1592a: sig. E1<sup>v</sup>). Saintsbury glosses 'Ball. – Said to be a play on the proper name of Greene's mistress and her brother' (1892: 285).
- p. 6.15 *Infortunatus Greene*] Either Harvey's sources misled him or a certain irony is in play; a 'Fortunatus Greene' was buried at Shoreditch on 12th August 1593 (*ODNB*). Strikingly, in Greene's *Philomela* (1592) the heroine is delivered of 'a yong Sonne, called *Infortunatus*, because he was borne in the extremitie of his mothers miserie' (1881-86: 11.192).
- p. 6.15 *queane*] Brydges amends in this instance to 'queen', but not when the word recurs on p. 30.14 (1815: pt. 4.7. 56). *OED* defines 'quean' as 'a harlot, strumpet' (1).
- p. 6.17 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 6.19 *Catiline*] Cooper calls him 'A Romaine, notable for his conspiracy' and names as one of Cicero's crowning achievements that he 'dyd [. . .] by his dexteritie and prudence save the citie & people of Rome from the moste pernicious confederacie and rebellion of Catiline [. . .] whiche went about to destroy the weale publike, and robbe the citie'. Marprelate in *Hay any worke for Cooper* cites 'Catelin' as an example of the Roman nobility who 'could not tell how to live / but must needs go a begging' (p. 24).
- p. 6.19 *Antony*] Antony's debauchery landed him in debt as a young man, and his dissipation when triumvir made him unpopular; his response when defeated at Actium was to devote himself to pleasure (Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, II.3-4, XXI.1, LXXI.1-3). One of his most famous acts was that he 'caused Cicero to bee slayne' (Cooper), which is perhaps why Harvey pairs him with Catiline.

- p. 6.26 *laid...gage*] Pawned all his belongings (see *OED* *gage* *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1, instancing Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*: 'I will lay my gowne to gage').
- p. 6.28 *Mistris Appleby*] It is not clear who this is. Bullen does not identify her (*DNB* art. Greene): p. 6. 32-35 (*pace* Grosart) would seem to preclude the possibility that this was Greene's landlady. Nashe, responding in *SN*, makes no mention of her.
- p. 6.29 *his fellow-writer*] Nashe identifies this as him in *HWY* (1958: 3.130-31); he wrote the preface to Greene's *Menaphon* and has been identified (1958: 4.143-44) as the 'yong *Juvenall*' whom the dying Greene mentions having collaborated with him on 'a Comedie' in *GWW* (Greene 1592a: sig. E4<sup>v</sup>). With regard to Harvey's professed goodwill towards Nashe, R.B. McKerrow states, 'The tone of Harvey's references to Nashe in the *Four Letters* [. . .] is less bitter than patronizing; he treats Nashe rather as a clever young man who had been misguided and foolish, and who might easily be reclaimed, than as one altogether base' (1958: 5.86). Cf. Harvey's exhortation to Nashe not to surrender to the despair he seems to show in *PP*, his reference to Nashe's 'golden talent' and inclusion of him among 'the deere Lovers of the Muses' alongside Spenser (p. 15.18 - p. 16.1, p. 21. 42, p. 22.8).
- p. 6.32-35 *The poore...him*] Grosart conjecturally inserts 'it was' between 'came' and 'as much' (Harvey 1884-85: 1.170), even though the next sentence but one (like this sentence according to Grosart's reading) is lacking a verb. Alternatively Harvey could be using 'but' in the sense of 'except'.
- p. 6.35-36 *Slender...habites*] Either this was proverbial, or these lines are echoed in *1Parnassus* 352: Ingenioso, asked by Philomusus how his attempt to get money from a patron has gone, replies 'Slender relife I can assure youe in the predicament of privation' (Leishman 1949: 152).
- p. 6.38 *M. Gascoigne*] George Gascoigne (1525?-1577), English poet and playwright. The eldest son of a knight of Bedfordshire, he was disinherited by his father for his prodigality. Having been returned as MP for Midhurst in 1572, charges brought against him by his creditors prevented him from taking his seat: these included not only insolvency but also manslaughter, atheism and the writing of 'slanderous pasquils against divers persons of great calling'. Gascoigne prudently left the country for Holland, where he saw active service and was captured by the Spaniards: his personal motto was 'Tam marti quam mercurio' (*DNB*). Harvey has been identified as the 'G.H.' whose Latin verses preface Gascoigne's *Posies* (1575) (Austin 1947a: 127). Stern calls Gascoigne's 'Harvey's friend' (1979: 33): evidently they shared a patron in Leicester, who commissioned Gascoigne to write the verses and masques for Elizabeth I's visit to Kenilworth in 1575. Harvey's ambivalent tone here is important, as references to Gascoigne in *PS* are largely derogatory.
- p. 6.43 *sir reverence*] See p. 3.40 *n*.
- p. 6.43-44 *I would...lowsy*] 'Harvey [. . .] goes on to suggest in a covert sneer that his mistress suffered from the pox' (Hibbard 1962: 193).
- p. 7.4-6 *Doll...Greene*] The version of Greene's letter to his estranged wife printed in *GWW* is rather different (1592a: sig. F23<sup>r-v</sup>), but the version printed in *The Repentance of Robert Greene* is very similar: 'Sweet Wife, as ever there was any good will or friendship betweene thee and mee, see this

bearer (my Host) satisfied of his debt, I owe him tenne pound, and but for him I had perished on the streetes' (1592c: sig. D2<sup>v</sup>).

- p. 7.12-15 *I rather... God*] Harvey echoes Romans 6.1: 'Shall we continue in sinne, that grace may abound?'. Hibbard summarizes, 'He even goes so far as to say he hopes God will forgive Greene, while at the same time carefully indicating that he thinks it highly improbable' (1962: 193).
- p. 7.15 *blasphemously reviled God*] This seems to refer to Greene's life rather than his works. See *The Repentance of Robert Greene*: 'during all the time of his sicknesse [. . .] hee was never heard to sweare, rave, or blaspheme the name of God as he was accustomed to do' (Greene 1592c: sig. D2<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 7.15 *The dead bite not*] Tilley gives examples of 'Dead men bite not' from 1548 (M510).
- p. 7.17 *his fine... Dispute*] See p. 3.17-18.
- p. 7.32-33 *Here... parish*] These lines were referred to in *2 Parnassus* 179-80: Iudicio, a 'corrector of the presse', has been complaining of his trade and of 'the paper warres in Paules Church-yard'. He produces a copy of Anthony Munday's *Bel-vedere, or The Garden of the Muses*, on hearing the title of which Ingenioso exclaims 'What have we here? The Poett garish / Gayly bedeckt like forehorse of the Parishe' (Leishman 1949: 228-33).
- p. 7.33 *forehorse*] 'The foremost horse in a team' (*OED*), evidently during this period a byword for gaudiness: cf. 'hee will [. . .] sonnet a whole quire of paper in praise of [. . .] his yeolow fac'd Mistres, & weare a feather of her rainbeaten fan for a favor, like a fore-horse' (Nashe 1598: 1.169.9-12).
- p. 7.45-49 *And as... expectation*] Harvey in the Third Letter states his willingness to accept an apology and desire to meet Nashe (p. 21.11-14). As he does not identify by name from whom he expects an apology, it is not clear whether he means solely Nashe or all the (living) writers who have attacked him and his family (Lyly, Fraunce, etc).
- p. 7.49 *Promise is debt*] Proverbial (Tilley P603).
- p. 8.3-5 *The next... withall*] Harvey's printer (and possible employer), John Wolfe, specialised in news-pamphlets about current affairs in France (see p. 113.29-32 n., p. 151.25 & n.).
- p. 8.5 *employed*] Harvey uses this to mean 'busy' in his *Commonplace Book*: 'An imployed man, hath no leysure to be acowld in wynter [. . .] but ever goith cheerefully, and lustely thorowgh with all his enterprises, & affayres' (1913: 87.1). See also p. 54.25, p. 56.18.
- p. 8.5 *That... king*] Henri IV (1553-1610), raised as a Protestant by his mother, the Queen of Navarre; on the assassination of Henri III in 1589 he became King of France (*OER*). The death of the Duc d'Anjou in 1584 made him heir apparent, leading to the revival of the Catholic League, funded by Philip II: Henri's accession prompted civil war, with Henri supported by Elizabeth I (Buisseret 1972: 67-69, 75). In England, according to Anne Lake Prescott, 'Propaganda about him proliferated in the form of reports and poems (at first sometimes dedicated to Sidney or Leicester), creating an image for Henri not unlike that of a Spenserian knight, his victories and famous white plume noted with admiration' (Hamilton 1990: 121). For instance, Harvey owned a copy of du Bartas' *A Canticle of the victorie obtained by the French King, Henrie the Fourth, at Yvry* (1590, translated by Joshua Silvester) (Stern 1979: 234). Henri's conversion to Catholicism in July 1593 is mentioned by Harvey in *NL* (p. 159.7).

- p. 8.6 *Redoubted Parma***] Alessandro Farnese, Philip II's viceroy in the Low Countries. In *FQ* V.x.30, the 'Seneschall of dreaded might' whom Geryoneo makes his champion when oppressing Belge has been identified as Parma (Spenser 2001: 582 *n.*). Elizabeth I, in the declaration justifying her actions in the Low Countries, rebutted claims that she had plotted his death: 'he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable conceite, in respecte of those singular rare partes we alwaies have noted in him, which hath wonne unto him as great reputation, as any man this day living [. . .] no man hath dealt more honourable than the saide Prince, either in duely observing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie' (Elizabeth I 1585: sig. D2<sup>r-v</sup>). He died, fighting in France, three months after the writing of *FL*; this is one of the recent events alluded to in the 'Gorgon' sonnet in *NL* (see p. 159.3 *n.*).
- p. 8.10 *Earle of Essex***] Robert Devereux, the second earl (1565-1601), saw active service in the Low Countries under his stepfather Leicester in 1585-86. Subsequently he sailed with Drake and Norris (see below) in the 1589 expedition to Portugal, and commanded an expeditionary force sent to Normandy in 1591-92 (*ODNB*). For Gabriel and Richard Harvey's contacts with Essex, see the Introduction (pp. cv-cvii).
- p. 8.10 *sir John Norrice***] Sir John Norris (1547?-1597), a client of Leicester from the mid 1570s. He served in the Low Countries 1578-84 in the mercenary Anglo-German army partly subsidized by Elizabeth, then in 1585-87 took a prominent part in the official English campaign, being first 'colonel-general and governor of the Queen's forces' and then colonel-general of the foot when supplanted by Leicester. Leicester knighted him in 1586. He was also a prime mover in the 1589 expedition to Portugal and fought in Brittany 1591-94. According to D.J.B. Trim, his actions in the first Netherlands campaign brought him Europe-wide fame (*ODNB*). For news-pamphlets about his continental activities available to *FL*'s readers, see *STC* 18653, 18654.3, 18655. A.C. Hamilton (Spenser 2001: 590*n.*) and Anne Lake Prescott (Hamilton 1990: 121) suggest that the historical counterpart for Artegall in *FQ* V.xi (helping Sir Burbon win back Lady Flourdelis) could be either Essex or Norris. Leicester's failure in his campaign to take Norris's advice is one of the charges against him in *Leicester's Ghost* (Rogers 1972: 54).
- p. 8.11-12 *the Low countries***] Philip II's consolidation of power in his Burgundian territories meant that the Low Countries had been in revolt since the mid-1560s. In 1585, Elizabeth eventually succumbed to the pressure to intervene brought by Leicester and his faction (Gregory 2000: 367).
- p. 8.12 *Portugall***] The death in 1580 of the childless King Henry of Portugal sparked a succession crisis: Philip II's claim was challenged by the illegitimate Don António. In 1583 and 1589 Elizabeth I sent expeditions in support of António's claim (Clissold 1980: 46-47; Woodward 1992: 80-81).
- p. 8.13 *hast***] Harrison reads 'hath' (1922: 26), although three 'thee's on p. 8.14 would seem to indicate that Harvey is speaking in the second person.
- p. 8.15-19 *Were...fame?***] Cf. Barnes's reference in *PS* to Harvey's unpublished writings on 'the French King' (p. 43.45).

### The Third Letter

This is the longest of the letters in *FL*, and I have attempted broadly to summarize its main constituent parts:

- p. 9.1-39** Harvey explains his reasons for replying to *QUC*.
- p. 9.39 – p. 11.30** He explains the circumstances surrounding the publication of *3PL*, and what the consequences of this were for him.
- p. 11.30 – p. 14.3** He returns to the abuse of Greene and his writings.
- p. 14.3 – p. 22.47** He switches to the subject of *PP*, which is frequently quoted from.

**p. 9.5** *twelve...yeares*] The period since Harvey's last appearance in print. *3PL* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 30 June 1580, and *FL* on 4 December 1592 (Nashe 1958: 5.165, 173).

**p. 9.13** *fathers...brothers*] Brydges amends to 'father's and my brother's' (1815: pt. 4.13), which makes it appear that the reputation of only one of Harvey's brothers had been impugned. Cf., however, p. 5.31-32. All three of the Harvey brothers are mentioned in *QUC*, although of course any edition which Brydges could have seen would have been missing this passage: in his preface to *FL* he mentions only 'a contemptuous allusion to the station and character of HARVEY's father' (1815: pt. 4. sig. b<sup>r</sup>).

**p. 9.25-26** *I had...selfe*] According to R.B. McKerrow, 'Harvey merely means - others' (Nashe 1958: 4.176).

**p. 9.32** *rare birdes*] *OED* cites no instances of this phrase before 1890 (rare *a.*<sup>1</sup> 5d.); cf. p. 22.31-32 *n.*

**p. 9.33-34** *who ever...Foe*] Smith cites this as an instance of Harvey's references to Greene's 'penitential writings' (1904: 2.428), although Harvey does not claim a close acquaintance with Greene's works (p. 13.22-25). *Fortune my Foe* was a popular song: according to Peter J. Seng 'it was a tune used to march men to the gallows' (1967: 261). Supposing that a reflection on Greene is intended, Harvey would be enhancing the associations of Greene with criminality (cf. p. 6.12-14, p. 13.20-21, etc).

**p. 9.39** *Letters...divulged*] *3PL* is prefaced by an epistle 'To the Curteous Buyer, by a Welwiller of the two Authours', who claims 'it was my good happe [. . .] at the fourthe or fite hande, to bee made acquainted wyth the *three Letters following*, by meanes of a faithfull friende', and apologises to Spenser and Harvey 'if they thinke I have made them a faulte, in not making them privy to the Publication' (Spenser 1912: 610). Nashe in *SN* stated that the 'Welwiller' was Harvey himself, and that 'Spencer was no way privie to the committing of them to the print' (1958: 1.296.15-21, 4). The existence in Harvey's *Letter-Book* of a similar draft letter in Harvey's own holograph, as well as another letter to Spenser in which he complains of the publication by Spenser of some of his verses, rather confirms this (see Bennett 1931). Stern accepts Harvey's version of events, thinking that publication was initiated by Spenser and the printer, Henry Bynneman, without his knowledge (1979: 59-63). Moore sees both Spenser and Harvey as complicit (1926: 357).

- p. 9.39-41 *I was...conceit*] These seem to have been commonplace sentiments. Possibly Saunders has this passage in mind when he cites Harvey as an instance of a Tudor author by whom 'Youth was adopted as a plea in defence of light poetry' (1951: 144 n.). As Hibbard notes, Harvey's anti-Nashe tracts are a return to the writing of satire (1962: 190).
- p. 9.45-46 *the preposterous... directed*] In the second of the three letters, Harvey tells 'Immerito' of affairs at Cambridge (see Spenser 1912: 620-22). In the words of Woudhuysen, the account 'damns Cambridge's superficiality. Anything French or Italian is fashionable as much in politics as in literature' (1980: 172). Gerald Snare argues that Harvey is not only referring here to the studies of 'Cambridge scholars' but to the wealth of pamphlets and ballads occasioned by the earthquake of April 1580: he notes how similar the title of Harvey's treatise, 'A pleasant and pitthy familiar discourse, of the Earthquake in Aprill last', is to that of a pamphlet by Thomas Twyne licensed on April 11, *A short and Pithie Discourse, concerning the Engendering, tokens and effects of all Earthquakes in Generall* (1970: 18, 20, 23n.).
- p. 9.47 *touch the ulcer*] Cf. *Hamlet* IV.7.122, where Claudius, who has been digressing, says 'But to the quick of th'ulcer'; Jenkins glosses, 'the heart of the trouble' (Shakespeare 1982: 371).
- p. 9.50-51 *our...commendation*] The Chancellor of Cambridge in 1580 was William Cecil; Harvey's letter thanking him for his endorsement is still extant (Stern 1979: 53).
- p. 10.1 *the olde...dye*] Harvey puns on the name of John Foxe (or Fox) (1516-87), the English martyrologist whose *Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous dayes...* was published in 1563. J.B. Mullinger's citation of this passage rather gives the impression that Anthony Wingfield, who won the Oratorship, is the fox in question (*DNB* art. Harvey). Nashe however interpreted this as being 'Doctour Perne', i.e. Andrew Perne (1519?-1589), master of Peterhouse and Dean of Ely (1958: 1.295.1). Mullinger describes Perne as Harvey's 'friend': cf. however p. 11.11-15, which would tend to give the impression that Perne was one of those whom Harvey had attacked in *3PL*. In *PS* Harvey expatiates at length on Perne's vulpine nature: the passage dealing with him uses the word 'fox' 29 times (p. 129.4-136.5). Perne was actually mentioned in *Acts and Monuments*, as Marprelate points out in *Epistle* (p. 10).
- p. 10.2 *overslip*] Alone of Harvey's editors Grosart reads 'overfly' (1884-85: 1.179), but *OED* cites instances, in the sense of 'To pass over without notice', from c. 1400 (*OED* overslip v. 1a). *OED*'s sole instance of 'overfly' in the 'rare' sense of 'To pass over, omit, skip' (v. 1 †b) is Grosart's mistranscription.
- p. 10.8 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 10.9-10 *after...eares*] Biller (1969: 26b) cites *Taming of the Shrew* IV.3.75, where Katherina says: 'Your betters have endur'd me say my mind, / And if you cannot, best you stop your ears. / My tongue will tell the anger of my heart, / Or else my heart concealing it will break, / And rather than it shall, I will be free / Even to the uttermost, as I please, in words'.
- p. 10.11 *Immerito*] The name with which Spenser signs the envoy to the otherwise anonymously published *SC*, and his name in *3PL*; Brooks-Davies translates as '(1) undeserving; (2) guiltless' (1995: 17).



- p. 10.12 *Gascoignes Steele glasse*] i.e. the severest scrutiny. *The Steele Glas* is a satirical blank-verse poem by George Gascoigne surveying the various ‘estates’: the titular unsparing mirror ‘shewes, all things in their degree’ (1907-10: 2.149). Perhaps with reference to Gascoigne’s reputation as a notorious evil liver, Richard Harvey in his epistle to *LG* wrote ‘*Medice cura teipsum* [physician heal thyself]: *Gascoigne* may see himselfe in his owne Steele Glasse’ (1590b: sig. a2<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 10.13 *either...Demonstrative*] Harvey presumably (capital ‘D’ aside) is using ‘demonstrative’ in the adjectival sense of ‘Setting forth or describing with praise or censure’ (*OED* a. 2). *OED* cites as an instance ‘The oracion demonstrative, standeth either in praise, or dispraise of some one man, or of some one thyng, or of some one deede doen’ (Wilson 1567: fol. 6<sup>r</sup>). So Harvey would mean that Spenser was equally indifferent to praise or blame. Cf. *Spenser’s* encomium of *him* in the sonnet that closes *FL* (p. 37.26-27).
- p. 10.15-16 *it was...handes*] ‘Sinister’ in its sense of ‘Portending or indicating misfortune or disaster’ was originally used to denote ‘omens seen on the left hand, which was regarded as the unlucky side’ (*OED* a. 6a.).
- p. 10.19 *When...patience*] Cf. Smith 597: ‘Patience is the best medicine (remedy)’. One of Smith’s examples is from Florio’s *First Fruites*: ‘There is no remedie, but patience’.
- p. 10.21 *certaine...persons*] Woudhuysen comments that these persons ‘sound suspiciously like Leicester and Sidney’ (1980: 178). Cf. p. 130.7-8 & n.
- p. 10.23-24 *that...Mother*] Cf. *FQ* IV.xi.34.7, where Spenser refers to ‘My mother Cambridge’.
- p. 10.27-29 *these extraordinarie...conceale*] Sigs I4<sup>r</sup>-S3<sup>v</sup> of *PS* (pp. 77-106 of this edition) are what Harvey calls ‘an old censure’ of Lyly, which he prints because ‘Tom-Penniles now [is] so like Papp-hatchet, when the time was’ (p. 75.27-28); it is dated ‘fift of November: 1589’ (p. 106.48).
- p. 10.30 *obscure...Vulcane*] ‘Vulcanus [. . .] a god of the ancients who presided over fire [. . .] It was usual, in the sacrifices that were offered to him, to burn the whole victim, and not reserve part of it, as in the immolations to the rest of the gods’ (Lemprière). Harvey is punning on two senses of the word ‘obscure’: ‘Dark, dim; gloomy, dismal’ and ‘not illustrious or famous’ (*OED* A *adj.* 1a, 6a). Cf. Richard Harvey in *LG* (‘let not *Martin* or *Nash*, or any such famous obscure man [. . .] presume overmuch of my patience’) (quoted Nashe 1958: 5.180) and p. 23.44, where the other sense in play is ‘Unenlightened, benighted’ (*OED* A *adj.* 1b).
- p. 10.32 *comparison*] Perhaps used in the sense of ‘Rivalry, contention’ (*OED* sb. †7). Cf. however Nashe’s description of Harvey’s trying ‘to over-crow me with comparative tearmes’; McKerrow suggests ‘derogatory’ (1958: 1.262.7, 5.241). A.R. Humphreys glosses the nominal use of the word in *1 Henry IV* III.2.67 (‘every beardless vain comparative’) as ‘dealer in insults’ (Shakespeare 1960: 104). So the sense here might be ‘abuse’. This raises the possibility of wordplay on p. 14.1.
- p. 10.33 *Saturnist*] ‘One born under the influence of the planet Saturn; a saturnine person’ (*OED*). Cf. Greene’s *Francescoes Fortunes*: ‘hee is no *Saturnist* to beare anger long, hee is soone hot and soone colde’; the ‘Anatomie of Saturnistes’ in Greene’s *Planetomachia* explains in more detail the qualities attributed to such people (Greene 1881-86: 8.135, 5.49-51).
- p. 10.36-38 *It goeth...mention*] See Appendix C, 27-28. According to Genesis 4.21-22, Jubal ‘was the father of suche as handle harpe and Organe’, and his brother Tubal-cain ‘wrought cunningly every

craft of brasse and of iron'. Greene may however have put the mistake into the Ropemaker's mouth deliberately (see Appendix C, 17).

- p. 10.38-39 *whereof...Acts*] Biller glosses, 'The men who accomplished the most "Heroicall Acts" of antiquity "did not scorn" to have their deeds chronicled in hexameter poetry' (1969: 28b). However, it is as admirers rather than subjects of this verse than Alexander and Augustus are cited. Alexander kept Aristotle's edition of the *Iliad* under his pillow and, when presented with a valuable coffer from the spoils taken from Darius, decided to keep Homer's epic in this (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, VIII, XXVI). His admiration for Homer was well-known in Harvey's day. For allusions see Sidney's *Defence* (1966: 57.4-6), *IParnassus* 1201-05 (Leishman 1949: 192-93), *SC* (Spenser 1995: 168-69), *Basilikon Doron* (James VI 1599: sig. B<sup>r</sup>), etc. For Augustus' patronage of Virgil, see Puttenham (1936: 16, 54-56); Webbe describes the subject of Virgil's first eclogue as 'the great benefittes he receyved at Augustus hand' (1870: 73).
- p. 10.44-49 *If I never...shifters*] McKerrow says of this passage 'this can surely not be considered as a boast: it is merely a fair retort – "If Greene chooses to call me the inventor of English Hexameters, that is at least a much more honourable title than any to which he can lay claim." [...] Harvey neither accepts nor repudiates Greene's description of him' (1958: 4.179). In *SN*, Nashe says of the phrases 'the Scrivener of Crossebiters, the Patriark of Shifters', 'still he fetcheth Metaphors from Conny-catchers' (1958: 1.299.23-29). It is not noted by *OED*, but 'patriarch' clearly had a specific meaning in 'rogue' literature, meaning someone with a particular status in the criminal underworld (see Judges 1965: 55).
- p. 10.45 *learned M. Stanihurst*] Richard Stanihurst (or Stanyhurst) (1547-1618) published *The first fovre Bookes of Virgil his Aeneis, intoo English Heroicall Verse* (1582). In his epistle 'To The Learned Reader' he acknowledges himself an admirer of 'M. G. Harve' and the theories of prosody he had espoused 'in one of his familiar letters' (Stanyhurst 1583: sig. [A6]<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 10.46-47 *excellent...Arcadia*] Perhaps Harvey means the verses beginning 'Unto a caitiff wretch whom long affliction holdeth [...]', which Musidorus writes to Pamela, and which Victor Skretkowicz compares to Webbe and Fraunce's poetry (Sidney 1987: 311-14, 558-59).
- p. 10.47 *The greene...Arte*] Biller glosses, 'A play upon the words *Robert Greene, Master of Arts*, the author's "by-line." Probably this is also an allusion to the cony-catching cant-term, "black art," which Greene defines as "lock-picking"' (1969: 29a). It is perhaps unwise to read too much into this piece of parallelism. Cf. p. 103.31 ('The white son of the Black Art'). There Harvey's target is Lyly, so perhaps there is no specific application here.
- p. 10.48 *the father...Infortunatus*] G. Gregory Smith feels this might refer either to 'Greene's own penitential writings' or to 'Nash, whose first literary effort, the Preface to Greene's *Menaphon* [...] was written by Greene's request' (1904: 2.428). He does not reproduce the passage in the Second Letter where Harvey talks of Greene's 'base sonne *Infortunatus*' (p. 6.15).
- p. 11.1 *where he...Constantinople*] Presumably an ironic disclaimer along the lines of 'I am a Jew if [...]'. To Englishmen of this period the Turkish capital 'was invested with all the glamour of the East' (Sugden); in *Faustus* Scene 8 39, Mephostophilis complains that the clowns' spells have brought him all the way from Constantinople (Marlowe 1987-98: 2.31).

**p. 11.1** *Sir James Croft*] Towards the end of the ‘Pleasant and pitthy familiar discourse’, Harvey diverts the course of his diatribe from Cambridge affairs in general to an individual with the words ‘And wil you needes have my Testimoniall of your olde Controllers new behavior?’ The passage is brief but fairly bitter (‘a morning bookeworm, an afternoone maltworm [. . .] He often telleth me, he looveth me as himselfe, but out lyar out, thou lyeest abhominably in thy throate’ (Spenser 1912: 621-22). Croft (d. 1590) became comptroller of the queen’s household in January 1569-70 (*ODNB*); literally, therefore, ‘A household officer whose duty was primarily to check expenditure and so to manage in general; a steward’ (*OED* controller 2). The sense in which Harvey uses the word in *3PL* (and for clarification on p. 11.12) is presumably ‘One who takes to task, calls in question, reproves, or censures; a censorious critic’ (*OED* 3). It is perhaps significant that, as Eleanor Rosenberg points out, Croft was ‘a member of the pro-Spanish faction which opposed the policies of Leicester’s party’ (1955: 333).

**p. 11.4** *M. Secretary Wilson*] Thomas Wilson (1523/4-1581), humanist and administrator; in 1577 he became a member of the privy council and one of Elizabeth’s two principal secretaries. Formerly Leicester’s tutor, he seems to have supported his policies in council and as an MP, endorsing intervention against Spain in the Netherlands and pressing for the execution of Mary Stuart. Susan Doran and Jonathan Woolfson call his 1570 English translation of Demosthenes’ *Orationes* ‘a thinly disguised political allegory suggesting the virtues of an interventionist foreign policy: the tyrant Philip II of Macedon is implicitly compared to Philip II of Spain’ (*ODNB*). When Barnes in *PS* praises Wilson’s writings (p. 45.19), he probably means his tracts on logic and rhetoric, *The Rule of Reason* and *The Art of Rhetorike*. Harvey’s annotated copies of both are extant, and in some marginalia he notes that they were ‘the dailie bread of ovr common pleaders, and discourses’ (Stern 1979: 239).

**p. 11.4** *Sir Walter Mildmay*] Walter Mildmay (1520/21-1589), administrator, was made chancellor of the exchequer in 1559, and entered the privy council in 1566. Brother-in-law to Walsingham, his Protestantism is revealed in the temporary eclipse of his political career under Mary, and his foundation in 1584 of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, which L.L. Ford calls ‘firmly puritan in outlook’ (*ODNB*). Harvey’s connection with him seems to have dated from his time as an undergraduate: in 1568, Mildmay founded six scholarships at Christ’s College, one of which seems to have been awarded to Harvey. He also dedicates *Smithus; vel musarum lachrymae* (1578) to him (Stern 1979: 11).

**p. 11.10** *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 n.

**p. 11.13-14** *plaided...me*] Tricked me: literally ‘fast and loose’ was a game (see *OED* fast and (†or) loose a, b).

**p. 11.15** *Onely he wished me to*] Perhaps ‘his sole request was that I should [. . .]’. Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing* II.1.128, where Beatrice says of Benedick, ‘only his gift is in devising impossible slanders’; Humphreys glosses, ‘his sole gift’ (Shakespeare 1981b: 116 n.). See Abbott 1870: 310 for other examples.

**p. 11.17-19** *he was none... provision*] See Appendix B, 5-13. R. Warwick Bond notes ‘The origin of Lyly’s ten years’ grudge with Harvey, of which this first slander of him to Oxford is the first sign,

remains obscure': he glosses 'lambacke' as to 'beat or bastinado' (Lyly 1902: 3.400, 579-80). In fact Lyly nowhere names Oxford in *PWH*, so his attempt 'to currie favour with a noble Earle' (p. 75.33) must have taken some other form. The pamphlet was published anonymously, but in *PS* Harvey identifies Lyly by name as the writer (p. 77.5-6). They would seem to have been on friendly terms at one point: Harvey says he addressed Lyly 'like a frend [. . .] for in truth I looved him' (p. 77.37-38). Lyly proceeded M.A. from Cambridge in 1579 (*DNB*).

**p. 11.20-21** *the Mirroure of Tuscanismo*] The second of Harvey's letters in *3PL* contains a poem entitled 'Speculum Tuscanismi', which he describes as a 'bolde Satyriall [*sic*] Libell lately devised at the instaunce of a certayne worshipfull Hartefordshyre Gentleman' (Spenser 1912: 625-26). Alan H. Nelson indentifies Oxford as the Italianate Englishman caricatured in the poem, calling the compliments paid to him by Harvey in *Gratulationum Valdinensium* in 1578 'conventional' (*ODNB*). See p. 77.12-13 *n*.

**p. 11.24-25** *hee...Cambridge*] Harvey matriculated at Christ's in 1566, gaining his Baccalaureate in 1569/70 (Stern 1979: 10-12).

**p. 11.26-27** *my Cosen...Ireland*] Thomas Smith (1547-73) was illegitimate son of Sir Thomas Smith, the scholar and statesman (*ODNB*). For details of the privately-funded colonial venture in Ulster on which he embarked in 1571, see Morgan 1985: 261-67; Oxford's gift to Harvey must have happened in late 1570 or early 1571 (Jardine 1993: 65). Nashe interprets the relationship with Smith to which Harvey lays claim as 'kinsman' (1958: 3.58.4-5), although Jardine assumes that 'Cosen' here means 'intellectual companion and close friend' (1993: 65). This sense is not in *OED*, although the word was used loosely (cousin *sb.* †1). Biller understands 'colonel' here as 'head of the colony' (1969: 31a), a use also not in *OED*, although it seems to have been shared by Spenser and the elder Smith (Jardine 1993: 73).

The elder Smith (1513-77), like Harvey a native of Saffron Walden, held various offices under Edward VI and Elizabeth, succeeding William Cecil as secretary of the Privy Council (*ODNB*). Harvey's *Smithus, vel Musarum Lachrymae* (1578) appeared five months after his death: it takes the form of a series of laments by each of the Muses in turn, emphasizing his polymathic nature (Stern 1979: 39). Nashe says of Harvey's 'boasting' of his relationship with Smith, 'which word *kinsman* I wonderd he causd not to be set in great capitall letters' (1958: 3.58.3-6), suggesting how much prestige Harvey's apparently offhand mention of the connection seems intended to invoke. However, the frequent references to Smith in Harvey's marginalia suggest that the praise of Smith in his printed works (e.g. p. 30.16-17) is not merely conventional. Grafton calls him 'a man whose combination of humanistic training and political involvement seemed exemplary to Harvey' (1990: 12).

**p. 11.29** *that Fleeting... other*] See Appendix C, 29-30. Jason Scott-Warren not only accepts Greene's story of Harvey's being 'orderly clapt in the Fleete' at Oxford's displeasure but claims that an earlier incarceration took place at Croft's (*ODNB* art. Harvey). His source for this is perhaps Nashe's version of events in *HWY*: 'Syr James a Croft, the olde Controwler, ferrited him out, and had him under hold in the Fleete a great while, taking that to be aimde & leveld against him, because he cald

- him his olde Controwler, which he had most venemously belched against Doctour *Perne*' (1958: 3.78.25).
- p. 11.29-30 *a thing of nothing*] When, in *Hamlet* IV.2.27-29, the Prince calls Claudius this, Harold Jenkins glosses, 'a common phrase [. . .] a thing of no account' (Shakespeare 1982: 339).
- p. 11.40 *Tully*] Cf. Harvey's comments on Cicero's 'eloquent self-love' below (p. 38.33-34).
- p. 11.40 *Cato*] For the elder Cato's habit of praising himself, see Plutarch, *Life of Marcus Cato*, XIX.
- p. 11.40 *Marius*] 'A valiaunt man, descended of a poore stock [. . .] At the last coming to Rome, and geving hymselfe to warrefare, he behaved hymselfe so valiauntly, that after other offices he ascended to be Consul' (Cooper). Possibly Harvey has in mind Marius' boasting of his military achievements after being made consul for the first time (Plutarch, *Life of Caius Marius*, IX).
- p. 11.40 *Scipio*] '*P. Cor. Scipio*, for vanquishing Anniball, and the people of Africa, was named *Scipio Africanus Maior*' (Cooper). Being charged by the tribunes with a serious offence, he appeared personally on the Rostra to answer, winning over the crowd by reminding them of his victories (Livy, XXXVIII.L.4-LI.14). Harvey in some marginalia cites Scipio's answering of his accusers 'with A good grace' as an example of 'A persuasible, & importunate Sollicitour' (1913: 143-44).
- p. 11.43-44 *suffer...himsel[e]*] Cf. Harvey's 'Commonplace Book': 'Envy shootith at other: but hittith, and woundith herself' (1913: 103.30).
- p. 11.44-45 *the silly...candle*] Proverbial: cf. 'The fly that plays too long in the candle, singes his wings at last' and its variants, from 1565 (*OEDP*).
- p. 11.47 *to pocket up infamies*] 'To pocket up an injury' was proverbial (Tilley 170, giving examples from 1589).
- p. 12.14 *my brother...Legend*] See Appendix C, 19-23.
- p. 12.19 *running Head*] Harvey's sense in the sentence as a whole refers to Greene's prolificity as a writer: *OED* cites a use of 'running' from 1626 as (when applied to a writer) 'fluent' (*OED ppl. a. II* 11 †b). However, if his point is how often Greene appears in print, there may be a pun on 'running-head', 'a short title or headline placed at the top of the page' (*OED running ppl. a. IV* 16b; but the earliest instance is from 1668).
- p. 12.20-21 *new...maker?*] Harvey uses a hawkers' street-cry to emphasize the mechanistic nature of Greene's output: see Chapter Two of the Introduction.
- p. 12.22 *Green...three*] 'The "four" are obviously John Harvey and his eldest three sons; the "three" are Gabriel, Richard and John the younger. Their father evidently could not be considered "learned"' (Stern 1979: 96n.).
- p. 12.24-26 *Thanke...utterance*] Brydges comments, 'Here is a direct charge against Greene as a plagiarist from the Italians, from whom probably the stories of some of his novels were taken: a charge, which, if true, he only incurred in common with the most eminent of his countrymen, both of his own time, and preceding ages' (1815: pt. 4. fol. [3]'). Greene took the plot of *James the Fourth* not from Scottish history but from Giraldi Cinthio's *Hecatomithi* (see Creizenach 1885); the epistle dedicatory to *The Royal Exchange* acknowledges that it was translated from 'an Italian Pamphlet [. . .] called *La Burza Reale*' (1881-86: 7.222). In the 'life' included in *The Repentance of*

*Robert Greene*, Greene is described as travelling to Italy as a student (1592c: sig. C1<sup>r-v</sup>), which whether true or not perhaps says something of his reputation.

p. 12.24 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 n.

p. 12.27-28 *the two... Calumnie*] Biller sees this as a reference to Zoilus and Thersites, comparing p. 4.35-37 (1969: 34b). Cf., however, Cicero, *De Legibus*, II.xi.28: ‘at Athens [. . .] they established a temple to Disgrace and Insolence’ (1928: 404-05). N.R.E. Fisher argues that the ‘altars’ in the Athenian Areopagos (where the Council of the Areopagos met as a homicide court) were actually unworked stones. The stone of *Hybris* (Cicero’s *contumelia*) was where the accused stood, and the stone of *Anaideia* (*inpuidentia* or ‘Impudencie’) the prosecutor: *Anaideia* Fisher translates not as ‘Shamelessness’ but ‘Ruthlessness’ (1992: 199).

p. 12.32-34 *he that... facultie*] John Harvey (1564-92) received his license to practise medicine from Cambridge in 1587 (ODNB).

p. 12.39-40 *that sweet... Cignet*] E.K. glosses SC October 90, ‘it is said of the learned that the swan, a little before her death, singeth most pleasantly, as prophesying by a secret instinct her near destiny’ (Spenser 1995: 169). For contemporary allusions to the belief that swans sing just before their death, see *Othello* V.2.248-49, *King John* V.7.21-24, *Merchant of Venice* III.2.43-45; for the classical myth see Arnott 1977.

p. 12.40-41 *ô frater... cælos*] ‘Oh brother, Christ is the best physician, and my only physician. Farewell Galen, farewell human knowledge: (there is) nothing divine on Earth except the soul aspiring towards Heaven.’ The name of the physician Claudius Galenus (131-201 A.D.) may here be used synecdochically for all scientific knowledge: according to Lemprière ‘He wrote no less than 300 volumes, and from these was drawn the whole knowledge possessed by the world, from the third to the sixteenth century, of physiology and biology, together with most of the anatomy, much of the botany, and all ideas of the physical structures of living things’.

p. 12.44-45 *I know... last*] Harman comments, ‘If any reader can tell me what “I know not by what destinie hee followed him first that foled him last” ...means, I shall be very much obliged to him’ (1923: 61). All Harvey’s editors (even Brydges) have retained ‘foled’; as the context is Greene’s death soon after his attack on the dead John Harvey, ‘fooled’ might be a plausible alternate reading. Harvey uses the form ‘sone’ for ‘soon’ (p. 10.8), and the interchangeable spellings of ‘fool’ and ‘foal’ seem to be punned on in *PS* (p. 117.16). For Greene calling John Harvey a fool, see Appendix C, 24.

p. 12.45-46 *his ghostly mother Isam*] A ‘ghostly father’ is a confessor (*OED* ghostly *a.* 1c); Harvey means the landlady who attended Greene’s deathbed (see p. 6.41).

p. 12.49 *prejudice*] Either ‘To affect injuriously or unfavourably’ or possibly, given that Harvey claims not to have read Greene’s works (p. 13.22-25), ‘To judge beforehand’ (*OED* *v.* I 1, II †2). *OED* cites a phrase from Harvey’s *Letter-Book* as an instance of the first sense.

p. 12.51 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 n.

p. 13.4 *Epitaphes...devises*] It is unclear whether Harvey is referring to published works, works circulating in manuscript, mentions of Greene in conversation, or whether he is merely speaking figuratively. Warren B. Austin, despite acknowledging that ‘Harvey [. . .] produced a “scoop” in the

form of a newspanphlet which was rushed to the bookstalls within four or five days of Greene's death', suggests that this phrase may refer to published works about Greene which are no longer extant (presumably he accepts McKerrow's theory about the separate printing of the Second Letter) (1955: 376). In this context, it may not be irrelevant that in *HWY* Nashe mentions an associate of Harvey's, 'one *Valentine Bird*, that writ against *Greene*', whose works are no longer extant (1958: 3.132.26, 4.368-69).

- p. 13.5 *The second...London*] J.P. Collier, inferring from specific uses of the word 'Toy' in *SLW* 'that the name of the actor who played the part of Will Summer was *Toy*', says with reference to this phrase 'Except from supposing that there was an actor of this name, it is not very easy to explain the [...] expressions by Gabriel Harvey, as applied to Greene, in his *Four Letters and certain Sonnets*, 1592, the year when Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* was performed' (quoted Nashe 1958: 4.435-36). Grosart seconds this (Harvey 1884-85: 3.199).
- p. 13.5 *the Stale of Poules*] Here, and throughout these texts, Paul's Churchyard is understood as the centre of the print trade. 'It was, and is, surrounded by shops, which in Elizabethan times were mostly in the occupation of booksellers' (Sugden).
- p. 13.5 *the Ape of Euphues*] A.H. Bullen, commenting that 'The style of his first romance, "Mamillia", is closely modelled on "Euphues", and all his love-pamphlets bear traces of Lyly's influence', cites this phrase (*DNB* art. Greene).
- p. 13.9-10 *Omne...dulci*] This tag appears on the title-pages of four of Greene's works: *Arbusto, the Anatomie of Fortune* (1584), *Perimedes* (1588), *Orpharion* (1589/90) and *Neuer too Late* (1590) (*DNB*). The quotation is from Horace's *Ars Poetica* 343: Fairclough translates 'He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure' (1929: 479).
- p. 13.12 *a Travailer*] *OED* defines 'travailer' as 'One who travails or labours; † one who torments or harasses', citing examples from 1377. Brydges (1815: pt. 4.21) and Collier (1870: 30-31), by reading 'traveller', remove the ambiguity. The two words were spelt interchangeably at this period: in Danett's translation of de Commynes, Louis XI is called 'the greatest traveller to win a man that might do him service or harme that ever I knew' (1596: 33); in *Leicester's Ghost* the Earl addresses the 'poore Travayler that passes by' (Rogers 1972: 78). For Greene's travels see p. 12.24-26 *n*.
- p. 13.13 *a Player*] Ingleby states that this 'means a gamester or gambler – not an actor or playwright' (1874: xxxvi).
- p. 13.13 *Gay-nothing*] Not in *OED*, but cf. Richard Harvey in *LG*, referring to 1 Kings 22.23: 'that false spirit, that flew into the mouths of *Ahabs* prophets, and blew all their roofes to a goodly and new gay nothing' (1590b: 157).
- p. 13.15 *Image of Idlenes*] *A little treatyse called the Image of Idlenesse* went through four editions between 1555 and 1581: it has been suggested as a possible source for *The Taming of the Shrew* (Maslen 2003: 25-27). Purporting to be 'Translated out of the Troyane or Cornyshe tounge by Olyuer Oldwanton', it consists of fifteen letters dealing with the attempts of 'Bawdin Bachelor' and his friends to find Bawdin a wife. Michael Flachmann interprets the title as 'a "picture" or "portrait" of "pure foolishness"' (the author uses dramatic irony in letting Bawdin unwittingly reveal the reasons why potential wives may not see him as the catch that he thinks he is) (1990: 3, 7).

- p. 13.16 *Vanitas...vanitas*] ‘All is but most wayne vanitie’ (Ecclesiastes 1.2).
- p. 13.29 *Tullies sweete Offices*] A standard way of Anglicizing Cicero’s *De Officiis*. See *SN* (Nashe 1558: 1.302.7), Guy 1988: 421, etc. Because of its emphasis on involvement in civic duty, this was a key text for humanists: for its influence on More’s *Utopia*, see Guy 2000: 85.
- p. 13.30 *the delicate...Plato*] Cooper calls Xenophon a ‘philosopher of Athens, disciple of Socrates, and was also a noble and politike captaine [. . .] He made moste excellent workes, replenished with suche kynde of wysedome and doctrine, that to the instruction of a prince, none may be compared unto hym’ (Cooper). Harvey in some marginalia compares his and Plato’s dialogues favourably to Lucian’s (1913: 116.3-4); in *3PL* he expresses horror that among Cambridge students the two are ‘reckned amongst Discoursers, and conceited Superficiall fellowes’ (Spenser 1912: 621). Spenser in the epistle to Raleigh appended to *FQ* compares the two (2001: 716.25-28).
- p. 13.34 *Isocrates pithy instructions*] Cooper calls Isocrates ‘a famous oratour, of woonderfull eloquence: out of whose schoole proceeded the most excellent oratours of Greece’. Harvey perhaps has in mind his *Ad Demonicum oratio paraenetica*, which Bennett calls ‘a letter [. . .] to the young son of a friend [. . .] largely made up of a string of precepts, or maxims [. . .] a schoolbook as familiar to an Elizabethan audience as Cato’s *Distichs* and Cicero’s *Offices*’ (1953: 4-5). For evidence of its popularity with Elizabethans, see Bennett 1953 and Hunter 1957; both note its use as source material for, amongst others, Polonius’ advice to Laertes and in the two *Euphues* books.
- p. 13.34 *Guicciardines...Historie*] The *Storia d’Italia* of Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540) was translated into English in 1579 by Geoffrey Fenton (1539?-1608) with a dedication to Elizabeth I; it was reprinted in 1599 and 1618. According to Andrew Hadfield it ‘narrated the conflicts between the various Italian city states and their allies between 1490 and 1534 and was a major work of European history. Fenton’s translation had a significant influence on English historiography’ (*ODNB*). Lionel Henry Cust thinks it probably Fenton’s translation to which Harvey is referring (*DNB* art. Fenton), but the evidence would seem to show that this was very much in request in 1592. The previous year T. Purfoote had printed *A briefe collection or epitomie of all the notable and material things contained in the hystorie of Guicchiardine* (*STC* 12461): the author’s name was ‘suppressed’.
- p. 13.34 *Ariostos golden Cantoos*] *Orlando furioso* (1532) by Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1553) has as its hero Roland, one of Charlemagne’s knights. In *3PL*, Harvey mentions Spenser’s stated intent to ‘emulate’ and ‘overgo’ the Italian epic (Spenser 1912: 628): for its influence on *FQ*, see Hamilton 1990: 56-57. Some marginalia of Harvey’s in his copy of Guazzo’s *Civil Conversation* (1581) indicate that at some point he had read Harington’s 1591 translation (1913: 288).
- p. 13.34-36 *the Countesse...Queene*] Victor Skretkowicz interprets ‘queasy stomachs’ as ‘readers of shifting taste’ (Sidney 1987: xliii). Biller comments, ‘The *Arcadia* was another title for Robert Greene’s *Menaphon* (1589)’ (1969: 39a), and compares some marginalia: ‘the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia, & the Faerie Queen ar now freshest in request’ (1913: 232.15). In *Every Man Out of his Humour*, II.3.224-28, Greene’s works are compared to Sidney’s in terms similar to Harvey’s, Sidney’s having lasting prestige and Greene being merely a briefly popular author (Jonson 1925-52: 3.477).



- p. 13.38 *Experience...fooles*] Proverbial from 1568 - *ODEP* cites Ascham's *Scholemaster*: 'Erasmus [. . .] saide wiselie that experience is the common scholehouse of foles'.
- p. 13.43-44 *better...infected*] Ovid was exiled to Tomi, on the shores of the Euxine (i.e. the Black Sea), 36 miles from the mouth of the Danube. His petitions, and his friends' on his behalf, were ignored and he died in exile after seven or eight years (Lemprière). Ovid alludes to the cause of his exile in *Tristia* II.103-10, II.207-36, III.vi.27-36 and *Ex Ponto* III.iii.65-76. More serious than his erotic verse was evidently his witnessing something about which he had mistakenly spoken. McKerrow notes that 'it has usually been held that Ovid witnessed some crime committed by a member of Augustus's household' (Nashe 1958: 4.172). However, Renaissance authors frequently blame Augustus' banishment of him entirely on his indecent poetry, as Harvey seems to: see Vives 1529: sig. F<sup>r-v</sup>, Agrippa 1569: fol. 95<sup>r</sup>, *Martine Mar-Sixtus* (R.W. 1591: sig. A3<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 13.37-38 *the wittier...Nilus*] 'The dogs were said to run along as they drank for fear of the crocodiles' (Sugden). Whitney makes it a symbol of restraint (1586: 125), as Harvey does of disdain.
- p. 13.45 *Mercury*] He is presumably cited as 'God of eloquence' (Cooper). Stern notes that Harvey in his marginalia uses the planetary symbol for Mercury as a 'symbol for eloquence' (1979: 141). As the messenger of the gods, Mercury with his winged heels also epitomised speed, e.g. *Richard III* IV.3.53: 'Delay leads impotent and snail-paced beggary. / Then fiery expedition be my wing, / Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king!'
- p. 13.47 *the neue Spanish industry*] Philip II's troops were at this point fighting in France (see p. 8.5) and the Low Countries (see p. 8.11-12). It was not only Protestant Englishmen like Puttenham who decried the 'immeasurable ambition of the Spaniards' (1936: 105): in 1589 Pope Sixtus V told his legate in France 'The preservation of the Catholic religion which is the principal aim of the Pope is only a pretext for His Majesty whose principal aim is the security and aggrandisement of his dominions' (Lynch 1981: 1.273). His successor, Clement VIII, believed that Philip wanted to establish a universal monarchy (Woodward 1992: 76).
- p. 13.49 *Onely I request*] 'My sole request is': see p. 11.15 n.
- p. 14.5 *gnash*] McKerrow calls this 'a manifest allusion to the author of *Pierce Penilesse*' (Nashe 1958: 5.84).
- p. 14.5-6 *Terrible...hornes*] 'A curst cow has short horns': proverbial from c. 1475 (*ODEP*).
- p. 14.7-8 *Like...none*] Cf. *PWH*: 'Neither court, nor countrie that shalbe free, I am like Death, Ile spare none' (Lyly 1902: 3.401). Will Sommer (d. 1560) was fool to Henry VIII. Little is concretely known about his life. According to Sidney Lee, tradition reports his amusing the King 'by playing practical jokes on Cardinal Wolsey' (*DNB*). In an anecdote in his *Arte of Rhetorike*, Thomas Wilson has 'Willyam Somer' calling the 'Auditours, Surveighours, and Receivers' of the exchequer 'Frauditours [. . .] Conveighers, and [. . .] Deceivers' for appropriating the King's money (1567: fol. 102<sup>v</sup>). Sommer appears as the chorus in *SLW* ('Sommers', 'Summer' and 'Summers' being among the variant spellings of his name). McKerrow, estimating the date of performance, thinks from various allusions in the text that this was written in September and October of 1592, with additions made later (Nashe 1958: 4.417-18).

Billier, who is unaware of the echo of Lyly, thinks Harvey's phrase a specific reference to Nashe's play (1969: 40a). As this was written to be performed (there is no evidence that it *was* ever performed) privately at the country house of a nobleman (possibly Archbishop Whitgift's house in Croydon), whether Harvey could have heard about the play by 9 September 1592 (p. 22.45) is debatable. McKerrow notes that allusions to Sommer in text of this period 'are very numerous' (Nashe 1958: 4.420). In Samuel Rowley's play about Henry VIII, *When you see me, You know me* (1605), Sommer is, like Lear's fool, an isolated teller of truth in a court full of flatterers, and he fulfils this function in anecdotes in *Defence of Conny-Catching* (Greene 1881-86: 11.70-71) and *Good Newes and Bad Newes* (Rowlands 1622: sig. A3<sup>v</sup>). Harvey seems to position him as a crude jester with no respect for authority, not unlike the author of *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, who inveighs against the popularity of 'frivolous and scurrilous Prognostications [. . .] as if *Will Sommers* were againe revived' (1591: sig. A3<sup>v</sup>).

- p. 14.11 *Phaetons*] Phaëthon was the son of the sun-god Phoebus by the mortal Clymene. On discovering his paternity, he asked his father to grant him a request in order to prove his identity to the world. When Phoebus agreed, Phaëthon asked him for the right to drive the chariot of the sun. Bound by his oath, Phoebus reluctantly complied, warning Phaëthon of his youth and lack of experience. Phaëthon could not control the horses, and, unable to maintain a middle course, his wild career singed the clouds and wreaked destruction on earth, before Jove threw him from the chariot with a thunderbolt, killing him (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.750-II.313). He is often cited by Harvey's contemporaries as the epitome of youthful folly and ambition – e.g. *Two Gentlemen of Verona* III.1.153-55.
- p. 14.11 *Icarus*] Icarus was the son of Daedalus, and was imprisoned with him by Minos King of Crete. Daedalus made them both wings from feathers and wax, with which they flew away, but Icarus flew too close to the sun, which melted his wings, and he fell into the ocean and drowned (Lemprière). Whitney interprets the story's moral as 'Let suche beware, which paste theire reache doe mounte' (1586: 28).
- p. 14.11 *Choræbi*] In the *Æneid*, Coroebus is a young man who falls in love with Cassandra, defends Troy in the hope of winning her hand, and is killed (Lemprière). According to John Conington, his 'impetuosity and light-heartedness' became corrupted in subsequent versions of the legend to the point where he became 'a sort of gigantic idiot who would stand counting the waves of the sea' (1876: 2.144-45). He became proverbial for his stupidity – cf. *Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, 'more foole then *Choræbus*' (Lichfield 1597: sig. C4<sup>v</sup>). Perhaps the Virgilian concept of the character is more consistent with Harvey's context.
- p. 14.12 *Babingtons*] Anthony Babington (1561-85) was an English Catholic involved in a plot to assassinate Elizabeth I and place Mary Stuart on the throne; the plot was discovered by Walsingham's agents and Babington was captured, tortured and executed (*DNB*). Nashe professes great indignation that Harvey 'twitted me with the comparison of a traitour' (1958: 1.302.25), but Harvey seems merely to be citing Babington as an instance of a young man who had fallen from a great height in a more figurative way than Phaeton or Icarus: who had failed disastrously in the

execution of a grandiose scheme. A contemporary poem about the plot, *The Triumphes of Trophees*, makes the same comparison (Lyly 1902: 3.429-30).

- p. 14.15-18 *Philostratus...adventures*] Philostratus (b. c. 190), wrote a series of discourses (*Imagines*) describing paintings, often of incidents from history or mythology. The story to which Harvey refers appears in Book II: Hercules, having killed the Libyan giant Antaeus, is lying asleep by his body. The Pygmies (creatures who live underground, so tiny they have to use axes to thresh grain) set on him with the intention of avenging Antaeus (1931: xv-xvi, 231). Harvey's slant on the story is perhaps slightly different from Philostratus', who says that 'they would not fear him even if he were awake'. When Hercules awakes he laughs, collects them in the Nemean lion's skin and carries them back to Eurystheus: Lemprière describes him as 'pleased with their courage'. Harvey by contrast uses the story to furnish himself with another example of an attack on a great man by an insignificant or worthless enemy, as in his allusions to Zoilus and Thersites (p. 4.35-37). Whitney expounds it as proof 'that nothinge past our strengthe / Wee shoulde attempte' (1586: 16).
- p. 14.18-19 *Æsops...selfe*] An allusion to the 20th fable of Aesop's second book (in Caxton's translation, the amphibian in question is a frog). Seeing an ox in a meadow, 'she wold make her selfe as great and as myghty as the Oxe, and by her great pryde she began to swel against the Oxe, and demaunded of her children if that she were nat as great'. Seeing this, the ox crushes her underfoot, from which Aesop concludes 'that the poore should not swell agaynst the mighty' (1585: fol. 50<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 14.21-27 *Flourishing...Divell*] McKerrow accounts for the difference in tone between Harvey's reference to Nashe in the Second Letter (p. 6.29-32) and in this passage by assuming that he had read *PP* in the interval (1958: 4.78).
- p. 14.24 *his inwardest companion*] Nashe in *SN* denies that he was 'Greenes inwardest companion but for a carowse or two' (1958: 1.303.12). A.H. Bullen notes that in *SN* Nashe is more concerned with attacking Harvey than defending Greene (*DNB* art. Greene). Nashe's preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, despite Bernard Capp's claim that Nashe 'lavishly praised' Greene (*ODNB* art. Richard Harvey), has only one brief reference among its survey of contemporary literature to his 'sweet friend' and his work (1958: 3.312.15). Katherine Duncan-Jones notes that Nashe avoids 'any detailed reference to *Menaphon* – indeed, it is not clear whether he had actually read it' (2001: 48).
- p. 14.29-30 *To...Darkenesse*] The exact words with which the Supplication begins (Nashe 1958: 1.165.1).
- p. 14.30-31 *according...sinnes*] The Seven Deadly Sins (and their attendant social evils) appear in *PP*: Avarice (in the form of 'Greedinesse' and his wife 'Niggardise') (Nashe 1958: 1.166-68); Pride (168-83); Envy (183-87); Wrath (187-99); Gluttony (199-208); Sloth (208-15); and Lechery (216-17). Tarlton's play, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (performed c. 1585), is no longer extant, although an outline of the plot of the second part (dealing with Envy, Sloth and Lechery) exists in manuscript (*ODNB*). Without the text, it is difficult to determine how much (if at all) Nashe was indebted to Tarlton; J.B. Leishman singles out *PP* as an example of 'the continued presence of purely native and medieval elements' in Elizabethan and Jacobean satire, especially 'that allegorical and realistic representation of the Seven Deadly Sins and their followers which is as old as the medieval pulpit and the medieval homily' (1949: 45). How much Harvey was aware of this tradition is also unclear:

presumably by this point he had read *FQ* I.iv.18-35, with its parade of Lucifera and her six counsellors. A.C. Hamilton suggests that the 'new Laureat' to whose depiction of Gluttony Nashe refers (1958: 1.199.25) is Spenser (2001: 66*n.*).

- p. 14.31 *president*] For the same spelling of 'precedent' see *HWY*: 'he himselfe hath purloyned something from me [. . .] by following my presidents' (Nashe 1958: 3.132.29-31). See also Appendix D, 43).
- p. 14.32-33 *which...himselſe*] Unlikely as a friendship between the two might seem, Harvey and Tarlton had a mutual acquaintance in Sidney, who stood godfather to Tarlton's son (Wilson 1981: 154-55).
- p. 14.34 *he bluntly...manner*] The reading of the first quarto is 'his manner' (Biller 1969: 42.7), which is not implausible; a contemporary description of Tarlton says 'it was his property sooner to take [. . .] a matter ill then well' (quoted Nashe 1958: 4.152).
- p. 14.35 *the sinne...lechery*] The word 'gentlemen' seems not always to have had positive associations. See *All's Well That Ends Well* V.3.238-43: Parolles, questioned about Bertram's carnal activities, says 'my master hath been an honourable gentleman. Tricks he hath had in him, which gentlemen have'; when the King asks him if Bertram loved Diana (who claims to have lost her virginity to him), he replies: 'He did love her, sir, as a gentleman loves a woman'. Nashe, addressing his readers at the end of the pornographic *The choise of valentines*, says 'Judge gentlemen if I deserve not thanks' (1958: 3.415.314). J.B. Leishman sees as an allusion to this poem Nashe's mention in *HWY* of his writing 'toies for private Gentlemen' (1949: 76). William Harrison describes tavern-haunting Cambridge students who 'when they are charged with breach of all good order, think it sufficient to say they are gentlemen' (quoted Wraight 1965: 76).
- p. 14.37-38 *Doctor Perne's religion*] Either hypocrisy or apostasy. Perne's fluidity in matters of religion ('what Byshop, or Politician in England, so great a Temporiser, as he, whom every alteration founde a new-man') is one of Harvey's charges against him in *PS* (p. 130.15-16). 'On St. George's day 1547 he maintained, in a sermon preached in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, the Roman catholic doctrine that pictures of Christ and the saints ought to be adored, but he saw fit to recant the opinion in the same church on the following 17 June' (*DNB*). In 1556, as master of Peterhouse, he preached the sermon when the remains of Bucer and Fagius were exhumed and publicly burnt as heretics, and in 1560 presided over the Senate when a unanimous vote was passed (in accordance with instructions from the ecclesiastical commissioners) that Bucer and Fagius be restored to their degrees and titles of honour (Mullinger 1884: 156, 181-82). According to J.B. Mullinger, Perne's 'unblushing readiness to change his professed belief according to the doctrines most in favour with the civil power [. . .] became a byeword [. . .] the wits of the university coined a new verb, *perno*, *pernare*, which meant, they said, "to change often"' (1884: 122, 179-80).
- p. 14.40-41 *pleasantlie...experience*] The title-page of the first edition of *PP* describes it as 'Pleasantly interlac'd with variable delights: and pathetically intermixt with conceived reproofes' (Nashe 1958: 1.149).
- p. 14.42-43 *the poore...yeare*] Pierce, addressing the Devil, says 'your impious excellence hath had the poore tenement of [my] purse any time this halfe yeer for your dauncing schoole' (Nashe 1958:

- l.165.9). Nashe, responding in *SN*, claims that the phrase is proverbial and that he is not indebted to Tarlton for it (1958: 1.305.28-31). *ODEP* cites 'The Devil dances in an empty purse' from c. 1412.
- p. 14.44 *Fencing Schoole*] Given Harvey's fondness for parallelism, it is perhaps unwise to look for too much meaning in this piece of verbal ornamentation. However, fencing seems to have been seen as a morally questionable leisure activity. Polonius places it with drinking, swearing and quarrelling (*Hamlet* II.1.25) and Simon Forman tells how his fellow-students neglected their studies in favour of thieving, womanizing and haunting 'schools of defence' or fencing-schools (quoted Hunter 1962: 41).
- p. 14.46-50 *He tost...miserable*] Quoting *PP*: 'I tost my imaginations a thousand waies, to see if I could finde any meanes to relieve my estate: But all my thoughts consorted to this conclusion, that the world was uncharitable, & I ordaind to be miserable' (Nashe 1958: 1.158.13).
- p. 14.47-48 *his margine... gelida*] In the first edition of *PP*, the margins of sigs A1<sup>r</sup>-A2<sup>r</sup> feature 13 classical quotations (Nashe 1958: 1.157-59). '*Fauste, precor, gelida*' are the opening words of the first eclogue of 'Mantuanus' (Baptista Spagnuoli); Grosart states that it was 'used then as a first Latin book in schools' (Nashe 1958: 4.183, Harvey 1884-85: 3.142). Smith perhaps understands Harvey slightly differently: 'The early editions of Mantuan are "deepely learned" in notes: e.g. in the 1546 edition, the "annotatiunculae" on this phrase run to three quarters of a page' (1904: 2.428-29). McKerrow would seem to give weight to Grosart's interpretation when he notes Nashe's 'decking out *Pierce Penilesse* with marginal quotations of the most commonplace character' (1958: 5.131).
- p. 15.2 *Niobe*] Daughter of Tantalus king of Lydia, excessively proud of her many children. She boasted of her superiority over the goddess Latona, who had only two children (Apollo and Diana); an angry Latona ordered her children to destroy those of Niobe, whose tears caused her to be turned to stone (Lemprière).
- p. 15.3-7 *Why...dwell*] Quoted from *PP* (Nashe 1958: 1.157.20-25).
- p. 15.9-18 *For the Text...Mirth*] The second edition has a full stop after 'Farewell': in the first, this is a colon (Biller 1969: 44), as Brydges conjectures (1815: pt. 4.25), making ll. 9-15 a coherent sentence. On l. 13, Grosart interpolates a comma between 'Then' and 'to', and on l. 15 places a comma after 'crie' (Harvey 1884-85: 1.196). Harvey's text (as was common in this period (Leishman 1949: 203n.)) characteristically spells 'than' as 'then' (Brydges amends to 'than' (1815: pt. 4. 25)); the 'then' on l. 13 follows 'more' on l. 10, so that Harvey is (ironically) comparing the reader's reactions to the lines of Nashe's which he quotes and to his marginal gloss (1958: 1.158). Smith amends 'Then' to 'then' (1904: 2.233). With a full stop at the end of l. 15, ll. 16-17 constitute a separate sentence in which Harvey paraphrases Nashe's lines (again ironically) to express a sentiment of his own (1958: 1.158).
- p. 15.11-12 *England...worth*] Nashe 1958: 1.158.11-12.
- p. 15.14 *Hei...movent?*] A marginal gloss (in the first edition of *PP*) to the lines quoted above. McKerrow glosses 'Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 9. 36' (Nashe 1958 1.158, 4.89). Ovid exclaims how few people are affected by his pleas.
- p. 15.18-26 Harvey's 'gracewanting Ironies' in this passage did not go unnoticed by Nashe (1958: 1.307.1). G.R. Hibbard concurs that it is intended to be interpreted ironically ('Harvey [. . .]

thoroughly enjoys himself at the expense of the poem at the beginning of *Pierce Penilesse*’) while seeing Harvey as sincere in his presentation of Nashe as ‘a young man of parts’ (1962: 195, 196). If Hibbard is correct, it would be Nashe’s despair (or expressions of despair) which is being mocked rather than his talent.

- p. 15.21-22** *mountaines of highest Hope*] A similar phrase appears in John Harvey’s *Discovrsive Probleme*: ‘it avaieth not [. . .] to builde mountaines of hope, or feare, upon irregularities in arte’ (1588: 39). The phrase is not biblical: cf. a line of George Whetstone’s which Harvey inscribed in his copy of Gascoigne’s *Posies* (‘A merchants mind, to Mountaines that aspires’) (1913: 172.24). See also p. 59.4-5, where (as in John Harvey), the sense seems to be similar to ‘castles in the air’.
- p. 15.22-23** *what...industry?*] Cf. Smith 182: ‘Diligence can accomplish the hardest things’.
- p. 15.23-26** *mightilie...worke*] Paraphrasing *PP*: ‘if any *Mecænas* [. . .] extend some round liberalitie to mee [...] I will doo him as much honour as any Poet of my beardslesse yeeres shall in *England* [. . .] I attribute so much to my thankfull minde above others, which [. . .] would enable me to worke myracles’ (Nashe 1958: 1.195.4-10).
- p. 15.23** *Mecænas*] This reading is retained by Grosart and Harrison but amended to ‘Mæcenas’ by Brydges (1815: pt. 4.26). In the quarto of *2Parnassus* the name of the great Augustan patron of letters is spelt “Mecænas”, a spelling which, English pronunciation of Latin being what it was, is not uncommon’ (Leishman 1949: 318n.); as Herford and Simpson note, Jonson seems to have approved Harvey’s spelling for the Quarto and Folio of *Poetaster* (1925-52: 4.187n.).
- p. 15.24** *blisse*] Brydges reads ‘bliss’ but when the word reappears (p. 19.30) amends to ‘bless’ (1815: pt. 4 26, 34).
- p. 15.29** *gnashing Hell*] See p. 14.5 n.
- p. 15.30** *Penilesse...minde*] The title of Nashe’s tract would seem to have incorporated a pun, as ‘Pierce’ and ‘purse’ were pronounced interchangeably. After he has read the Supplication (and presumably feels that they know each other better) the Knight of the Post calls Pierce ‘Persie’ (1958: 1.219.22, 226.29); the following year Richard Harvey in *Philadelphvs* wrote ‘the schollers head without discretion is like the merchantes purse pennilesse without all credite’ (1593: sig. C1<sup>v</sup>). See also *1 Henry IV* V.3.56.
- p. 15.31** *A man...head*] Tilley’s first instance of the phrase (M244) is Nashe’s quotation of this in *SN* (1958: 1.307.10). *ODEP* cites Chaucer’s *Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale*, where the Yeoman, complaining of his poverty, says ‘Now may I were an hose upon myne heed’.
- p. 15.34** *Nocte... manè*] The first line of the distich attached by Virgil to Augustus’s palace gate, translated by Puttenham ‘*It raines all night, early the shewes [i.e. sights] returne*’ (1936: 55).
- p. 15.38** *the sponge*] For examples of the sponge as a symbol of vicissitude, see Harold Jenkins’s gloss on *Hamlet* IV.2.11-20 (Shakespeare 1982: 524-25); Jenkins dates this back to Suetonius (*Vespasian* XVI).
- p. 15.43** *like a Greeke Parasite*] I cannot trace the precise allusion here, but Harvey perhaps has in mind the stock character of the parasite in ancient comedies, as described by Puttenham (1936: 32), and as imitated in early-modern university plays such as the one described in *UT* (Nashe 1958: 2.249.35). In Lucian’s dialogue, *The Parasite*, Simon, a professional sponger, answers the questions

of his friend Tychiades about his profession: the parasitic art is defined as one which is concerned with the acquisition of food and drink (Lucian, *The Parasite*, 9). Harvey refers to Lucian's works elsewhere (p. 16.27, p. 51.14): however, A.M. Harmon, in his introduction, notes that the parasite was 'a standing butt of the New Comedy' (Lucian 1913-67: 3.235), and there is perhaps no specific reference.

- p. 15.43 *the Tragedy of Hecuba*] Cooper calls Hecuba 'a woman of noble courage, and moste unhappy fortune. For havynge all hir sonnes and husbande slayne, hir fayre daughter Polyxena killed upon the grave of Achilles, hir other daughter Cassandra taken prysoner, beholdyng the noble citie of Troye burned, hir selfe in captivitie, hir yongest sonne Polydorus kylled: she finally waxed madde'. Commenting on *Hamlet* II.2.497 *ff.*, Jenkins notes that 'she had always been recognized as the extreme type of sorrow' (Shakespeare 1982: 480).
- p. 15.45 *wise...Swanne*] See p. 12.39-40 *n.* Glossing *SC* October 90, E.K. quotes from a lost sonnet of Spenser's: 'The silver swan doth sing before her dying day / As she that feels the deep delight that is in death' (1995: 169). 'Silver swan' is a stock phrase: see *The Rape of Lucrece* 1011-12, W.V.'s *A Tale of Two Swannes* (1590: sig. A2<sup>n</sup>). Arnott cites the verses set to music by Orlando Gibbons (1977: 149).
- p. 15.45-46 *fortunate...Asse*] *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius (also known as *Metamorphoses*) is so called because the hero, Lucius, is magically transformed into an ass (III.24). After various unpleasant adventures, he is bought by the servants of a wealthy man who discover him eating fine food, whereupon he is taught to dance and perform other tricks and is displayed publicly: finally, on eating a garland of roses he is transformed back into a man. Because a woman falls in love with Lucius-as-ass in one episode (X.19-22), this has been suggested as a source for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Bullough 1957-75: 1.372). W. Adlington's 1566 translation had been through four editions by 1592 (*STC* 718-719a.5).
- p. 15.46-47 *Fortuna favet fatuis*] 'Fortune favours fools'; the phrase appears in the margin of the first edition of *PP*, next to 'I grew to consider how many base men that wanted those parts I had, enjoyed content at will, and had wealth at command'. McKerrow notes 'The saying, either in Latin or in English, is exceedingly frequent, but so far as I am aware no origin has been found. It is presumably founded on "audentes fortuna iuvat", Verg. *Aen.* x. 284, or "fortes fortuna adiuvat", Ter. *Phormio*, i. 4. 26' (Nashe 1958: 1.158.17, 4.89) – i.e. Fortune helps the brave or strong.
- p. 16.8 *the Parturient mountaine*] Harvey is alluding to *Ars Poetica*, 139: 'Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus'. Fairclough translates 'Mountains will labour, to birth will come a laughter-rousing mouse' (Horace 1929: 463).
- p. 16.9-10 *a man...Heaven*] After the Knight of the Post has read the Supplication, he describes for Pierce the topography of Hell, the nature of the Devil, the various orders of devils, the areas allotted to them, their activities, and how they may be warded off (Nashe 1958: 1.218-39).
- p. 16.13 *M. Churchyard*] Thomas Churchyard (1523?-1604), prolific English writer of verse and prose (*ODNB*). Nashe in *SN* acknowledges that he had done Churchyard an 'unadvised indammagement' but declares that the matter had been forgotten (1958: 1.309.8-28). If Nashe's offence took a printed form, the passage is apparently no longer extant, and McKerrow was unable to find any apology

either in Nashe's works or prefixed to any of Churchyard's (Nashe 1958: 4.184-85). Churchyard, however, made his position clear in *A Pleasant conceit penned in verse*: 'The Angell bright, that *Gabrill* is in sky, / Shall know that *Nashe* I love, and will doe still, / When *Gabrils* words, scarce winnes our worlds good will' (1593: sig. B3<sup>v</sup>).

- p. 16.14 *the Counter*] 'A prison for debtors connected with the City court in Lond.' (Sugden).
- p. 16.14 *peccavies*] *Peccavi* = 'I have sinned'; to 'cry *peccavi*' is therefore to acknowledge one's guilt or issue an apology (*ODEP* (P170) cites instances from 1509).
- p. 16.14 *his hostisse Penia*] Nashe responded: 'My *hostesse Penia*, thats a bugges word; I pry thee what Morrell hast thou under it? I will depose, if thou wilt, that till now I never heard of anie such English name'. McKerrow glosses 'Harvey apparently means Πενία, poverty, personified in Plato, *Symp.* 203, Aristoph. *Plutus*, 415 & c., and Plut. *Isis et Osiris*, 57, but if so Nashe might well wonder at the precise point of the allusion. The name is used by Rabelais, bk. iv, cap. 57'. Mark Eccles by contrast felt this was 'A reference to Mistress Julia Penn who rented out rooms in her house on St. Peter's Hill, London, and had sometimes to complain of guests who consumed her substance without payment. Thomas Churchyard [. . .] was one of them, and took sanctuary in 1591 for fear of being arrested' (Nashe 1958: 1.310.26, 4.186, Supplement 23). Supposing 'Penia' to be Nashe's hostess, and the previous phrase to refer to his experience of having clashed with Churchyard, a third possibility is that *poena*, the Latin for 'pain' or 'punishment', is meant. For this concept personified, cf. Corflambo's daughter in *FQ* IV.viii-ix, whose name shifts from 'Poeana' to 'Paeana' 'as her grief turns to joy' (Spenser 2001: 473 n.). This solution might require Wolfe's compositor to have made an error, but such an error would not be unprecedented: cf. *QUC* (also printed by Wolfe), where the compositor read 'the golden front in the *Hesperides*' (Greene 1592b: sig. A4<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 16.16 *a Poets...license*] Cf. 'Painters (Travelers) and poets have leave to lie', proverbial from c. 1566 (*ODEP*).
- p. 16.17 *I woulde...Element*] 'The burnt child dreads the fire': proverbial from c. 1300 (*ODEP*).
- p. 16.18-19 *the good...Apollo*] At the temple of Apollo at Delphi was written the phrase 'know thyself' (Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes*, III.2).
- p. 16.19-20 *The Athenians...amplifieng*] There is nothing in Cooper, Lemprière or Sugden to suggest that exaggerating was part of their reputation. However, Athens was associated with rhetoric (as in *Paradise Lost* IX.670-76), and possibly Harvey means the sort of hyperbolic speech which Plutarch describes Antony acquiring after studying oratory in Greece (*Life of Antony*, II.4-5).
- p. 16.21 *the Cretensians...lying*] According to Sugden, 'The ancient proverb, "The C[reta]ns are alway liars," received a new lease of life from St. Paul's quotation of it in *Titus* i.12'. He gives contemporary examples; see also Tilley C822.
- p. 16.21-22 *the Thessalians...cogging*] '*Thessalia*, A region in Greece [. . .] invironed [. . .] on the east with the mountaines of *Pelion* & *Ossa*: on the north with *Olympus*: on the weast with *Pindus*: on the southe with *Othrys*. It marcheth on Macedonia on the east. The people weare [. . .] very unjust of theyr promise' (Cooper).
- p. 16.22 *the Carthaginians...perfidie*] 'They bore the character of a faithless and treacherous people, and the proverb *Punica fides* is well known' (Lemprière).



- p. 16.22 *Hannibal*] Harvey wrote in his copy of Livy, 'Annibal a craftie Foxe & even for theise dayes a notable example' (Stern 1979: 152). For some of his stratagems during his Italian campaign, see Plutarch, *Life of Fabius Maximus* XVI.1-4, XIX.5-6.
- p. 16.22 *Fabius*] Fabius Maximus was the Roman soldier made Dictator following the Romans' defeat by Hannibal at Thrasymené. He avoided engaging directly in battle with the Carthaginians, choosing rather to wear them out with long marches (Lemprière).
- p. 16.23 *Agathocles*] 'The sonne of a potter, whiche by subtile witte and boldnesse of courage, grew by sundry dignities; at the last to be kyng of Sicilie [. . .] also the name of a Greeke capitayne, the sonne of Lysimachus' (Cooper). The former Agathocles is the one whose stratagems Machiavelli takes as an exemplum in Chapter VIII of *The Prince* (1999: 27-28).
- p. 16.23 *Iphicrates*] Athenian general, fl. 4th century B.C. According to Cornelius Nepos, 'just as in days of old the soldiers of Fabius called themselves true Romans, so "soldiers of Iphicrates" became a title of the greatest honour among the Greeks'. By his 'counterfeit pollicie' Harvey might mean the reforms in military equipment he introduced, making the infantry's armour and shields lighter and their spears and swords longer; Nepos distinguishes between the improvements he introduced ('meliora') and what John C. Rolfe translates as 'novelties' ('nova'), perhaps suggesting disapproval. Or he might be referring to the charge of treason brought against Iphicrates during the Social War (357-355 B.C.), when having anchored his ship rather than sailed it through a storm, he was accused by Chares of not coming to his aid against Philip of Macedonia; Iphicrates was acquitted. (It is important to note that Rolfe calls Nepos 'inaccurate in the details' of this war) (Nepos 1926: 126-31, 138n., 141).
- p. 16.23 *Ulysses*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIII.95-106 (Ajax compares his soldiery with that of Ulysses, who is dependent on guile and stealth). For Elizabethan instances of this aspect of Ulysses' reputation, see 3 *Henry VI* III.2.189, *Soliman and Perseda* V.3.74 (Kyd 1901: 223), *Euphues* (Lyly 1902: 1.232.16), Whitney 1586: 47, etc.
- p. 16.25-26 *the Grecians...vaine-spoken*] In Holinshed's *Chronicles* the qualities of the native Irish are compared to those of the ancient Greeks: 'to be in words talkative, in behaviour light, in conditions quaint, in manners hautie, in promises unstedfast, in oths rash, in bargains wavering' (1807-08: 6.6).
- p. 16.26-27 *the flying...mouth*] *OED* defines the phrase *to carry meat in the mouth* as 'to be a source of profit [. . .] to be a source of entertainment or instruction' (meat *sb.* †7). According to McKerrow, 'The expression is frequent [. . .] Harvey seems to connect it with the story of Elijah and the ravens, I Kings 17.6' (Nashe 1958: 4.191). Cf. however *OED*'s suggestion that it was 'perh. orig. said of a hawk'.
- p. 16.27 *Lucians true Tales*] Harvey is alluding to a specific text. Boyce contrasts Lucian's treatment of the journey to the netherworld with the tradition of Homer and Virgil, as well as the Christian tradition: 'Lucian, doubting the truth of the whole legend of Hades, treats it with a free fancy. In the delightful *True Story* he uses a visit to the Elysian Fields and Tartarus for lively comedy and literary satire' (1943: 403). He gives a potted history of its reception and imitation in the Renaissance (Boyce 1943: 407-12).

- p. 16.27-28 *his...Asse*] See p. 15.45-46 *n.* A Greek narrative called *Lucius, or The Ass* has been attributed to Lucian, but this has been disputed, as has its relationship with Apuleius' very similar but much longer *Golden Ass*. M.D. Macleod discusses the authorship and the question of which text uses the other as source material (Lucian 1913-67: 8.47-51).
- p. 16.32 *the rewarde...trueth*] Cf. Tilley L217: 'A liar is not believed when he tells truth'.
- p. 16.33-34 *a Batchelers...Aristotle*] 'Thou hadst thy hood turnd over thy eares when thou wert a Batchelor, for abusing of *Aristotle*, & setting him up on the Schoole gates, painted with Asses eares on his head' (Nashe 1958: 1.195.33). McKerrow comments that, judging by similar phrases, turning a graduate's hood over their ears 'would seem to mean to deprive of a degree. There is, however, so far as I am aware, no record of any such punishment being inflicted on Richard Harvey'; he notes, however, that in the controversy when Ramus' theories made their impact on Cambridge, 'The Harveys throughout seem to have taken the side of Ramus' (Nashe 1958: 4.121). Richard Harvey gives a considered critique of Aristotle in *LG*, where he also calls Ramus 'the most blessed martyr of Paris' (1590b: 77-80, 192); in *Philadelphvs*, he says that Ramus is to logic what Orpheus is to eloquence, and there is a (perhaps deliberately) ambiguous mention of Aristotle (1593: 101, 43). Nashe in *SN* notes that Gabriel does not deny the truth of the charge, and interprets this as an admission of Richard's guilt (1958: 1.310.36-311.6).
- p. 16.34-37 *casting...for*] Nashe, mocking Richard Harvey's *Astrologicall Discourse*, says '(as if hee had lately cast the Heavens water, or beene at the anatomizing of the Skies intrailles in Surgeons hall) hee prophecieti of such strange wonders to ensue from stars destemperature and the unusuall adultrie of Planets, as none but he that is Bawd to these celestiaall bodies could ever discry [. . .] Well, so it happened, that [. . .] his Astronimie broke his day with his creditors, and *Saturne* and *Jupiter* prov'd honest men then all the World tooke them for' (1958: 1.196.18-197.2).
- p. 16.34 *casting the Heavens water*] 'To cast someone's water' is to examine their urine for medical purposes (see *OED* water *sb.* III 18b).
- p. 16.39 *Pole Artique*] The spelling is not unusual: Batman describes 'the sphere of heaven' moving between '*Polus Articus*, the North pole' and '*Polus Antarticus*, that is, the South pole' (1582: fol. 123').
- p. 16.40-42 *Yet...ballats*] '*Tarlton* at the Theator made jests of him, and *Elderton* consumd his ale-crammed nose to nothing, in bearbayting him with whole bundles of ballets' (Nashe 1958: 1.197.6). Roscius was a 'Romaine, and a player in comedies' (Cooper).
- p. 16.41 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n.*
- p. 16.42-47 *that forsooth... not in print*] The colon after 'ballats' perhaps creates a break in the sense: Brydges (1815: pt. 4.29) and Collier (1870a: 39) have a comma, placing the 'him' and the 'that' in the same clause, both referring to Richard Harvey. The passage in *LG* which had so angered Nashe called him 'one whome I never heard of before (for I cannot imagin him to be *Thomas Nash* our Butler of *Pembroke Hall*, albeit peradventure not much better learned)' (quoted Nashe 1958: 5.180). He responded in *PP*, 'Thou hast wronged one for my sake (whom for the name I must love) T.N., the Maister Butler of *Pembroke Hall* [. . .] he hath a Beard that is a better Gentleman than all

thy whole body, and a grave countenance, like *Cato*, able to make thee run out of thy wits for feare, if he looke sternly upon thee' (Nashe 1958: 1.197.27-198.7).

The closing bracket appears after 'least' in the first edition (Biller 1969: 49) but is missing in the second: Harrison felt it had fallen out (1922: 103), although given the preponderance of cruces in this part of the text it is not impossible that the printer neglected to put it in. Brydges replaces it after 'least' (l. 43) (1815: pt. 4.29); Grosart after 'Nash,' (l. 44) (Harvey 1884-85: 1.201); Harrison after 'him,' (l. 45) (1922: 51). Grosart by his own admission had not read *LG* (Harvey 1884-85: 1.xliii). Neither, presumably, had the compositor in the second edition, who has 'heard' instead of 'beard', or Brydges, who amends this to 'herd' (1815: pt. 4.29).

- p. 16.43 *every heire...least*] *PP*'s title-page proclaimed its author 'Thomas Nash Gentleman' (1958: 1.149); the combination of this with Nashe's remarks about the Harveys' parentage (see the quotation from *PP* below) seem to have stung Gabriel deeply – see p. 16.50, p. 18.15 and p. 36.5.
- p. 16.47-48 *I will...Monstrous*] 'Monstrous, monstrous, and palpable' (Nashe 1958: 1.198).
- p. 16.48-49 *M. Harvey...Lecture*] Richard Harvey was appointed praelector in philosophy at Cambridge in 1581 (*ODNB*).
- p. 16.50-51 *this mightie...Untrusse*] Cf. 'every grosse braind Idiot is suffered to come into print [. . .] if hee [. . .] write a Treatise of the exploits of *Untrusse*; it is brought up thick and threefold'; it has been conjectured that Nashe is referring to a ballad of Anthony Munday's (1958: 1.159.3-7, 4.90). 'Lashing Gentleman' perhaps refers to the later passage in *PP*, when Nashe tells Richard Harvey 'off with thy gowne and untrusse, for I meane to lashe thee mightily' (1958: 1.196.9). If 'untruss' had these associations, then perhaps what Harvey means by saying that Nashe is 'now well read' in these exploits is that he had recently been punished (cf. p. 16.14-17).
- p. 16.51 *for Tarletons...se A*] McKerrow sees in Nashe's replies to this the belief that Harvey is here punning on 'Persie' (see p. 15.30 & *n.*). The phrase meant 'first' or 'best' (Nashe 1958: 4.138, 187).
- p. 17.1 *idoneus...scientiae*] 'Equipped to read political science'. Harvey is alluding to Aristotle's statement (in *Nicomachean Ethics*, I.iii.5) that 'the young are not fit to be students of Political Science. For they have no experience of life and conduct, and [. . .] moreover they are led by their feelings' (1926: 9). According to McKerrow the Latin tag was common during this period (Nashe 1958: 4.187).
- p. 17.1-2 *Flores Poetarum*] According to McKerrow, 'A book entitled *Flores Poetarum de Virtutibus et Vitiis* appeared c. 1480. and the better-known *Illustrium Poetarum Flores* of O. Mirandula in 1538; but the name was a typical one for a collection of extracts – cf. Udall's *Flowers of Latin Speaking*, from Terence; and I doubt if any particular work is referred to' (Nashe 1958: 4.187). *OED* cites the title of Udall's work as an instance of 'An embellishment or ornament (of speech); a choice phrase' (flower *sb.* 6d). Cf. p. 22.17-19.
- p. 17.2-3 *Tarletons...inough*] Nashe denies the stylistic debt in *SN* (1958: 1.318.34 *ff.*).
- p. 17.3 *penne: ]*] The second edition has a full stop between these two words, the first a colon (Biller 1969: 50); Grosart, emending to a comma, makes ll. 1-5 a statement (Harvey 1884-85: 1.202).
- p. 17.4 *his Prefaces*] Nashe replies to this, 'Præfates two, or a paire of Epistles, I will receive into the protection of my parentage'; as McKerrow says, these must be Nashe's epistles before Greene's

*Menaphon* and the pirated 1591 edition of *Astrophel and Stella* (1958: 1.318.30, 4.189). Harvey had evidently read the former by the time he wrote *PS* (see p. 63.14-15).

- p. 17.4 *Rimes*] Nashe replies that he ‘never printed rime in my life but those verses in the beginning of *Pierce Penilesse*’ (1958: 1.318.24), and it may be that these are what Harvey means: cf. however p. 65.46.
- p. 17.5 *the Divell & al*] ‘Everything right or wrong (especially the wrong); the whole confounded lot; all or everything bad’ (*OED* *devil sb.* II 22a).
- p. 17.11-12 *let...shops*] Nashe in *PP* states that Richard Harvey’s unsold writings may be found in ‘the Chandlers shop, or [. . .] the Flaxwives stall’, used for wrapping tow or soap (1958: 1.196 marg.). As Nashe knew that John Harvey the younger was a ‘student in Almanackes’, his reference to ‘Almanackes out of date (such as stand upon Screens, or on the backside of a dore in a Chandlers shop)’ may possibly be a dig at John (1958: 1.196.11, 167.14). Charles Nicholl suggests that by stating in the full title of *SN* that *FL* ‘were going *Priuilie to victuall the Low Countries*’, Nashe means they were ‘to be used as toilet paper’ (*ODNB*). Whether Harvey is initiating such a line of discourse is unclear. See also p. 106.8-9.
- p. 17.17 *Miracles...cloudes*] There is a reference to the seventh Satire of Juvenal, 201-02: Juvenal says that the fates will give kingdoms to slaves and victories to captives but that a man so lucky is as rare as a white raven. This became proverbial as a rarity or impossibility (see Tilley C859). Cf. p. 58.22, where Harvey uses the phrase ‘miracles in the cloudes’ (again, mockingly, of Nashe’s bravado): the phrase is not in *OED*.
- p. 17.21-24 *Some...haunted*] See p. 3.43 *n*.
- p. 17.21 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 17.24 *vowels...haunted*] C.M. Ingleby suggests that ‘haunted’ should read ‘hunted’ (1874: xxxvi); ‘course’ would then be read in the sense of ‘To pursue or hunt’ (*OED* *v.* 1). Biller sees a pun on ‘course’ and ‘curse’ (1969: 52a).
- p. 17.36 *idiot crowes*] In all the proverbs in *ODEP* in which crows appear they are emblems of blackness, hoarseness, and (occasionally) bragging. In view of the crow as potentially a symbol of ignorance, it is perhaps worth noting John Harvey’s *Discovrsive Probleme*: ‘these opinitive and contemplative masters, which notwithstanding their want of skill and experience in such negotiations, will in their kind be meddling and intermeddling in affaires of the grandest consequence [. . .] even *in despite of the crow*, according to the proverb’ (1588: 98). In *No Whippinge* the crow also seems to be used in this sense (Weever, Breton, Guilpin 1951: 14).
- p. 17.38 *they professe...railing*] Nashe in *SN* thought this applied to him (1958: 1.320.8). However, *Lyly* is meant – see *PWH*: ‘I professe rayling, and think it is as good a cudgell for a *Martin*, as a stone for a dogge’ (Lyly 1902: 3.394).
- p. 17.39 *gowty Divels*] Enquiring for the Devil at Westminster Hall, Pierce is told ‘that he is at home sicke of the gout’ (Nashe 1958: 1.163.11).
- p. 17.39 *buckram Giants*] ‘O how my soule abhors these buckram giants, that having an outward face of honor sett upon them by flatterers and parasites, have their inward thoughtes stufte with strawe and feathers’ (Nashe 1958: 1.242.24). ‘Buckram’, used in the Middle Ages to describe a kind of fine

linen, also means from 1436 a stiff, coarse cloth used (among other things) to make giants for the stage (Shakespeare 1957: 124 n.). *OED* (*sb.* 4b) notes that it was often used attributively in relation to a false impression of strength; hence perhaps also of grandeur, e.g. Greene's diatribe against 'buckram Gentlemen' (1923: 46).

- p. 17.40 *golden Asses*] 'We want an *Aretine* here among us, that might strip these golden asses out of their gaie trappings, and after he had ridden them to death with railing, leave them on the dunghill for carion' (Nashe 1958: 1.242.15). Harvey repeats this phrase several times in *PS*: in Nashe, as in *2Parnassus* 599 (Leishman 1949: 264), it seems to mean someone wealthy but foolish.
- p. 17.40 *Cormorants...spurres*] 'Cormorant', 'drone' and 'dunce' perhaps appear too frequently in *PP* for Harvey to be referring to one specific passage: nevertheless it is possible that he has in mind 'men of Arte must seek almes of Cormorantes, and those that deserve best, be kept under by Dunces [...] one Droane should not have driven so many Bees from their hony-combes', especially as it appears only a page before 'hypocriticall hot-spurres, that have God alwaies in their mouthes' (Nashe 1958: 1.159.32-160.12, 161.12).
- p. 17.40-41 *Earth-wormes*] Greedinesse and Niggardize are so described (Nashe 1958: 1.167.21).
- p. 17.41 *Pinchefart Penny-fathers*] Greedinesse is so described (Nashe 1958: 1.168.10).
- p. 17.42-44 *they have termes...eare*] 'If I be evill intreated, or sent away with a Flea in mine eare, let him looke that I will raile on him soundly [...] I have tearmes (if I be vext) laid a steepe in *Aquafortis*. & Gunpowder, that shall rattle through the Skyes, and make an Earthquake in a Pesants eares' (Nashe 1958: 1.195.11-23).
- p. 17.45 *poore slaves*] Nashe to Richard Harvey: 'Poor slave, I pitie thee [...] ' (1958: 1.197.13).
- p. 17.46 *spurgall Asses*] After his attack on Richard Harvey, Nashe asks his readers 'have I not an indifferent prittyte vayne in Spurgalling an Asse?' (1958: 1.199.4).
- p. 17.46-47 *they can tell...life*] Harvey is referring to the fable which appears in *PP*: see Chapter Three of the Introduction (pp. xcvi-xcix). McKerrow states, 'It is possible that the general idea of the fable was suggested to Nashe by Spenser's *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, as Harvey hinted' (Nashe 1958: 4.140). The fox disguises himself 'like a shepherds dogge' (1.224.19), just as the fox in 'Mother Hvbberds Tale' does (Spenser 1912: 498).
- p. 17.47 *dominiere in Tavernes*] 'gold [...] can neither traffique with the Mercers and Tailers as he was wont, nor dominere in Tavernes as he ought' (Nashe 1958: 1.165.27-166.11).
- p. 17.48 *Pausanias*] Biller identifies this as 'A Spartan king notorious for misuse of authority' (1969: 53b). Harvey may, however, mean the Greek courtier who assassinated Philip of Macedonia. One of his motivations was that he had heard 'that the most effectual way to render himself illustrious was to murder a person who had signalized himself by uncommon actions' (Lemprière); he would therefore be instanced by Harvey as someone who, like Herostratus (see p. 2.10 n.), wanted fame at any cost. In *CT*, Nashe gives as two instances of the vainglorious man '*Pausanias* that kild *Phillip* of *Macedon*, onelie for fame or vaine-glory. So did *Herostratus* burne the temple of *Diana* [...] to gette him an eternall vaine-glory'. McKerrow glosses 'The two examples are probably borrowed from C. Agrippa, *De Incert. et Van.* cap 5, trans. 1569, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>-14, "many menne [...] will for their mischeivous deedes be remembred and written in Histories, even as [...] *Pausanias* the *Macedonian*

famous for the murder of Kinge *Phillippe*, and [. . .] *Herostratus*, who burned the Temple of *Diana*” (Nashe 1958: 2.109.1-4, 4.234).

- p. 17.48 *Kett*] Harvey is more likely to mean Francis Kett, burnt alive for heresy in 1589, than his uncle Robert, executed for treason in 1549 (*ODNB*). (In *PS* Harvey habitually mentions ‘Kett’ or ‘Ket’ in the same sentence as ‘turbulent rebels in Religion’ such as John Penry, John Udall, John Greenwood, Henry Barrow and Robert Browne.) Francis denied the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost (Cooper 1858-1913: 2.38). A ‘Francis Kett, doctor of phisick’ also published *The Glorious and Beautiful Garland of Man’s Glorification* in 1585 (see p. 92.48 & n.). Kett and Harvey would have been contemporaries at Cambridge, Kett proceeding B.A. from Corpus Christi in 1570 and M.A. in 1573, and holding a fellowship of the college 1573-80 (*ODNB*). Evidently his doctrines made enough of a stir for him to be denounced as an ‘obstinate hereticke’ by Richard Bancroft in his Paul’s Cross sermon (1588: 7); Stow records his burning as one of the events of 1589 (1592: 1283).
- p. 17.49 *Agrippa*] Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486?-1535). His ‘more conventional writings’ were translated into English by David Clapham: *The Commendation of Matrimony* (1540) and *A Treatise on the Nobilitie of Womankynde* (1542) both went through two editions (*ODNB*). *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* was translated into English by James Sandford as *Henrie Cornelius Agrippa, of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences* (1569), which was popular enough to warrant a second edition in 1575 (*ODNB*). None of Agrippa’s works on occult philosophy were translated into English until 1651, but this was an aspect of his reputation of which Harvey was aware (see p. 52.2-4) as well as Nashe (in *UT* he appears briefly as a character performing Faustian acts of magic) (1958: 2.252-55). His reputation as a sorcerer is also touched on in *Faustus* Scene 1, 112-18 (Marlowe 1987-98: 2.7); Sandford, in the introduction to his translation, declares ‘he gave his minde to unleeeful Artes, contrarie to the lawes of God and man’ (Agrippa 1569: sig. \*iij<sup>v</sup>). It is perhaps important to note the difference in tone between this reference of Harvey’s to Agrippa and some lines in *3PL*: ‘A thousand good leaves be for ever graunted *Agrippa*. / For squibbing and declaiming against many fruitlesse / *Artes*. and Craftes’ (Spenser 1912: 624).
- p. 17.49 *Rabelays*] Early English references to Rabelais are largely negative, placing him as an obscene jester rather than a humanist (see McKillop 1921 for examples). However, Harvey in *PS* shows knowledge of Rabelais in several places (see p. 107.37 & n., p. 123.22-23 & n.), and, as with Machiavelli and Aretino, demonstrates a very different view of him in his marginalia (1913: 119.25).
- p. 18.4-5 *ratling Babies*] See p. 17.42-44 n. In *2Parnassus* 148, Ingenioso, quizzing Iudicio about pamphlets, asks ‘what new paper hobby horses, what rattle babies are come out’; Leishman glosses ‘Rattling dolls’ (1949: 229).
- p. 18.9 *felinger*] Grosart in his ‘Glossarial-Index’ lists this alongside ‘felly’, ‘Fellest’ and ‘Felines = fellness’ as a derivative of the word meaning ‘fierce, cruel, etc.’ (Harvey 1884-85: 3.143). Note however the sense given by *OED* of ‘feeling’: ‘That is deeply or sensibly felt or realized, heart-felt, acute, vivid’ (*OED ppl. a.* 3). For Harvey’s method of forming comparatives, cf. p. 17.33 (‘pestelenter’), p. 22.13 (‘excellenter’). This seems to have been typical practice (see Abbott 1870: 21).

- p. 18.14 *both their Fathers*] Presumably Nashe's and Greene's. Both had matriculated at Cambridge as sizars, unlike Harvey, who as a pensioner would have had all his expenses paid for by his father (ODNB, Stern 1979: 10).
- p. 18.14 *Put case*] Imagine, suppose (see *OED* case v. II 12).
- p. 18.16 *Stentors voice*] Stentor was 'a Greeke, whiche had a voyce as loude as fiftie men' (Cooper).
- p. 18.17 *Don...Thoemes*] *The Pleasaunt historie of Lazarillo de Tormes* was one of the four jest-books that Spenser gave to Harvey in 1578. The earliest extant English edition is from 1585 but it was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1568-9 (Stern 1979: 240). Considering the extremes of poverty which Lazaro, the narrator, suffers, the 'Don' is presumably ironic. It is Lazaro's frequent complaints of his misfortune, poverty and hunger to which Harvey is alluding, e.g. 'I was so leane y<sup>l</sup> my legges were scarce able to beare me: the hunger was so greate which I sustained, that I never thought to escape death' (Rowland 1586: sig. [C5]<sup>r</sup>). McKerrow thinks it 'not impossible' that it influenced *UT*, which he accepts as written in the summer of 1593 (Nashe 1958: 4.252-53).
- p. 18.17-20 *to contend...time*] Harvey quotes the beginning of *PP*: 'But all in vaine, I sate up late, and rose earely, contended with the colde, and conversed with scarcitie: for all my labours turned to losse. my vulgar Muse was despised & neglected [. . .] and I my selfe (in prime of my best wit) laid open to povertie. Whereupon (in a malecontent humor) I accused my fortune, raild on my patrones, bit my pen, rent my papers, and ragde in all points like a mad man. In which agony tormenting my selfe a long time, I grew by degrees to a milder discontent [. . .]' (Nashe 1958: 1.157.7-16).
- p. 18.20 *vacuus viator*] 'I live secure from all such perturbations: for [. . .] I am *vacuus viator*'; according to McKerrow, 'The allusion is of course to "Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator", Juvenal x.22' (Nashe 1958: 1.160.35-36, 4.91). '*Vacuus viator*' is translated by G.G. Ramsay as 'empty-handed traveller'; Juvenal's context is that such people do not fear robbers when journeying at night (1918: 195).
- p. 18.20-21 *to have...within*] 'I would be ashamde of it, if *Opus* and *Usus* were not knocking at my doore twentie times a weeke when I am not within' (Nashe 1958: 1.161.4). 'Opus' and 'usus' are both Latin for 'need' or 'necessity'. In *IParnassus* 391-97, Luxurio says to Ingenioso 'youe whoreson *Opus* and *Usus* [. . .] you tattered prodigall [. . .] fidlinge thy pamphlets from doore to dore like a blinde harper': Leishman glosses this 'Harvey had mocked at Nashe's poverty just as Luxurio mocks at Ingenioso's' (1949: 154-55).
- p. 18.21-22 *to seek...humfrey*] Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1391-1447), was the youngest brother of Henry V, and Lord Protector during the minority of Henry VI. Part of St. Paul's, on the south side of the nave, was known as Duke Humphrey's Walk from a tomb thought to be his (he was in fact buried in St. Albans) (DNB). 'From the custom of fellows in want of a dinner betaking themselves to St. Paul's to see if they could meet with someone who would invite them arose the phrase "to dine with D. Humfrey": which meant to do without dinner' (Sugden). Tilley cites Harvey's use of this phrase as its first instance in print (D637); Harvey's immediate reference, however, is to *PP* ('I [. . .] retired me to Paules, to seeke my dinner with Duke *Humfrey*') (Nashe 1958: 1.163.21-24) – it is in St. Paul's that the Devil's agent approaches Pierce.
- p. 18.22 *to licke dishes*] 'It is enough for me to licke dishes here at home' (Nashe 1958: 1.199.29).

- p. 18.23-33 *To ban....downe*] The lines of verse are taken from the start of *PP* (1958: 1.158.1-2, 5-6).
- p. 18.29-30 *Plutarches holesome Morrals*] The *Moralia* is the name under which all of Plutarch's works other than the *Lives* are grouped (*OCD*).
- p. 18.35 *Pol....Amici*] A marginal note to the lines quoted directly above; McKerrow glosses 'Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 138' (Nashe 1.158, 4.89). Fairclough translates 'Egad! you have killed me, my friends' (Horace 1929: 435).
- p. 18.36-37 *a Lordes...purse*] Cf. 'Nothing agrees worse than a lady's (lord's) heart and a beggar's purse', proverbial from c. 1520 (*ODEP*).
- p. 18.38 *Irus*] In the *Odyssey*, a beggar of Ithaca who serves Penelope's suitors: when Ulysses returns in disguise, Irus tries to prevent him from entering the house, for which Ulysses beats him (Homer, *Odyssey*, XVIII.1-107). He was proverbial for his poverty, hence *Leicester's Ghost* 2117-18 ('*Croesus and Irus* [. . .] / The Ritch and poore') (Rogers 1972: 82).
- p. 18.38 *olde Truants*] The earliest sense of 'truant' is 'One who begs without justification; a sturdy beggar; a vagabond; an idle rogue or knave (Often a mere term of abuse)' (*OED* A sb. †1, citing 8 examples between c. 1290 and 1895). *OED*'s earliest instance of 'A lazy, idle person; esp. a child who absents himself from school without leave; hence *fig.*, one who wanders from an appointed place or neglects his duty or business' (2a) is from c. 1449. By contrasting it with 'scholler', Harvey would seem to be using it in the second sense: in the Fourth Letter he is clearly self-applying the phrase (p. 26.34).
- p. 18.39-40 *howe...accordingly*] In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas and his men land on one of the Strophades islands, capture some cattle and goats and eat them. Their feast is interrupted by the Harpies, winged monsters with women's faces and sharp talons, who repeatedly plunder the food (and defecate copiously) until the men chase them off with their swords (Virgil, *Aeneid*, III.209-41).
- p. 18.43 *Tantalus*] Possibly with reference to a line from *PP*: 'It is a pleasant thing, over a full pot, to reade the fable of thirsty *Tantalus*' (Nashe 1958: 1.171.27). Tantalus, king of Lydia, was condemned by the gods to spend eternity standing in a pool of water, which receded when he tried to drink it. Over the pool hung the bough of a fruit-tree, which moved when he tried to take the fruit (Lemprière).
- p. 18.44 *to ban...Heaven*] See p. 18.23. The 'seven planets' are the Pleiad, a 'close group or cluster of small stars in the constellation Taurus, commonly spoken of as seven' (*OED*), and the twelve houses of Heaven the zodiac (see *OED* house sb.<sup>1</sup> 8, which cites another instance of the phrase from 1594).
- p. 18.47 *of foure...religions*] If Harvey uses this number for any particular reason, it may be because it has associations for him and his readers with begging and roguery (see p. 78.49 n.).
- p. 18.48 *an Image of both Churches*] Harvey in *PS* uses the phrase to mean 'an apostate, a timeserver, a trimmer' (p. 130.18). *The Image of Both Churches after the Most Wonderfull and Heauenly Reuelacion of Sainct Iohn the Euangelist* (1548) was a book by John Bale. Josephine Waters Bennett summarizes it as 'a running commentary on the Revelation, identifying the Church of Rome with the Whore of Babylon and the Protestant movement with the champion who descends from heaven on a white horse to rescue the woman in white (the True Church) and slay the dragon. Bale's book went through four editions in four years' (1956: 128-29).



- p. 18.51 *Gibeline*] Cf. E.K., giving the etymology of ‘elf’ and ‘goblin’ in his Gloss to the June eclogue of SC: ‘when all Italy was distract into the factions of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, being two famous houses in Florence, the name began, through their great mischiefs [. . .] to be so [. . .] dreadful, in the people’s ears that, if their children at any time were froward and wanton, they would say to them that the Guelph or the Ghibelline came’ (Spenser 1995: 109).
- p. 18.51 *Barthol*] According to G. Gregory Smith, the ‘Barthol. de Saxoferrato’ referred to by Harvey in *PS* (p. 77.31) is the same as the ‘Bartolus’ alluded to by Samuel Daniel in his *Defence of Rhyme*: an Italian jurist of the 14th century (1904: 2.269, 438). Leishman (1949: 182 *n.*) quotes from *Virgedemiarum* II.iii.19-20: ‘Genus and Species long since barefoote went, / Upon their ten-toes in wild wanderment: / Whiles father *Bartoll* on his footclooth rode / Upon high pavement gayly silver-strowd’ (Hall 1949: 26). Joseph Warton explained this as ‘jurisprudence leads to stations and offices of honour; while the professor of logic is poor, and obliged to walk on foot’ (Leishman 1949: 182 *n.*).
- p. 19.8-9 *Ah...so*] Nashe 1958: 1.157.26-28.
- p. 19.12 *Malo...Achilles*] The two Latin phrases are from Juvenal, VIII.269-71. G.G. Ramsay translates, ‘I would rather that Thersites were your father [. . .] than that you should have been begotten by Achilles and be like Thersites’ (Juvenal 1918: 181).
- p. 19.16-17 *Gramercy...causam*] The Latin phrase appears in margin of the first edition of *PP* (sig. A1<sup>v</sup>), next to ‘I grew to consider how many base men [. . .] had wealth at command [. . .] have I more wit than all these (thought I to my selfe)? [. . .] am I better borne? [. . .] and yet am I a begger?’; McKerrow identifies the Latin as ‘Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 150’ (Nashe 1958: 1.158.17-26, 4.90). These are Ulysses’ words to Ajax, who has cited his parentage in their dispute over who should claim the shield of Aeacides: Miller translates, ‘Weight the cause on desert alone’ (Ovid 1916: 2.239).
- p. 19.18-19 *It is...Theame*] Harvey seems to have returned to Cambridge after getting his D.C.L. in 1586, and to have relocated to London *c.* 1588 (see Stern 1979: 84-85).
- p. 19.20 *Catilinarie, & Phillippiques*] This phrase is the first instance in *OED* of ‘Catilinary’, and the only instance of its being used as a noun. It is also the first instance in *OED* of ‘Philippic’, defined as ‘Name for the orations of Demosthenes against Philip king of Macedon in defence of Athenian liberty; hence applied to Cicero’s orations against Antony, and *gen.* to any discourse of the nature of a bitter attack, invective, or denunciation’ (*A sb.* 1). ‘Catilinary’ presumably refers to Cicero’s speech denouncing Catiline in the senate (see p. 6.19). Both words were mocked by Nashe as instances of Harvey’s ‘inkhornisme’ (1958: 1.316.12).
- p. 19.24 *that*] i.e. ‘that which’: see Abbott 1870: 164-67 for similar syntax.
- p. 19.24 *Osorius*] Jéronimo Osório da Fonseca (1506-80), a Portuguese priest. According to Eleanor Rosenberg, he ‘was revered throughout Europe as a master of style’ (1955: 140). In 1563 he published an epistle to Queen Elizabeth, exhorting her to return to the Catholic church: this was answered (in Latin) by Walter Haddon by order of the government later the same year, beginning a controversy which ended only with Haddon’s death (see Ryan 1953). The work of his which Harvey has in mind is perhaps *De verae Nobilitate*, referred to in *Gratulationum Valdinensium* (1578: 9).

- p. 19.24 *Patritius*] Francesco Patrizi (1529-97), whose *Della Historia Diece Dialoghi* (1560) was adapted and abridged by Thomas Blundeville as *The true order and Methode of wryting and reading Hystories, according to the precepts of Francisco Patricio, and Accontio Tridentino* (1574). Blundeville is praised by Harvey in (p. 68.26); like 'Accontio' (Giacomo Concio) he was part of the Earl of Leicester's literary circle of patronage. Blundeville's translation (like two earlier treatises of 1566 and 1570) was dedicated to Leicester, whose device, the bear and the ragged staff, appears on the verso of the title-page. If in the sentence above Harvey has in mind a statement of his from this work, a relevant one in this context might be the distinction between the two things necessary to be learned about a 'dooer': 'wee learne what hee is, and what maner of man, by knowing hys name, the name of his family, the countrie where hee was borne and bredde, and such like things: but he is knowne as chiefe dooer, by his power, skill, and industrie' (Dick 1939-40: 149, 151, 152, 153-54, 157). *EB* notes Patritius's 'almost incessant controversies with the Aristotelians' when at Rome, which may have endeared him to Harvey.
- p. 19.30 *blisse*] i.e. 'bless' (see p. 15.24 *n.*).
- p. 19.32-33 *a worlde of moates*] i.e. excessive criticism (see Matthew 7.3).
- p. 19.35 *Sir Humphrey Gilbert*] Gilbert (1537-83), explorer and soldier, was drowned whilst on a voyage to claim Newfoundland for Elizabeth I (*ODNB*).
- p. 19.41-43 *Oh...Earth*] 'When the Scripture would express a very extraordinary increase and multiplication, it uses the similitude of the *stars* of heaven, or of the sand of the sea' (Cruden). According to Cruden, the phrase 'Beasts of the Earth' is less common in the Bible than 'Beasts of the Field': Harvey presumably chooses the former in an attempt to correspond with the four elements. Cf. 'M. Fier must be the Pastour, M. Aier the Doctour, goodman Water the Deacon, and goodman Earth the Alderman of the Church' (p. 103.5-6). The respective natures of the elements are explained by E.M.W. Tillyard: 'Heaviest and lowest was the cold and dry element, the earth [. . .] Outside earth was the region of cold and moist, the water [. . .] Outside water was the region of hot and moist, the air [. . .] Noblest of all is fire, which next below the sphere of the moon enclosed the globe of air that girded water and earth' (1943: 69-70).
- p. 19.51 *Wher...other?*] McKerrow, glossing '*Homo homini Dæmon*', says 'See Erasmus *Adagia*, chil. i. cent. 1. 69 "*Homo homini Deus*", where the saying [. . .] is explained as applicable to one who renders such assistance to another as could only be expected from the gods. The meaning seems, however, to have been somewhat indefinite, while the equivocal word "*daemon*" led apparently to its being used jokingly in a quite opposite sense': he sees these lines of Harvey's as being 'doubtless' an allusion to this saying (Nashe 1958: 4.141).
- p. 20.11-13 *And...Judgement*] Warren B. Austin hypothesizes that the 'overlooving Sonnet' of Spenser's is the one that Harvey appends to his own verses at the end of *FL*: this, he suggests, was intended as a 'commendatory poem for a book of satires', some of which may have been the '*Satyricall Verses*' of Harvey's which Immerito mentions in *3PL*, and of which '*Speculum Tuscanismi*' and the poem here quoted are specimens (1947b: 20-23). Woudhuysen seconds this, despite the dating of the sonnet to 1586: 'the phrase "long since embraced" suggests that Spenser's sonnet is much later than the verses' (1980: 170). Perhaps by 'unsatyricall Satyres' Harvey is making

the same distinction made by Joseph Hall in dividing his *Virgedemiarum* into 'Tooth-lesse' and 'byting' satires (1949: 5, 45): something approximating to the difference between Horatian and Juvenalian satire.

p. 20.17 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.

p. 20.22 *bowels*] Biller glosses 'Depths' (1969: 60a); cf. however 'the seat of the tender and sympathetic emotions' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3).

p. 20.33 *hoat-spurres*] Brydges, by reading 'Hotspurs' (not 'hotspurs' as he had for p. 17.40) (1815: pt. 4.31, 35) makes it seem that Harvey is referring to an individual historical figure (i.e. Henry Percy) as an exemplar of a type (as he had on p. 14.11-12 with 'yong Phaetons, younge Icary, young Choræbi [. . .] young Babingtons') rather than to a type. *OED* gives instances from 1586 onward of the word as 'a heady or rash person' (1).

p. 20.35 *Cum...Privilegio*] Freely, by allowance. Ingenioso in *IParnassus* 157 claims (of his career as a printed author) 'I have bene pasted to everie poste in Paules churchyarde *cum gratia et privilegio*'. Leishman glosses, 'The phrase *cum gratia et privilegio Regis* was commonly used by printers before the year 1538, when Henry VIII, by his Proclamation concerning Heretical Books, enjoined that no book should be printed until it had been examined and licensed. He was careful to draw a distinction between this new and necessary license and the royal privilege which conferred upon a particular printer the sole right of printing, during a specified period, a particular book, and enjoined that to the phrase *cum privilegio regali*, with which the printer had been accustomed to proclaim this privilege, should be added the words *am imprimendum solum* [. . .] Nevertheless the old formula was still occasionally used' (Leishman 1949: 143 *n*.). '*Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*' is similarly used in a figurative way in *Taming of the Shrew* IV.4.88.

p. 20.38 *with advauntage*] Perhaps this means 'at least' or 'and then more'. Cf. *Henry V* IV.4.50-51: 'but he'll remember, with advantages, / What feats he did that day': Craik glosses, 'with additions' (Shakespeare 1995a: 290 *n*.). 'Advantage' could mean 'interest on money lent' (*OED sb.* †7).

p. 20.39 *the raylingest Sophister*] 'Sophister' has implied associations with argument which the *OED* definition does not convey. Nashe in the first (apologetic) preface to *CT* describes his invective against Harvey as 'the rayling of a Sophister in the schooles' (1958: 2.12.25). Students were expected to attend disputes in their first year and participate in their second and third years: Hunter suggests the way in which this may have bred the intellectual habit of contention (1962: 44).

p. 20.41 *Carters logicke*] 'Carter' during this period was used 'As a type of low birth or breeding: a rude, uncultured man, a clown' (*OED* <sup>1</sup> 2b). McKerrow compares Thomas Wilson's *Rule of Reason* (1551): 'Som cal such rough dealyng, Carters Sophistrie, when the fiste reasoneth a matter by buffites, which the tongue should prove by Argumentes' (Nashe 1958: 4.192).

p. 20.44 *cooled with a Carde*] *OED* defines 'cooling card' as 'app. a term of some unknown game, applied *fig.* or punningly to anything that "cools" a person's passion or enthusiasm' (*OED card sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2a). C.F. Tucker Brooke, glossing *1 Henry VI* V.3.84, 'There all is marr'd; there lies a cooling card', has the slightly different 'a card (played by one's adversary) which dashes one's hope' (quoted Shakespeare 1962b: 116*n*.).

p. 20.48 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.

- p. 21.3-4 *such...wisedome*] An ironic echo of Proverbs 26.4: 'Geve not the foole an answeare after his foolishnesse, lest thou become lyke unto hym'.
- p. 21.11 *I hope... corne*] Cf. 'All this wind shakes no corn', proverbial from 1546. James Kelly in *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs* (1721) glossed 'Spoken to boasting and pretending People whom the Scots call Windy People' (Tilley W410).
- p. 21.11-12 *fellow-schollers...say*] See p. 6.29. Harvey's sense in this phrase is a little oblique: however, given the irenic tone of this passage as a whole, he may be appealing to his and Nashe's shared pasts as Cambridge men. John Caius, M.D. (1510-73), was personal physician to Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. A fellow of Gonville Hall, Cambridge, from 1533, in 1557 he was given a royal charter to re-found it as Caius and Gonville Hall, of which he became Master. He was unpopular with the fellows, partly because of his Catholicism and partly because of his abrasive personality (he expelled over 20 of the fellows). See *DNB*, Mullinger 1884: 157-59, 200-01, 243-45. Harvey in his *Letter-Book* mentions 'the trim lattin phrases and witty proverbes of him that built Caius College' (1884: 71).
- p. 21.12-13 *made...wine*] Retorting to this, Nashe mentions that white wine was used for washing wounds (1958: 1.327.28-34), which, since Harvey's context is reconciliation, is perhaps his reason for specifying it. For this use of wine, see *Lazarillo de Tormes* (Rowland 1586: sigs Biiii<sup>v</sup>, C<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 21.18-19 *as the enchanting... Hell*] Ovid in *Metamorphoses* X.1-49 relates how, shortly after their wedding, Orpheus's bride was bitten by a snake, and he travelled to the underworld to reclaim her. He addressed his plea to Pluto and Persephone in song, accompanying himself on the lyre: on hearing him the spirits wept, the torments of the damned ceased, and his wish was granted.
- p. 21.25-26 *The intoxicate...Prince*] Glossing *Virgidemiarum* V.ii.77 ('the blacke Prince is broken loose againe'), Davenport cites this passage: 'Normally, the phrase was used of the Devil [. . .] but Harvey also fuses Pluto and the Devil' (Hall 1949: 243).
- p. 21.29-33 *For I thancke...more*] Nashe's harangue against Richard Harvey ends: 'go to the chiefe Beame of thy Benefice, and there [. . .] with a trice, trusse up thy life in the string of thy Sancebell. So be it, pray Pen, Incke, and paper, on their knees, that they may not bee troubled with thee any more' (Nashe 1958: 1.198.31-199.3).
- p. 21.36-39 *Two...dalliance*] Biller suggests that Harvey is here referring to Greene's advice to Nashe (as 'yong Juvenall') in *GWW*, and Chettle's *Kind-Harts Dreame*, in which the ghosts of Greene and Tarlton appear (1969: 66a). However, she herself suggests that *Kind-Harts Dreame*, with its reference to a 'twofold Edition of Invectives' against Greene, appeared after *Three Letters* (1969: xci). Another interpretation would be that Aretino and Tarlton are the two 'platformers' admonishing the third (Nashe). For Nashe as a new Tarlton, cf. p. 14.30-31 and p. 16.37. For Nashe as Aretino's successor in blasphemy, cf. p. 121.32-38: 'Aretine, and the Divels Oratour, would be ashamed to be convicted, or endighted of the least respective, or ceremonious phrase [. . .] ô wretched Atheisme, Hell but a scarecrow, and Heaven but a woonderclout in their doctrine [. . .] Whom durst not he appeach, revile or blaspheme, that forged the abominablest booke in the world, *De tribus impostoribus mundi*'. McPherson calls this 'an attack upon Moses, Christ, and Mahomet' (1969: 1555).

- p. 21.51 *Pindarus*] ‘A Theban poete, and chiefe of theim whiche were called *Lyrici*. Wherefore Alexander, whan he destroyed the cite of Thebes, caused the house of Pindarus to be preserved’ (Cooper).
- p. 22.1 *the Lande...hony*] Smith reads ‘floweth’ (1904: 2.234): in Exodus 3.8, God promises to lead the Israelites to ‘a lande that floweth with mylke and hony’.
- p. 22.2-3 *the sweete...Buchanan*] George Buchanan (1506-82), Scottish scholar, tutor to James VI. While teaching at the university of Coimbra in Portugal, he was incarcerated on charges of heresy (1550-52), during which period he translated the Psalms into Latin (*ODNB*). These were published in 1580 (*STC* 3983). Harvey’s copy of Buchanan’s *De Maria Scotorum Regina* was personally inscribed by the author (Stern 1979: 205): for Buchanan’s contact with Leicester’s circle (including Harvey), and the reception of his texts within that circle, see Woudhuysen 1980: 76-82.
- p. 22.3-4 *the wise...translated*] The only independent English translation of Proverbs (as opposed to sermons or commentary on it) mentioned in *STC* is the version by John Hall, first wrongly attributed to Thomas Sternhold, which had gone through four editions by 1592: see *STC* 2760, 12631-12631.7. The Proverbs were translated into English by Thomas Drant; these were not published, although they were licensed for the press in 1567 (*ODNB*). For Harvey’s admiration for Drant, see p. 79.9 *n*.
- p. 22.4-10 The presence of Nashe’s name among the ‘sons of the Muses’ praised by Harvey was interpreted by G. Gregory Smith as ‘a slip on the part of Harvey, or (more likely) a would-be compliment to add point to the retort’ (1904: 2.429). Nashe himself called it ‘a small seeming amendes for the injuries thou hast done mee’ (1958: 1.325.29). Nashe’s name is all the more incongruous here since, as Biller notes (1969: 67a), Spenser, Fraunce, Watson and Daniel are all named by him in some marginalia as chief among ‘owr flourishing metricians’ (1913: 233.3-5).
- p. 22.7 *Abraham France*] Like Stanihurst, Fraunce is a writer who shares Harvey’s views on prosody: like Nashe, he had written satire on the Harveys. If Harvey did not in fact know Fraunce, they certainly moved in the same circles: in *Lamentations of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis* (1587) he ‘quotes extensively’ from the ‘as yet unpublished *Faerie Queene*’ (Fraunce 1975: ix), and William Barker notes that all his work ‘was dedicated to members of Philip Sidney’s circle’ (*ODNB*). The last concrete information about Fraunce has him unsuccessfully applying for the post of Queen’s Solicitor at the Court of the Welsh Marches between August 1591 and April 1592. Due to an error by the 19th-century antiquarian Joseph Hunter, it was long thought that Fraunce had still been alive in 1633. Michael G. Brennan claims that ‘lines contained in “The Induction” to Thomas Lodge’s *Phillis* indicate that Fraunce had died before its publication in 1593. These lines mention ‘the fore-bred brothers’ of Lodge’s verse ‘who in theyr Swan-like songes *Amintas* wept’; Brennan states that the brothers are Fraunce and Watson ‘whose Latin verses *Amyntas Thomæ Watsoni* (1585) were translated into English by Fraunce in 1587 and further revised for inclusion in his *Ivychurch* volume of 1591. Lodge must have known that both poets were dead when he wrote these lines since it is a literary commonplace that swans only sing as their death approaches’ (1983: 391). Fraunce’s *The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch. Entitled Amintas Dale* ‘was entered in the Stationers’ Register to Thomas Woodcocke on October 2 1592 and was published the same year’ (Fraunce 1975: v). This features caricatures of Gabriel, Richard and John Harvey, allegorizing the

involvement of the two younger brothers in astrology: Virginia F. Stern calls the satire 'genial' but notes that some thunderous comments by Richard Harvey in *Philadelphvs* (1593: sig. C1<sup>v</sup>) seem to rank Fraunce alongside Nashe and Lyly (1979: 89-91). William Barker thinks that at the time he praised Fraunce, Harvey had not yet read it (*ODNB* art. Fraunce).

- p. 22.7 *Thomas Watson*] There were two contemporary writers of this name. The elder (1515?-1584) was Bishop of Lincoln 1557-59 and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge; the younger (1546?-1592) was author of *The Hekatompathia, or Passionate Centuries of Love* (1582). Harvey would seem to have confused the two, judging by some marginalia in which he refers to Sophocles' *Antigone*, 'Ab Episcopo Vatsono tralatam', whereas it is generally thought that this translation was the work of the younger Watson (see Clubb 1966). In *PS*, Harvey clearly means the poet on p. 63.28, and the Bishop on p. 91.20 (he was deprived of his see in 1559 and spent the rest of his life in custody). Nashe in *HWY* identifies the person here 'praised amongst the famous Schollers of our time' as 'M. Watson'; the Bishop he is careful (e.g. in *PP*) to call 'Doctor Watson', as Clubb and McKerrow note (Nashe 1958: 3.131.6, 1.201.25, 4.126).
- p. 22.7-8 *Samuell Daniell*] Harvey seems to have shared patrons with Daniel (1562/3-1619). Several of the sonnets in Daniel's *Delia* sequence were appended to the pirated 1591 edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, in the publication of which John Pitcher thinks Daniel may have been complicit, and the authorized edition of *Delia* was dedicated to Sidney's sister Mary the following year (*ODNB*).
- p. 22.10-11 *Nobler...Muses*] Cf. Harvey's allusion in *PS* to 'the sweetest daughter of the sweetest Muses' (p. 120.23), which McKerrow identified as the Countess of Pembroke (Nashe 1958: 5.89 n.).
- p. 22.12 *that, which I abhorre*] Perhaps Harvey means flattery: cf. p. 22.40-41.
- p. 22.27 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 22.31-32 *Let them...Swanne*] Juvenal describes a chaste woman as 'rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cycno' (VI.165), which Ramsay translates as 'a prodigy as rare upon the earth as a black swan' (1918: 97). Harvey is possibly making reference to the passage in *PP* where Nashe complains that 'the Coblers crowe, for crying but *Ave Cæsar*' is 'more esteemed than rarer birds, that have warbled sweeter notes unrewarded' (1958: 1.174.12-14).
- p. 22.37-39 *Or seeing...her-selfe*] According to Lemprière, the goddess Fama was 'generally represented blowing a trumpet', as are the figures of 'Fama Bona' and 'Fama Mala' ('good and evil fame' in Jonson's commendatory verses) on the title-page of Raleigh's *History of the World* (Jonson 1975: 169-70). This figure unites the two senses, 'public report, common talk' and 'the character attributed to a person or thing by report [. . .] reputation' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1a, 2a), both of which are in play here. Bacon collected some of the legends about her in 'Of Fame' (1972: 174).
- p. 22.39-40 *to the voice...God*] McKerrow, glossing Winter's lines in *SLW* 1426, '*Vox populi, vox Dei*; / The vulgars voice, it is the voice of God', says 'The saying is older than the eighth century, but its actual source is unknown' (Nashe 1958: 3.278, 4.439).

## The Fourth Letter

The Fourth Letter, as Nashe notes, deals very little with himself or Greene, and he implies that the references to them have been added subsequently (1958: 1.327.4-8). Hibbard summarizes it as ‘a justification of his own action in bothering to answer his enemies [. . .] given up to an exposition of his general attitude to life and his preference for action as opposed to theory’ (1962: 196).

- p. 23.11 *with...stake*] Reluctantly. ‘As willingly as the bear goes to the stake’ was proverbial (see Tilley B127). Bears were tied to a stake before being baited. Cf. *Macbeth* V.7.1: ‘They have tied me to a stake: I cannot fly, / But, bear-like I must fight the course’. For other allusions see *Julius Caesar* IV.1.48-49, *Lear* III.7.53, *Twelfth Night* III.1.120-21.
- p. 23.12-13 *AEsops...friends*] An allusion to the seventh Fable of Aesop’s third Book: a hart, drinking from a fountain, sees the reflection of his antlers, and praises them while dispraising his legs. Then, hearing barking dogs approaching, he tries to hide in a bush, but is prevented by his antlers: Aesop concludes ‘men ought not to dispraise the thing which is profitable, nor prayse ye thing which is unprofitable’ (1585: fol. 54<sup>v</sup>). Harvey is acknowledging that silence might have been a more profitable course of action.
- p. 23.28 *they that...heare*] Christ uses the phrase ‘He that hath eares to heare, let him heare’ (and variations) with regard to his speaking in parables: see Matthew 13.9-17, Mark 4.9-12, Luke 8.8-10.
- p. 23.29 *Incckehorne-pads*] A ‘pad’ is a toad (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1 †), understood as a poisonous creature (see p. 59.2-3 & *n.*, p. 61.27-28 & *n.*).
- p. 23.33 *duety*] Harvey means his duty to his father and brothers (see p. 20.28-31).
- p. 23.38 *to dishonour their Patrons*] This seems to have general application, but Harvey specifically says this about Nashe twice in *PS* (p. 121.21, p. 137.33-34). Nashe responds with denial in *SN* (1958.1.330.36 *ff.*).
- p. 23.39-40 *reclaime his unbrideled selfe*] Harvey’s pun involves the language of falconry. ‘Reclaim’ can be applied both to the calling back of a hawk and to personal reformation (*OED v.* † 1a, 2b), and ‘unbridled’ could be used figuratively, to mean ‘absolutely ungoverned or uncontrolled’, with all the pejorative force in the adjective (*OED* 1).
- p. 23.40 *some bold Gawwins*] Judging by a reference in *PS* – ‘thou art Sir Gawin revived, or rather Terroure in person. Yet shall I [. . .] tell thee, where thy slashing Long-sword commeth short?’ – Harvey thought of Sir Gawain as the archetype of the fearsome warrior (p. 78.30-33). According to B.J. Whiting, however, ‘Gawain’s outstanding characteristic, if we may judge from repetition alone, was courtesy’, and it is as the flower of courtesy that Gawain is alluded to in *The Squire’s Tale* (1947: 215, 230). In this capacity he was often contrasted with Sir Kay, and Whiting cites a line from the Tudor interlude *Thersytes* (‘Were arte thou gawyn the curtesse and Cay the crabed?’) as proof that ‘the contrast was still alive in the sixteenth century’ (1947: 223). Here, unless by ‘bold’ Harvey is making reference to the fact that in the prose romances in which he appears Gawain is ‘occasionally imprudent’ (Whiting 1947: 208), his mistake shows his general disdain for medieval

- literature: Harvey generally alludes to medieval figures in the context of superstition, bragging and lies.
- p. 23.44 *extreamely...obscure*] See p. 10.30 & n.
- p. 23.47-48 *the swoord...Infamy*] See p. 12.27-28 n.
- p. 23.49 *painted sheath*] The phrases ‘painted sheath’ and ‘painted scabbard’ are used in various proverbs to describe something that gives an illusory impression of strength, beauty or virtue (Tilley S291, S1048).
- p. 23.50 *ratling baby*] See p. 18.4-5 & n.
- p. 23.50 *old...Castell*] In *1 Henry IV* 1.2.41, Hal calls Falstaff ‘my old lad of the castle’: Humphreys glosses ‘a cant term for a roisterer [. . .] In medieval homiletic literature the tavern was often the devil’s castle, which may explain the term. Shakespeare’s audience would know, too, that one of Southwark’s principal brothels was called The Castle’ (1960: 12).
- p. 23.51 *rappinge bable*] Cf. Appendix B, 10-11: Bond glosses ‘bable’ as ‘fool’s bauble’ (Lyly 1902: 3.580). Harvey seems to be particularly referring to this phrase of Lyly’s on p. 104.13-14, but there is evidence to suggest that such a phrase was commonplace. Nashe, in the second preface to *CT* (preparing for a verbal onslaught against Harvey) writes, ‘of diverse great divines I askt [. . .] whether it were lawfull to rap a foole with his owne bable’ (1958: 2.181.25-27); *Martins Months minde* claims in the dedicatory epistle, ‘I have [. . .] bobde them with their owne bable [. . .] we shall reach them a rappe, as they will never clawe of’ (Nashe 1589: sig. A2’).
- p. 24.2 *in the plaine field*] i.e. in open combat. ‘Field’ could mean ‘ground on which a battle is fought’, and ‘in the field’ ‘engaged in military operations’, although *OED* gives no examples of the latter earlier than 1724 (*sb.* 1 6a, 7). The phrase appears in *Epistle*, where Marprelate says that Whitgift ‘left the cause you defend in the plaine field / and for shame threw downe his weapons’ (p. 17), and in *Hay any worke for Cooper*, where he challenges Cooper with ‘you & I must go out alone into the plaine fields / and there we wil try it out even by plaine syllogismes’ (p. 1). (For Marprelate’s habitual use of the language of violence, see Tribble 1993: 108.) Cf. also *Euphues*: ‘hee sincketh under his burden, and giveth over in the playne fielde’ (Lyly 1902: 1.277.31-32).
- p. 24.5-8 *The...purpose*] See p. 16.22 n.
- p. 24.5-8 *The least...purpose*] Fabius’ general of horse, Minucius, stirred up ill-will against him among the troops. He was accused by the Tribunes (one of whom was related to Minucius) first of cowardice and then of treason, was summoned back to Rome and made to share command of the army with Minucius. In the ensuing battle, Minucius’ defeat proved Fabius’ course of action to have been right. See Plutarch, *Life of Fabius Maximus* V-XII.
- p. 24.16-17 *Some...Moone*] Cf. Tilley M1114, ‘He casts beyond the moon’: Tilley interprets this, ‘He indulges in wild conjectures’.
- p. 24.19-20 *Let...Philosophy*] As the rest of this sentence clearly relates to Greene, this is presumably a reflection on Nashe: cf. p. 16.8-10 for the ‘diabolical’ nature of *PP*. Biller sees a specific reference to Agrippa’s *De occulta Philosophia* (1969: 94a).
- p. 24.20-24 *It...practise*] Cf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, II.xii.43: ‘as Socrates used to express it so admirably, “the nearest way to glory [. . .] is to strive to be what you wish to be thought to be”’ (1926: 211).



- p. 24.24-27 *There....superiour*] G.R. Hibbard saw here 'an allusion to the sceptical Pyrrhonist line of thought that developed in the sixteenth century and is associated with the name of Sextus Empiricus. Henry Cornelius Agrippa's *De Incertitudine, etc.*, so extensively used by Nashe, is probably the work Harvey is thinking of' (quoted Biller 1969: 94a).
- p. 24.28 *they....chinne*] *ODEP* cites instances from 1530 (C349).
- p. 24.30-31 *A reed....staffe*] Cf. Isaiah 36.6 ('thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed'): *ODEP* cites instances of the proverbs 'To lean upon a broken reed' or 'trust to a broken staff' (R61, S805).
- p. 24.31 *as chaungeable...Moone*] Proverbial: *ODEP* (M111) cites *The Romaunt of the Rose*.
- p. 24.33 *No Education...Cyrus*] Biller relates this to the example of an ideal ruler embodied in Xenophon's (largely fictitious) *Cyropædia* (1969: 95a). Another possible interpretation, given Harvey's context, is that 'the Trainement of Cyrus' means an impoverished upbringing. Cyrus, King of Persia, was the grandson of King Astyages by his daughter Mandane. A dream of Astyages's having been expounded to him as meaning that a child of Mandane's should overthrow him, he had her married to a man whom he considered of low birth. When his dreams continued, he ordered the child to be killed, but the cowherd to whom the job was entrusted secretly brought him up as his own (*Herodotus* I.107-13).
- p. 24.42 *as...declared*] Harold S. Wilson identifies the allusion as 'his *Rhetor*, two orations dealing with the functions of nature, art, and practice in the preparation of the orator. "Practice" receives lengthiest treatment and is represented as much the most important' (1948: 711 n.).
- p. 24.51-p. 25.1 *The vayne...discourses*] Hibbard sees this as a specific attack on Greene and Nashe, the latter of whom, he says, is here identified as 'the author of *An Almond for a Parrot*' (1962: 197). Nashe in *SN* seems to see p. 25.24-25 as having relevance to him. See p. 38.42-46 & n. The parrot is proverbial for its meaningless prattling (see Tilley P60), just as the peacock is for its vanity (Tilley P157).
- p. 25.3 *Rodolph Agricola*] Rudolf Agricola (1442-85), humanist born in Gröningen; according to *ADB* his most important work was *De inventione dialectica*, which was critical of previous accounts of the subject.
- p. 25.3 *Philip Melancthon*] Philip Schwartzertdt (1497-1560), German ecclesiastical and educational reformer. Coming into contact with Luther at Wittenberg, he began to study theology and became one of the leading Protestant theologians. See *OER* art. Melanchthon for an account of his refining Erasmus' method of biblical hermeneutics and rejection of scholastic theology. This meant re-evaluating the authority of Aristotle, which is perhaps why Harvey places him with Vives and Ramus.
- p. 25.3 *Ludovike Vives*] Juan Luis Vives (1492/3-1540). Spanish humanist, friend of More and Erasmus. Among other posts, he was tutor to the young Mary Tudor. Harvey perhaps has in mind his *In pseudodialecticis* and *De disciplinis*, both of which criticise the supposed corruption of learning by scholastic philosophers (*ODNB*).
- p. 25.4 *Peter Ramus*] Pierre de la Ramée (1515-72), Huguenot scholar most famous for his attempt to reform the logic of Aristotle. Harvey's first printed text – the 1575 *Ode Natalitia* mentioned by E.K. in his gloss to *SC* September 176 (Spenser 1995: 156) – was also the first work by an Englishman on Ramus (see Austin 1946 for a brief summary). Gerald Snare also sees Ramus' influence on Harvey's

first English publication, *3PL* (1970: 24-33). The biography of Ramus by Johann Thomas Freigius states that the thesis which won him his MA was ‘everything that Aristotle said was false’; this appears to have been a myth (Glenn 1973: 367). However, it was apparently the rallying-cry of some of his English adherents (Guy 1988: 413-14). As a Calvinist who had died in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, Ramus was something of a martyr: *Ode Natalitia* compares him to Saint Stephen (Austin 1946: 246). His death is mentioned in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* (1837-41: 8.750), and staged in Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris* (see Glenn 1973). Partly for this reason, his logic seems to have appealed particularly to Puritans: in *Parnassus*, the Cambridge Puritan Stupido is an admirer of Ramus (see Leishman 1949: 68-71). For a description of the impact made on sixteenth-century Cambridge by Ramus’ theories (with Harvey as one of his chief apostles), see Mullinger 1884: 404-13.

- p. 25.9 *Archytas*] D. c. 394 B.C. ‘The son of Hestiaeus of Tarentum [. . .] a follower of the Pythagorean philosophy, and an able astronomer and geometrician [. . .] He invented some mathematical instruments, and made a wooden pigeon which could fly [. . .] He is also the reputed inventor of the screw and the pulley’ (Lemprière).
- p. 25.10 *naturall Magie*] Smith emends to ‘Magic’ (1904: 2.237), although Nashe cites the word in this form when objecting to it in *SN* (1958: 1.316.17), and *OED* gives this as one of three instances 1592-1685 of an obsolete form of ‘magic’. Biller quotes from a headnote to *OED*’s definition of ‘magic’: ‘natural magic, *i.e.*, that which did not involve recourse to the agency of personal spirits, was in the Middle Ages usually regarded as a legitimate department of study and practice’ (1969: 97a). Agrippa in *De Vanitate* distinguishes between ‘Magicke in generall’ and ‘Naturall magicke’ as two different disciplines (1569: fols 54<sup>v</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>); see also Scot 1584: 484-88. Harvey’s interest in magic is demonstrated by some manuscripts which he owned (Stern 1979: 242).
- p. 25.11 *Archimedes*] ‘A famous Geometrician of Syracusis, in Sicilie, who by his arte dyd long tyme resiste Marcellus, Capitaine of the Romaynes, that besieged the citie [. . .] Some suppose, he first invented the making of materiall spheres & globes [. . .] He made also an horologe, wherein might bee seene the true course of the heavens and spheres. He was afore the incarnation .192. yeres’ (Cooper).
- p. 25.11 *Apollonius*] As Cooper says, this was ‘The name of dyvers learned men’; he singles out ‘one borne in Greece, about the yere of our lorde .90. [. . .] excellently learned in the misticall knowledge of philosophie & natural magike [. . .] he was had in great admiration, for the mervayles that he shewed. And at last, beyng above the age of .80. yeres, in a great assemblie of people, was sodainly conveyghed awaye, no man knoweth how nor whither, as Philostratus, who wryteth his lyfe, sayeth’. There was also ‘A geometrician of Perga, in Pamphylia, who lived about 242 B.C.’, and ‘was the first who endeavoured to explain the apparent stopping and retrograde motion of the planets’ (Lemprière), but Harvey mentions several times in his marginalia ‘The Miracles of [. . .] Apollonius Tyanæus [. . .] worthy all mens commendation’, whose biography was written by Flavius Philostratus (1913: 97.6-9, 245).
- p. 25.11 *Regiomontanus*] Johann Müller (1436-76); the Latinised form of his name comes from his birthplace, Königsberg in Franconia (Nashe 1958: 4.195). Hallam calls him ‘the greatest

mathematician of the fifteenth century'; he died in Rome, 'whither he had been called to assist in rectifying the calendar'. Hallam states that his calculations of the positions of the sun and moon for the thirty years after his death were 'the best [. . .] that had been made in Europe [. . .] It has been said that Regiomontanus was inclined to the theory of the earth's motion' (Hallam 1882: 1.189-91). The second part (pp. 87-132) of John Harvey's *Discoverive Probleme* deals with a prediction about the year 1588 attributed to Regiomontanus 'but woorthily suspected by some learned men, never to have proceeded from that excellent mathematician' (1588: 89).

- p. 25.11 *Bacon*] Roger Bacon (1214?–1294?), English philosopher. Few details about his life are known. By 1257 he had joined the Franciscan order; at this time his superiors sent him to Paris, where he was incarcerated for ten years. Subsequently released, he returned to England; in 1278 he was condemned by the general of the Franciscan order for holding heretical opinions, and incarcerated again. During his first period of imprisonment he was contacted by Pope Clement IV, who commissioned 'a general treatise on the sciences' from him. None of Bacon's works had been translated into English by 1592; his work addressed to the Pope, 'Opus Majus ad Clementam Papam', was not published until 1733. As a result, 'Not till the eighteenth century was it known [. . .] that Bacon was more than an ingenious alchemist, a skilled mechanician, and possibly a dabbler in the black arts' (*DNB*).
- p. 25.11 *Cardan*] The number of areas of knowledge across which Girolamo Cardano's activity was spread was remarked on by his contemporary Hugo Blotius (see Grafton 1999: 16). Stern comments that, in his marginalia, 'Harvey frequently compares other men's writings to those by Cardano in the same field and almost invariably finds the latter sounder or more knowledgeable. There are allusions to so many of Cardano's writings that it seems likely Harvey had read most of his works and undoubtedly owned a number of them' (1979: 265). For his activities in algebra, see Hallam (1882: 1.459-63), who presents him as more of a promoter of the discoveries of others than an innovator. The difference in tone between this reference to him and Harvey's derogatory reference to his astrology in *PS* (p. 64.11-12) is perhaps due to Harvey's reservations about astrology as a whole, attested to by Richard Harvey's *Astrological Discourse* (1583: sig. A<sup>r-v</sup>) and allegorized by Abraham Fraunce in *The Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch* (see Stern 1979: 89-91).
- p. 25.12 *the Secretaries...Nature*] According to *OED* (secretary *sb.*<sup>1</sup> A 1d), the phrase 'secretary of nature; one acquainted with the secrets of Nature [. . .] doubtless originally belonged to' the sense 'One whose office it is to write for another', 'being suggested by the title γραμματεὺς τῆς φύσεως, applied (in Suidas) to Aristotle' but in the examples it cites, 'the word is taken in its etymological sense'; the earliest instance is Harvey in *3PL* (Spenser 1912: 615).
- p. 25.15-16 *as good...better*] *ODEP* cites examples from 1546 (W314).
- p. 25.21 *Neoptolemus*] Biller comments, 'This name seems to stand for the type of the dilettante; I have been unable to discover whom Harvey has in mind. Neither Neoptolemus, tragic poet of Athens, nor Achilles' son of that name, seems to fit' (1969: 98a). Smith identified him as 'the Alexandrian critic Neoptolemus of Parium', without giving his reasons (1904: 2.429).
- p. 25.28 *There...weaver*] Biller calls this 'Perhaps the most puzzling of the debatable substantive variants', but concludes that 'acceptance of the *B* reading would imply an acceptance of "tailor" and

“weaver” as more or less synonymous, a word-pairing to which I would be unwilling to acquiesce’ (1969: ciii).

p. 25.30 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 n.

p. 25.33 *pregnancy*] ‘Fertility, productiveness, inventiveness, imaginative power; quickness or readiness (of wit)’ (*OED* <sup>1</sup> 3a). Harvey’s use in such close proximity to ‘conceive’ suggests some wordplay is intended.

p. 25.37-38 *the Philosopher of the Court*] Biller comments ‘Harvey probably means a “putative” or “unperfect” philosopher’ (1969: 99a). However, the allusion is more specific than that. Harvey in a letter to Spenser refers to ‘Philbertes Philosopher of the Court’; Scott glosses, ‘Philbert of Vienne. *The Philosophy of the Courte*. Englished by Geo. North. London, 1575. 8vo’ (1884: 78).

p. 25.43-44 *the Body...body*] The idea of the body as exemplifying an ideal commonwealth, with all members interdependent, is a commonplace in Renaissance thought. Aesop’s fable of the belly – which the other members grudge to feed because it does no work, whereupon they starve – Caxton’s translation expounds: ‘Wherefore a servaunt ought to serve wel his master, to thend that his master holde & keepe him honestly’ (1585: fol. 59<sup>v</sup>). Menenius Agrippa applied this to the Roman body politic when quelling a plebeian uprising during a grain shortage (Plutarch, *Coriolanus* I.vi.2-4).

p. 25.45 *to stand...tearmes*] *OED* defines ‘to stand on or upon terms’ as ‘to insist upon conditions’ (term *sb.* III 8b).

p. 25.48 *small...faction*] Cf. Tilley S714: ‘From a little spark may come a great fire’.

p. 25.49 *Ignis fatuus*] ‘A phosphorescent light seen hovering or flitting over marshy ground [. . .] When approached, the *ignis fatuus* appeared to recede, and finally to vanish, sometimes appearing in another direction. This led to the notion that it was the work of a mischievous sprite, intentionally leading benighted travellers astray. Hence the term is commonly used allusively or fig. for any delusively guiding principle. hope, aim, etc.’ (*OED*).

p. 25.51 *Martin Junior*] The fifth Marprelate tract, *Theses Martinianae*, was supposedly published by Marprelate’s son, ‘Martin Junior’, a name often given to the text itself (Pierce 1908: 150).

p. 26.3 *white rod*] *OED* gives instances of ‘A white rod or wand carried as a symbol of office by certain officials, e.g. the steward of the king’s household and the lord high treasurer’ from 1581 (white staff 1).

p. 26.3 *distinction of persons*] ‘Person’ here is either ‘function, office, capacity; guise, semblance’ or ‘A man or woman of distinction or importance’ (*OED sb.* I 1, II 2c).

p. 26.4 *two-edged sword*] A biblical image, perhaps symbolising justice: ‘Let the prayes of God be in theyr mouth: and a two edged swoorde in their handes. To be avenged of the heathen: and to rebuke the people’ (Psalms 149.6-7). The punishment for sin is compared to a two-edged sword (Proverbs 5.4), as is the word of God (Hebrews 4.12); in Revelations the Son of Man is equipped with one (1.16, 2.12).

p. 26.4 *Hercules club*] According to Lemprière, before commencing his labours Hercules received from the gods ‘a celebrated club of bronze according to the opinion of some writers, but more generally supposed to be of wood, and cut by the hero himself in the forest of Nemea’.

p. 26.6-7 *cum...Privilegio*] See p. 20.35 n.

- p. 26.10-15 *Our new-new...way?*] Although in this obscure passage Harvey seems to be attacking scurrility in print generally, it may take root in Greene's description of Richard Harvey as 'a vaine glorious asse' (Appendix C, 20) and Nashe's question to his readers at the end of his attack on Richard, 'have I not an indifferent prittyte vayne in spurgalling an Asse?' (1958: 1.199.4). An ass features (briefly) in the Knight of the Post's Tale in *PP* in addition to a bear, a fox and a camel (as McKerrow points out, Nashe seems to think of camels and horses as interchangeable) (1958: 1.221-222, 4.140). Nashe in *SN* conceded of the fox 'Let it be *Martin*, if you will' (1958: 1.321.7). The frequency with which references to apes occur in anti-Martinist tracts stems from the fact that the name 'Martin' was associated with monkeys, a point made most explicitly and at greatest length in *A Whip for an Ape*: 'Who knoweth not, that Apes men *Martins* call?' (Lyly 1902: 3.418). In *An Almond for a Parrat*, the author alludes to one of the anti-Martinist plays suppressed by the Master of the Revels, the Lord Mayor and Burghley, in which Marprelate 'was attired like an Ape' (Nashe 1958: 3.354.21).
- p. 26.12 *the world...fools*] Cf. Tilley W896, 'The world is full of fools'. The earliest example is from 1596, but in it the saying is called an 'olde proverbe'.
- p. 26.17 *Demosthenes, or Tully*] The comparison between the two orators was conventional: Plutarch parallels their lives. Cicero himself invoked it by patterning his denunciations of Antony after Demosthenes' of Philip (see p. 19.20 & n.). See Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1904: 267). Glossing the pairing of them in Sidney's *Defence*, Van Dorsten comments that they were 'invariably quoted as the models of eloquence' (1966: 70.25-26).
- p. 26.18 *Jewel, or Harding*] Thomas Harding (1516-72) was, during the reign of Mary Tudor, prebendary of Winchester, chaplain and confessor to Bishop Gardiner, and treasurer of the church of Salisbury; deprived on the accession of Elizabeth I, he removed to Louvain. John Jewel (1522-71) was Bishop of Salisbury 1560-71. In a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1559 (published in 1560), Jewel issued a challenge to 'any learned man of our adversaries' that if they could 'bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old doctor or father, or out of the Holy Scripture, or any one example out of the primitive church for the space of six hundred years after Christ' in support of Catholic doctrine, he would convert. In 1564 Harding published his 'Answer to M. Jewel's Challenge', beginning a controversy which lasted until 1567 (*DNB*).
- p. 26.18 *Whitgift, or Cartwright*] John Whitgift (1530/31?-1604) replaced Edmund Grindal as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583. Grindal's toleration of Puritans having angered Elizabeth, as allegorized in *SC* July 213-28 (Spenser 1995: 121). Whitgift's own, harder line is reflected in the savage personal attacks on him in the Marprelate tracts: for a representative diatribe see *Just Censure*: 'a monstrous Antichristian pope, and a most bloody oppressor of Gods Saints' (sig. Bj<sup>v</sup>). Thomas Cartwright (1534/5-1603) was made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1569, and swiftly made shockwaves with the attacks on episcopacy in his lectures. Under the existing statutes, young scholars were in charge of university affairs as regent masters, and it was among them that Cartwright's teaching gained most acceptance. However, the statutes were revised by Whitgift, then master of Trinity, along more oligarchical lines, and were used to deprive Cartwright of his chair. Whitgift also deprived Cartwright of his fellowship, and the authorities, at the instigation

of the more conservative protestant faction, withheld Cartwright's doctorate, and he left England for Geneva (*ODNB*). For a narrative of the 'directly personal' contention between the two at Cambridge, see Mullinger 1884: 207-30. This emerged into a more public sphere when in 1572 Cartwright responded to Whitgift's response to Field and Wilcox's *Admonition to the Parliament*, the resultant controversy lasting until 1577 (see p. 80.24 *n.*). Cartwright's 1577 book having been unanswered by Whitgift, Marprelate gives him the victory (*Epistle*, pp. 3, 7). Harvey was at Cambridge during the controversy over Cartwright's teaching, and Cartwright is mentioned in *3PL* (1580), when Harvey reports to Spenser, 'No more adoe about *Cappes* and *Surplusses*: Maister *Cartwright* nighe forgotten' (Spenser 1912: 621). He and Harvey had at least one mutual friend: Cevallerius (Chevallier), professor of Hebrew at Cambridge (*DNB* art. Cartwright, Stern 1979: 183). Leicester's patronage of Cartwright (whom he gave the mastership of the hospital he had established in Warwick, plus an annual stipend) is allegorized in the fable of the bear and fox in *PP*, Cartwright being the fox (McGinn 1946: 446-47). In *SN*, Nashe – who as Lesser and Stallybrass note, caricatures Harvey as a Puritan (2008: 394) – responded to this pairing, 'you wil compare *Whitgift* and *Cartwright*, white and blacke together', although McKerrow comments, 'Harvey merely mentions them, among others, for their eloquence' (1958: 1.332.29, 4.196).

p. 26.21 *a publike Oh-is*] The town crier or court official's phrase stems etymologically from 'Anglo-Norman and Middle French *oiez, oyez* hear ye!' (*OED* *oyez sb., int., v.*). However, it seems to have been thought by some Elizabethans that this was a corruption of 'oh yes!': see *Defence of Conny-catching* ('as if hee should cal an O yes at Size or Sessions') (Greene 1881-86: 11.77); *HWY* (Nashe 1958: 3.133.4); Drayton's 'The Cryer' (1961: 2.371.5), etc. For 'is' as a form of 'yes', see *Epitome*, where Marprelate says of John Aylmer (former critic of episcopacy and by 1588 Bishop of London), 'Must not he thinke you / have eyther a most seared or a most guiltie conscience [. . .]? Is without dout' (sig. E<sup>r</sup>). Pierce modernises to 'yes' (1911: 149).

p. 26.21-22 *Noverint...præsentes*] 'Know all ye by these present', the opening words of a writ (Shakespeare 1975: 16*n.*). Cf. *GWV*, where Roberto's father has 'good experience in a *Noverint*, and by the universall tearmes therein contained, had driven many a yoong Gentleman to seeke unknown countries' (1592a: sig. B<sup>v</sup>).

p. 26.30 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n.*

p. 26.32 *Paper-brabbling*] *OED* defines 'brabble' as 'To quarrel about trifles; *esp.* to quarrel noisily, brawl, squabble' (v. 2).

p. 26.34 *Dumme Dog*] The phrase is from Isaiah 56.10: 'For his watchmen are al blynde, they have altogether no understanding, they are al dumbe dogges'. Biller sees an allusion to Martin Marprelate, who frequently used the phrase of non-preaching clergymen (1969: 103a).

p. 26.35 *springals*] *OED* only lists 'springal' as an archaic spelling of 'springle', 'A springe or snare' (*sb.*<sup>1</sup>). Skeat however glosses it as 'a youth'. Cf. *PWH*: 'Springalls and unripened youths, whose wisdoms are not yet in the blade' (Lyly 1902: 3.409.22); *FQ* V.x.6.2 ('Springals of full tender yeares'), etc.

p. 26.36 *the bauling...Snake*] 'Bawl' here is 'To bark or howl as a dog' (*OED* v. †1). In *FQ* the dog and the snake are emblems of abuse: Sclaunder's words in IV.viii are 'like the stings of Aspes' and she

barks at Arthur, Æmylia and Amoret 'like a curre'; Detraction in V.x is equipped with a tongue 'like Aspis sting' and with Envy eggs on the Blatant Beast to 'barke and bay' at Sir Artegall (Spenser 2001: 470, 471, 599).

- p. 26.36-37 *the miserable...inconvenience*] In law, 'mischief' and 'inconvenience' are distinguished (*OED* inconvenience *sb.* †3c, mischief *sb.* I 4), hence the proverb 'Better a mischief than an inconvenience' (Smith 545).
- p. 26.44 *Incendiary*] The earliest instance of 'A person or thing that kindles or sets on fire' (*OED* B *sb.* 1 †b) is from 1654; the earliest of 'A person who inflames or excites the passions of men' (*OED* B *sb.* 2a) is from 1631; and the earliest of 'A thing that inflames or excites passion, strife. etc.; an incentive to evil' (*OED* B *sb.* 2 †b) is from 1628.
- p. 26.45 *Insinuate*] 'Having the tendency or property of stealing into favour or confidence; subtly ingratiating' (*OED* 1), but most of *OED*'s instances before 1656 have pejorative overtones.
- p. 26.46 *Plaudite*] Brydges reads 'plaudit' (1815: pt. 4.51), *OED*'s earliest instance of which is from 1624. The first instance in English of 'plaudite' as 'A round of applause' (as opposed to an appeal for the same) is from Harvey's *Letter-Book* (1573) (*OED* †2). H. Rushton Fairclough notes that 'All the comedies of Plautus or Terence close with *plaudite* or an equivalent phrase' (Horace 1926: 463*n.*). *IParnassus* ends in emulation of these: "'What ever schollers" - "discontented be" / "Lett none but them" - "give us a *Plaudite*"' (Leishman 1949: 214).
- p. 26.48 *Onely my determination is*] See p. 11.15 *n.*
- p. 26.49 *a Sheepe...print*] Tribble calls this 'an extraordinary metaphor' and interprets it as relating to Harvey's (avowedly) unwilling involvement in the writing of satirical pamphlets (1993: 123). She seems not to be aware that Wolfe was the name of Harvey's printer; nor does Brydges, who reads 'wolf's' (1815: pt. 4.51).

## Greenes Memoriall

Harvey's insistent refrain in the sonnets is how he and his young adversaries *ought* to be employing their abilities: praising, not condemning; writing panegyrics, not invective. This emphasis on harmony, concord and the quasi-divine potential of the poet might explain the prevalence of celestial, ethereal imagery in these verses. Another factor might be that Harvey had been influenced by the poetry of du Bartas and James VI: see p. 32.4 *n*. Several references in *PS* (e.g. p. 43.42-47) make it apparent that this was Harvey's favoured reading material around this time.

- p. 28.10-11 *Alas...dread*] These lines are possibly mocked by Chettle in *Kind-Harts Dreame*: see Appendix D, 24-25.
- p. 28.12-13 *That deemed... head*] I.e., Greene took advantage of Harvey's silence (presumably after Lyly's attack on him), which he misinterpreted as his inability, rather than his unwillingness, to respond (cf. p. 34.21).
- p. 28.14 *the Dog of spite*] See p. 26.36 *n*.
- p. 28.18 *The worst... report*] Brydges interpolates commas after 'worst' and 'list' (1815: pt. 4. 53). Perhaps 'list' and 'of' deserve to be in the same syntactic unit. Harvey may be using 'list' to mean 'hear' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 2), in which case his sense would be Greene's universally bad reputation: cf. p. 4.16-19, p. 5.51 *ff.*, etc.
- p. 28.21 *roast*] Brydges reads 'roast' (1815: pt. 4.53), perhaps correctly. *OED* gives 11 instances of 'to rule the roast' between the 15th century and 1876, although it is not spelt 'roast' until 1708, but 'roost' or 'roste' (*OED* roast *sb.* 1b). The earliest instance in *OED* of 'to rule the roost' comes from 1769 (roost *sb.*<sup>1</sup>).
- p. 28.22-23 *A man... Swanne*] Nashe is presumably meant: cf. p. 22.31-32. Harvey's meaning is perhaps that despite Nashe's desire for singularity he is commonplace.
- p. 28.26-27 In the Second Letter Harvey disavows any relationship with Greene prior to Greene's attacking him (p. 5.50-51). Perhaps it is Lyly who is meant here: Harvey in *PS* says that Lyly's attack in *PWH* was 'without private cause, or any reason in the world: (for in truth I looved him, in hope prayd him; many wayes favored him, and never any way offended him)' (p. 75.38-39).
- p. 28.38 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 29.10 *That*] I.e. them that (see Abbott 1870: 164-67).
- p. 29.14 *fell*] Grosart in his 'Glossarial-Index' does not include the word as it occurs here among the instances of 'fierce, cruel, etc.' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.143), although this is just how Biller glosses it (1969: 72a). Other possible senses include 'Hot, enraged, angry, violent' (*OED* a. †3), (used ironically) 'Full of spirit, sturdy, doughty' (*OED* a. 4), (perhaps less likely) 'Shrewd; clever, cunning' (*OED* a. †5) and (ironically again, and perhaps less likely still) 'Exceedingly great, huge, mighty' (*OED* a. 6).
- p. 29.15 *his...Seaven*] Greene's dissolute, improvident behaviour. According to *OED*, 'phrases with *six* and *seven*, *sixes* and *sevens*, etc.' originally denoted 'the hazard of one's whole fortune, or carelessness as to the consequence of one's actions'. 'The original form of the phrase, *to set on six*



and seven, is based on the language of dicing, and is probably a fanciful alteration of *to set on cinque and sice*, these being the two highest numbers' (*OED* six B *sb.* 5). For Harvey's association of Greene with the language of dicing, cf. p. 6.4-5.

p. 29.16 *O... none*] Of all Greene's companions, Lyly is presumably addressed here: cf. p. 14.7-8 & *n.*

p. 29.22-25 *The jolly...dy*] Donald J. McGinn, who identifies the fly in the Knight of the Post's tale as Nashe himself, sees this as a reference to Nashe (1946: 452*n.*): Biller sees it as Greene (1969: 72a). Cf., however, p. 11.44-45: Harvey is not necessarily making specific reference to either of them.

p. 29.24 *read a Lecture*] Onions defines 'lecture' as 'instructive example', citing *Lucrece* 618: Lucrece rebukes Tarquin, 'And wilt thou be the school where lust shall learn? / Must he in thee read lectures of such shame?'

p. 30.3 *Alciats... whood*] The *Emblemata* of Andrea Alciati (1492-1550), first published in 1522, enjoyed great popularity: according to Henry Green it had gone through 118 editions by 1592 (1872: 9. 225). *OED* notes that 'scarlet' was used nominally to mean 'Official or ceremonial costume of scarlet, as [...] the gown or robe of a doctor of divinity or law, a judge, a cardinal, etc. [...] Hence *occas.* the rank, dignity or office signified by a scarlet robe' (*A sb.* 3). For this spelling of 'hood' cf. p. 80.26 ('whoodwinked').

p. 30.4 *Sonnes...Light*] Paul in 1 Thessalonians 5.5 says: 'Ye are al the chyldren of lyght' and in Ephesians 5.8 'Walke as the chyldren of lyght'. Harvey suggests that the 'learned', like the elect, are an elite group under threat, and must consequently observe a code of conduct towards each other.

p. 30.6-7 *Fine...hand*] Harvey's allusion is to a specific emblem of Alciati's, showing the Graces dancing hand-in-hand: see Hamilton 1990 emblematics figs 4-7.

p. 30.10 *Pallace of pleasure*] William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* was published in two volumes in 1566-67, and again in 1575. 'It is a collection of anecdotes and stories translated from ancient and humanist writers for recreational reading and some moral instruction' (*ODNB*). The phrase was commonplace. Barnaby Rich in *Farewell to Military Profession* (1581) praises Sir Christopher Hatton's country seat as having everything 'appertinent to a palace of pleasure' (Lawlis 1967: 201). See also *FQ* II.iii.41.7-8.

p. 30.12 *cutting Huffe-snuffes*] Coincidentally the same phrase was used by Richard Harvey two years earlier: he had dedicated *Plaine Percevall the Peace-Maker of England* to 'all Cutting Huffsnufts, Roisters, and the residue of light fingred youngers, which make every word a blow, and every booke a bobbe' (1590a: sig. A2<sup>r</sup>).

p. 30.13 *Of...skill*] Cf. *PWH*: 'He that drinckes with cutters, must not bee without his ale dagger' (Lyly 1902: 2.394).

p. 30.17 *To...convers'd*] Sir John Cheke (1514-57), humanist and administrator, the first regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, 1540-51. As tutor to Edward VI from 1544 he was part of the strongly protestant circle around the young king, and was closely associated with Thomas Smith and Roger Ascham (*ODNB*). Harvey in some marginalia calls him one of England's chief luminaries 'sub rege Henrico 8<sup>o</sup>' (Stern 1979: 153). Here he is possibly alluding to his and Smith's attempts to reform Greek pronunciation at Cambridge, for which see Mullinger 1884: 54-63.

- p. 30.18-20 *No daintier... emperc'd*] Harvey has previously, and will subsequently, cite Orpheus as the paragon of what the artist is capable of (cf. p. 21.18-19; p. 21.51; p. 30.40; p. 32.36). Here he may be alluding to the story told by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* XI.1-2: Orpheus, sitting alone on a hilltop, sings and accompanies himself on his lyre so that trees and stones draw near to listen to him.
- p. 30.22 *Haddon*] Walter Haddon (1514/15-1571), civil lawyer and MP, pre-eminent for his Latin verse and prose (*ODNB*).
- p. 30.22 *Ascham*] Roger Ascham (1514/15-1568), Elizabeth I's Latin tutor, unlike his friend Haddon an esteemed stylist of vernacular as well as Latin prose (*ODNB*). Harvey in some marginalia states, 'for elegant stile, none nearer owre Ascham' (1913: 158.26).
- p. 30.39 *Selfe-gnawing...murr*] Harvey is here indulging in a favourite pun (cf. p. 14.5; p. 15.29). The only nominal sense of 'murr' in *OED* and Skeat is 'catarrh': Biller notes that 'The verb *murr* means to make a harsh noise', which would fit Harvey's context, although the earliest example in *OED* is from 1662 (1969: 75a).
- p. 30.41 *Suadas hoony-bees*] Orators? Suada was 'the goddess of persuasion' (Lemprière).
- p. 31.2 Brydges places inverted commas before 'Thou' (l. 5) and after 'gall' (l. 17), although it is as possible that the imitated speech of Harvey's enemies ends on l. 7 with 'Ball' (1815: pt. 4.48).
- p. 31.7 *Fortunes toßing Ball*] The vicissitudes of fortune. 'Toss' here means 'to move about restlessly' (*OED* v. II 6a). Fortune was conventionally represented with her foot on a sphere which rolled continually, as in *Henry V* III.6.26 ('giddy Fortune's furious fickle wheel, / That goddess blind / That stands upon the rolling restless stone'). Harvey's sense here is as on p. 15.38-30: he recommends Stoic *apathia* to his enemies (perhaps specifically Nashe) in the face of adversity.
- p. 31.14 *Yee...approche*] Cf. p. 22.1.
- p. 31.23-26 *Were I...sweat*] Harvey frequently emphasizes his enemies' youth and inexperience: cf. particularly p. 26.25-29, where he suggests that they ought to forego their attacks on him until they have attained more learning. The 'mint' as a literary metaphor (perhaps for the imagination) reappears on p. 105.14: for Harvey's professed disdain for appearing in print, see p. 48.6-10, etc.
- p. 31.27-30 *Pithagoras...refine*] McKerrow explains the reference to 'Pithagoras the silencer' in *SLW* 1292, 'On admission to the school of Pythagoras novices were compelled to remain silent for a certain time, in order apparently to train them in self-control' (Nashe 1958: 3.274, 4.437). Apollonius of Tyana (see p. 25.11) 'folowed the sect of Pythagoras' (Cooper).
- p. 31.31 *There is...write*] Perhaps echoing Ecclesiastes 3.2-7: 'There is a tyme to be borne, and a tyme to die [. . .] A time to kepe scilence, and a time to speake.'
- p. 31.43 *Gibelin, or Guelph*] See p. 18.51 *n*. Perhaps Harvey's meaning is 'attacks by a member of any faction'. Cf. Ascham's *Scholemaster*: 'he must be, either *Guelphe* or *Gibiline*, either *French* or *Spanish*: and always compelled to be of some *partie*' (1904: 236). For the literal meaning of these words see p. 18.51 *n*.
- p. 32.4 *Muse of azur Dy*] Brydges rather enigmatically italicizes 'azure dye' (1815: pt. 4.59). Possibly, like G.R. Hibbard, he felt it was 'an allusion to Edward Dyer, who was so closely connected with Sidney and Spenser' (quoted Biller 1969: 77a). Urania, the muse of astronomy, was appropriated as a muse of Christian poetry by Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, in *Uranie*, one of three poems

translated by Joshua Sylvester and published in 1574 as *La Muse Chrestienne*. In 'Urania. Or the Heavenly Muse' Urania appears to Du Bartas in a vision and exhorts him to write of more exalted subjects: he relates 'An azure Mantle on her back she wore' (1605: viii, 530). It was also translated by James VI and appeared in his *The essays of a prentise in the divine art of poesie*: Harvey's annotated copy is extant (Stern 1979: 223).

**p. 32.15** *Blacke Art*] See p. 10.47 n.

**p. 32.27** *Pegasus*] Mythical winged horse who sprang from the blood of the gorgon Medusa when Perseus cut off her head. Hesiod in the *Theogony* (270-86) relates that he 'flew away and left the earth [. . .] and came to the deathless gods: and he dwells in the house of Zeus' (1936: 101).

**p. 32.31** *His Court of Honour*] Cf. the title of Sonnet VI – the two phrases appear again in *PS*: 'Will you needes have a written Pallace of Pleasure, or rather a printed Court of Honour?' (p. 68.30-31). G. Gregory Smith suggests that the latter phrase is a reference to Baldessare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, translated into English by Thomas Hoby (1904: 2.437); Harvey's opening couplet here would rather seem to bear this out. Perhaps it was more of a *succès d'estime* than *The Palace of Pleasure*: in the same long diatribe against the pernicious effects of Italian culture on young Englishmen which has been interpreted as alluding to Painter's work (Painter 1890: 1.xxiv), Ascham in *The Scholemaster* praises 'The Cortegian, an excellent booke for a ientleman', 'so well translated into English by a worthie Ientleman Syr Th. Hobbie' (1904: 218). First published in 1528, the book had been through 'nearly sixty editions' by 1600 (Castiglione 1974: v): Harvey owned both the original and Hoby's translation (Stern 1979: 205). Cf., however, his emphasis on court life in some marginalia: 'The prynces Court, y<sup>e</sup> only mart of præferment, & honour' (1913: 142.12).

**p. 32.37** *Idee*] Brydges reads 'Ida' here and 'Idas' on p. 32.43 (1815: pt. 4.61), perhaps thinking that Harvey means 'A mountayne, whiche lieth nigh Troie' (Cooper); another of the same name, on Crete, was 'the highest on the island' (Lemprière). 'Idea' could mean 'In Platonic philosophy: A supposed eternally existing pattern or archetype of any class of things, of which the individual things in that class are imperfect copies, and from which they derive their existence' (*OED* I 1). Harvey writes of 'the Idees of Plato' in *PS* (p. 50.9), and one of *OED*'s examples of 'idee' as an obsolete form of 'idea', is from Harvey.

**p. 32.40** *Pallas*] 'The daughter of Jupiter, called goddess of battayle, and also of wisdom' (Cooper); Harvey presumably has the latter in mind.

**p. 33.5-18** Virginia F. Stern thinks it significant 'that Leicester is not included in this list of the virtuous deceased' (1979: 98 n.), giving credence to Nashe's story of the collapse of Harvey's relationship with Leicester.

**p. 33.6** *Smith*] Presumably Sir Thomas Smith – see p. 11.26-27.

**p. 33.6** *Bacon*] Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper and Chancellor of England; Harvey wrote a Latin epitaph on him after his death in February 1578/9, which is extant in manuscript (Stern 1979: 50). See Harvey 1913: 223-24.

**p. 33.7** *Walsingham*] Harvey's genuine appreciation of Walsingham's power as an orator is suggested in some marginalia in his copy of Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike* (Stern 1979: 142).

- p. 33.7 *Hatton*] Sir Christopher Hatton (1540?-1591), courtier and politician, made Lord Chancellor in 1587 (*ODNB*). Dedicating his *Discovrsive Probleme* to Hatton, John Harvey alludes to Gabriel's being 'favourably entertained and accepted' by him (1588: sig. A3<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 33.11 *Sir William Sackevill*] Perhaps Harvey means Thomas Sackville's son (1569/70?-1592), who was knighted in France by Henri IV and died fighting the Catholic League (*ODNB*).
- p. 33.12 *Sir Richard Grinvile*] Richard Grenville (1541?-1591), naval commander. In 1591 he was vice-admiral of the fleet sent to the Azores to intercept the homeward-bound Spanish treasure ships, commanding Drake's former ship, the *Revenge*. While the fleet was at anchor north of Flores, intelligence arrived of an approaching Spanish fleet of fifty-three ships, and the English (who had only sixteen) set sail to escape them. However, the *Revenge* became detached from the rest of the fleet, was overtaken and boarded. Grenville was mortally wounded in the subsequent fighting, which lasted fifteen hours despite the English being outnumbered by more than thirty to one (*DNB*).
- p. 33.13 *Walter Devoreux*] The first Earl of Essex (1541?-1576). In the words of Sidney Lee, 'the task which gave him his fame' was his undertaking, 'as a private adventurer, to colonise Ulster and bring it under English dominion', although he was ultimately unsuccessful (*DNB*). A funeral sermon preached by Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, was published in 1577. Harvey's copy is extant: his marginalia show that it was given to him by Essex's son Robert, the second Earl (Stern 1979: 208). For Robert's links with Gabriel and Richard Harvey, see p. 8.10 *n*.
- p. 33.24 *inflame*] Collier (1870a: 75) and Grosart's (Harvey 1884-85: 1.246) interpolation of a full stop after this word severs the verb in this line ('inflame') from its objects in the next ('mindes' and 'handes').
- p. 33.32 *Entelechy*] *OED* defines two senses of this word: 'In Aristotle's use: The realisation of complete expression of some function; the condition in which a potentiality becomes an actuality' and 'In various senses (apparently due to misconceptions of Aristotle's meaning): a. That which gives perfection to anything; the informing spirit. b. The soul itself, as opposed to the body'. *OED* cites no instances before 1603: the word is subjected to copious mockery by Nashe. McKerrow suggests that Harvey's meaning is 'the divine spirit in man' (Nashe 1958: 5.258): the closest Harvey comes to a definition is on p. 126.34-36.
- p. 33.33 *Plutarches Lives*] The two stories in *PS* which Harvey seems to take from Plutarch (p. 68.2-15) suggest the appeal that the *Lives* would have had to a humanist imbued with the ideal of the active life.
- p. 33.33 *Argonautiques*] 'A poem concerning the Argonauts' (*OED* Argonautic B *sb.* b).
- p. 34.7 *Patience...sowre*] Biller cites Tilley P107, 'Patience is a plaster for all sores' (1969: 81a). Possibly, however, Harvey means 'sour', not 'sore'.
- p. 34.20 *their report*] The rumours which they spread (cf. *OED* report *sb.* 1b).
- p. 34.22 *God... Disdaine*] Puns on the words 'Low Countries' were not uncommon at the time: the Knight of the Post tells Pierce 'there is not a [ . . . ] Cut-purse that is hanged, but I dispatch letters by his soule to [ . . . ] all my friends in the Low-cuntries' (Nashe 1958: 1.164.16-18); Luxurio in *I Parnassus* 1498 says 'When I am made tapster of the lower countries' (meaning 'when I die') (Leishman 1949: 208), etc. Harvey's sense may be 'my countrymen who are low' (in the sense of

- 'Abject, base, mean' (*OED A adj.* II 7a)), or possibly he is being self-deprecating, presenting himself as a simple rustic figure (as Richard Harvey does in *Plaine Percevall*).
- p. 34.26 *band*] Cf. 'to unite, confederate, league' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 4); Harvey's sense seems to be 'to form factions, to fight amongst ourselves'.
- p. 34.26 *John Oneale*] Shane O'Neill (1530?-1567), lord of Tyrone. He was the eldest legitimate son of Con O'Neill, and when in 1542 his father was created first earl of Tyrone, he was passed over for the title of Baron of Dungannon in favour of his elder brother Mathew. On reaching adulthood he made war on his brother and father, forcing them to seek refuge in the Pale, and eventually killing Mathew in 1558 and seizing his and his father's estates (*DNB*).
- p. 34.40 *Magnes*] Brydges retains this (1815: pt. 4. 64), as does Collier (1870a: 77); Harrison emends it to 'Magnets' (1922: 97); Grosart tentatively emends it but in his 'Glossarial-Index' repents at leisure, glossing 'Magnes = magnet [. . .] Latin form then in use; and I regret that I inserted the "t"' (Harvey 1884-85: 1.249, 3.166). *OED* gives 10 instances 1398-1750.
- p. 34.42 *As...Starre*] "'Love"; lit., Venus' (Biller 1969: 83a). Cf. John Harvey's *Astrological Addition*: 'the amiable Planet *Venus*' (1583: sig. [B7]<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 35.4 *gaping grave*] The phrase is not in *ODEP* or Tilley, but cf. 2 *Henry IV* V.5.53, *Henry V* II.1.62, and *Antonio's Revenge* III.1.191 (Marston 1966: 49). The first of these suggests that the phrase was already commonplace.
- p. 35.15 *A Foole...agree*] See Appendix C, 24. Greene seems to have been alluding to a proverb: cf. Tilley M125, 'Every man is either a fool or physician to himself'.
- p. 35.22-35 For this and the next two sonnets, the reader is still to imagine John Harvey the younger speaking: it was he whom the Ropemaker in *QUC* calls a 'foole' (ll. 26-27) (see Appendix C, 24). Here, each of the quatrains deals with Greene's attack on one of the three brothers, in the order in which it appeared (first Richard, then John, then Gabriel).
- p. 35.26 *what...foole?*] Nashe in *HWY* has Harvey citing 'that wether-beaten peice of a verse out of the Grammer, *Semel insanivimus omnes*, once in our dayes there is none of us but have plaid the ideots' (1958: 3.79.26).
- p. 35.27 *The world...fooles*] See p. 26.12 *n*.
- p. 35.28-29 *Yet was...made*] Biller glosses, 'Perhaps Richard Harvey's *Astrologicall Discourse* is meant; it "spoiled" Richard's reputation, certainly' (1969: 84a). Harvey's allusion is specifically to a passage in *QUC* where Greene confuses John's astrological works with Richard's (see Appendix C, 23-26).
- p. 35.32 *Slaunders stoole*] *OED* notes instances of 'stool' being used as 'A seat for an offender' (†1d); it also notes that 'joint-stool' was 'Frequently mentioned in 16-18th c. [. . .] in allusive or proverbial phrases expressing disparagement or ridicule, of which the precise explanation is lost' (*OED* 1). Bacon, in 'Of Death', notes that the Emperor Vespasian died 'in a jest, sitting upon the stool' (1972: 7).
- p. 35.33 *Fleet, or Prison*] The Fleet and the Counter were regarded differently from other London prisons. In 1553 Edward Underhill, held for questioning having written a seditious ballad, was commanded to be detained at Newgate; the Earl of Sussex, interceding for him, asked that he be kept

instead at the Fleet, with which Underhill concurred, pleading, 'I am neither thief nor traitor' (Pollard 1903: 175-76).

- p. 36.3 *haire*] Nashe in *HWY* imagines Richard Harvey 'looking on his father when he made hairs, hair lines I meane [. . .] haire lines to hang linnen on' (1958: 3.8.17-20). The use of hair for making clothes-lines is also alluded to in *Midas* V.2.175-76 (Lyly 1902: 3.157).
- p. 36.6 *Four...lest*] Jason Scott-Warren's statement, presumably made on the basis of this line, that Thomas Harvey was educated at Cambridge along with his three brothers (*ODNB* art. Gabriel Harvey) rather contradicts Christopher Bird's mention of John Harvey the elder's maintaining 'four sons in *Cambridge* and else where with great charge [. . .] three [. . .] universally well reputed in both Universities' (p. 3.25-27). Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence against Thomas's having been a university man is Nashe's failure to find any dirt on him: 'the fourth is shrunk in the wetting, or else the Print should have heard of him'; McKerrow glosses, 'We only hear of three, Gabriel, Richard, and John, as being at Cambridge' (1958: 1.274.24, 4.167). Possibly Thomas received a grammar-school education at his father's expense without proceeding to university.
- p. 36.14-15 *Were...ruth*] Perhaps an echo of Isaiah 1.18: 'though your sinnes be as red as scarlet, they shalbe as white as snowe.'
- p. 36.20 *Some penury bewaile*] Given the length of the passage in the Third Letter in which Harvey mocks Nashe's apparent bewailing of his penury in *PP* (p. 14.21 – p. 16.1), perhaps Nashe might be meant here.
- p. 36.20 *some feare Arrest*] Greene seems specifically to be meant here (see p. 6.12-14).
- p. 36.21 *Some Parmaes...addread*] 'Between 1583 and 1585 Philip II devoted all his resources to Parma's reconquest [of the Netherlands], using bribes as well as arms: the Dutch lamented his "golden bullets" that pierced men's hearts better than Catholic gunnery' (Guy 1988: 286). In his copy of Sextus Julius Frontinus' *The stratagemes... of warre*, Harvey wrote 'The Spaniards with bribes, have greatly advancid his [Philip II's] proceedings in the low cuntries [. . .] Corruption, the great stratagem of Philip of Macedonia: and now of this Philip of Spain' (Stern 1979: 142-43).
- p. 36.22 *the terrible inquest*] Biller glosses this as 'The Day of Judgment' (1969: 86a), but Harvey here lists the vexations of the living from which the dead are free (see p. 36.24-25). Coming, as it does, just after a reference to Spanish activities in the Netherlands, it might refer to the Inquisition; according to A. Davenport, this is how Hall uses the word 'inquest' in *Virgidemiarum* IV.i.18 (1949: 49, 193).
- p. 36.23 *climing*] A relevant sense in the context might be 'ambitious'. *OED*'s earliest instance is from Norton and Sackville's *Gorboduc*: 'Gredy lust doth raise the clymbynge minde' (climbing *ppl. a. a*); see also *OED* climb v. B 7a ('to ascend or aspire upward').
- p. 36.32-33 *Some...Homer be*] According to Derek Brewer, the comparison of Chaucer with Homer 'became a mid-sixteenth-century commonplace' after Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1545) (1978: 1.99). The contrast here seems to be that Homer (and implicitly Harvey) is subject to criticism (see p. 4.35-36), whereas Chaucer is universally venerated. Cf. *Two Noble Kinsmen*, Prologue, 13: 'Chaucer, of all admired' (Fletcher, Shakespeare 1970: 4).

- p. 36.35 *Monsieur Bodine*] Jean Bodin (1530-96), French author and civil servant. He was *procurateur du roi* under Charles IX. Harvey's *Letter-Book* attests to the popularity of his *Six livres de la république* (1576) among Cambridge students (1884: 79). His *Démonomanie des sorciers* (1580) is one of the authorities challenged by Reginald Scot in *The discoverie of Witchcraft* (see p. 127.50 – p. 128.2). The claim that he had praised Harvey is repeated by Barnabe Barnes in *PS* (p. 45.2); this would seem to have taken a written form (p. 63.26). Bodin's only visit to England was in 1581, when as a member of the Duc d'Anjou's entourage he addressed the Queen (*DBF*).
- p. 36.36 *Zoilus*] See p. 4.35 *n*.
- p. 36.37-38 *No petty...display*] If Harvey is using 'display' transitively (the subject being Homer's shade), the sense here could be 'To discover, get sight of, descry' (*OED* v. 9), although *OED* limits this to 'Spenser and his imitators'. For similar syntax, cf. p. 26.51 – p. 27.1.
- p. 36.42 *Momus...Earth*] Momus was the god of mockery: 'He was continually employed in satirizing the gods [. . .] These illiberal reflections [. . .] were the cause that Momus was driven from heaven' (Lempière). Elizabethan prefatory epistles, with their concern to pre-empt criticism, frequently mentioned him, sometimes alongside Zoilus (see p. 4.35 *n*). Harvey is referring to Martin Marprelate, who (like Momus) mocked 'heavenly' things by attacking the episcopacy, and the counter-Martinist writers (assimilated to Zoilus), who, although their targets were different, were just as bad. Cf. *A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior*, where Martin is compared to the giants who made war on Heaven (Nashe 1958: 1.59.1-6).
- p. 36.43 *A Quipp...Guelph*] See p. 18.51 *n*. If 'Quipp' refers to *QUC*, 'whip' might refer to *A Whip for an Ape*, tentatively ascribed by R. Warwick Bond to John Lyly: he suggests that Lyly's authorship was hinted at by Richard Harvey in *Plaine Percevall* (1902: 3.415).
- p. 37.1 'Robert Greene, MA of both universities, in his own words.' See p. 3.40 & *n*.
- p. 37.3-8 'I am he to whom life was laughter, gossip, feasts, women, and the writing of vain pamphlets [*libellus* is both 'a small book' and 'a defamatory book']: prodigal I saw the spring and the wild summer; to autumn and winter I bid farewell with the Dog-star. What shepherd's pipe does not bewail mournfully the mark of genius, the quill of art, the oaten reed of love?' Greene's departure with the Dog-star refers both to his dying young (before he had reached the autumn of his years) and the actual time of his death, at the end of summer. *OED* notes that 'The days about the time of the heliacal rising of the Dog-star' have been 'noted from ancient times as the hottest and most unwholesome period of the year [. . .] In current almanacs they are said to begin July 3rd and end Aug. 11 [. . .] The name [. . .] arose from the pernicious qualities of the season being attributed to the "influence" of the Dog-star; but it has long been popularly associated with the belief that at this season dogs are most apt to run mad' (*OED* dog-days). This is therefore consonant with Harvey's general presentation of Greene – cf. 'raving, and desperate' (p. 3.39), 'the madde libeller' (p. 4.22), etc.
- p. 37.10-16 'Gabriel Harvey, to the most keenly missed soul of his brother John. It is the duty of the younger to compose an elegy for the elder, unless the violent law of fate forbids it [cf. p. 12.44]. Why do I cry in vain, "Brother, my most dear brother"? All pleasures depart, only sorrows remain. I

am all in mourning, dressed drably in black: although you now dwell in Heaven, tearfully I bid you farewell.'

- p. 37.18-40 Nashe's insinuation that Harvey himself was the author of this sonnet has not been taken very seriously by commentators (1958: 1.326-27). Warren B. Austin rejects the traditional assumption 'that the poet simply penned the lines one day as a general tribute', although he feels that 'By printing the poem without explanation [. . .] Harvey may well have intended to convey precisely this impression'. Noting that all of Spenser's other separate sonnets were written as commendatory verses for new books, he suggests that Harvey had contemplated publishing a book of satirical verse, citing p. 20.11-13 (1947b: 21). Virginia F. Stern by contrast suggests that composition 'was very likely in response to the happy news that eight days earlier Harvey had been incorporated at Oxford as Doctor of Civil and Canon Law' (Hamilton 1990: 348).
- p. 37.33 *For... writing*] Austin compares Proverbs 18.21: 'Death and life are in the power of the tongue' (1947b: 22*n.*).
- p. 37.33 *doomefull*] *OED* gives this as the first instance of a word it defines as 'Fraught with or involving doom'; Grosart similarly glosses 'carrying doom' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.136). Cf. however the archaic senses of the word 'doom' ('A judgment or decision'; 'judgement, discrimination, discernment'; 'The action or process of judging') which *OED* cites (*sb.* 2, †3*b*, 5), and 'critique pen' (p. 37.23).



## *Pierces Supererogation*

In *SN*, Nashe begins his epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers': 'Gentlemen, the strong fayth that you have conceiv'd, that I would do workes of supererogation in answering the Doctor, hath made mee breake my daye with other important busines' (1958: 1.259.3). As McKerrow notes, it is from this phrase that *PS* takes its title (Nashe 1958: 4.157). *OED* defines 'supererogation' as 'performance of good works beyond what God commands or requires' (1a), noting Nashe's use as the first instance of 'doing more than is needed' (1b). Nashe's point (made elsewhere in *SN*) was that *FL* needed no response, since Harvey had damaged his own reputation quite enough by publishing it. Possibly this genuinely stung Harvey; possibly he felt that this word (with its Catholic context) was inherently absurd. For whatever reason, he repeats it several times in this, his response to *SN*.

Nashe in *HWY* complained that, in giving his retort to *SN* this title, Harvey had exploited the popularity of *PP*, 'which he knew to be most saleable, (passing at the least through the pikes of sixe Impressions,) to helpe his bedred stuffe to limpe out of *Powles Churchyard*' (Nashe 1958: 3.35.18). One might compare this to the presence on the title-page of *FL* of Greene's name, but not Harvey's: in both cases, it is the relation of Harvey's text to someone else's which is the selling-point. However, unlike *FL*, the title clearly emanated from Harvey himself and not his printer: 'I altered the tytle of this Pamphlet, and newlie christened it *Pierces Supererogation*' (p. 57.42).

Nashe in *HWY* makes great play with the bulkiness and unsaleability of *PS*, calling it 'a whole *Alexandrian* Librarie of waste paper' and 'an unconscionable vast gorbellied Volume, bigger bulkt than a Dutch Hoy'. He claims that Harvey had to pay for its printing himself, and that for defaulting on this debt to Wolfe he was imprisoned (1958: 3.35.4, 35.24, 96-98). Like all Nashe's anecdotes about Harvey, this requires to be taken with a pinch of salt. However, it is certain that, with Harvey's name on the title-page (unlike *FL*), but without Greene's, *PS* only went through one edition. Because of these differences between *FL* and *PS*, I have felt it useful to note in my commentary the occasions when phrases from *PS* are quoted in the *Parnassus* plays, the earliest of which was staged in 1598, five years after the publication. Clearly it was read by more people than just Nashe, and equally clearly it remained in the memories of some of its readers. A Cambridge audience might be expected to enjoy the spectacle of two alumni squabbling in print. Their interest in *PS* (academic gossip) was evidently the same as one of the owners of the copy now held in the Bliss collection of the Bodleian Library (Bliss. A.110 (5)), who marked with marginal daggers Harvey's response to Nashe's querying of his doctoral *viva voce* at Oxford (sig. E<sup>v</sup>), Roger Kelke's turbulent vice-chancellorship at Cambridge (sig. P4<sup>v</sup>) and Andrew Perne's rebuke to Harvey (sig. Dd<sup>f</sup>).

Length apart, one of the differences between *FL* and *PS* is the change of register: a return to the indulgent tone which Harvey periodically uses towards Nashe in *FL* would have been impossible after such an unequivocal declaration of war as *SN*. In the words of Virginia F. Stern, *PS* 'tends sometimes to become tedious, especially when the erudite Harvey inappropriately sinks to the racy Nashe's level of coarse vulgarity' (1979: 104). Harvey's self-presentation as someone concerned with moderating discourse – 'He that taketh a Confutation in hand, must [. . .] make Wisedome the moderatour of Wit' (p. 52.23-24) – becomes increasingly hard to maintain.

### Early Editions

*Title:* ‘Pierces Supererogation | OR | A NEW PRAYSE OF THE | OLD ASSE. | *A Preparatiue to certaine larger Discourses, intituled* | NASHES S. FAME. | Gabriell Haruey. | [Printer’s device (McKerrow 226)] | LONDON | Imprinted by Iohn VVolve. | 1593.’

*Format:* Quarto.

*Collation:* \*<sup>4</sup>, \*\*<sup>4</sup>, \*\*\*<sup>4</sup>, A-Z<sup>4</sup>, Aa-Dd<sup>4</sup>, Ee<sup>3</sup>, Ff<sup>4</sup>, Gg<sup>2</sup>.

*PS* exists in several states, and possibly went through several issues. The four copies of *PS* I have examined all feature two identical title-pages. These copies are: the copy in the Bliss collection in the Bodleian Library (shelf-mark: Bliss A.110(5)., facsimile reprint by Scholar Press, henceforth *B*); the two copies in the British Library (shelf-marks C.40.d.9., henceforth *BL*<sup>1</sup>, and 96.b.16.(4.), henceforth *BL*<sup>2</sup>); and the copy in the Huntington Library (in *EEBO*, henceforth *H*). On *B*, *BL*<sup>2</sup> and *H*, the second title-page appears after sigs \*2<sup>r</sup>-[\*\*\*4]<sup>r</sup> and before sigs A2<sup>r</sup>-Gg2<sup>v</sup>. On *BL*<sup>1</sup>, the second title-page, and sigs \*2<sup>r</sup>-[\*\*\*4]<sup>r</sup>, appear after sigs A2<sup>r</sup>-Gg2<sup>v</sup>. (The copy in the New York Public Library, briefly described in *STC*, is without quires Ff-Gg: *STC* suggests that this represents an early issue (see *STC* 12903).) On all four copies, sigs \*2<sup>r</sup>-[\*\*\*4]<sup>v</sup> and Ff<sup>r</sup>-Gg2<sup>v</sup> are unpaginated: sigs Cc<sup>r</sup>-Ee3<sup>v</sup>, which should paginate 200-220, are mispaginated 100-120. The copy which Nashe read clearly had both sets of addenda, but he noticed its bibliographical oddities: ‘he is asham’d of the incomprehensible corpulencie thereof, for at the ende of the 199. Page hee beginnes with one 100. againe, to make it seeme little [. . .] & in halfe a quire of paper besides hath left the Pages unfigured’ (1958: 3.35.27-32). The prefatory matter was printed as an independent text by Grosart in his 1884-85 edition of Harvey’s *Works*, and by G.E. Saintsbury in 1892. In 1870, J.P. Collier reproduced *PS* without the prefatory matter. (McKerrow states that in *Restituta* (1814-15), Brydges reproduces the prefatory matter as an independent text (Nashe 1958: 5.174), and since he provides no introduction or mention of the rest of the book, he might appear to, but earlier in the same volume he quotes Harvey’s praise of Sidney, Bartas and James VI (sigs G3<sup>r</sup>-[G4]<sup>v</sup>), and elsewhere in *Restituta* he gives excerpts from contemporary texts in the same manner (Brydges 1814-15: 1.317-31, 34-38).

This material, which Grosart called the ‘Precursor’, consists of an epistle of Harvey’s to Barnabe Barnes, John Thorius and Anthony Chute, who contributed verses to *PS* (he thanks them and protests his unworthiness); then, three sonnets by someone whom Harvey calls ‘*the excellent Gentlewoman*, my Patronesse, or rather Championesse’ (p. 41.25); then, an epistle by Barnabe Barnes, including his three sonnets; and, finally, an ‘Advertissement’ by John Wolfe to the reader. Grosart explains his procedure:

This precursor of the larger ‘Pierce’s Supererogation’ was separately published and in anticipation of its publication. When the latter appeared such copies of the former as remained unsold were bound up with it. But very few must so have remained over, as the present tractate is rarely found prefixed or affixed. [. . .] Mr J. Payne Collier [. . .] supposed that Harvey or his friends suppressed or withdrew the precursor, because he had been so ‘much

laughed at for the vanity and egotism' shown therein. But, seeing that the Printer in his Epistle at the close of the present tractate expressly states that it was to precede the other and larger – incidentally letting out that the so-called 'Preparative' was all of 'Nashe's S. Fame' intended, for the Letters and Sonnets named are found appended to the larger 'Pierce's Supererogation' – ours is the true explanation, *i.e.* separate and prior publication. (Harvey 1884-85: 2.2)

McKerrow, who regards the two parts of the book as one, replies to this:

It was not indeed a usual practice to repeat a title-page after the preliminary matter, but it was certainly sometimes done. In the present case the work may have been originally meant to have no preliminaries, for the title-page forms part of the first sheet of the work (Nashe 1958: 5.174).

The prefatory matter is dated 16th July 1593 (sig. [\*\*4]<sup>r</sup>), the main body of the text 27th April (sig. Ee3<sup>v</sup>), John Thorius's first epistle to Harvey 10th July (sig. Ff2<sup>v</sup>) and his second 3rd August (sig. Gg<sup>v</sup>). This would seem to add weight to McKerrow's argument, and is consonant with the possibility of manuscripts being sent to the printer in stages. According to Peter W.M. Blayney, a printer setting a book from manuscript customarily 'would begin with the main text' if there were 'any doubt as to the extent of the preliminary material' (1982: 95). There seems no reason to doubt that this was the case with *PS*. The same practice (the signatures using not letters but asterisks) is used for the prefatory matter to *CT*, which was clearly set after the main body of the text, since it contains a list of errata (Nashe 1958: 2.9-14). McKerrow describes the use of 'an asterisk or other arbitrary mark' as usual in these cases (1928: 26). The separate publication, prior to *FL*, of the 'Second Letter' containing *FL*'s most newsworthy material (about Robert Greene), makes sense. The prior publication of the 'Precursor' does not.

On sig. Ff<sup>r</sup> is a list of fourteen '*Errours escaped in the Printing*', and four substantial additional passages ('*certaine Additions to be inserted*') occupy sigs Ff<sup>r</sup>-Ff2<sup>r</sup>. Stern comments: 'The volume is composed of three nearly independent sections which Harvey intended should be divided into "three bookes". Because of a printer's oversight this was not done [. . .] probably the volume was hastily printed' (1979: 105). However, it is worth comparing Harvey's insertion into the first issue of *Three Letters, and certaine Sonnets* of 'The Fourth Letter' (see Johnson 1946), and what George L. Barnett identifies as the insertion of previously-written sections into the hastily-composed *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (1945: 148-49). Harvey had stated in *FL*, 'nothing would be committed to a publike view, that is not exactly laboured' (p. 9.9), and perhaps he saw revision and insertion of this kind as part of the literary labouring process.

According to McKerrow, 'sig Ee4, which was probably blank, is wanting in copies seen' (Nashe 1958: 5.173). This is present (but blank) in *B*, *BL*<sup>1</sup>, and *H*, and missing in *BL*<sup>2</sup>. The absence of a catch-word at the bottom of sig. Ff4<sup>v</sup> suggests that, at one point, this may have been expected to be the end of the book, before the addition of an extra quire of commendatory verses and epistles (pp. 145-47 of this edition). All four copies I have examined have a manicule in the margin of sig. Bb2<sup>v</sup>, signposting the beginning of Harvey's attack on Andrew Perne (p. 129.4). *B*, *BL*<sup>1</sup> and *H* all have an asterisk in the margin of sig. Dd3<sup>v</sup> to highlight Harvey's praise of his 'patroness' (p. 136.37-38). (The pages of *BL*<sup>2</sup> have been severely cropped.) I have not been able to reproduce these.

Evidently the length of *PS* made heavy demands on Wolfe's supply of type – before he had got to the end of the first 'book', Wolfe's compositor was already required to use capital italic 'M's and 'H's for words otherwise written in Roman. So, on sig. G3<sup>v</sup> we find 'Musidorus', and on [G4]<sup>v</sup> 'Magnes' and 'Monsieur'; on sig. H<sup>v</sup> 'Heroicall' (the signature itself is in italic), on sig. H2<sup>v</sup> 'Madnesse', and so on. In the third book (sigs S3<sup>v</sup>-Ee3<sup>v</sup>), the lengthy digression in praise of the ass, whereby Harvey hopes to outgo Cornelius Agrippa, taxed the number of Roman capital 'A's which Wolfe had to hand, and from sig. X2<sup>v</sup> onwards 'Asse', 'Arcadian', and similar readings appear frequently. This is not unparalleled: the 1608 quarto of *King Lear* printed by Nicholas Okes (his first play-text) demonstrates a similar shortage of italic 'E's, occasioned by the presence of 'Enter', 'Exit', 'Edmund' and 'Edgar' in stage-directions and speech-headings (Blayney 1982: 129).

### *Modern Editions*

*Archaica. Containing a Reprint of Scarce Old English Prose Tracts with Prefaces, Biographical and Critical*, ed. by Egerton Brydges, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1815)

*Archaica* was printed separately in nine parts. 'Part the Eighth' comprises the preface to *PS*, and the first two 'books' (sigs \*2<sup>r</sup>-[\*\*\*4]<sup>r</sup> and sigs A2<sup>r</sup>-S3<sup>v</sup>), and 'Part the Ninth' is the final 'book' of *PS* (sigs S3<sup>v</sup>-Gg2<sup>v</sup>) and *NL*. Brydges interpolates 'BOOK THE SECOND' at the head of p. 81, and 'BOOK THE THIRD' at the head of p. 145. Pagination is separate with each part, except for 'Part the Ninth', which paginates 145-234 for the last 'book' of *PS*, before starting again for *NL*.

When dealing with Brydges's and Collier's editions, it is better to speak of their 'tendencies' than their 'methodologies' as editors. Brydges's tendencies in reproducing Harvey's text are broadly similar to those he displayed in *FL*: he modernises Harvey's spelling and punctuation and breaks up the text with frequent paragraph indentations. However, he is extremely inconsistent, especially in his treatment of proper names. Having taken them out of italics in *FL*, he puts them into italics when they are in Roman in Harvey's original, or, on occasions, into uppercase characters. So, on Brydges's pp. 32-33, the phrase 'Harding, and Iewell' becomes '*Harding* and *Jewel*' the first time it appears, but not the second shortly afterwards; 'Sir Iohn Cheeke' becomes 'Sir John *Cheeke*'; and 'M. Robart Greene' 'M. ROBERT GREENE'.

For *PS* (alone of his editions of Harvey), Brydges has biographical notes (pp. 225-34) on the Britons mentioned, drawing on Anthony á Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, John Strype, etc.: so 'Trapezuntius', 'Cuiacius' and 'Gryson' are not identified, but Harvey's first reference to Marlowe is glossed 'CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, a well known poet, died 1598' (p. 230).

*Pierces Supererogation*, ed. by J.P. Collier ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1870)

Like Brydges, Collier issued his edition of *PS* in two parts: pp. 1-128 and pp. 129-237. However, he seemingly has not taken Brydges's edition as his copy-text, as evidently he did with *FL*. The question of Collier's copy-text is a difficult one to resolve, especially as it has a bearing on the question of how

many issues of *PS* were printed by Wolfe. Collier does not reproduce the prefatory matter (sigs \*2<sup>r</sup>-[\*\*\*4]<sup>r</sup>) or insert the four passages on sigs Ff<sup>r</sup>-Ff2<sup>v</sup> in the places where '*Errours escaped*' states that they are to be inserted. Neither does he make all the corrections prescribed in the list of '*Errours escaped in the Printing*'. (Collier makes four of the fourteen corrections given in '*Errours*': he makes 'angoy' 'agony' (p. 28), 'bewixt' 'betwixt' (p. 52), 'very Minister' 'every Minister' (p. 88) and removes the colon from 'railing: stile' (p. 71). He also makes 'instringment' 'infringment', instead of 'infringement' as stated on sig. Ff<sup>r</sup>. Since he retains all the other errors, it seems entirely possible that he made these emendations conjecturally.) Confusingly, however, he does reproduce the '*certaine Additions to be inserted*' after the last part of *PS* (sigs Ff<sup>r</sup>-Ff2<sup>r</sup>) and the verses and letters of Thorius, Chewt and Fregeville (sigs Ff2<sup>v</sup>-Gg2<sup>v</sup>).

Collier himself is unhelpfully vague on the subject. He mentions in his introduction to *PS* that the order in which he has reprinted the component texts in the Harvey-Nashe quarrel has been determined by 'the difficulty or facility with which we were able to obtain transcripts' and thanks 'Frederic Ouvry, Esq., Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries', for his use of an original edition of *NL* (p. ii), but otherwise says nothing about copy-texts. My only suggestion is that, between the issuing of pp. 1-128 and pp. 129-237, Collier changed his copy-text from a text which did not include the prefatory matter, errata, addenda and postscripts to one that did.

*The Works of Gabriel Harvey, D.C.L.*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, 3 vols (London, Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1884-85), II, 1-346.

Grosart prints the prefatory matter to *PS* (pp. 5-25) and the main body of the text (pp. 31-346) as two separate entities: the first he calls 'Precursor of Pierces Supererogation'. He describes himself as 'indebted again to the Huth Library' for his copy-text, and comments on the 'deplorable inaccuracy' of Collier's edition of *PS*, but as with *FL* has several readings, with no authority in the original, in common with Collier.

*Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets*, ed. by George Saintsbury (London: Percival and Co., 1892), pp. 166-84.

Sainbury reproduces sigs \*2<sup>r</sup>-[\*\*\*4]<sup>r</sup> of *PS*, which he calls 'a sort of pilot engine to *Pierces Supererogation*, published first before and then with the longer piece' (p. 164). His variants are exactly identical to Grosart's.

*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. by G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904), II, 245-82.

Smith reproduces fourteen passages from *PS*: sigs B3<sup>r</sup>-C3<sup>r</sup>, C3<sup>v</sup>-C4<sup>r</sup>, D<sup>r</sup>-D3<sup>v</sup>, [F4]<sup>r</sup>, [F4]<sup>v</sup>-G2<sup>v</sup>, G2<sup>v</sup>-[G4]<sup>v</sup>, [H4]<sup>v</sup>-I<sup>r</sup>, I<sup>v</sup>-I2<sup>r</sup>, I4<sup>r</sup>-K<sup>v</sup>, K2<sup>r-v</sup>, S<sup>r-v</sup>, S2<sup>r-v</sup>, Z3<sup>r</sup>-Aa<sup>v</sup>, Aa4<sup>v</sup>-Bb2<sup>r</sup>. His explanatory notes are on pp. 431-44. As with *FL*, he reproduces Harvey's spelling while modernising his punctuation.

*This Edition*

For the four copies of *PS* examined, see ‘Early Editions’ above. All the variants I have noted are accidental, and consist largely of punctuation or diacritics missing from *B*, which appear not to have inked. I list these below to demonstrate my reasons for using *H* as my copy-text.

sig. D <sup>r</sup>	8 lines up	That, that <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> That that <i>B</i>
sig. O3 <sup>v</sup>	first line	Christiās <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> Christias <i>B</i>
sig. Q3 <sup>v</sup>	16th line	sayd? <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> sayd. <i>B</i>
sig. Q3 <sup>v</sup>	3 lines up	more? <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> more. <i>B</i>
sig. Q4 <sup>r</sup>	6 lines up	Humilitie; their Practise <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> Humilitie their Practise <i>B</i>
sig. Q4 <sup>v</sup>	3rd line	selfe): and <i>H</i> selfe) and <i>B</i> (On <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> and <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , the upper half of the colon has inked, but not the lower)
sig. R4 <sup>r</sup>	5 lines up	Foolemaster <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> Fool master <i>B</i>
sig. Y <sup>r</sup>	4 lines up	à boue <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> a boue <i>B</i>
sig. Y3 <sup>r</sup>	first line	very-hard <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> very hard <i>B</i>
sig. Y3 <sup>r</sup>	6 lines down	desert? <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> desert. <i>B</i>
sig. Y3 <sup>v</sup>	6 lines down	Cheeke-bone <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> Cheeke bone <i>B</i>

sig. Y4 <sup>r</sup>	4 lines up	me): but <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> me) but <i>B</i>
sig. Y4 <sup>v</sup>	bottom line	heauẽ <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> heaue <i>B</i>
sig. Aa4 <sup>r</sup>	2 lines up	rusty-dusty <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> rusty dusty <i>B</i>
sig. Bb3 <sup>r</sup>	2 lines up	him; <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> him, <i>B</i>
sig. Ee2 <sup>r</sup>	7 lines up	aspectes: <i>BL</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>BL</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>H</i> aspectes. <i>B</i>

On *H* and *B*, the catch-word at the foot of sig. X3<sup>r</sup> – ‘harmony)’ – is different from the reading at the top of the next page, ‘harmony,)’, but the space between the ‘y’ and the closing bracket is large enough for the missing punctuation. This is dimly legible on *BL*<sup>1</sup>, and on *BL*<sup>2</sup> is evidently a comma.

I have inserted the four passages given in ‘*certain Additions to be inserted*’ (p. 66.30-35, p. 80.22-27, p. 84.45 – p. 85.9, p. 133.43 – p. 134.1) and incorporated the fourteen ‘*Errours escaped in the Printing*’: the former appear inside brackets. In addition to making the italic initials of otherwise Roman words Roman, I have emended ten simple errors which do not appear in ‘*Errours escaped*’ (p. 64.37, p. 71.4, p. 72.34, p. 100.42, p. 106.27, p. 109.32, p. 110.25, p. 134.20, p. 135.13, p. 138.13). I have resisted the temptation to make emendations to p. 59.30, p. 60.41-42, p. 84.15 and p. 123.17, although in each case Wolfe’s compositor seems to have made a mistake in his use of italic type, not knowing when Harvey was quoting. In authorial MSS., passages to be set up in italics seem to have been written in an Italian hand, as opposed to being underlined (McKerrow 1928: 251), and possibly this was easier for a compositor to misread.

## Explanatory notes

**p. 38.1-3** *M. Barnabe...Chewi*] None of the writers who contributed commendatory verses to *PS* seem to have been major figures, something for which Nashe mocks Harvey; he suggests that Harvey met them while all four were lodging with Wolfe (1958: 3.109.1-3, 3.102.33-35). All had indeed had works published by Wolfe (Stern 1979: 106). Barnabe Barnes (1571?-1609) was to become perhaps the best-known, but his literary career had barely begun at the time of *PS*'s publication (see p. 44.28 *n.*). For contemporary responses to his work (favourable and otherwise) see *DNB*. In 1586 he matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford (see p. 43.32-33) but left without taking a degree; subsequently he accompanied Essex on his 1591 expedition to Normandy (see p. 41.4-6) (*ODNB*).

John Thorius was born in London in 1568, his father a native of Flanders; he gained his BA from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1586 (*ODNB*). All his publications at this point were translations from the Spanish: Harvey owned his 1590 version of Antonio de Corro's *The Spanish Grammer* (Stern 1979: 207). In 1589 he also translated Bartolome Felipe's *Tractado del Consejo y de los Consejeros de los Principes* (see p. 41.1). Harvey alludes to this on p. 96.15 and in some marginalia (1913: 154, 272); whether he had read it in the original or Thorius's translation is unclear (see Stern 1979: 157 for Harvey's knowledge of Spanish). By Harvey's phrase on p. 41.7, Nashe understood that he had been taught by de Corro, who was indeed lecturing on divinity at Oxford 1578-86 (Nashe 1958: 3.106.17-25, 4.353).

In *HWY*, Nashe claimed that Thorius had 'made his peace' with him (1958: 3.105.11-12). (Edgar Cardew Marchant states that, having come to Nashe's attention by his involvement in *PS*, Thorius became the subject of Nashe's 'sarcasms' until *HWY* (*DNB* art. Thorius). In Nashe's works between *PS* and *HWY*, he only deals directly with the quarrel with Harvey in his preface to the second edition of *CT*, in which Thorius is not mentioned.) *HWY* includes a letter from Thorius in which he claims: that the sonnet attributed to him (p. 142.20-36) is not his; that he did not read all of *PS* and did not realise how defamatory to Nashe it was; and that the verses which he did write (p. 145.44-146.13) were 'altered to your disgrace in some places' (1958: 3.135.12-35).

Of Anthony Chute little is known besides Harvey's praise of him here and Nashe's denigration of him in *HWY* (1958: 3.106.26-107.13). He seems to have taken part in the 1589 expedition to Portugal (see p. 8.12, p. 41.10). His poem, *Beawtie Dishonored Written under the Title of Shores Wife* (see p. 41.1), was entered in the Stationers' register on 16 June 1593, and deals with Edward IV's mistress, Jane Shore. As the preface mentions, it was his first work (*ODNB*). His next work, *Remonstrances to the Duke de Mayne* (also 1593), is mentioned by Harvey in *NL* as one of the works printed by Wolfe which he has just received (p. 148.13-14). His tract *Tabacco; the distinct and Severall Opinions of the Late and Best Phisitions* (1595) was published posthumously (*ODNB*).

**p. 38.5** *the rest...Commenders*] These are presumably the 'affectionate frendes' mentioned in the 'Advertissement' on p. 46.6.

**p. 38.32** *Suffenus*] A 'Latin poet in the age of Catullus. He was but of moderate abilities, but puffed up with a high idea of his own excellence, and therefore deservedly exposed to the ridicule of his contemporaries' (Lemprière).



- p. 38.33-34 *Tully...selfe-loover*] The example cited by Plutarch of Cicero's 'immoderate boasting of himself in his speeches' (*Demosthenes and Cicero*, II.1) is from his poem *De consulatu meo*, in which he says that the soldier's arms must yield to the orator's toga, as a result of his quashing the conspiracy of Catiline. The poem is no longer extant, but Cicero repeats this line in *De Officiis* I.xxii.77 and *Philippics* II.VIII.20 (Antony had apparently mocked him for it). This and another line from the same work ('O fortunatam natam me consule Romam') is often quoted by writers discussing Cicero's vanity – e.g. Quintilian XI.1.24, Juvenal X.122.
- p. 38.34-36 *He...Orations*] McKerrow glosses 'his Ego, Ego, Ego' 'i.e. Cicero's' (Nashe 1958: 4.351). 'He' is presumably Nashe himself. Nashe interpreted 'Il'e' as an abbreviation of 'I will': 'What should I say, *I will and commaund*, like a Prince? hee might as well write against *Poules* for having three lles in it' (Nashe 1958: 3.103.4). This spelling was indeed often used, e.g. (p. 42.29). Perhaps, however, Wolfe's compositor made a mistake here. Harvey's Latin poem at the end of *FL*, written in the persona of Greene, begins 'Ille ego, cui [. . .]' (p. 37.3), parodying the proem to the *Aeneid* (of debated authorship) also emulated by Spenser at the beginning of *FQ* ('Lo I the man [. . .]') (Spenser 2001: 29 & n.). Perhaps, as the phrase is the one with which the poet announces himself, it had associations with arrogance and bravado for Harvey: cf. his comments on *PWH* (p. 78.24, p. 106.2).
- p. 38.45-46 *Would Christ...Idoll*] Nashe identified this as him (1958: 3.103.7-8).
- p. 39.29 *Nashes S. Fame*] Harvey's unpublished work was named after Nashe's cry at the end of his epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers' in *SN*: 'Saint Fame for mee, and thus I runne upon him' (1958: 1.263.24).
- p. 39.39-49 *I never read...occasion*] This long and obscure sentence is essentially an expansion of the passage in the Third Letter where Harvey gives instances of great men labouring their own commendations (p. 11.38-41).
- p. 40.12-13 *I have learned...cockle*] 'Cockle' is a weed growing among corn; medieval and early-modern translations of Scripture often used this for the *zizania* in Christ's second parable of sowers and seeds (Matthew 13.24-30) (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup>). For other proverbial instances see Tilley C497, C659.
- p. 40.18-19 *I know...foote*] 'to know the length of (a person's) foot: to discover or know his weaknesses' (*OED foot sb.* VII 26c).
- p. 40.22 *layed...awatering*] 'to lay a-water: to make of no effect or value; to dissipate' (*OED water sb.* I 11 †c).
- p. 40.30 *drive-out...another*] *ODEP* cites instances from c. 1200 of the proverb 'One nail (love) drives out another'.
- p. 41.3 *Parthenopoeus...herselfe*] Parthenopæus was the son of Meleager and Atalanta (proverbial for her swiftness – see *As You Like It* III.2.271-72); the son of Calliope (muse of epic poetry) was Orpheus, archetype of the great artist (Lemprière).
- p. 41.5 *the valiant...Baskerville*] Sir Thomas Baskerville (d. 1597); he 'enjoyed a distinguished career fighting in the protestant cause', serving in France and the Netherlands between 1585 and 1594 (*ODNB*).

- p. 41.6 *Andrewes*] Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), later Bishop of Winchester, was at this point vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate: Nashe praises his 'powerfull preaching' in *HWY*. He knew no less than 15 languages (Nashe 1958: 3.105.15-22, 4.353).
- p. 41.7 *the curious...Bodley*] Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), the scholar and diplomat, was Elizabeth's ambassador to the United Provinces from 1588 to 1597 (*ODNB*). By calling him an 'intelligencer' Harvey would seem to mean generally 'One who conveys intelligence or information' (*OED*). Nashe however objected to the word on the basis that it meant an informer or spy (1958: 3.105.25-30), which, according to the *OED*, would seem to have been the predominant sense at this point.
- p. 41.9 *the flowing...Doove*] Brydges identified this as the clergyman John Dove (d. 1618), a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford (1815: pt. 8.225). McKerrow suggested Thomas Dove (1555-1630), Dean of Norwich, noting that the former Dove did not become a preacher of note until later, his first printed sermon being in 1594 (Nashe 1958: 4.353).
- p. 41.9 *the skilfull...Clarentius*] Matthew Steggle, noting that 'Harvey and Nashe both speak of Chute's skill in heraldry and in tricking out coats of arms', states that this is 'borne out by the mock-heraldic woodcuts of *Tabacco*' (*ODNB*). The other, parallel, phrases suggest that Harvey means the individual who was Clarencieux King of Arms; who this was at this point is unclear, as the date of the death of Robert Cook (who held the post from 1567) is unknown (Nashe 1958: 4.353). For a description of this herald's duties, see *ODNB* art. William Camden.
- p. 41.35 *O Muses...blinde*] Nashe replies to this, 'the first line [. . .] is stolne out of the Ballet of *Anne Askew*; for [. . .] that begins, *I am a woman poore and blinde*' (1958: 3.113.12-14).
- p. 41.36 *Lyon-draggon*] Cf. Harvey's reference to 'the hideous Lion-dragon Chimæra' (p. 132.51): this is 'a monster having three heades, one like a lyon, an other like a goat, the thirde like a dragon. After Homere, it is a beast invincible' (Cooper).
- p. 41.38 *Champion of Fame*] See p. 39.29.
- p. 41.50 *Si...Mihi*] 'If you wish to spare yourself, spare me.'
- p. 42.5 *Where...ring*] Harvey's Gentlewoman evidently shared with him and Barnes (p. 43.44-46) a love of du Bartas's works, here alluded to; cf. 'the two divine Poems of Salustius du Bartas, his heavenly Urany, and his hellish Furies' (p. 69.21).
- p. 42.9 *Shall...all*] For 'boy' as an insult, see *OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2a, †4.
- p. 42.12 *Danthers scarecrow Presse*] John Danter (d. c. 1599) printed *SN*, and would go on to print *The Terrors of the Night* and *HWY*, from which it appears that Nashe lived with him at one point (1958: 1.247, 337, 3.1, 114.23-115.9). He appears as a character in *2Parnassus*, haggling with Ingenioso over a scurrilous book; Leishman calls him 'a notorious pirate, one of the most disreputable of Elizabethan publishers' (1949: 76). For details of his life and career see McKerrow 1910: 83-84.
- p. 42.13 *pluckcrow*] *OED* cites this as the only instance of a word it defines as 'got by plucking a crow', which would make 'pluckcrow implements' feathers (*OED* pluck v. 9). N.B. however the proverbial saying 'I have a crow to pluck with you' – i.e. a bone to pick, a score to settle (Tilley C855). Another possible gloss might therefore be 'bitter, quarrelsome'.

- p. 42.14 *the hangman pen*] Used nominally, 'hangman' could be a 'term of reprobation' (*OED* 1b). *OED* gives no attributive uses or combinations before 1825: however, see *Two Gentlemen of Verona* IV.4.54, where Lance complains that 'the hangman boys in the market-place' have stolen his dog.
- p. 42.15 *Termagant*] According to Diane Whaley, 'Termagant (Fr. *Tervagan(t)*, Ital. *Trivagante*) appears widely in the literature of Christendom as a god supposedly worshipped by the Saracens [. . .] Termagant [. . .] also turns, in the sixteenth century, into an eponymous common noun used to denote tyrants and others characterised by over-charged, violent behaviour [. . .] It is noticeable that several of the occurrences of "Termagant" closest to Shakespeare's time are within the satiric literature, where he is associated in some way with absurdity and bombast'; she cites this couplet of Harvey's as an example, noting that it associates Termagant 'with the despised spooks of popular imagination' (1997: 28-29).
- p. 42.16 *tugg*] Perhaps this means figuratively 'defy, defeat': cf. the literal sense 'To pull about roughly [. . .] to maul' (*OED* tug v. 4 †b). Two of *OED*'s five instances are figurative, inc. *Macbeth* III.1.111 ('So weary with disasters, tugged with fortune'); cf. also Stanyhurst's use in his translation of Virgil (1583: sig. [A8]<sup>r</sup>), Puttenham's objection to this (1936: 274), and Nashe in *SN* on Harvey's treatment of Greene (1958: 1.275.17).
- p. 42.18 *Ultrix...flagello*.] Stern translates 'the female avenger equipped with a whip' (1979: 108). The phrase comes from Virgil's *Aeneid*, VI 570 (applied by the fury Tisiphone to herself).
- p. 42.20 *Comedy*] The only literary senses defined by *OED* are plays and long narrative poems like *Troilus and Criseyde*. Edwin Haviland Miller argues that it was used of any 'humorous or burlesque work', giving examples (1954: 358-59).
- p. 42.22 *Bevis sworde*] The romance *Bevis of Hampton* (c. 1324) was popular during the sixteenth century; John Harvey names it alongside the legends of King Arthur and Robin Hood (1588: 68-69); Shakespeare knew it (*King Lear* II.4.131-33) as did Spenser (Wells 1926: 145-46, 154-56). The hero is exiled to the court of the Armenian king, who gives him a sword named Morgelai; armed with this he leads the king's army to victory against the Saracens (Herzman, Drake, Salisbury 1999: 191).
- p. 42.46 *the booted Souldiour*] Stern thought this was an allusion to 'the booted Shakerley' mentioned later (p. 137.31), 'a bragging half-wit, Peter Shackerley, who was the joke of London for his vainglory' (1979: 108 n.). Harvey however frequently associates his enemies with violence in an ironic way, e.g. 'what a dubble stabber woldest thou be [. . .] shall I [. . .] tell thee, where thy slashing Long-sword commeth short?' (p. 78.28-30).
- p. 42.29 *the gagtooth'd fopp*] Building on this and p. 107.43, Charles Nicholls posits that Nashe's teeth were a physical peculiarity of his (*ODNB*). *OED* defines 'gag-toothed' as 'Having a projecting or prominent tooth'.
- p. 42.33 *comedy*] See p. 42.20 n.
- p. 42.35 *Gnasharduccio*] Note Harvey's favourite joke on his opponent's name (p. 14.5).
- p. 43.5 *an Epithite...Theophrastus*] The peripatetic philosopher, originally called Tyrtamus, was re-named by Aristotle, his tutor; the name means 'divine speaker' (Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, V.IX.24-25; Strabo, 13.2.4.).

- p. 43.12-13 *our vulgar Tuscanisme*] Barnes is alluding to Harvey's poem, 'Speculum Tuscanismi', for which see Spenser 1912: 625-26. Perhaps his specific meaning here is 'imitation of Italian culture'. Both Drayton, in *Nymphidia* 193-94 (1961: 3.131), and Hall, in *Virgidemiarum* l.iv.11-14, call Ariosto, a Lombard, Tuscan: Davenport glosses, "'Tuscan" was often used to mean "Italian"' (1949: 16, 167).
- p. 43.20-23 *That...carions*] Proverbially, the raven's croaking portended death (see Tilley R33). It was often twinned with the owl, as a bird of ill-omen and the night (e.g. *Titus Andronicus* II.2.96-97) and associated with desolation (Isaiah 34.11). In *FQ* II.xii.36.1-6, Spenser places the bat with them.
- p. 43.25-27 *which endeavour...them*] In 390 B.C., Rome was besieged by the Gauls, who one night attempted to invade the city by scaling a cliff. On reaching the summit they awoke the geese sacred to Juno, who by the noise they made alerted Marcus Manlius, soldier and former consul, who repelled the invaders. (See Livy V.XLVII.4.)
- p. 43.27-28 *the very...Eloquence*] See p. 57.11 n.
- p. 43.30-31 *such...withall*] Greene's fatal illness was protracted: at the beginning of *Defence of Conny-Catching* (1592) he apologised for the non-appearance of his long-awaited *Black Book*, citing ill-health (1881-86: 11.5). That the narrator of *The Repentance of Robert Greene MA* says that, as a result of his debauchery, 'I were sundry times afflicted with many foule and greevous diseases' says something of Greene's reputation (1592c: sig. B1<sup>r</sup>). Possibly, however, Barnes means Nashe: Chettle in *Kind-Harts Dreame* addresses him as if he might die imminently (Appendix D, 40-44); Nashe himself pleads ill-health towards the end of *SN* (1958: 1.322.16-19). Possibly Stern is near the mark when she suggests that frequent imprisonment weakened Nashe's health (1979: 129); illness would not be incompatible with someone living the lifestyle suggested by the beginning of *PP*. As 'murr' meant 'catarrh' (*OED* † *sb.*), it may not be irrelevant to note the words of 'Lichfield' to his boy when Nashe enters his shop at the beginning of *The Trimming*: 'I like not his countenance, I am afraid he labours of the venereall murre' (Lichfield 1597: sig. B<sup>r</sup>). The joke repeatedly made in *The Trimming* about Nashe suffering from syphilis ought not perhaps to be taken too seriously.
- p. 43.41 *patience perforce*] A stock phrase: see *Romeo and Juliet* I.5.93, *FQ* II.iii.3.3.
- p. 43.44-45 *of du Bartas elsewhere*] Perhaps Barnes's *Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnets* was inspired by Bartas and his Christian muse: n.b. his reference to 'divine Salust the true learned French poet' (1595: sig. A3<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 43.46 *The brave...Nöe*] François de la Noue (1531-91), Huguenot soldier. In 1580, while fighting for the Protestants of the Low Countries, he was captured by the Spanish and imprisoned at Limburg for five years. During his captivity he wrote *Discours politiques et militaires* (published in 1587), translated into English in the same year as *The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord De La Novve*, possibly by Edward Aggas (*ODNB*, art. Aggas). Sigs G4<sup>r</sup>-[G8]<sup>r</sup> show him to have shared Harvey's views on medieval romance. In 1589 he took up arms against the Catholic League, justifying his conduct in a *Declaration* translated into English by 'A.M.' (possibly Munday) and printed by Wolfe. Harvey's admiration for his humanist combination of the active and the intellectual life is expressed on p. 70.5-12. He also wrote commentaries on Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* and Plutarch's *Lives* (*EB*).

- p. 43.46 *Sir Philip Sidney*] Harvey has two verse tributes to him in Book IV of *Gratulationes Valdinenses*; Warren B. Austin identified Harvey as the 'G.H.' who wrote three of the Latin elegies for Sidney in a volume by various Cambridge scholars published in 1587. As Barnes seems to be referring to unpublished verse, perhaps he means the 83 lines of Latin hexameters which Harvey transcribed into his copy of James VI's *Divine essayes* (Stern 1979: 43, 78-79).
- p. 44.9 *Persuasions Pith*] Perhaps there is a pun here: Pitho was the goddess of persuasion (Lemprière). Cf. however *Ciceronianus*: 'that "Marrow of Persuasion" so celebrated by the ancients'; 'a task which demands the proverbial "Marrow of Persuasion" and tests the oratorical muscles' (Harvey 1945: 47, 89).
- p. 44.27-28 *your deare... Parthenope*] Nashe in *HWY* mocks Harvey for recommending Barnes's collection of poetry, *Parthenophil and Parthenope*, to Wolfe (1958: 3.89.19-34); Wolfe, in his epistle 'To the learned Gentlemen Readers', says he was 'partly moved by certain of my deere friends' to print it. The epistle is dated May 1593 but the day is left blank (Barnes 1593: sig. A2<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 44.42 *Printers proper new*] 'New' is presumably nominal, although *OED* seems not to list Barnes's exact sense. Perhaps he means something new and therefore saleable, as the word would seem to be used in the title of the jestbook *The Sackful of News* (see Lawlis 1967: 13-30).
- p. 44.44-45 *honesties... block*] There is perhaps an echo here of Isaiah 8.14, where the prophet, predicting God's anger with Israel, says 'he shalbe the [...] stone to stumble at, the rocke to fall upon'; see also Romans 9.33 ('a stumbling stone, and a rocke of offence') and I Peter 2.8.
- p. 45.13 *Cignet*] To compare poets to swans was conventional (*OED* swan *sb.* 1c): Barnes alludes to Sidney's early death (cf. p. 68.33-34, p. 69.10-12).
- p. 45.15 *register*] This could mean literally 'The keeper of a register; a registrar' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> a), and Barnes seems to mean 'chronicler'.
- p. 45.17 *Hatcher*] This is presumably the 'M. Thomas Hatcher, a rare Antiquary' whom Harvey names on p. 63.29 as having written him a letter of commendation. Hatcher (d. 1583) was a friend of John Caius and John Stow (*DNB*); his annotated copies of Demosthenes's *Gnomologiae* and two works by Omer Talon he later passed on to Harvey (Stern 1979: 208, 236).
- p. 45.18 *Lewen*] William Lewin (d. 1598), L.L.D., fellow of Christ's College Cambridge and MP for Rochester. Gordon Goodwin says, 'His reputation as a painstaking, upright judge was very high.' (*DNB*) He was Harvey's tutor at Christ's: Harvey's *Ciceronianus* (1577) is dedicated to him and includes a prefatory epistle in which 'in glowing terms Lewin praises Harvey's remarkable ability and achievements' and places him 'among Cambridge's foremost professors' (Stern 1979: 10-11).
- p. 45.25-26 *then... wing*] Cf. Shakespeare's Sonnet 78 (where the eyes of the addressee 'have added feathers to the learned's wing'); Duncan-Jones sees an allusion to 'the process of "imping" feathers on to birds' wings in falconry' (2001: 266). For the conventional presentation of Fame with wings, see *FQ* I.vii.46.2, Bacon's 'Of Fame' (1972: 174); ultimately this stems from Virgil (*Aeneid* IV.173-88).
- p. 46 Nashe states that this whole 'Advertisment' 'is not the Printers, but *Harveys*' (1958: 3.117.6).
- p. 46.6 *divers... Universities*] See p. 38.5 *n.*
- p. 46.7-8 *his... note*] McKerrow saw this as a third edition of *FL* (Nashe 1958: 5.174).

p. 46.15 *Fregevill Gautius*] Presumably the 'Fregeuillo Gautio' whose *Palma Christiana* Wolfe also published in 1593. A 'John Fregeville of Gaut' wrote *The Reformed Politicke*, a moderate Protestant tract published by Richard Field in 1589. The dedicatory epistle, addressed to Henri III, is dated 'From London this 12. of December 1588' (sig. [A4]<sup>r</sup>). According to *DBF*, a 'Jean de Frégeville de Gau' drowned in the Seine in 1603, having dedicated his life to an attempt to convert the Jews. It attributes to him two works, *La chronologie* (1582) and *Tractatus chronologicus* (1583), and suggests a third, *Palinodie chimique* (1588), listed by the Bibliothèque nationale's catalogue as by a 'Du Gault', but says nothing of a sojourn in England. Pierce (1908: 120) identifies the author of *The Reformed Politicke* as the figure mentioned several times in the Marprelate tracts as one of Martin's opponents: *Theses Martinianae* sig. [D3]<sup>v</sup>, *Just Censure* sig. Cij<sup>v</sup>, *Protestatyon* p. 31. In the last he is called 'Friar Freguevil': evidently Marprelate thought him not Protestant enough.

*Pierces Supererogation Book I*

As Brian Vickers comments on *PS* as a whole, ‘This exuberant, tasteless, verbose pamphlet [. . .] seldom focuses on any topic for long’ (1999: 333). However, I have attempted before the explanatory notes to each ‘Book’ of *PS* to summarize broadly the constitutive parts. I emphasize the broadness of these divisions. Harvey rambles; he returns to the same points repeatedly; in one place he will touch briefly on a point which he deals with at length elsewhere; often a shift in subject-matter comes halfway through one of his epic sentences. Barring digressions of lesser or greater length, the subject-matter is generally Nashe and *SN*.

- p. 47.9-p. 48.27 Harvey protests his unwillingness to enter a quarrel, but says that his reputation will suffer if he remains silent.
- p. 48.27-p. 49.12 He describes how he would rather spend his time.
- p. 49.12-33 Citing Demosthenes against Aristogeiton, he implies that replying to Nashe is his public duty.
- p. 49.39-p. 50.13 Harvey ironically praises Nashe as ‘young Apuleius’.
- p. 50.44-p. 52.47 Nashe outdoes all the great railers and confuters of history, whom Harvey lists.
- p. 52.47-p. 54.2 Harvey contrasts Nashe’s wit with the learning of various writers.
- p. 54.5-24 He complains of the neglect of learning.
- p. 54.24-p. 55.1 He focuses on individual phrases in *PP* and *SN*.
- p. 55.22-p. 56.14 Harvey discusses how best to respond to *SN*, citing great men who ignored attacks on them.
- p. 56.15-47 Harvey’s great expectations on seeing the title-page of *SN* were dashed when he began reading.
- p. 57.2-47 Harvey quotes a friend of his on Nashe: the unnamed commentator praises Nashe ironically, decrying the wasting of time in study when the path to advancement lies elsewhere (and Nashe has achieved great things without it). His use of the phrase ‘Pierce’s Supererogation’ has given Harvey the title for his response to *SN*.
- p. 57.47-p. 59.28 The subject of Nashe’s self-imagined ‘miraculous’ abilities gives Harvey the opportunity to use some alchemical metaphors.
- p. 59.28-p. 60.46 He responds to particular phrases or allegations of Nashe.
- p. 61.30-p. 62.9 Harvey mocks Nashe for coming to Greene’s defence, and compares the two ironically to famous pairs of friends from antiquity and literature; Nashe’s admiration for Greene is compared to that of great men for great authors.
- p. 62.11-36 Nashe has denigrated so many great men that it is no shame to be insulted by him.

- p. 62.37-p. 63.12 Harvey contrasts Nashe's pride with his own humility.
- p. 63.12-46 Harvey lists several men (friends, patrons and fellow-scholars) who have written him letters of commendation.
- p. 63.46-p. 64.29 Harvey digresses about honour and praise: praise, he says, is nothing if not founded on desert.
- p. 64.30-p. 65.29 Harvey denies various claims made by Nashe in *SN* and replies with claims of his own.
- p. 65.46-p. 67.4 Harvey alludes to some obscene verses of Nashe's circulating in manuscript, and then digresses about obscenity and its opposite.
- p. 67.5-p. 68.28 Harvey changes the subject to the kind of text which he and Nashe would better employ their time in writing: he lists authors whose active engagement in the world he particularly admires.
- p. 68.28-p. 69.17 Among these, Harvey particularly singles out Philip Sidney and his *Arcadia*.
- p. 69.17-p. 70.21 Shorter encomia follow on James VI, Guillaume du Bartas, François de la Noue and Henri IV.
- p. 70.22-p. 71.46 Harvey praises the quality that spurs on heroic activity, which he calls 'entelechy'; contrastingly, he emphasizes the danger posed to public morals by Nashe's writing.
- p. 71.48-p. 72.31 Harvey focuses on individual phrases in *SN*.
- p. 73.1-p. 74.18 The general poverty of Nashe's style is emphasized.
- p. 74.18-37 Harvey plays on the couplet which completes the 'Sonnetto' at the end of *SN*.
- p. 74.37-p. 75.11 Harvey promises other responses to Nashe from associates of his, including his 'Gentlewoman'.
- p. 75.25-p. 76.2 Harvey introduces the second part of *PS*, a response to *PWH*, and explains the circumstances which led to its composition.
- p. 47.7 *Nashes S. Fame*] This phrase, used so frequently in *PS*, comes from Nashe's cry in the prefatory epistle 'To the Gentleman Readers' before *SN*: 'Saint Fame for mee, and thus I runne upon him' (1958: 1.263.24).
- p. 47.13 *my Letters*] Presumably Harvey means *FL* specifically. although as Nashe notes, it takes the same format as his previous publication (1958: 1.261.15).
- p. 47.15 *every...default*] 'Every fault of mine'. See Abbott 1870: 23.
- p. 47.15 *because...many*] Harvey's justification for his reply to *SN* is the same as his justification for replying to *PWH* (see p. 80.15).
- p. 47.17 *A continuall bearer of coales*] *OED* defines 'to carry or bear coals' as 'submit to humiliation or insult' (*OED* coal *sb.* 12).
- p. 47.18-19 *presumptuous...Slaunder*] See p. 12.27 & *n.*



- p. 47.19-20 *the two...uncontrolled*] Harvey is alluding to the ‘passports’ required of itinerants. These ‘usually stated that the holder had been shipwrecked, or was a soldier returning from service’, and allowed them to pass unmolested and ask for alms. Although they were required to be endorsed by magistrates, forged ones became increasingly common, and were explicitly mentioned in the 1572 vagrancy Act (Beier 1985: 142-43). For other allusions to this, see *IParnassus* 390-91 (Leishman 1949: 154), ‘Mother Hvbberds Tale’ (Spenser 1912: 496-97).
- p. 47.23 *some cunning...hartes*] ‘For the lyppes of a strange woman are a dropping hony combe [. . .] But at the laste she is as bitter as wormewood’ (Proverbs 5.3-4).
- p. 47.29 *I know...credite*] Cf. the proverbs ‘A good name is better than riches’ and ‘A good renown is better than a golden girdle’ (Tilley N22, R74).
- p. 47.32 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 47.35 *experimete...conclusions*] See ‘try conclusions’ in Glossary.
- p. 48.1 *offer...diffamation*] Branding on the forehead was the punishment for various crimes. According to William Harrison, perjurers had a ‘P’ burnt into their forehead (1968: 189). Glossing *Virgidemiarum* V.iii.57 (where Hall uses ‘a branded *Indians* price’ to mean a small amount of money), Davenport notes a statute of 1547 decreeing that runaway slaves be branded on the forehead or cheek (1949: 85, 246). For allusions to prostitutes being marked in this way, see *Hamlet* III.4.42-44, IV.5.118-19, *Measure for Measure* II.3.10-12, *Lucrece* 1091. Because of this – and perhaps because ‘forehead’ brought associations with shame (*OED* †2) – the branded forehead represents shame in Shakespeare’s Sonnets 111-12.
- p. 48.4 *objects*] *OED* gives no examples of ‘object’ as a noun. When it appears in *Richard III* I.1.106 (‘We are the Queen’s objects, and must obey’), Hammond calls it ‘A neologism’, noting the play on ‘subjects’ (Shakespeare 1981: 132). (The same pun is made in *PWH*: ‘If the Queenes Majestie have such objects [Puritans] for her best subjects, let all true subjects be accounted objects’ (Lyly 1902: 3.411.40-42).) Similarly, when it appears in *Poetaster* I.3.58 (‘All other objects will but objects proove’), Herford and Simpson give other examples of this specific pun (Jonson 1925-52: 4.219, 9.545). Nashe in his mock-biography of Harvey in *HWY* has him calling a shoe ‘an *under foote object*’; and although, as McKerrow notes, this exact phrase does not appear in any of Harvey’s printed works, Nashe clearly thought of it as a coinage (1958: 3.66.1, 4.335). The word is used nominally and without any puns in *LG* (‘the most odious objects of all men, the very rogues and runnegates of the earth’) (Harvey 1590b: 113), and during the Marprelate controversy, Whitgift wrote to Burghley that Bishops ‘are men not cast off on all sides, as objects of the world’ (quoted Arber 1895: 113), so clearly its use was not unique to Harvey.
- p. 48.5 *whose...invective*] Cf. ‘Dispraise by evil men is praise’ (Tilley D383).
- p. 48.9 *in mine owne name*] The distinction that it might not be inappropriate to publish one’s works anonymously or pseudonymously is an important one. E.K. mentions that Harvey had published ‘under counterfeit names’ in his gloss to *SC* September 176 (Spenser 1995: 156). Since *SC* itself was published pseudonymously, this should not be seen as a quirk of Harvey’s but as characteristic of the circles to

which he belonged. J.W. Saunders states that one means for an aspiring author to avoid ‘the stigma of print’ was ‘to cloak his identity behind anonymity, a pseudonym or initials’ (1951: 143).

- p. 48.11 *some...retayle*] *OED* notes that ‘in gross’ (‘in bulk, in large quantities’) is the opposite of ‘in retail’ (‘in small quantities’), (gross *a.*, *sb.*<sup>4</sup> B 2 †c, retail *sb.*<sup>1</sup> *a.*, 1a).
- p. 48.13 *the lesse...chosen*] Tilley gives examples from c. 1500 (E207).
- p. 48.15 *the sonnes of the Mule*] The mule is presumably the archetypal lowly, slovenly beast of burden, as in Psalms 32.10: ‘Be ye not lyke to Horse and Mule, whiche have no understanding’.
- p. 48.15 *Table-Philosophy*] This seems to mean ‘concept of table-manners’. *OED* only cites two instances of the phrase, of which this is the second, and has no definition (table *sb.* III 21a). The first is the title of *The Schoolemaster, or Teacher of Table Philosophie* (1576). *OED* gives the impression that the printer, Richard Jones, is the author: the ‘T.T.’ who signs off on sig. Uij<sup>v</sup> has been identified as Thomas Twyne (STC 24411). In prefatory verses, the author’s intent is explained as ‘to show / Among the states your table round about / Demeanour meet’ (Twyne 1576: sig. Aii<sup>f</sup>). When Harvey uses the phrase in *NL* (p. 151.30-31), it seems to mean ‘table-talk’.
- p. 48.21-24 *As...looseth Time*] Neither phrase is in Tilley.
- p. 48.24-25 *A good...mindes*] Cf. *Scholemaster*: ‘ye shall never lacke, neither matter nor maner, what to write, nor how to write’ (Ascham 1904: 178). This particular bit of parallelism was commonplace: see Sidney 1966: 27-28, *Antony and Cleopatra* II.2.111-12.
- p. 48.29 *Necessity...Law*] ‘Need (Necessity) has no law’ (Tilley N76).
- p. 48.31 *the two...states*] The Straits of Gibraltar were known as the Pillars of Hercules, since they were thought to mark the furthest Western point of the hero’s wanderings. As a device they were appropriated by Charles V and then by Elizabeth (Spenser 1995: 400 *n.*, Kay 1984: 322).
- p. 48.38-39 *upbraide...insufficiency*] Perhaps Harvey means ‘cannot sufficiently be expressed in literature or art’. Cf. Jonson’s *Discoveries*: ‘Poetry, and Picture, are Arts of a like nature [. . .] Yet of the two, the Pen is more noble, then the Pencill’ (1925-52: 8.609-10); Drayton’s *Barons Warres*: ‘No word is fayre ynough for thing so fayre [. . .] And where the Pen fayles, Pensils cannot show it’ (1961: 2.117).
- p. 48.41 *booke-case*] *OED*’s closest sense is ‘A law case found in the books or on record, a precedent’ (†book-case<sup>2</sup>). Here it has to be understood as something academic and not necessarily of practical application. Cf. *Mother Bombie* I.3.159-62: ‘you neede not be ashamed of your cunning: you have made love a booke case, and spent your time well at schoole, learning to love by arte’ (Lyly 1902: 3.181-82).
- p. 48.42 *sharpe invention*] Perhaps this was a stock phrase. Cf. p. 89.18, p. 121.29-30, and *HWY*, where Nashe lauds Spenser as ‘the *Sum* ‘*tot*’ of whatsoever can be said of sharpe invention and schollership’ (1958: 3.108.21).
- p. 48.45-46 *uppon mine owne charges*] At my own expense: see *OED* charge *sb.* 10 a, c.
- p. 49.3-5 *What...shipp*] Harvey uses the phrase ‘double anchor’ later, while asserting his religious orthodoxy (p. 97.23-24), and Huffman sees this as an allusion to ‘the hierarchy of ecclesiastical offices

within the Church' and 'the parallel idea of the hierarchy of secular offices in the State' (1988: 49, 54).

An anchor can figuratively be anything that provides security (see *OED* anchor *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2).

p. 49.7-8 *What...vaine?*] Harvey is playing on the phrase '*to burn daylight*: to burn candles in the daytime, also to waste or consume the daylight' (*OED* burn *v.*<sup>1</sup> I 1b). His meaning is perhaps 'waste time writing'. The candle relates to night-time literary endeavour: see p. 70.19-20, and Tilley C43.

p. 49.9 *lay...me*] i.e. 'compel me'. The phrase 'to lay violent hands on' is common (*OED* violent *a. (adv., sb.)* 3b).

p. 49.13 *the young dog*] Presumably Harvey means Nashe: for the conventional association of dogs with malice see p. 26.35 & *n.*

p. 49.15-21 The quotations are from Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton*, I.96, 48. J.H. Vince reads 'adder or tarantula' where Harvey has 'viper', and 'false accuser' instead of 'sycophant' (Demosthenes 1935: 575).

p. 49.23 *that flourishing city*] i.e. Athens, Demosthenes' birthplace.

p. 49.25-26 *I would...figges*] 'Sycophant' originally meant an informer (in the context of Demosthenes' native Athens) and also, more broadly, a tale-teller or bringer of false accusations (*OED sb. (a.)* 1, 2). Etymologically, the word derives from the Greek for 'fig-shower', although the origin of this is obscure (*OED*). Harvey's sense is 'I wish London were not as full of false accusers as Demosthenes' Athens was' (it is this group to which Aristogeiton seems to have belonged). Harvey possibly has Lyly as much in mind here as Nashe: see p. 55.48 – p. 56.1 *n.*

p. 49.28-29 *as Aristotle...one figge upon an other*] Homer thus describes the idyllic garden of the king of Phaeacia, who entertains Odysseus, in *Odyssey* 7.78-132. I cannot find the passage in Aristotle.

p. 49.30-31 *if he may...Carver*] See Tilley C110, 'To be one's own carver'; Tilley interprets this 'To take or choose for oneself, at one's own discretion.'

p. 49.32 *brucke*] Brydges reads 'brook' (1815: pt. 8.25).

p. 49.33 *the garden of Greene, or Motley*] Brydges makes this '*Greene, or Motley*' (1815: pt. 8.26), seemingly assuming that these are personal names. He does not identify 'Motley'. Harvey is probably (as so often) punning on Robert Greene's name, but placing it in apposition to 'Motley' perhaps has clothing in mind. A.R. Humphreys, glossing Falstaff's claim in *1 Henry IV* II.4.216-17 that he has been robbed by 'three misbegotten knaves in Kendal green', notes that it was worn by rogues, vagabonds and thieves, citing Armin's *Nest of Ninnies* (Shakespeare 1960: 68). Perhaps Harvey means 'a place of rogues and fools'.

p. 49.33-34 *It was...inough*] Tilley cites this as an instance of 'He that makes himself a sheep shall be eaten by the wolf' (S300).

p. 49.35 *Asse-maker*] See p. 26.10-15 & *n.* above.

p. 49.38 *in a country*] i.e. in the country. When Nashe in *SN* calls Harvey 'the onely reasty jade in a country', McKerrow calls the form 'usual' and provides other examples (1958: 1.324.12, 4.192). When

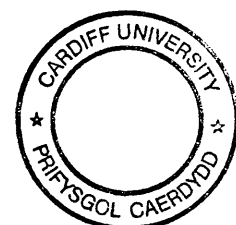
Marprelate in *Epitome* calls Bridges 'the veriest asse in a cuntry' (sig. [F4]<sup>v</sup>), Pierce makes the modernisation (1911: 168).

- p. 49.41-42 *What...Apuleius?*] Air and fire were the two 'noble' elements (see p. 19.41-43 & *n.*) and could be invoked when describing something elevated, as Drayton does when praising Marlowe's verse (1961: 3.228). See also *Henry V* III.7.20-23, *Antony and Cleopatra* V.2.288-89. In *PP*, the Knight of the Post describes to Pierce the various orders of evil spirits and the elements which they inhabit (see Nashe 1958: 227.3-237.36). He states, 'Divels [. . .] are [. . .] flexible, motive, and apt for any configuration [. . .] the spirits of the Fire and Aire have this power above the rest. The spirits of the water have slow bodies resembling birdes & women' (1958: 1.235.1-8).

Like 'the devil's orator' in *FL*, 'young Apuleius' is a name for Nashe of which Harvey is fond. Apuleius being the author of *The Golden Ass*, it seems to take root in Nashe's description of his attack on Richard Harvey in *PP* as 'Spurgalling an Asse' (1958: 1.199.5); cf. Harvey's description of his enemies as 'Asse-makers' (p. 26.15) and the description of Nashe (by Harvey's 'Patroness') as 'the verye inventor of Asses' (p. 65.44). Nashe had also used the phrase 'golden asses' in *PP*: see p. 54.30-32.

- p. 50.6 *Onely it becommeth*] 'It alone becomes'; see p. 11.15 & *n.*
- p. 50.9 *the Idees of Plato*] See p. 32.27 *n.*
- p. 50.9-10 *the Aphorismes of Hippocrates*] According to Lemprière, 'from his judicious remarks, succeeding physicians have received the most valuable advantages [. . .] His writings, few of which remain, have procured him the epithet of divine, and show that he was the Homer of his profession'.
- p. 50.10 *the Paragraphes of Justinian*] When Harvey writes to Spenser in *3PL* that he is 'dayly employed in our Emperor *Justinians service*', McKerrow comments 'He means, of course, that he is studying the Civil Law' (Nashe 1958: 4.159).
- p. 50.12-13 *confute cuttingly*] Harvey is punning. 'Cutting' is both 'That acutely wounds the feelings' and 'That is a "cutter" or swaggering blade' (*OED ppl. a.* 2, †3).
- p. 50.12 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n.*
- p. 50.13 *like...Queen-Hith*] McKerrow compares *Terrors of the Night* ('like a stale cutter of Queene hyve, hee would justle men in their owne houses'); he glosses, 'Queenhithe was frequented by sailors, lightermen, &c. and was a rough neighbourhood' (Nashe 1958: 1.368.5-6, 4.206).
- p. 50.17-18 *Some...debtes*] See p. 7.49 & *n.*
- p. 50.18-19 *armies...visions*] According to Pliny, armies fighting in the sky have frequently appeared (*Natural History*, II.LVIII.148). Presumably these are meant to be omens, like the visions which supposedly appeared in the sky over Jerusalem before the siege, as described by Josephus (*Jewish War* VI.296-99).
- p. 50.20 *as quicke as quick-silver*] Cf. *Hamlet* I.5.66 ('swift as quicksilver'). Harvey's pun involves 'quick' in the sense of 'mentally alert' (see *OED a., sb.*<sup>1</sup>, *adv.* A III 21a).
- p. 50.21 *secretaryship*] Harvey's application of 'secretary' to literary writers seems to have been unique to him: see p. 105.2 *n.*

- p. 50.22 *terrible...tearmes*] See p. 17.42-44 & n.
- p. 50.26 *dreadfull enginer of phrases*] Brydges reads 'engineer' (1815: pt. 8.27). All of *OED*'s examples (1579-1631) of 'A constructor of military engines' use Harvey's spelling (engineer *sb.* 2 †a).
- p. 50.29-33 *Printers...field*] In this passage, as McKerrow notes (Nashe 1958: 4.366), Harvey alludes to the fact that on the title-page of *PP* (printed by John Danter), Nashe was called 'Thomas Nash Gentleman'. How easily heralds could be bribed to provide forged pedigrees for Elizabethans seeking gentry status is commented on in *Virgidemiarum* IV.ii.134-38; Davenport, glossing this, cites Sir Thomas Smith on the abuse (Hall 1949: 58, 206). Shakespeare's acquisition in 1596 of a coat of arms for his father from Sir William Dethick, Garter King of Arms (the patent later formally called in question, like many of Dethick's patents), is illustrative (see Duncan-Jones 2001: 82-103 *passim*).
- p. 50.30 *gentlemen of the maker*] Perhaps Harvey means 'newly-made gentlemen'; see p. 12.19-21 & n.
- p. 50.30-31 *bare...shield*] 'Goose' (*OED sb.* 1f) and 'woodcock' (*OED* 2) were both synonyms for 'fool'. *Martins Months minde* makes similar jokes: 'his arrowes all are [. . .] feathered [. . .] with woodcocks whing'; 'If you play the goose, and lend them a fether to fether their shaft, they will shoot you through' (Nashe 1589: sigs [B4]<sup>f</sup>, [F4]<sup>f</sup>).
- p. 50.31 *the renowned Lobbelinus*] I cannot trace the allusion. Possibly Harvey means a stereotypical rustic – cf. John Harvey's *Discovrsive Probleme*: 'Rejouce then, O ye *Coridons*: Rest you merrie, O ye *Colin clowtes*: Clap your handes, O ye *Lobilins*' (1588: 98). This would be a similar name to 'Hobbinoll', which E.K. calls 'common and usual' (Spenser 1995: 36). What would appear to be a variant form appears in the Prologue to the English translation of *The Hospitall of Incvrrable Fooles*: the author (arming himself against the criticism of the foolish) declares that 'it hath pleased him to rebate the edge, and rashnes of [. . .] those *Lobbellinoes*, properly leaden-heeled, but light-headed as a straw' (Garzoni 1600: sig. [A4]<sup>f</sup>). Thersites and the Pygmies appear in the same passage, but the name does not appear to be classical. Cf. p. 113.25.
- p. 50.34 *the high...creast*] Since Harvey's context involves both Nashe's arrogance and his 'gentle' status, here 'crest' is both 'A figure or device [...] borne above the shield and helmet on a coat of arms' and 'a symbol of pride, self-confidence or high spirits' (*OED sb.* 1 3a, 1b).
- p. 50.38 *dog in malice*] 'Dogged' could mean 'malicious, crabbed, spiteful, [. . .] cruel' (*OED A adj.* 2 †a); according to McKerrow, this was the predominant sense in the period (Nashe 1958: 4.58). See p. 26.35 n. Topsell notes that the Cynics took their names from the dog by copying 'his viler and baser qualities, that is, in barking and license of railing [. . .] they which raile much (like often barking Dogges) are of a doggish, angry, [*sic*] disposition' (1607: 143-44).
- p. 50.38 *an Oxe in learning*] 'Ox' could mean 'a fool' (*OED* 4a); Batman describes the animal as 'slowe and heavie of going' (1582: fol. 349<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 50.46 *hee-and shee-scoldes*] A 'scold' is understood as female, whether the language they use is ribald or (as is more likely here) abusive (see *OED sb.* 1). Harvey suggests that Nashe's abusiveness feminizes him (as he does later, e.g. p. 75.3). In a measure, Harvey is replying to Nashe's castigation of him in *SN*



- for his treatment of the dead Greene: 'thou arrant butter whore, thou cotqueane & scrattop of scoldes, wilt thou never leave afflicting a dead Carcasse [. . .]?' (1558: 1.299.31). However, in 1589 he had addressed Lyly in very similar terms (see p. 78.34).
- p. 50.47** *you...dunghill*] The 'dunghill' is the 'type of the lowest or most degraded situation' and is 'Applied opprobriously to a person of [. . .] base station' (*OED* 2a, 2b): like 'slave' and 'villain', this is one of the insults that Oswald hurls at the disguised Edgar (*Lear* IV.6.245-48). For scurrility as part of the contemporary stereotype of working-class women, see Taylor 1981.
- p. 51.1-2** *most-redowted...awe*] See p. 36.42.
- p. 51.2** *running heads*] See p. 12.19 & *n*.
- p. 51.4-5** *as...before*] *OED* lists similar phrases: 'under (or beneath) the sun, †under sun: on earth, in the world [. . .] as the sun shines on: = as lives or exists' (sun *sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 1e).
- p. 51.4** *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 51.5** *Archilochus*] See p. 4.42 *n*.
- p. 51.5** *Theon*] See Horace, *Epistles* I.XVIII.82, where 'Theon's tooth' is synonymous with slander: according to Fairclough, this is proverbial but the origin is unknown (1929: 374*n*.).
- p. 51.6** *Stesichorus*] 'A famous poete, of whom it is written, that, when he was an infante in his cradell, a nightingale sat on his mouthe, and dyd synge, signifying that he should be the sweetest poete that ever was afore him' (Cooper).
- p. 51.6** *Aristarchus*] Of the three writers of this name in *OCD*, Harvey is perhaps most likely to mean Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 216-144 B.C.), head of the Alexandrian library, notable for his cautious and meticulous editing of Homer amongst other poets.
- p. 51.7** *Aristophanes*] See p. 4.42 *n*.
- p. 51.7** *Lucian*] See p. 4.42 *n*.
- P. 51.7** *Ibis against Ovid*] Harvey is confused. 'Ibis' is a poem by Ovid, modelled on one by Callimachus, attacking an enemy of his under an assumed name: in the words of J.H. Mozley, 'the whole of mythology is ransacked for instances of violent deaths, which the poet prays may be his enemy's lot' (1929: x-xi).
- p. 51.8** *Mevius*] 'Mævius, a poet of inferior note in the Augustan age, who made himself known by his illiberal attacks on the first writers of his time, as well as by his affected compositions. His name would have sunk into oblivion if *Virgil* had not ridiculed him in his third eclogue, v. 90, and *Horace* in his tenth epode, v. 2' (Lemprière).
- p. 51.8** *Carbilius Pictor*] Probably Harvey means Carvilius Pictor, author of *Aeneidomastix* (see Sihler 1905: 18).
- p. 51.8** *Lavinius*] Luscius Lavinius, the playwright to whose criticisms Terence responds in the prologues to *The Lady of Andros*, *The Eunuch* and *Phormio*.
- p. 51.8** *Crateva*] Collier reads 'Cratena' (1870b: 12); Cooper, Lemprière and *OCD* list neither name. *OCD* notes a writer on botany, called 'Crateuas', but this appears not to be the person meant by Harvey.
- p. 51.9** *Zoilus against Homer*] See p. 4.35-36 & *n*.

- p. 51.9 *Salust...Tully*] See p. 4.47 n.
- p. 51.10 *Demades...Demosthenes*] Demades was a 'great oratour in Athens' (Cooper). His extempore orations were generally considered superior to Demosthenes' prepared ones. When the Macedonians advanced on Athens, and Demosthenes fled, Demades incited the people to pass sentence of death on him, which they did (Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes* X, XXVIII).
- p. 51.10 *Thucydides*] Athenian politician (not to be confused with the historian); his party opposed Pericles, who secured his banishment in 442 B.C. (Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, VIII.4, XIV).
- p. 51.11 *Iambiques amongst Poetes*] For the association of iambics with satire and invective, see Sidney's *Defence of Poetry*: 'the bitter but wholesome Iambic, who rubs the galled mind, in making shame the trumpet of villainy, with bold and open crying out against naughtiness'; Van Dorsten glosses, 'the iambic trimeter being first used by Greek writers for direct attack or exposure' (1966: 44.5, 93).
- p. 51.14 *Lucians Rhetor*] When, in some marginalia, Harvey writes 'Lucians Rhetor wilbe heard [. . .] Gallant Audacity, is never out of countenance', Moore Smith comments, 'The reference is, I suppose, to the Lucianic piece, "Rhetorum præceptor," ironical advice to an intending orator', giving other references (1913: 157.11-13, 274).
- p. 51.15 *will...Eccho*] i.e. will be loud. Cf. 'to applaud to the echo: i.e. so vociferously as to produce echoes' (*OED* echo sb. 1b).
- p. 51.15-16 *Arrius...Church*] Cooper calls Arius 'a prieste in the church of Alexandria, the yere of our lorde .320. [. . .] fallynge into pryde and ambition of honour, he purposed and helde this heresy, that the sonne was not equall to the fater in deitie, nor of the same substance, but was a meere creature. Unto this errour he induced a great part of the worlde than christened'. (Cooper uses the same spelling of his name as Harvey.) For a summary of Arius' teachings and the rift which they caused in the church, see Barnes 1981: 202-07. He expressed his views in a work called the *Banquet*, 'partly in verse, not in a stately or dignified meter, but in sotadeans set to music, which the educated despised as dissolute, effeminate, and vulgar' (Barnes 1981: 205).
- p. 51.16-17 *Unico...Princes*] Harvey is alluding to Aretino's nickname, the Scourge of Princes (see McPherson 1969: 1551).
- p. 51.17-18 *heere...death*] Since the latter part of this is an allusion to *PP* (see p. 54.30-32), perhaps the reference to bears has relevance to the 'fable' of the bear and fox (see p. 17.46-47), to which Harvey clearly refers below (p. 54.24-28).
- p. 51.17 *a lusty...Castell*] See p. 23.50 & n.
- p. 51.21 *a flye...Pandora*] To have a fly in a box seems to have been regarded as a good-luck charm (see Nashe 1958: Supplement 36-37).
- p. 51.26 *all...Churchyard*] Harvey means 'all the books in Paul's Churchyard': see p. 13.5 & n.
- p. 51.28 *speake at a venture*] Collier reads 'a venture' as two separate words (1870b: 13). *OED* gives examples of 'at adventure' ('At hazard, at random, recklessly') from 1420, including instances using the form 'aventure' (adventure sb. †3b); it notes that 'In later times' the phrase was 'sometimes improperly

printed' as '*at a venture*', instancing I Kings 32.24, although elsewhere it gives examples of this from 1509 (venture *sb.* 1 + 1c), including the same scriptural passage.

- p. 51.31-32 *There...appetite*] Harvey similarly distances himself from his youthful reading and writing of satire in *FL* (p. 9.39-44). Perhaps 'encountering' means 'clashing': cf. *OED* encounter v. 1 ('to confront in battle, assail').
- p. 51.34 *Justinus Martyr*] 'a Platonic philosopher, born in Palestine, and converted to Christianity, of which he became a most able and zealous advocate' (Lemprière).
- p. 51.34 *Philoponus*] John Philoponus (490?-570?), Christian theologian who taught at Alexandria. He published commentaries on Aristotle: the work in which he attacks 'Aristotle's doctrine that the circular movement of the heaven is eternal and that the heaven is of a fifth essence' is now lost (*OCD*).
- p. 51.34 *Valla*] Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457), philologist whose proposals for a new edition of the New Testament were published after his death by Erasmus (see *OER* arts Bible: Translations of the, Humanism). Hallam notes his denunciation of papal abuses and the pre-eminence of his Latin style, while calling him personally 'very irascible and overbearing' (1882: 1.147-50).
- p. 51.36 *Perionius*] Joachim Perion, Benedictine monk, one of Ramus' earliest critics (Ong 1958: 215).
- p. 51.36 *Gallandius*] 'Gallandius, Petrus, author of *Contra novam Academiam P. Rami Oratio* (Paris, 1551)' (Smith 1904: 2.432).
- p. 51.36 *Carpentarius*] Jacques Charpentier (1521-74) was the author of *Remarks on Peter Ramus' Training in Dialectic* (1554). His enmity with Ramus had a personal element; Ramus tried to block his appointment as regius professor of mathematics at the Collège de France in 1566, and as a result was deluged with libels by Charpentier's supporters. He was even accused of having instigated Ramus' murder in 1572, although this has been discredited (see *DBF*, Ong 1958: 220-21).
- p. 51.36 *Sceggius*] 'Jacobus Schegkius (Deginus) the elder (1511-87), Aristotelian commentator' (Smith 1904: 2.432).
- p. 51.36 *Lieblerus*] 'Lieblerus, Georgius, author of an *Epitome philosophiae naturalis ex Aristotelis libris excerpta* (1561, &c.)' (Smith 1904: 2.432).
- p. 51.37 *royall...Philosophy*] Ramus is called 'the Parisian Kings Professor' in *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, and McKerrow, glossing this, notes that 'A chair of eloquence and philosophy was created for him at the College of France in 1551' (Nashe 1958: 1.43.34, 4.38). The regius professorships were endowed by François I (Ong 1958: 25).
- p. 51.38 *Talæus*] Omer Talon (1510-62), known as Audomarus Talæus. He appears alongside Ramus in *the Massacre at Paris*: Glenn comments that 'Talaëus was well known as Ramus's lifelong friend and collaborator', while noting that by the time of the massacre he had technically been dead for ten years (1973: 371).
- p. 51.38 *Ossatus*] 'Cardinal Arnaud d'Ossat. Harvey refers to his *Expositio in Disputationem Iacobi Carpentarii de Methodo*, Francfurt, 1583' (Smith 1904: 2.432).



- p. 51.38 *Freigius*] Johann Thomas Freigius (1543-83) met Ramus while teaching rhetoric and law at Basle in 1568, and became one of his most outspoken advocates, appending a biography of him, *Vita Rami*, to several of his own works and styling himself Ramus' heir. This and his irascible, uncompromising personality meant the abrupt termination of various university posts, and he died in reduced circumstances while working as a corrector of the press (*ADB*).
- p. 51.38 *Minos*] Smith identifies this as 'Claude Mignault, editor of Cicero' (1904: 2.432).
- p. 51.38 *Rodigius*] Smith calls this 'apparently an error for Rhodiginus (Lodovico Celio Rodigino, otherwise Ludovicus Coelius Richerius), commentator on Cicero. A certain Gulielmus Rodigius published two orations at Heidelberg in 1576, 1577; but it is unlikely that he is intended' (Smith 1904: 2.432). The latter seems to be the person meant by Ong when he notes publications about Ramus by 'the Germans Roding and Beurhaus and Piscator' (1958: 302).
- p. 51.38 *Scribonius*] 'Scribonius, Gulielmus Adolphus, author of the *Triumphus Logicae Rameae*, 2nd edit., Lond. 1583' (Smith 1904: 2.432).
- p. 51. 41 *sharpe-edged, & cutting*] See p. 50.12-13 & n.
- p. 51.42 *new-found land*] Brydges reads 'New-found-land' (1815: pt. 8.30), although perhaps Harvey does not specifically mean the place where John Cabot landed in 1497, claimed for Elizabeth by Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 (*ODNB*). This phrase seems to have been widely used, as in the title of Thomas Hariot's 1588 *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (*STC* 12785): in Donne's 'Elegie XIX', it is similarly in lowercase (1912: 1.120).
- p. 51.44 *hath...commaundement*] Aeolus is 'kyng of the wyndes' (Cooper); possibly Harvey has in mind the passage in *The Odyssey* where he gives Odysseus the four winds in a bag, to speed his journey home (10.16-22).
- p. 51.47 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 52.4 *Scaliger*] Harvey means either Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) or his son Joseph Justus (1540-1609); he seems to have in mind invectives such as the former's attacks on Erasmus in defence of Cicero (*EB*).
- p. 52.5 *Paracelsus*] Theophrastus Bombastus of Hohenheim (1493-1541), author of medical, mystical, and alchemical texts. Hunter's gloss to *All's Well That Ends Well* II.3.11 (Shakespeare 1959a: 50-51), and Herford and the Simpsons' to *The Alchemist* II.3.230 (Jonson 1925-52: 10.84), give the impression that his status in the period was shifting from accepted medical authority to charlatan. Hallam gives a largely hostile overview of his career and writings, while accepting that in knowledge of pharmaceutical chemistry he was ahead of his time (1882: 1.397-98).
- p. 52.5 *Erastus*] Thomas Lüber (1524-83) was known by the Latinised version of his name. He was a member of the medical faculty at the University of Heidelberg when in the late 1560s he became involved in a controversy with Kaspar Olevianus, the professor of theology. Olevianus wanted a consistory with the power of disciplining and excommunicating church members independently of the civil authority. In response, Lüber in 1568 advanced 103 theses stating his position. He placed all

sovereignty in the hands of the civil magistrate, allowing the church no jurisdiction (and thus making excommunication impossible). Beza's response to Lüber (in defence of the Calvinist position) was *Tractatus pius et moderatus de Excommunicatio*. Both Lüber and Beza agreed not to publish their treatises (which circulated in manuscript) in the interests of peace; Lüber's theses and his response to Beza were posthumously published in 1589, and Beza's *Tractatus* in 1590 (*OER*). One of Harvey's books had previously belonged to Lüber, apparently passing into his hands via Lüber's widow (Stern 1979: 227).

p. 52.5 *Sigonius*] Carlo Sigonio (1524-84); for some of his works see Smith 1904: 1.355. Harvey in *Ciceronianus* mentions him as one of the best Latin writers of recent times (Wilson 1945: 169). Richard Harvey in *LG* alludes to his writings on 'the Oecomenickes and Politicks of the Hebrew common-wealth' (1590b: 128-29).

p. 52.5 *Cuiacius*] Collier reads 'Cujacius' (1870b: 14). This is Jacques Cujas (1522-90), French juriscult. Despite the patronage of Marguerite de France (Duchess of Berri and later Duchess of Savoy) his career at various universities in France and Italy was turbulent and fitful, disrupted by the French Wars of Religion and by his being suspected (perhaps correctly) of Protestantism. His *DBF* entry emphasizes his tolerance and hatred of civil conflict, but the *DBF* and *FP*<sup>2</sup> entries on François Douaren describe a bitter quarrel between the two while colleagues at Bourges, from which, according to *FP*<sup>2</sup>, Cujas emerged as victor due to his youth and brilliance.

p. 52.5 *bable*] i.e. a bauble, nothing; see p. 23.51 *n*.

p. 52.5 *this Termagant*] Brydges (1815: pt. 8.31) and Collier (1870b: 14) both make the 'T' lowercase, perhaps wrongly; see p. 42.15 *n*.

p. 52.6 *dubble swords*] Harvey uses very similar imagery below (see p. 52.48, p. 54.44-45, p. 73.4), but the only comparable passage in *SN* is in the epistle 'To the Gentlemen Readers', where Nashe describes Harvey 'flourishing about my eares with his two hand sworde of Oratory and Poetry' (1958: 1.262.31). From the two later passages, Harvey evidently has in mind a man with a weapon in each hand, as per the two duellists in a woodcut in William Segar's *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (1590: 81). The persistent association of verbal and physical violence is something which Harvey takes from Nashe – and therefore, ultimately, from Marprelate, as Tribble argues (1993: 117-29).

p. 52.6-7 *not with the trickling...gunpowder*] See p. 17.42-44 & *n*.

p. 52.18-19 *carryeth...mouthe*] See p. 16.26-27 & *n*.

p. 52.19-21 *There...foole*] The phrase is not in Tilley, but if not exactly proverbial is perhaps conventional. Cf. John Harvey's *Discovrsive Probleme*: 'Is there any point, or article either so erroneous in divinitie, or absurde in philosophie, or vaine in other arts of humanitie, which hath not been maintained, and defended by some divines, philosophers and humanitians?' (1588: 11).

p. 52.21 *Mans...sayth*] See p. 98.3-5 & *n*.

p. 52.21 *good...sleepeth*] Proverbial (Tilley H536); originally it came from Horace, *Ars Poetica* 359.

- p. 52.22 *S. Barnard...things*] When a similar phrase occurs in *HWY*, McKerrow calls it 'very common', citing Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* (Nashe 1958: 3.126.32, 4.365). The *Golden Legend* has stories of St. Bernard accidentally drinking oil (instead of water) and spending all day riding beside a lake without seeing it, while his mind was on more spiritual things (Voragine 1900: 5.17, 21).
- p. 52.22-23 *the best...overthrow*] *OED* lists 'chart' as one of the variant spellings of 'cart'; Tilley gives examples of 'The best cart may overthrow' from 1562 (C101). *OED*'s only intransitive sense of 'overthrow' is 'To fall over or down, tumble' (v. †5).
- p. 52.31 *Harding, and Jewell*] See p. 26.18 n.
- p. 52.31 *Eschines*] Cooper calls Aeschines 'An oratour, enemy to Demosthenes'.
- p. 52.33-34 *two...humanity*] See p. 57.11 n. for the allusion here.
- p. 52.36 *Sadolet*] Jacopo Sadoletto (1477-1547), humanist scholar, made Bishop of Carpentras in 1517 and a Cardinal in 1536; he was described by Luther as 'able and learned, but crafty in the Italian manner' (*OER*).
- p. 52.36 *Longolius*] Christophe Longueuil (1490-1522) lectured in law at Poitiers and Paris; Harvey in *Ciceronianus* pairs him with Sadoletto not as a Catholic but as a slavish imitator of Cicero (1945: 116, 61). Drant also pairs him with Sadoletto as having praised Pope Leo X (1567: sig. \*iij<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 52.36 *Omphalius*] Jakob Omphalius (1500-67), German jurist and humanist scholar. Ascham in *The Scholemaster* lists him among the 'men of our time, counted perfite Maisters of eloquence' (1904: 249). Harvey, in a letter of 1573, charged with love of innovators, replies that henceforth he will do what his accusers do: 'I will lock Melancthon and Ramus up in my studdi and bring Osorius and Omphalius into the chappel' (quoted Mullinger 1884: 411 n.). Of his literary works, *ADB* mentions only his commentaries on Cicero and a work on jurisprudence.
- p. 52.36 *Osorius*] See p. 19.24 n. In his epistle to Elizabeth, he had stated 'that it was the first duty of a prince to further the true Catholic religion' (Ryan 1953: 143).
- p. 52.37 *Sturmius*] Probably Johann Sturm (1507-89), German humanist. While lecturing at the Collège de France, he converted to Protestantism under the influence of Martin Bucer, whose offer of a chair in rhetoric at Strasburg he accepted: later he ran the grammar-school there (*ADB*). Harvey in his *Rhetor* calls him one of the foremost teachers of rhetoric of the era (Mullinger 1884: 412). Neither *OER* nor *ADB* mention any polemical works of his, but Harvey is unlikely to mean his fellow Strasburger, the magistrate Jakob Sturm (1489-1553), who although equally Protestant was not a literary figure (*OER*).
- p. 52.38 *Haddon against Osorius*] See p. 19.24 n. Ryan gives a brief summary of the controversy, concluding that it 'was regarded, even in its own day, as strictly rhetorical in nature and as contributing little, if anything, to the literature of serious theological controversy. It is the rhetoricians, the Gabriel Harveys and Thomas Nashes, [. . .] who later refer to this debate, and not the divines' (1953: 152).
- p. 52.38 *Baldwin*] François Baudouin or Balduin (1520-73) held chairs in law at various universities in France, Germany and Geneva, and was, according to *FP*, 'toujours disposé à se conformer au culte religieux du pays qu'il habitait'. From the 1540s he was associated with the reformers, especially Calvin,

whom in his private letters he addressed as ‘father’. After numerous recantations and relapses by Baudouin, their relationship finally disintegrated after the publication of the anonymous *De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis verè amantis viri* (1561), of which Baudouin was wrongly thought to be the author; from 1562 Calvin’s role in the resultant paper war was taken by Beza (see below) (FP).

- p. 52.38 Beza] Théodore de Bèze (1519-1605). Trained (like Calvin) as a lawyer, in 1548 he left France for Switzerland, after converting to Protestantism. He was given the chair in Greek at the newly-founded university at Lausanne, then, settling at Geneva, became head of the school and one of the city’s pastors. On Calvin’s death in 1563, he succeeded him as *président de la Compagnie des pasteurs* and was re-elected annually until 1580. His publications include translations of the New Testament into Latin (1556) and, at Calvin’s behest, of the Psalms into French (1553-61); in 1571 he presided over the synod at La Rochelle which formulated the profession of faith for the reformed churches (DBF).

Beza (as he is largely called by his English contemporaries) was a man with a pan-European reputation for scholarship: Donne’s *Biathanatos* begins with praise of him as ‘a man as eminent and illustrious, in the full glory and Noone of Learning, as others were in the dawning, and Morning’ (1967: 26). He was also an avid participant in the doctrinal wrangling of his day, and would seem not to have had a particularly docile character. His first publication, *Le passavant*, was controversial, written against the man who had signed the French parliament’s warrant for his arrest, and his departure from Lausanne was occasioned by a falling-out with the reformer Pierre Viret (DBF). As head of the Protestant deputation at the Colloquy of Poissy, his attack on transubstantiation destroyed any chance of rapprochement with the French church (Buisseret 1972: 44-45). Donne also mentions his skill as a linguist in his IVth Satire, 52-55, but the passage is ambiguous and may contain textual corruption; Grierson sees it as an attack on Beza. He glosses, ‘No one of the reformers was more disliked by the Catholics than Beza. The license of his early life, his loose Latin verses, the scurrilous wit of his own controversial method – all exposed him to and provoked attack’, citing a Latin diatribe of 1585 by a doctor of the Sorbonne (Donne 1912: 1.160, 2.120-21).

- p. 52.38 Erastus] See p. 52.5 n.

- p. 52.39 Travers] Walter Travers (1548?-1635), described by Whitgift as ‘one of the chief and principal authors of dissension in this church’. In 1570 he was a senior fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, when forced to leave by Whitgift (then the master) for his nonconformity. He spent the years 1570-80 in exile, first in Geneva, then in the Netherlands. With Burghley’s aid, in 1581 he became deputy master of the Temple Church in London, where he clashed with the much more conservative Richard Hooker (master from 1585); the confrontation may have inspired Hooker’s *Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*. He was responsible either for writing or drafting the 1587 ‘Disciplina ecclesiae Dei verbo descripta’ which formulated the discipline for an English Presbyterian church (ODNB). As Harvey suggests on p. 102.45-46 below, he was a figure venerated by a younger generation of Puritans. In *Epistle*, Marprelate asks for him to be returned to the Temple, praises his *Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline* and compares his knowledge of languages favourably with Thomas Cooper’s (pp. 27-28); in *Hay any worke for Cooper* (p.

- 43), he also mentions the 1584 debate at which Travers represented the Puritans against Whitgift and Cooper (see Pierce 1911: 277 & *n.*).
- p. 52.39 *Sutcliffe*] Brydges identifies this as Matthew Sutcliffe (1549/50-1629), dean of Exeter (1815: pt. 8.227); in the words of Nicholas W.S. Cranfield, 'His first two publications [. . .] treat of ecclesiastical discipline in the wake of the Marprelate controversy, and attack those who would intrude novelty into church polity' (*ODNB*).
- p. 52.40 *Bellarmino...Protestants*] Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), Jesuit theologian, was given the chair in controversial theology at Rome in 1576. He devoted his studies and lectures to the refutation of Protestantism. The product of this was the *Controversies (Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei adversus huius temporis haereticos)* which appeared in three volumes 1586-93: John Patrick Donnelly calls it 'the greatest single refutation of Protestant theology of the Reformation era' (*OER*).
- p. 52.40-41 *Whittaker...Papistes*] William Whitaker (1547/8-1595) was master of St. John's College, Cambridge. His career as an anti-Catholic polemicist began in 1578 with a translation of John Jewel's book against Thomas Harding (see p. 26.18 *n.*), and included responses to Edmund Campion (1581) and Roberto Bellarmino (1588) (*ODNB*).
- p. 52.41 *Bancroft...Precisians*] Richard Bancroft (1544?-1610), a canon of Westminster, was later Bishop of London (1597) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1604). He preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on 9th February 1588-9, his text being I John 4.1 ('Dearely beloved, beleeeve not every spirit, but prove the spirites whether they are of God or not: for many false prophets are gone out into the worlde') (*ODNB*). This was published as *A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse*; it deals with Puritan criticism of the church generally, and places Marprelate alongside Ket, the Anabaptists and the Family of Love.
- p. 52.43 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n.*
- p. 52.45 *his all-onely Art*] Grosart glosses plausibly, 'the only one of all, the chief and therefore above the rest' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.104).
- p. 52.48 *the dubble sword-bearer*] See p. 52.6 *n.*
- p. 53.4 *driblinge*] *OED* cites this as the sole instance of 'Giving forth in driblets' (*ppl. a. 1*). Cf. *LS*, where Nashe, having mentioned all the details about Kent which he might have left in, says 'To shun spight I smothered these dribblements', which McKerrow suggests means 'babbling, trifling talk' (1958: 3.167.35, 5.254).
- p. 53.6-14 *It is...admiration*] Judging by p. 53.15-16 below, Harvey seems here to mean the recent blossoming both of English scholarship, or 'art' (exemplified by Cheke and Ascham), and of vernacular literature (the 'wit' of Sidney and Spenser), understood as the importing of continental culture. Puttenham gives a rapid and disdainful sketch of pre- and early-Tudor poetry, before the 'new company of courtly makers' headed by Wyatt and Surrey, 'who having travailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie, [. . .] greatly polished our rude & homely maner of vulgar Poesie' (1936: 60). Drayton in his verse letter to Reynolds finds no worthy English poets

- between Lydgate and the reign of Henry VIII (1961: 3.227); Webbe, writing in 1586, declares: 'I know no memorable worke written by any Poet in our English speeche, untill twenty yeeres past' (1870: 30).
- p. 53.9 *worthy...Livy*] Harvey in his annotated copy of Livy's *Romanae Historiae Principis* deplores the lack of a British equivalent (Stern 1979: 152); he would appear to have had aspirations to fill the gap himself (see p. 8.15-22).
- p. 53.20 *whose Arte a misterie*] Harvey is perhaps punning: 'mystery' could mean 'craft, art', 'Skill, art', or 'a "secret" or highly technical operation in a trade or art' (*OED* mystery<sup>2</sup> 2a, †c, mystery<sup>1</sup> II 8).
- p. 53.23 *like...monte*] Echoing *SN*: 'Heigh, drawer, fil us a quart of *new-found phrases*, since *Gabriell* saies we borrow all our eloquence from Taverns: but let it be of the mighty *Burdeaux* grape, pure *vino de monte*' (Nashe 1958: 1.305.25). Nashe is responding to p. 14.40, so this has a tongue-in-cheek quality which Harvey does not acknowledge.
- p. 53.24 *to playe...buttry*] *OED* cites this as an instance of '*the spirit of the buttry*: a 16th c. phrase for "the spirit of wine"' (*sb.* 1 †c).
- p. 53.24-26 *to teach...simplicite*] A 'galliard' is literally 'A quick and lively dance in triple time' (*OED* *a.*, *sb.*<sup>1</sup> B 2); the second 'g' here is silent, the etymology being from the Italian '*gagliardo*'. Being Italian, it would bring associations for Harvey's educated readers with elite culture: Nashe in *HWY* uses '*Galiardos*' seemingly to mean fashionably Italianate gentlemen (1958: 3.31.3), the sort of people also meant in *QUC* by 'humorous Cavaliers, youthfull Gentlemen, and *Inamorati gagliardi*' (Greene 1592b: sig. [A4]<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 53.28 *in communi forma*] 'In common [or 'usual'] form.'
- p. 53.31 *mistery*] See p. 53.20 & *n.*
- p. 53.31-32 *the nippitaty...grape*] Harvey may be echoing the opening sentence of the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to *SN*: '*veterem ferendo iniuriam invitas novam*; which is as much in English as one Cuppe of nipitaty puls on another' (Nashe 1958: 1.255.9).
- p. 53.32-33 *and will...stampe*] Demosthenes is cited here as the epitome of eloquence: Cooper calls him 'the moste excellente oratour of all the Greekes'.
- p. 53.33-34 *all...orations*] See p. 57.11 *n.*
- p. 53.35 *Tuscanisme*] See p. 43.13 & *n.*
- p. 53.37-38 *dominiering Eloquence*] Presumably Harvey means Nashe's style, but I cannot explain the change in font. The italics give the impression that Harvey is quoting, but no such phrase appears in *SN*: italics are also used on p. 70.25 for the phrase 'Nimble Entelechy', the latter a word which Harvey appears to have coined himself (see p. 33.32).
- p. 53.39 *having...himsel[e]*] 'Rank' when applied to ground could mean lush or fertile (see *OED* *a.*, (*sb.*<sup>3</sup>), *adv.* III 10, 11), but Harvey is punning. The enclosure of common arable land for the grazing of sheep (sheep's wool being more profitable than other farm-produce) had been an ongoing process since the Middle Ages; in Harvey's native Essex very little common land remained by 1500 (Thirsk 1959: 4).

- p. 53.40 *the capricious flocke*] Etymologically, ‘capriccio’ (caprice, whim) derives from ‘It. *capriccio* sudden start, motion, or freak, app. f. *capro* goat’. The earliest instance of this is from 1601, and of ‘capricious’ from 1594 (*OED*). Harvey’s use of the latter here may be a pun or a neologism. The goat was proverbially associated with lechery (see Tilley G167). See p. 157.18.
- p. 53.40-42 *Alexander... Alexanders*] The only source I can find for the latter statement is Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* XXXIX.9. A Persian to whom Alexander gave a whole province as a gift says, as a tribute to the king’s generosity, ‘thou hast made many Alexanders’.
- p. 53.45-46 *Farewell... Universities*] Cf. p. 10.23-24.
- p. 53.4-5 *I...degrees*] Perhaps Harvey means people who are incomparably his superiors, and Brydges, by inserting a comma after ‘superiours’, distorts the sense (1815: pt. 8.35). See p. 56.3 below.
- p. 54.5-6 *To...stocke*] ‘An admirer or imitator of Cicero’s style’ is the only nominal sense of ‘Ciceronian’ defined by *OED* (B sb.). Harold S. Wilson reads this phrase as a general comment on ‘the decay of learning in England and the neglect of learned men’, although he notes that ‘The rhetorical tradition in which Harvey belonged was indeed passing out of fashion in the ’90’s’ (1948: 720-21). Cf. p. 54.15.
- p. 54.6-7 *poore Homer...eye*] Homer often exemplifies the poverty of scholars in literature of this period, e.g. *James IV* (Greene 1881-86: 13.305) and *I Parnassus* 322-23, 1486-1502 (Leishman 1949: 150, 207-08). His poverty was proverbial, as was ‘to put the finger in the eye’, meaning to show sorrow (see Tilley H537, F229).
- p. 54.12 *dust-footed*] Not in *OED*, this suggests ‘pedestrian’, which has class associations, riding being considered, in Spenser’s words, ‘a science / Proper to gentle blood’ (*FQ* II.iv.1.7).
- p. 54.13 *shall...dogg*] Harvey is playing with the proverbial phrase ‘not to have a stone to throw at a dog’ (Tilley S880), clearly of older provenance than ‘not to have a word to throw at a dog’ (*OED* dog sb.<sup>1</sup> III 16, giving examples from 1600 onwards).
- p. 54.14 *the worlde...wheeles*] Proverbial (Tilley W893).
- p. 54.14 *vent*] Judging by Harvey’s context, this seems to mean ‘end’, but no such sense is in *OED*; many of its nominal senses seem to mean an outlet for something, a means whereby it can escape, literally or figuratively.
- p. 54.15 *Scogginist*] *OED* cites this as the first instance of ‘a scurrilous jester’ (*OED* † scoggin).
- p. 54.17 *no...rayling*] See p. 17.38 & n.
- p. 54.19 *Robin Hoodes Library*] Perhaps Harvey is here alluding to the body of ballad literature. Robin Hood was a popular subject for ballads, as Harvey’s friend William Webbe noted disdainfully (1870: 36).
- p. 54.21 *roome for roisters*] Either the expression was commonplace, or Harvey is echoing the beginning of *PWH* (see p. 77.50). The phrase ‘Room for [ . . . ]’ announces a person’s entrance: the ‘Epistle to the judiciall readers’ at the start of *Leicester’s Ghost* begins ‘Roome for my Lord of *Lecester*’ (Rogers 1972: 3), and cf. *Julius Caesar* III.2.168 (‘Room for Antony’). ‘Room for a lusty lively lad’ appears to have been a formulaic opening line for drinking ballads, and Würzbach cites a 1614 ballad beginning ‘Roome for Company, / here comes good fellowes’ (1990: 177-78, 208).

- p. 54.22 *woordes of course*] Gibberish. In *CT*, Nashe says: 'When Preachers threaten us for sinne with thys adjunct, eternall, as, paynes eternall, eternall damnation, eternall horror and vexation, we heare them as words of course'; McKerrow defines this as 'Meaningless words, patter', citing an instance of the phrase in Scot's *Discoverie*, used to describe conjurer's language (1958: 2.168.13, 4.246). For similar uses of 'of course', see *OED* *course* *sb.* VII 37a.
- p. 54.24-28 *Though...confuted*] See p. 17.46-47 *n.* McGinn, quoting these lines, assumes that Harvey has interpreted the fable in *PP*, but comments that 'London readers' in general 'had little difficulty in fathoming Nashe's hidden meaning' (1946: 432-33). Franklin B. Williams comments on *Leicester's Commonwealth* and *Leicester's Ghost*, 'Even illiterate Elizabethans would understand the constant references to bears' (Rogers 1972: xi).
- p. 54.25 *employed*] Here as on p. 56.18, this seems to mean 'busy', but this sense is not in *OED*. See p. 8.5 *n.*
- p. 54.28 *nippitaty*] See p. 53.31-32 *n.*
- p. 54.28 *tied to a post*] Presumably this means 'restrained'. The phrase is not in *OED*.
- p. 54.29 *cap of mainetenaunce*] Literally this meant 'a kind of hat or cap formerly worn as a symbol of official dignity or high rank, or carried before a sovereign or a high dignitary in processions' (*OED* *maintenance* 9a). See p. 113.23 *n.*
- p. 54.30-32 *no...carrion?*] The quotation from *PP* begins 'We want an *Aretine* here among us, that might [. . .]' (Nashe 1958: 1.242.15).
- p. 54.34-37 *Were...incarnate?*] One of the ways in which Nashe emulates Aretino is in his use of hyperbole (see McPherson 1969: 1555).
- p. 54.43-44 *for...Letter-monger*] In the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of *SN*, Nashe asks William Beeston, 'Have you anie odde shreds of Latine to make this Letter-munger a cockscombe of?' (1958: 1.257.8).
- p. 54.44-45 *Gallant...Fury?*] See p. 52.6 *n.*
- p. 54.45-47 *Lo...carreere*] Perhaps Harvey is echoing Nashe's use of the language of duelling at the end of the prefatory epistle 'To the Gentleman Readers': 'Heere lies my hatte, and there my cloake [. . .] and thus I runne upon him' (1958: 1.263.21-25).
- p. 54.47 *Aut...nunquam*] 'Now or never'. This was part of the device of John Danter, who printed *SN*, and appears on the title-page of the second 1593 edition; it was not Nashe's personal motto, as in *HWY* he is at pains to point out (1958: 1.248, 3.123.19-22). Since Harvey (here and on p. 56.16) affects to find this 'braving Emprese' of Nashe's absurd, it is worth pointing out that he himself uses it several times in his marginalia, seemingly as a form of self-exhortation (1913: 176.5; Jardine, Grafton 1990: 71-72).
- p. 54.48 *throssher*] Brydges reads 'thresher' (1815: pt. 8.37).
- p. 55.3 *Alecto*] This was 'one of the furies, represented armed with flaming torches, her head covered with serpents, and breathing vengeance, war, and pestilence' (Lemprière).
- p. 55.6 *murthering bullets*] There was a particular kind of gun called a 'murdering-piece' (see *Hamlet* IV.5.95), so this is perhaps not a poetical effusion of Harvey's but a technical term.



- p. 55.7 *whose...powder*] See p. 17.42-44 & n. When Satan materializing is compared to an explosion of gunpowder in *Paradise Lost* IV.814-19, Alastair Fowler notes that this was ‘commonly called “serpentine powder”’ (Milton 1998: 270 n.). The phrase is not in *OED*, but perhaps ‘serpentine’ here is ‘diabolical, satanic’ (*OED* a. 2). In *FQ* I.vii.13.1, Spenser says that the cannon was ‘wrought / In deepest Hell, and framd by *Furies* skill’; when, in *Paradise Lost* VI.470-91, Satan invents the cannon, Fowler cites many contemporary descriptions of gunpowder or artillery as satanic (Milton 1998: 362-63 n.).
- p. 55.8-9 *Hee...not*] The wheel was an established image of inconstancy: see p. 15.39, p. 55.21-22.
- p. 55.10 *Frontine*] Sextus Julius Frontinus led the Roman armies in Britain, and was the author of *de strategematibus*, which he dedicated to Trajan (Lemprière). Harvey’s annotated copy of the 1539 translation, *The stratagemes, sleighthes, and policies of warre*, is still extant (Stern 1979: 214).
- p. 55.10 *Polyen*] ‘Polyænus, a native of Macedonia, who wrote in Greek eight books of stratagems, which he dedicated to the emperors Antoninus and Verus, while they were making war against the Parthians’ (Lemprière).
- p. 55.10-11 *a pretty...glow*] This alludes to the proverbial notion that someone’s ears ‘burn’ when they are talked about (see Tilley E14 for early-modern examples).
- p. 55.12-14 *The Ægyptian...hatt*] This is one of Harvey’s more oblique allusions, but he seems to have in mind Hermes Trismegistus, the figure identified as the author of some Gnostic texts which dated from the early Christian era, but were thought by some humanists to have been written by a contemporary of Moses. Hermes Trismegistus was the Egyptian God Thoth, who like his Graeco-Roman equivalent Mercury was ‘inventor of language, writing, and arts and sciences generally’ (Harvey 1913: 263). See Hamilton 1986: 169-70. I cannot explain the reference to his hat (Harvey seems to have in mind a particular visual representation of him), but Mercury ‘was presented by the king of heaven with a winged cap, called *petasus*’ (Lemprière).
- p. 55.14 *a Ball of Fortune*] See p. 15.38-39, p. 31.7.
- p. 55.15 *an eele of Ely*] Eels are proverbially slippery (see Tilley E60). Sugden cites Drayton’s *Polyolbion* to the effect of the ““abundant store” of fish and fowl bred’ in Ely.
- p. 55.18 *the Drawer, as the Cutter*] Cf. *1 Henry IV* II.4.7: a drawer has to be understood as a lowly unskilled worker in order for the incongruity of the heir to the throne being ‘sworn brother to a leash of drawers’ to carry any weight. A cutter is a patron of taverns rather than an employee: cf. *PWH* (‘he that drinke with cutters, must not be without his ale dagger’) (Lyly 1902: 3.394.27).
- p. 55.19 *false Prophets*] Treacherous. In the Bible, the phrase first appears in Matthew 7.15: ‘Beware of the false prophetes which comme to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly they are ravening woolfes’.
- p. 55.20 *Aristotles Elenches*] This is ‘his treatise [. . .] “concerning sophistical elenchs” or sophisms’ (*OED* †elench 1b).
- p. 55.21-22 *the Wheele...glory*] I cannot find Harvey’s source for this. The wheel is a very established symbol of the vicissitudes of fortune: see *Edward II* Scene 23, 59-63 (Marlowe 1987-98: 3.87), Tillyard 1943: 60.

- p. 55.24-25 *the Basiliske...neighbours?*] For the basilisk's ability to kill by hissing see Pliny, *Natural History* VIII.78-79. Horus is an Egyptian god associated with Apollo (*OCD*): I cannot find any link between either of the two and the basilisk (cf. p. 56.8).
- p. 55.25 *with his onely hissing*] i.e. with his hissing alone – see p. 11.15 & *n*.
- p. 55.29-30 *Hollinsheads engrossing*] 'Engrossing' could mean 'The action of writing out a document in a fair or legal character' (*OED vbl. sb.* †2). Sylvester's prefatory verses to his translation of *Bartas: his Deuine Weekes and workes* are in the *personæ* of the Muses, and end: 'Sign'd by THEM-SELVES, and their High Treasurer / Bartas, the great: In-gross'd by SYLVESTER' (1605: sig. A3<sup>r</sup>); he is modestly presenting his achievement as a merely clerical one. Harvey's meaning here is perhaps similar. In some marginalia in his copy of Livy, he decries Grafton, Stow and Holinshed as mere compilers of chronicles with no knowledge of law or politics, or any real learning (Stern 1979: 152). Even his praise of the three on p. 127.39 below is qualified, placing them among popular culture which he does not entirely disdain. Gordon McMullan compares Harvey's marginalia to a passage in Fletcher's *The Elder Brother* where a character decries 'Dunce *Hollingshead*', drawing conclusions about the status of vernacular history among Harvey's educated contemporaries (Shakespeare, Fletcher 2000: 165-66).
- p. 55.30 *some-bodies abridging*] Possibly Harvey is alluding to such Elizabethan readers' digests as the 1591 'epitomie' of Guicciardini (see p. 13.34 *n*.), the creation of which, he would be implying, requires no merit on the part of the writer. Alternatively, given the mention of Holinshed above, he may have in mind Stow's chronicle, for the various 'abridgements' of which see *STC* 23325.4-23332.
- p. 55.30 *whatchicaltes translating*] Translation does not seem to have been regarded by all educated Elizabethans as a particularly 'low' cultural practice. Nashe, in his survey of recent English literature which prefaces Greene's *Menaphon*, has a section on the foremost translators of his age (1958: 3.319-20), as do Webbe in *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1870: 33-34) and Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598: fol. 285<sup>r-v</sup>). However, of the 175 books catalogued by Stern as owned and annotated by Harvey, only 19 are translations, of which two are bilingual textbooks, two from German, and two jestbooks given to him by Spenser as a joke (1979: 198-241). Either Harvey's notions of what constitutes trashy literature are more inclusive than Nashe's, Webbe's and Meres's, or he is here alluding to translations of contemporary texts from living European languages. For Tudor translators' self-image as disseminators of knowledge, see Rosenberg 1955: 152-54.
- p. 55.30-32 *shall...applause?*] 'Of shame' here seems to mean 'shameful', and 'of applause' 'laudable'. Cf. Shakespeare's Sonnet 129 ('a waste of shame'), and *Midsummer Night's Dream* V.1.11, where 'a brow of Egypt' means 'a gypsy's brow'.
- p. 55.32 *a thinge of nothings*] See p. 11.29-30 *n*.
- p. 55.33 *a hotchpott for a gallymafry*] 'Hotchpot', like its corruption 'hotchpotch', could mean both literally 'dish containing a mixture of many ingredients' and 'medley, jumble, farrago' (*OED* 1, 2).

- p. 55.34-35 *Socrates...boddy*] Mithridates VII was king of Pontus in Asia: according to Lemprière, he 'fortified his constitution by drinking antidotes against the poison with which his enemies at court attempted to destroy him'.
- p. 55.35 *the greatest...ages*] 'Stomach' could mean valour (*OED sb.* 8 †a), but Harvey is punning here. Similar jokes are made in *The Woman Hater* I.2.23 and II.1.293, when Lazarello refers to starving courtiers as 'the valiant stomacks of the Court', and Gondarino describes him as having 'a stomach, which will stoope to no Prince alive' (Beaumont, Fletcher 1966-96: 1.161, 179).
- p. 55.36 *Politique Philip*] See p. 19.20 & n. Cooper calls him a 'prynce from his chyldehodde of excellent wytte [. . .] No way seemed to him dishonorable, wherby he might attain victorie [. . .] In talke and conference craftie, & more would promise in woordes then in deede perfourme [. . .] Frindship he measured more by profite, then by faithfull dealing. To pretend favour where he hated, and to sette hatread betweene frindes, seeking for favour on both sides, was his common custome [. . .] In warrefare subtile & guilefull'.
- p. 55.37 *invincible Scipio*] See p. 11.40 & n.
- p. 55.37 *happy Augustus*] The young Octavius responded sanguinely when Antony wrote disparagingly about his supposedly humble origins, and when Emperor showed clemency regarding the slanders and lampoons on him (see Suetonius, *Augustus*, VII, LI, LV-LVI).
- p. 55.37-38 *magnificent Titus*] Before his accession, Titus was highly unpopular (see Suetonius, *Titus*, I, VI-VII); he did however return in triumph to Rome after the sacking of Jerusalem (Josephus, *Jewish War*, VII. 116-57).
- p. 55.40-41 *the Philosopher...Antoninus*] Harvey means Marcus Aurelius (see p. 57.18-19 & n.).
- p. 55.41 *with a felicity*] Perhaps 'happily'. The phrase is not in *OED*, but cf. 'with a dexterity' (i.e. dexterously) on p. 50.20, p. 57.32, etc.
- p. 55.43-44 *It is...virtuous*] See p. 48.5.
- p. 55.46 *none...loose*] This is not in Tilley, *ODEP* or Dent<sup>2</sup>.
- p. 55.48 – p. 56.1 *The Arte...conceite*] Nashe in *HWY* responds to this, 'under *the arte of figges* [. . .] he shadowes *Master Lilly*' (1958: 3.52.34-36). This is the more likely since, on 78.21, Harvey explicitly refers to Lyly in very similar terms. On 'the art of figs' as a nickname for Lyly, Bond states that 'Harvey was of course alluding to Lyly's tale-bearing about himself to Lord Oxford in 1580' (Lyly 1902: 1.59). See p. 49.25-26 & n.
- p. 56.1 *a sliche forehead*] Brydges reads 'sleek' (1815: pt. 8.39). Perhaps Harvey means 'a mind free from cares'. Cf. *FQ* IV proem 1.1-2, where Spenser calls the statesman who has taken exception to his writings 'The rugged forehead that with grave foresight / Welds kingdomes causes'; Hamilton glosses 'rugged' as 'furrowed, frowning' (2001: 409 n.). Cf. *Richard III* I.1.9, and p. 72.21 and p. 74.5 below.
- p. 56.1-2 *a stinginge tongue*] For the conventional association of malice with snakes, see p. 26.35 n.; for the representation of *Invidia* with a snake issuing from her mouth, see Hamilton 1990 envy figs 1-2.

- p. 56.3 *shiftes of counterfeite cranckes*] There seems to be wordplay here. A 'counterfeit crank' is 'a rogue who feigned sickness in order to move compassion and get money', but a 'crank' is also 'a deceit, wile, sleight' just as a 'shift' is 'a stratagem' (*OED* crank *sb.*<sup>3</sup>, *sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1 †b, shift *sb.* III 4a).
- p. 56.3 *my...degrees*] Brydges has a comma after 'betters' (1815: pt. 8.39); see p. 54.5 above.
- p. 56.4 *to...Apuleius*] Harvey seems to mean no more than 'be called asses': see p. 49.41 *n.*
- p. 56.4-5 *Divers...Asse*] Chief among these is Cornelius Agrippa: see p. 59.17-20.
- p. 56.6 *There...healinge*] This has a proverbial ring but is not in Tilley. Cf. *Edward II* 6, 102: when relations between the King and the barons break down irretrievably, Lancaster says to Mortimer 'it is no dealing with him now' (Marlowe 1987-98: 3.30). See also p. 132.38-42 *n.*
- p. 56.6-7 *To strive...filthy*] Harvey's meaning is perhaps the same as Harington's when, in the context of the Harvey-Nashe quarrel, he wrote: 'The proverbe sayes, Who fights with durty foes, / Must needs be soyld' (1618: sig. [E8]<sup>v</sup>). (The proverb is not in Tilley.)
- p. 56.8 *Demosthenes Viper*] See p. 49.13-21 *n.*
- p. 56.8 *Apolloes Basiliske*] See p. 55.24-25 & *n.*
- p. 56.12 *wandring errour*] 'Error' could mean literally 'a devious or winding course' (*OED* *sb.* I 1), but Harvey is probably punning.
- p. 56.13-14 *Hande...byle*] When in *CT* Nashe says, 'thou hast had nought but a playster [. . .] layd to thy byle', McKerrow glosses, 'i.e. boil, a tumour; the spelling was usual' (1958: 2.47.12-13, 4.218). The phrase is perhaps proverbial for broaching a delicate or distasteful subject – see *Schoole of Abuse*: 'Looke not too have me discourse these at large [. . .] which soever of them I touche, is a byle' (Gosson 1579: fol. 7<sup>v</sup>). Cf. also p. 9.47.
- p. 56.15-17 *I could...hande*] See p. 54.47 & *n.*
- p. 56.16 *Emprese*] The form under which *OED* lists 'A motto or significant device' is 'empress' († *sb.*<sup>2</sup>): of the four instances that it cites (1593-1688), the first three are 'Emprese', 'Empressas' and 'Empresse', Perhaps it was not yet a naturalised English word but a resident alien. Brydges reads 'empress' here and 'impress' on p. 73.14 (1815: pt. 8.39, 74).
- p. 56.17-19 *even...traffique*] Harvey is mocking Nashe's statement in the epistle to *SN*: 'Gentlemen, the strong fayth you have conceiv'd, that I would do workes of supererogation in answering the Doctor, hath made mee breake my daye with other important busines' (Nashe 1958: 1.259.3).
- p. 56.18 *an...Venice*] 'Employed' here seems to mean 'busy' (see p. 8.5 *n.*). Venice was famously 'a rich citie of great power' (Rowlands 1576: 45), but Florence seems to have been celebrated more for its architectural elegance than as a mercantile centre. The English commentary to Ortelius's *Theatre of the VWorld* says that 'Within the limits of *Tuscan* are divers goodly cities [. . .] Faire *Florence* is the first & chiefest of all [. . .] It is moste pleasantly seated on the river *Arno* [. . .] within this cittie are moste goodly edifices' (1601: fol. 77<sup>v</sup>). Both Rowlands (1576: 45) and Ortelius (1601: fol. 60<sup>v</sup>) cite an Italian proverb distinguishing the two cities on these grounds.

- p. 56.20 *Platoes great yeare*] An extremely long time. *OED* defines 'Platonic year' as 'a cycle imagined by some ancient astronomers, in which the heavenly bodies were supposed to go through all their possible movements'; this was sometimes calculated as 'about 25800 years' (Platonic A 3b).
- p. 56.20-21 *runne-thorough...pikes*] *OED* defines 'to pass (*pass through*) the pikes' as 'to pass through difficulties or dangers, *esp.* to come through successfully [. . .] Similarly *to run through*, (*to be*) *past*, the pikes, etc.' (pike *sb.*<sup>5</sup> †2).
- p. 56.24 *Bacchus*] According to Cooper, Bacchus 'among the Greekes dyd sette vynes and make wyne' and 'conquered the countrey of India'; Lemprière is insistent that these are two different people, but Harvey clearly thinks of them as the same (see p. 115.2-3, p. 131.42).
- p. 56.24 *Pan*] According to Lemprière, Pan 'was continually employed in deceiving the neighbouring nymphs, and often with success'.
- p. 56.28 *knight of the alehowse*] An 'ale-knight' was 'a tippler' (*OED* †); 'ale-house knight' appears in *SN* (Nashe 1958: 1.269.7).
- p. 56.29 *a pedler of straunge newes*] It is worth noting that the phrase 'strange news' had appeared in the titles of tracts before *SN*: William Averell's *A wonderfull and straunge newes, which happened in the countye of Suffolke, and Essex, the first of February, where it rayned wheat...* (1583) and John Doleta's *Straunge newes out of Calabria* (1586) (*STC* 982.5, 6992). See also *STC* 18507. Doleta's book seems to have made quite an impact: John Harvey sarcastically mentions 'the strange *Calabrian* newes of the reverend Astrologer and doughtie clarke, *John Dolteta*' (1588: 99) and Nashe in *SN* itself refers to 'the newes out of *Calabria* (*John Doletas* prophesie of flying dragons, commets, Earthquakes, and inundations)' (1958: 1.289.18). For this as a commonplace phrase in news-ballads, see Würzbach 1990: 209. Nashe, therefore, in the title of his response to *FL*, invokes prognostications and 'monstrosity literature', ephemeral publications aimed at a credulous readership. Cf. the attack prefacing *Martine Mar-Sixtus* on the 'printing age' in which the author lives: 'scarce a cat can looke out of a gutter, but out starts a halfpenny cronicler, and presently *A proper new ballet of a strange sight* is endited: what publishing of frivolous and scurrilous Prognostications? as if *Will Sommers* were againe revived: what counterfeiting and cogging of prodigious and fabulous monsters? as if they labored to excede the Poet in his *Metamorphosis*' (R.W. 1591: sig. A3<sup>v</sup>). Nashe constitutes *SN* itself as ephemera, and *FL* as a monstrosity, and Harvey here makes Nashe a pedlar of ephemeral literature (as he does Lyly on p. 106.28).
- p. 56.32 *pryde...fall*] Tilley cites instances from 1509 (P581).
- p. 56.32-33 *and...vanitye*] Possibly there is a specific allusion here that I have not traced. Cats are cited several times in Shakespeare as if they were synonymous with cowardice, or the opposite of what is heroic: see *Macbeth* I.7.44-45, *King Lear* IV.2.69, *Hamlet* V.1.286-87. Cats are domesticated and not fierce animals, not capable (like dogs) of being used for hunting. Topsell emphasizes the cat's 'loving nature to man, how she flattereth by rubbing her skinne against ones Legges [. . .] this beast hath beene

familiarly nourished of many' (1607: 105). (Throughout his description, he uses 'she' and 'her' as personal pronouns.)

- p. 56.38 *divine Furie*] Harvey means the *furor poeticus*. Cf. Sidney's *Defence*: 'profane wits [. . .] believe [. . .] that they are so beloved of the gods that whatsoever they write proceeds of a divine fury' (1966: 75.5-8). See also p. 57.11-12 *n*.
- p. 56.48 *roundly*] Among the relevant senses of 'roundly' are 'To the full; completely, thoroughly', 'Plainly, outspokenly' and 'sharply, severely' (*OED* 2, 3, 5).
- p. 57.2-37 As a satirical strategy, this praise of Nashe by Harvey's anonymous friend is bluntly parodied (as McKerrow notes) in *HWY*, where Nashe reports the speech of 'a thrid-bare Cavalier [. . .] at an ordinarie, as he sat fumbling the dice after supper' in praise of *PS*, before mentioning his 'commending to yong gentlemen two or three of the most detested lothsom whores about *London*, for peereles beauteous Paragons' (1958: 4.322, 3.41.27-42.7). Frances Yates boldly claims to be able to identify the speaker in *PS* 'quite unmistakeably' as John Eliot, author of *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1593) and employee of John Wolfe (1934: 178). Nicholl states that Yates shows the speaker 'conclusively' to be Eliot (1984: 178).

Yates's case rests largely on the resemblance between individual phrases in the 'round discourse' and in two passages in *Ortho-epia Gallica*. In acknowledging that it 'was brisk work on Harvey's part' to get an allusion to Eliot's work in print when Eliot's address to the readers is dated April 18th and *PS* 'is dated April 27th, 1593, only nine days later', she gives something of a hostage to fortune (1934: 183). She also states ingenuously how 'curious' it is that Eliot, as a friend of Harvey's, 'shows himself [. . .] more sympathetic to Nashe's than Harvey's point of view. Harvey quotes him as highly praising Nashe' (1934: 184), whereas this whole set-piece is surely a sustained exercise in irony, like the 'praise of the ass' in the last book of *PS*. Perhaps such cryptographic readings of *PS* should be resisted, however much the text seems to invite them. Like Harvey's packaging *FL* and *PS* with epistles and commendatory sonnets from his allies, and his listing of the patrons and fellow-scholars who have written him 'letters of extraordinary commendation' (p. 63.28-25), this is part of his self-presentation within a network of supportive friends and admirers.

- p. 57.5-6 *setteth...schoole*] *OED* notes that '†*set to school*' was often used in the sense of 'to presume to correct (one's superior)' (*school sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1 c). In 3 *Henry VI* III.2.193, when Gloucester says that he will 'set the murderous Machiavel to school', it is clearly used in the sense of 'to excel'.
- p. 57.8 *lawing*] Nashe in *LS* uses the word to mean 'arguing' (1958: 4.412). 'Lawing' literally meant 'Going to law, litigation' (*OED vbl. sb.* 1), and 'litigious' during this period could be used figuratively to mean 'Fond of disputes, contentious' (*OED* 1).
- p. 57.9 *the sturring...quicksilver*] Cf. p. 50.20.
- p. 57.10 *Hermes ascending spirit*] 'Mercurius', in the words of Cooper, 'poetes faigne to have wynges on his head and feete, to signifie, that talke [. . .] dooeth quickly passe through the ayer'.

- p. 57.11 *Tyrtæus enraging trumpet*] Tyrtæus was the Greek poet (fl. 684 B.C.) who ‘animated the Lacedemonians with martial songs’ (Lemprière). Gosson in *Schoole of Abuse* (1579: fol. 7<sup>v</sup>) and Sidney in his *Defence* (1966: 19.15) both cite him with approval, as an example of the proper subject-matter of poetry. The trumpet here is the instrument of war. Spenser in *FQ* I Proem 1.4 describes his switch from pastoral to epic as an intention ‘For trumpets sterne to chaunge mine Oaten reeds’; in *Richard III* IV.4.149-54, Richard drowns out the sound of his mother and sister-in-law with trumpets (‘the clamorous report of war’).
- p. 57.11 *Pericles bounsinge thunderclaps*] Harvey seems to mean the Athenian statesman, whose eloquence was compared by the Athenians to thunder and lightning (Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, VIII.3).
- p. 57.11-12 *Platos entusiastical ravishment*] Puttenham says of poetry, ‘this science in his perfection, can not grow, but by some divine instinct, the Platonicks call it *furor*’ (1936: 3). Harold F. Brooks, discussing the poet’s ‘fine frenzy’ as described by Oberon (in *Midsummer Night’s Dream* V.1.12-17), cites Plato’s *Phaedrus* (Shakespeare 1979: cxi n.).
- p. 57.12 *egges in moonshine*] Literally ‘a preparation of eggs used in the 16th and 17th c.’, this could also be used with allusion to the sense of ‘moonshine’ ‘foolish or visionary talk, ideas, plans, etc.’ (*OED* moonshine sb. †3a, 2a, citing this as an example).
- p. 57.15-16 *never...bedd*] This line is parodied by Luxurio in *I Parnassus*, 426: ‘Melancholick art, put downe thy hose, here is a suddaine wit, that will lashe thee in the time to come’ (Leishman 1949: 156-57). Travis L. Summersgill, who first noticed this, comments that Harvey’s remark is made ‘in a spirit of heavy irony’, and relates ‘to Nashe’s elevation of wit to a position of dominance over scholarship’ (1952: 94-95).
- p. 57.16 *abate...of*] Cf. *LS*: Nashe says that he writes of Yarmouth since all other English towns ‘should bate me an ace of Yarmouth’; McKerrow glosses, ‘bate me an ace of’ as ‘apparently, not come up to’ (Nashe 1958: 3.167.19, 4.385).
- p. 57.18-19 *It were...want juice*] Two passages in Marcus’ *Communings with Himself* are relevant: IV.6 and XII.16. In Haines’s translation, these read: ‘Given such men [the malicious], it was in the nature of the case inevitable that their conduct should be of this kind. To wish it otherwise, is to wish that the fig-tree had no acrid juice’; ‘he who would not have the wicked do wrong is as one who would not have the fig-tree secrete acrid juice in its fruit, would not have babies cry, or the horse neigh, or have any other things be that must be’ (Marcus Aurelius 1930: 73, 331).
- p. 57.20-21 *closely...bookes*] *OED* cites this as an instance of ‘soakingly’ in the sense of ‘Deeply, profoundly’ (2b), but Harvey might also to be punning (‘read on the toilet or in the bath’). ‘Closely’ could mean secretly (*OED* †3), but a close-stool was a privy, and Richard Harvey in *LG* uses ‘close chambers’ seemingly to mean toilets (1590b: 176). See p. 110.23 for a similar pun.
- p. 57.21 *smirkinge*] In addition to the most current sense, ‘smirk’ might mean ‘To trim up, to make neat or spruce’ (*OED* v. †2). *OED*’s only example is from *HWY*, where Nashe advises Lichfield that he should

ask his customers ‘will it please you to bee cosmologizd and smirkt?’; as McKerrow says, Harvey’s ‘language is derided’ in the passage at large (1958: 3.16.8, 4.309).

p. 57.24 *Modernistes*] *OED* cites, as its only two examples in this sense, this and John Harvey’s description of various recent authorities as ‘neotericall mathematicians and modernists’ (1588: 106), but its definition, ‘A modern’, is not helpful (modernist †1). See p. 65.45 *n*.

p. 57.26 *gay-nothings*] See p. 13.13 *n*.

p. 57.27 *Arte Notory*] As McKerrow comments, ‘*Ars notoria* was magical divination performed in virtue of a direct pact with the devil’ (Nashe 1558: 4.327). *OED* cites a passage in Scot 1584 (‘the art Notarie’) as the sole instance of ‘Dealing with marks or signs’, but also cites instances of ‘notary’ from 1388 in the sense of ‘Notorious’ (*OED* *a.*<sup>2</sup>, †*a.*<sup>1</sup> 1). The passage in question appears in Scot not on p. 393, as per *OED*, but later: ‘There is yet another art professed by these cousening conjurors [. . .] which is called Theurgie, wherein they worke by good angels [. . .] Hereunto belongeth the art of *Almadel*, the art of *Paule*, the art of Revelations, and the art Notarie. But (as *Agrippa* saith) the more divine these arts seeme to the ignorant, the more damnable they be’ (1584: 466).

p. 57.29 *the Multiplying spirit*] According to Scot, ‘Alcumystrie’ is ‘otherwise called Multiplication’; alchemists claimed to be able, not only to turn base metals into gold, but also to make gold multiply (1584: 353, 357-59). See *OED* multiply *v.* †6 for other associations of this word with alchemy. Since the phrase ‘multiplying spirit’ also appears in a dialogue in *Ortho-epia Gallica* about alchemy, Yates cites this as one of her proofs that Eliot is to be identified as the speaker here (1934: 181-82).

p. 57.29 *villanist*] The only instance in *OED* is Nashe’s mocking repetition of this in *HWY* (1958: 3.45.27). *OED*’s definition (‘A confirmed villain’) seems not to be helpful. Yates situates this passage in the context of John Eliot’s supposed quarrel with John Florio; the dialogues in Eliot’s parodic Anglo-French textbook, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, show the speakers drinking, flirting, gambling and being arrested, in contrast to Florio’s *First Fruits* and *Second Fruits*. Yates understands ‘villany’ here to mean a robust indulgence in pleasure (‘wild-oat-sowing’) and the celebration of this in art, regarded with horror by Harvey (1934: 182-83).

p. 57.30 *spurreth cutt*] Travels. Brydges reads ‘spurreth out’ (1815: pt. 8.42); ‘cutt’ is Grosart’s reading (Harvey 1884-85: 2.63), and, it seems to me, the reading of all the texts I have examined. Frances Yates also reads ‘cutt’ when quoting ‘from a copy of the original edition (British Museum C. 40, d. 9)’; she notes (as one of her proofs that the speaker is to be identified as John Eliot) that the phrase also appears in Eliot’s *Ortho-epia Gallica* (1934: 180-82). (This is in a dialogue about hunting: ‘lets spur cut to catch him with your mastiffe’ (Eliot 1593: 62).) *OED* lists neither phrase, although ‘spur cut’ might mean to ride hard until one’s horse bled. Nashe in *HWY* tells how Harvey’s courtly patron, after the trouble caused by *3PL*, ‘dispatcht him to spurre cut backe againe to Cambridge’; McKerrow explains ‘spur cut’ as ‘hasten’ (1958: 3.78.35, 5.247).

p. 57.30 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 *n*.



- p. 57.30-31 *Whiles...what*] Yates says that here Harvey is suggesting Eliot's prose style, comparing the preface to *Ortho-epia Gallica*: 'I have bene busie, labourd, sweat, dropd, studied, devised, sought, bought, borrowed, turnd, translated, mined, fined, refined, enterlined, glosed, composed [. . .]' (1934: 181). Apart from the significant difference that Eliot in the preface is describing his own activity and here (according to Yates) is describing that of other people, this passage seems to me not dissimilar to other strings of epithets in Harvey (cf. p. 13.11-16).
- p. 57.35-36 *the newe Arte-notory*] See p. 57.27 n. As McKerrow says, Harvey here means *PP* (Nashe 1948: 4.327).
- p. 57.36 *having...eares*] 'Called so many learned men "asses"'; cf. *OED* shake v. III 8a. Cooper describes how the elder Cato would not let his son be taught by one of his servants, saying 'it is not convenient [. . .] he should be rebuked or pulled by the eares of hym, that is of a servile condicion'.
- p. 57.39 *the present state of France*] See p. 8.12-15.
- p. 57.39-40 *the most unchristian...kinge*] 'Most christian king' was part of Henri IV's style as King of France, hence the joke that Jonson told Drummond about his conversion: 'the King of Spain is Rex Catholicus & is not Catholicissimus & the French King Christianissimus yett is not Christianus' (1925-52: 1.144).
- p. 57.40-41 *my...halfpenny*] *OED*'s entry on phrases involving 'halfpenny' is unsatisfactory (2). When, in *Mother Bombie* II.1.56, Riscio says 'Now is my hand on my halfpenie', Bond glosses, 'proverb for preoccupation of mind'; one of the examples he cites is 'in Greene's *Menaphon* (p. 49 Arber) of an inattentive auditor "twere necessarie he told us how his heart came thus on his halfepenie"' (Lyly 1902: 3.184, 541).
- p. 57.41 *round*] See p. 56.47 n.
- p. 58.1 *the predicament of Chimera*] See p. 41.36 n. Perhaps the predicament is simply 'to be imaginary': Lucretius in *De Rerum Natura* cites the Chimera as an example of the kind of monstrosity which by its nature cannot exist (2.700-09).
- p. 58.1-2 *The...hatchinge*] The phoenix, the only one of its kind, is the type 'of unique excellence' (*OED* phoenix<sup>1</sup> 2). According to Pliny, it lives for 540 years, but he says nothing about it taking a particularly long time to hatch, only that out of its ashes rises first a maggot which eventually takes the form of a bird (*Natural History*, X.4).
- p. 58.3 *Tasso*] Torquato Tasso (1544-95), Italian poet, author of *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581), an epic about the First Crusade: for his contemporary English reputation see Hamilton 1990: 678-80.
- p. 58.5-6 *disparagements in felowship*] Mismatches. 'Disparagement' could mean literally 'Marriage to one of inferior rank [. . .] Misalliance' (*OED* †1).
- p. 58.7-8 *Pontan...new*] Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503), from one of whose sermons Harvey quotes in some marginalia in Quintilian on jesting as one of an orator's skills (1913: 252, 114.7). Alopantius is presumably a stock braggart character.
- p. 58.8-9 *Terence...new*] See 'Thrasonical' in Glossary.

- p. 58.9 *Plautus...anew*] Pyrgopolinices is the title-character in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* or the *Braggart Warrior*.
- p. 58.13 *Messias*] For another example of this form, see *LS*: 'a new Messiah they are ready to expect' (Nashe 1958: 3.212.29).
- p. 58.13-14 *Agrippas...Pyromachy*] By retaining the capital 'P', Brydges makes 'Pyromachy' seem like the title of a text (1815: pt. 8.43). Harvey writes of 'Agrippae pyrographia, sive pyromachia' in some marginalia on Peter Whitehorne's *Certeine wayes for the ordering of Soldiours in battelray...And moreover, howe to make Saltpeter, Gunpowder, and divers sortes of Fireworkes* (1573) (Stern 1979: 238). Cf. his marginalia in Frontinus' *Stratagemes, Sleyghtes, and policies of warre*, on the use in wartime of magicians able to 'command thunderbolts' (quoted Hale Moore 1926: 346).
- p. 58.14 *Cardans multiplied matter*] Smith confesses ignorance as to which of Cardano's works is meant here (1904: 2.435). In the same annotations on Whitehorne, quoted above, in which Harvey mentions Agrippa's 'pyromachia', he also refers to Cardano's *De subtilitate* (Stern 1979: 238). This work deals not only with the properties of remarkable stones, plants and animals, but also with 'natural magic' caused by the agency of human practitioners (Grafton 1999: 163-64). See p. 57.29 for the association of 'multiplying' with alchemy.
- p. 58.15 *Acontius...Battery*] Giacomo Concio, or 'Jacobus Acontius' (1520?-1567?), military engineer, was forced to leave his native Trent because of his Protestantism (Dick 1939-40: 151-53). He wrote a work on the fortification of cities shortly after his arrival in England in 1559, no copies of which survive (*ODNB*); since, like Harvey, he was part of Leicester's circle of patronage, Harvey might have seen it circulating in manuscript (Rosenberg 1955: 54). Cf. p. 62.3-4 *n*.
- p. 58.16 *Antony Riccobonus*] Smith glosses, 'Antonio Riccoboni, author of *De Historia Commentarius*, Venice, 1568, and of a *Poëtica*, explaining Aristotle's Poetics (Vienna, 1585, Padua, 1591)' (1904: 2.435-36).
- p. 58.18 *the new...spoken*] Donne names 'Calepines Dictionarie' as the greatest linguist of his time in Satire IV; Grierson comments that this was originally edited by Ambrose Calepio (1455-1511) in 1502, the 1590 edition printed in Basel being called *Dictionarium XI Linguarum* (1912: 1.160, 2.120). Smith gives his dates as 1435-1511, stating that Harvey means the 1581 edition (1904: 2.436).
- p. 58.19 *Basill*] Brydges reads 'Basil', rather than 'Basel' or 'Basle' (1815: pt. 8.44). For information available to Harvey on 'The famous citie of Basell' (including the etymology of the name), see Rowlands 1576: 20. Harvey's annotated copy is still extant (Stern 1979: 233).
- p. 58.19-21 *for...universi*] 'The full title of Petrus Gregorius's work is *Syntagma Iuris universi atque Legum pene omnium gentium et rerum publicarum praecipuarum in tres partes digestum*' (Smith 1904: 2.436).
- p. 58.22 *miracles in the cloudes*] See p. 17.17 & *n*.

- p. 58.25 *Quintessence*] *OED*'s closest sense is 'a highly refined essence or extract' (*sb.* 2), but this seems to have been used in the sense of 'elixir' or 'potion'. In *The Terrors of the Night*, a dying man is revived by drinking 'a most precious extract quintessence' (Nashe 1958: 1.381.32).
- p. 58.25 *that....sickness*] Aesculapius was 'The sonne of Apollo and Coronis and was called the god of Phisicke' (Cooper).
- p. 58.26 *like...Olde-age*] Medea restores her husband Jason's aged and dying father to youth and health by witchcraft (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VII.159-293).
- p. 58.26 *like...Death*] One of Apollonius' supposed miracles, as described by Philostratus, is that when in Rome, he raised from the dead a bride who had died shortly after her wedding (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, IV.XLIV).
- p. 58.31 *Secretary*] See p. 105.2 *n.*
- p. 58.33 *a flowing spring*] Perhaps Harvey is punning: 'flowing' could be applied to writers, meaning 'Having a flowing style' (*OED ppl. a.* 3).
- p. 58.35 *courting*] Perhaps Harvey means 'flattery'; *OED*'s closest non-romantic sense is 'The paying of courteous attention, in order to win favour' (*OED vbl. sb.* 2 – the earliest instance is from 1607). Cf. *Euphues*: 'If I be in Crete I can lie, if in Greece I can shift, if in Italy I can court it'; Lawlis glosses, 'To "court it" was to act the courtier, which, by implication, has a relationship with telling lies and living by fraud (shifting)' (1967: 129).
- p. 58.36 *stand...feet*] Act humbly. When Nashe nicknames Harvey 'Timothie Tiptoes' as a result of his supposed behaviour after meeting the Queen, McKerrow glosses, 'To go on tiptoes was synonymous with to bear oneself proudly' (1958: 1.276.34, 4.168).
- p. 58.45-47 *I wondred...majesty*] Edward Kelley (1555-1597/8) worked for John Dee from 1582, assisting him in his alchemical work and in séances. The two left England in 1583, settling in Bohemia; Kelley joined the court of Rudolph II, the Holy Roman Emperor, who knighted him in 1589 (*ODNB*). The reference to the Golden Fleece is perhaps figurative, but Agrippa notes that 'there are some whiche thinke that the skinne of the golden fleese was a booke of *Alcumie* written upon a skinne after the manner of the auncients, wherein was contained the knowledge to make golde' (1569: fol. 158<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 59.2 *he would...boxe*] The 'green lion' is 'a "spirit" of great transmuting power, supposed to be produced by certain processes in alchemy; sometimes identified with the "philosophical mercury"' (*OED* lion †9, citing this use of Harvey's). Similarly, the bearing aloft of Ganymede by Jove in the form of an eagle also had alchemical significance, allegorizing the elevation of the mortal initiate to the realm of divine knowledge (Saslow 1986: 90-96). Harvey here combines these with the phrase 'to have a fly in a box', i.e. to be lucky (see p. 51.21 *n.*).
- p. 59.2-3 *But...Foole*] These also seem to have been alchemical terms: Agrippa mentions 'the daunsing foole' and 'the swollen toode' among 'the foolish misteries, & vaine riddles' of alchemy (1569: fol. 158<sup>v</sup>). See also *The Alchemist* II.3.189 (Jonson 1925-52: 5.327, 10.89). Harvey here seems to choose them because of their associations with malice and idiocy respectively. In *PWH*, Lyly dares Martin, 'swel

like a toade, hisse like an adder, bite like a dog [. . .] my pen is prepared' (1902: 3.395.9-10), the snake and dog being established signifiers of envy (see p. 26.36 & *n.*), as a toad seems to have been (see p. 61.26-28). Cf. also Carr Scroope's verses against Rochester: 'Sitt swelling in thy hole like a vex'd Toad, / And full of pox, and Mallice, spit abroad' (Wilmot 1999: 107). 'Dancing fool' was perhaps a stock phrase. Cf. *A Whip for an Ape*: 'But *Martin*, why in matters of such waight / Doest thou thus play the Dawe and dancing foole?' (Lyly 1902: 3.419.43).

- p. 59.3-4 *Kelly...Arte*] McKerrow cites this when glossing Nashe's reference in *SN* to 'the durt of wisdom, called Alcumie'; he comments, "'lutum sapientiae" seems to have been some mystical term used by alchemists, but of what it meant I am ignorant' (1958: 1.255.24, 4.154). It appears in Jonson's *The Alchemist*, II.3.285, as '*lutum sapientis*' (1925-52: 5.330).
- p. 59.4 *Silence...mystery*] This is not in Tilley: cf. the ambiguous use of 'mystery' on p. 53.20.
- p. 59.4 *Coweherds horne*] Brydges reads 'coward's horn' (1815: pt. 8.45), but by modernising he removes Harvey's wordplay. The etymology of 'coward' is from 'OF. *coe* tail'; *OED* suggests that this refers 'to an animal "turning tail" in flight' (*sb.*, *a.*). However, it seems to have been thought by Harvey's contemporaries that it came from 'cowherd'; Ernest Schanzer sees this 'popular derivation' in play when, in *The Winter's Tale* I.2.243, Leontes tells Camillo 'thou art a coward, / Which hoxes honesty behind', alluding to 'the laming of cattle by cutting their hamstrings' (1986: 169). See *FQ* V.x.15.5 ('cowheard feare') for an example of the older spelling.
- p. 59.4-5 *He...molehill*] See p. 15.21-22 and p. 16.8: Harvey seems to be splicing a vernacular proverb and a classical reference.
- p. 59.12-13 *Aesops...indeede*] In one of the anecdotes about Aesop's life which preface Caxton's translation of the fables, his second master tries to sell him in the marketplace along with two other slaves. Being asked by the philosopher Exantus what they can do, the others reply that they can do anything, and Aesop, laughing at this, says that he can do nothing, 'Because my fellowes say that they wyll doo all thinges, then have they left for mee nothing to doo'. Exantus' pupils say that Aesop has 'aunswered by divine wisdom. For there is none that may be found that can do al thing', at which the philosopher buys Aesop. (See Aesop 1585: fols 6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>.)
- p. 59.14 *knowledge...water*] 'Dry water' by its nature is something remarkable. The phrase is not in *OED* but seems to have been alchemical: in Eliot's *Ortho-epia Gallica*, the secret of alchemy is called 'humane blood, the water of life, the dragon, the crow, the Elixir, the mercurie of Philosophers, the drie-water [. . .]' (1593: 167).
- p. 59.15-16 *Socrates knowing...nothings*] This derives from Plato, *Apology* 21, but had become proverbial (see Tilley N276). 'A springing rock' seems to mean 'something miraculous', perhaps alluding to Moses's conjuring of water from a rock (Numbers 20: 1-11).
- p. 59.16 *Lullius*] Raymond Lully (Ramon Lull), the 'Doctor Illuminatus' (d. 1315), was probably a courtier of King James of Aragon before withdrawing to become first a hermit, then a Franciscan friar. Determined to convert the Muslim world, and convinced that this could be done by the use of logic, he

founded a school for the members of his community, emphasizing the study of Arabic and refutation of Arab philosophers (*CE*). For the public debates he arranged in Morocco, see Hamilton 1986: 148-49. According to Agrippa, by mastering his ‘monstrous Arte [. . .] every man mighte plentifully dispute of what matter he listed’ (1569: fol. 24<sup>v</sup>). He was also a mystical philosopher, but *CE* says nothing about any involvement in alchemy, with which Harvey’s citing him in this context seems to associate him. However, in *Alchemist* II.5.7-11, when Ananias introduces himself to Subtle as a ‘*faithfull Brother*’, Subtle asks, ‘What’s that? / A *Lullianist*?’, before quizzing him about his alchemical knowledge (Jonson 1925-52: 5.334); Rowlands in *A Fooles Bolt* compares Lully to Edward Kelley (1880: sig. B<sup>r</sup>).

- p. 59.16 *signet of Hermes*] This seems to be an alchemical term: Agrippa mentions ‘the seale of *Hermes*’ among ‘the foolish misteries, & vaine riddles’ of alchemy (1569: fol. 158<sup>v</sup>). Here it apparently relates to eloquence, Hermes or Mercury being the god of orators (see p. 13.45).
- P. 59.17 *de omni scibili*] ‘Of all knowable things’.
- p. 59.17-20 *Agrippa...Asse*] The final chapter of Agrippa’s *De vanitate...* is ‘A Digression in praise of the *Asse*’ (1569: fols 183<sup>v</sup>-185<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 59.22-23 *naturall...magique*] See p. 25.10 & *n*.
- p. 59.24 *Pythagorean*] See p. 31.27-30 & *n*.
- p. 59.28-29 *thy breath...Ætna*] ‘Strong breath’ on p. 61.22 is synonymous with scurrility, as hot breath is perhaps here (or possibly with boasting). Cf. *Martins Months minde*: ‘Hee will [. . .] drie up our verie rivers with the breath of his mouth [. . .] he makes a mock of the *Saints* of God [. . .] the Scriptures themselves he beastlie abuseth’ (Nashe 1589: sig. B3<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 59.29 *like...Mongibello*] Etna was also known as ‘Mont-Gibell’, ‘Mongibel’ and ‘Mongiball’ (Nashe 1588: 4.203, 246); Cooper says that ‘*Aetna* [. . .] is now called *Gibello monte*’. Lemprière says of the Cyclopes that ‘They inhabited the western parts of the island of Sicily [. . .] From their vicinity to mount *Ætna*, they have been supposed to be the workmen of Vulcan, and to have fabricated the thunderbolts of Jupiter’.
- p. 59.29-30 *the warring Planet*] Presumably Harvey means Mars. According to Batman, ‘Under him is contayned warre, battel, prison, & enmitie: & he betokeneth wrath, swiftnesse, and woundes’ (1582: fol. 130<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 59.30 *the Fiery Trigon*] Harvey in some verses in his *Commonplace-Book* uses the phrase ‘fiery trigon’ to mean something remarkable: ‘The bravest vertu, and the mightiest worth, / A Fiery Trigon from his pregnant Birth’ (1913: 106.21). The twelve signs of the zodiac are divided into four trigons (a trigon being three signs equidistant from each other, forming an equilateral triangle), each corresponding to one of the four elements: the fiery trigon comprises Aries, Leo and Sagittarius. The conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in 1583, taking place at the end of the watery and the beginning of the fiery trigon, was expected to herald great things, since this had only happened once since the birth of Christ, and it had apparently coincided with the translation of the Empire by Charlemagne: some astrologers predicted the end of the world. This conjunction was the subject of books by Richard and John Harvey (see p. 16.36-37 & *n*),

and although they were neither the only or even the first astrologers to make these predictions, the fact that Richard was the first in English partly explains the exceptional stir which his *Astrological Discourse* made, and the exceptional mockery to which he was subjected when his prophecies proved untrue (see Holinshed 1807-08: 4.510-11). (Aston 1970 provides a fuller summary.)

- p. 59.30-31 *thou...enough*] The italics ought perhaps to begin at 'cattes'. Harvey is quoting the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of *SN*, where Nashe tells Beeston 'We have cattes meate and dogges meate inough for these mungrels' (1958: 1.258.28). When 'dog's-meat' is used in *The Alchemist* I.2.45 (Face calls Subtle 'Doctor dogs-meate'), Herford and the Simpsons define this as 'carrion, offal' (Jonson 1925-52: 5.304, 10.61).
- p. 59.31 *try...teeth*] The sense seems to be 'fight to the death'. See *An Almond for a Parrat*, where the author tells Marprelate: 'O God, that we two might bee permitted but one quarter, to try it out by the teeth for the best benefice in England' (Nashe 1958: 3.369.15).
- p. 59.31-32 *the signe...pot*] That it was impossible to keep dogs' heads out of pots seems to have been commonplace. See *Faustus* 8, 49: when Rafe has been turned into a dog, Robin jokes 'Ifaith thy head wil never be out of the potage pot'; Gill glosses, 'A near proverbial expression. Cf. Francis Merbury, *Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom* (c. 1571): "The cook is not so sone gone as the doges hed is in the porig pot"' (1987-98: 2.31, 81). In *SLW* 1058, Bacchus, forcing Will Summer to drink, says 'come, come, dogs head in the pot'; McKerrow, glossing this, gives more instances, inferring from this line of Harvey's that there was an inn of this name, although he also notes that it was a frequent term of abuse for a glutton (Nashe 1958: 3.267, 4.435).
- p. 59.32 *dog-starr*] Perhaps Harvey means 'something which threatens terrible things'. Sirius was 'anciently supposed to cause excessive heat and other pernicious effects' (*OED* dog-star 1).
- p. 59.34-36 *I looked...kennel*] Echoing *PP* (see p. 17.42-44 n.).
- p. 59.37-39 *Or...pyke*] Nashe in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to *SN* vows 'I meane to trounce him after twentie in the hundred, and have a bout with him with two staves and a pike for this geare'; McKerrow explains 'after twenty in the hundred' as 'thoroughly' (Nashe 1958: 1.258.6, 4.157). (The reading of the first edition is 'about', as per Harvey's text.) Nashe in *HWY*, responding to Harvey, reiterates: 'I would [. . .] have at him with two staves and a pike, which was a kinde of old verse in request before he fell a rayling at *Turbervile* or *Elderton*' (1958: 3.123.24-27). 'Stave' is both 'stick, pole or club used as a weapon' and "'verse" or stanza of a poem' (*OED* staff sb.<sup>1</sup> I 2, stave sb.<sup>1</sup> III 5a). *OED*'s earliest instance of the latter is 1659, but it appears in Gascoigne's *Certayne Notes of Instruction* (1575): 'The first twelve [lines of a sonnet] do ryme in staves of foure lines' (quoted Smith 1904: 1.55.17).
- p. 59.39 *a tall fellowe of Cracovia*] Like the Hungarians (see p. 148.46-47), the Poles were occupied with trying to contain the Ottoman Empire, and had a similar reputation; Fynes Moryson states that 'all Polonians are soone stirred upp, and prone to quarrells' and calls them 'a warlike nation, valiant, and active' (1903: 32-33, 79, 82). See also *Edward III* III.1.44: 'lofty Poland, nurse of hardy men' (Melchiori 1998: 107).

- p. 59.39-40 *there...weapons*] See p. 56.6, although Harvey seems to mean that these weapons cannot be withstood. *OED* cites a fifteenth-century example of ‘dealing’ in the sense of ‘distribution of blows’ (*ppl.* a. 1a). Cf. *The Worthy tract of Paulus Iouius*: a Venetian called della Volpe had as his emblem ‘a Foxe [. . .] shewing his devouring teeth, with this mot, *Simul astu & dentibus utor*, to signifie that there was no dealing with him being so defended on every side’ (Giovio 1585: sig. Hi<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 59.42 *desired...acquaintance*] ‘To desire someone of more acquaintance’ seems to have been a stock phrase (see *Midsummer Night’s Dream*, III.1.175).
- p. 59.44 *Happy*] In modern syntax, this might read ‘happily’, which might mean ‘possibly’ or ‘fortunately’ (*OED* 1, 2). Adjectives can be used as adverbs in early-modern syntax (see Abbott 1870: 17-18).
- p. 59.44 *the beste...vineger*] Echoing *SN*: ‘the best bloud of the brothers shall pledge me in vineger’ (Nashe 1958: 1.258.12).
- p. 59.45-46 *Gentlemen...bonde*] See p. 7.49 & n.
- p. 59.47 *Braggadocio*] *OED*’s earliest instance of ‘braggadocio’ in any sense is from *UT* (1594): ‘most of these above-named goose-quill Braggadoches were mere cowards and cravens’ (Nashe 1958: 2.226.17-19). The word seems to have entered English with the name of the *miles gloriosus* who reappears throughout *FQ*; Harvey in some 1588 marginalia in his copy of *A merye jeste of a man called Howleglas* calls one character ‘A great braggadocia’ (Spenser 2001: 181 n.). McKerrow, glossing the above passage in Nashe, noticed that it appeared later in 1594, in the second preface to *CT* (‘the displing of this vaine *Braggadochio*’) where Nashe alludes specifically to *FQ* (1958: 2.181.33, 4.249, 264). Harvey uses the name in the ‘Advertisement’ below (p. 105.9), which was written in 1589, before *FQ*’s publication in 1590. Harvey had had a sneak preview by 1580 (Spenser 1912: 628). As Nashe notes, Harvey often advertises his friendship with Spenser – e.g. p. 4.46-47, p. 10.10-11.
- p. 60.1 *What...bushe*] *OED* cites examples of ‘beat about the bush’ from 1520 (bush *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1b).’
- p. 60.1-2 *He...wood*] ‘Cut’ seems to have meant to Harvey ‘quip, joke’: ‘Tully as pleasurable, and as full of his conceytid jestes and merriments [. . .] as our S<sup>r</sup> Thomas More [. . .] Both to be reckonid in the number of those, whome we terme very good at a Kutt; & [. . .] borne with a jest in their mowth’ (1913: 113-14).
- p. 60.2-3 *dispatcheth...discharging*] See p. 17.42-44 & n.
- p. 60.4 *up with a vomit*] *OED* gives no examples of this vivid phrase, which presumably means ‘hard to keep on one’s stomach’.
- p. 60.4 *the third Cato from heaven*] Under his entry on ‘Cato’, Cooper notes ‘Of this name, twoo were moste excellent’: Cato the Censor and his great-grandson. Cf. Montaigne’s ‘Of Repenting’: ‘I may beseech God to [. . .] excuse my naturall weakenesse, but meseemeth I ought not to terme this repentance no more then the displeasure of being neither Angell nor *Cato*’ (1908: 3.33).
- p. 60.4-5 *the eight...earth*] Harvey in some marginalia asks rhetorically ‘Who would not rather be on of y<sup>e</sup> Nine Worthyes: then on of y<sup>e</sup> Seaven Wise masters?’ (the distinction being the active and contemplative lives). Moore Smith identifies the latter as ‘Solon of Athens, Chilon of Sparta, Thales of Miletus, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindus, Pittacus of Mitylene and Periander of Corinth’ (Harvey 1913: 151.23, 271).

Harington in the preface to *The Metamorphosis of Aiax* lists seven writers who have praised unworthy subjects, adding 'it is possible that I may be reckned after these seven, as *sapientum octavus*' (1596: sig. [A7]<sup>r</sup>), so perhaps this was a common phrase. For 'eight' as a form of 'eighth', cf. Ulpian Fulwell's *The First part of the eight liberall science* (STC 11471).

- p. 60.5-6 *a Dunse...asse*] Nashe applies names like this to Harvey so frequently throughout *SN* that no one passage can be meant: cf. however 'thou beest a goose-capp and hast no judgement' (1958: 1.281.15).
- p. 60.7-8 *schooleih...Fa-fe-fi-fo-fu*] Harvey mimics the means whereby schoolboys learnt consonants and vowels (see Watson 1908: 178).
- p. 60.8 *cov*] Harvey's sense seems to be 'minute, trivial', but *OED* has no such definition.
- p. 60.9-10 *in specialissime specie*] 'As specifically as possible.'
- p. 60.10 *Be...presentes*] See p. 26.21-22 & *n*.
- p. 60.20-21 *swallow-downe...throate*] Harvey seems to be playing with the phrase '(to give, etc. *one the lie*) in (†down) *one's throat*, regarded as the place of issue, to which the assertion is thrown back' (*OED* *throat sb.* I 3c).
- p. 60.22-23 *a Poulcatt...stur*] Alluding to p. 3.41, Nashe in *SN* declares 'There is a *Doctor and his Fart* that have kept a foule stinking stirre in Paules Churchyard' (1958: 1.256.33). The polecat seems to have been proverbial for its stench (see Tilley P461). Topsell comments on its 'strong stinking savour' (1607: 219); see also Dekker's *Whore of Babylon* (1953-61: 2.557), *IParnassus* 1475-77 (Leishman 1949: 207).
- p. 60.25 *Cristall*] As well as a magic ball (*OED sb.*, *a.* A 4a), this could mean a mirror: this sense is not listed by *OED*, but see Parker 2009 for contemporary examples.
- p. 60.25 *Gascoignes steele-glas*] See p. 10.12 *n*.
- p. 60.25-26 *But...Actes*] In *SN*, Nashe first makes the claim that Harvey has not performed the necessary 'Acts' for his DCL in 'The Epistle Dedicatorie', and then repeats it at greater length later; the quotation comes from the latter passage (1958: 1.256.35-36, 278-79). Harvey was incorporated Doctor at Oxford, having trained at Cambridge, on 12 July 1585, although he evidently did not feel afterwards that he performed at his best on the day (see Stern 1979: 75-76). In England, to be granted a doctorate meant performing a test publicly, in contrast to Germany where a candidate had to produce written work, as Nashe notes (1958: 3.124.12-15). Incorporation seems not to have been uncommon: R. Warwick Bond gives a list of notable Cambridge men incorporated at Oxford (Lyly 1902: 1.16 *n*).
- p. 60.28 *Doctor Cathedræ*] This is presumably the title of the moderator of the event, rather than an individual's name. The phrase is used by Thomas Fuller in *The Appeal of Iniured Innocence unto the Religious Learned and Ingenuous Reader*: 'I had thought when this DOCTOR CATHEDRÆ [. . .] had so solemnly settled himselfe in the CHAIR, that we should have heard from him some *solid Determination*' (1659: 3.76). See also *OED* *cathedra* 2.
- p. 60.28-29 *read...warning*] *OED* notes that the description 'cursory lecture' was 'first given to the lectures delivered by bachelors as part of the *cursus* prescribed for the license'; its earliest instance of the phrase is from 1841, but it defines it as used in 'mediæval universities' (*cursory* 4a).



- p. 60.29-31 *A Fawneguest...day*] *SN* (Nashe 1958: 1.265.5-6). *OED*'s definition of 'fawneguest' is unsatisfactory. It defines the two senses as: 'a. A fawning parasite, a sycophant, toady. b. One who robs or swindles another under the guise of friendship'. Its only three examples, not categorized, are: 1) Nashe's use of this word in *SN*; 2) his reiteration (responding to this passage of Harvey's) in *HWY* (1958: 3.125.11); 3) the following example (abridged) from Samuel Rowlands's *Greenes Ghost Havnting Conie-Catchers* – 'There be certaine mates called Fawneguests, who if they can find a fit Anvill to strike on, will learne what acquaintance he hath in the cuntrye, and then they will come to him, and say, I am to doe commendations to you from a friend of yours, and he gave me this bowed sixe pence to drinke a quart of wine with you for his sake: and if he goe to the taverne, they will not onely make him paie for the wine, but for all he drinks in besides' (1602: sig. [B4]'). Perhaps *OED* is wrong in its first definition, and Nashe (with tongue in cheek) is accusing Harvey of being someone such as Rowlands describes, who gets free food and drink from a stranger on the basis of a mutual acquaintance.
- p. 60.31-32 *her...interpreted:)*] Harvey had disputed before the Queen at Audley End in 1578 (Stern 1979: 39-40). In *SN*, Nashe, downplaying the favour which she subsequently showed him, says 'Her Highnes as shee is unto all her subjects most gracious; so to schollers she is more loving and affable than any Prince under heaven' (1958: 1.276.35).
- p. 60.31-32 *the Privy...qualified:)*] See p. 9.50-51. Nashe responded to this, '*The olde Foxe Doctour Perne* thoroughly discovered you for a yoong Foppe, or else halfe a word *of our high Chauncelors commendation* had stood with him as inviolable as an Act of Parliament. Great men, in writing to those they are acquainted with, have privie watch-words of denial, even in the highest degree of praising' (1958: 1.295.1).
- p. 60.34-36 *Nashes...crosbitten:)*] Harvey seems to mean the long passage in *SN* (Nashe 1958: 1.282.35-285.20) which responds to p. 4.41-5.5.
- p. 60.36-38 *his testimony...Stepp-Tully:)*] In *SN*, Nashe says that Harvey 'compiled a Pamphlet called *Ciceronis Consolatio ad Dolabellam*, and publisht it as a newe part of *Tullie*'; McKerrow glosses, 'Nashe must be referring to the well-known work put forward under the name of Cicero, but supposed to have been written by C. Sigonio [. . .] It was published in 1583 [. . .] There seems to be not the slightest reason for supposing that Harvey had anything whatever to do with the book or its publication' (1958: 1.290.1, 4.175). See p. 52.5 *n.* for Harvey's opinion of Sigonius.
- p. 60.38-39 *his derision...Arts*] Responding to Harvey's naming in *FL* several mathematicians and scientists (p. 25.9-13), Nashe focussed on their more fanciful achievements: '*manie puissant engins*. As, for example, *Bacons* brazen nose, *Architas* wodden dove, dancing bals, fire breathing gourdes [. . .]' (1958: 1.331.18).
- p. 60.41-42 *his palpable...God*] The italics should begin at 'drinkinge' and end with 'God'. Harvey is quoting *SN*: 'Ile drinke one cup of lambswooll *to the Lambe of God and his enemies*' (Nashe 1958: 1.272.4). This prefaces several mocking citations from *LG*. 'Palpable atheism' is not a charge made by Nashe against Harvey in *SN*, but here by Harvey against Nashe. Stern notes that, in *CT*, the word

'atheism' is 'a broad term for any sort of religious deviance' (1979: 110). Harvey's own use of the word is similarly wide-ranging. *OED*'s entry on 'atheism' is a model of brevity, but distinguishes between 'Disbelief in, or denial of, the existence of a God' and 'Disregard of duty to God'. 'Atheist' seems to have been used very loosely as a term of abuse: so, for instance, Christopher Hatton called Cardinal Allen 'that wicked priest, that shameless atheist' (quoted Neale 1957: 197).

- p. 60.42-43 *his gibinge...disertus*] Brydges makes the semi-colon after 'rules' a comma, clarifying the sense (1815: pt. 8.49). Commenting on p. 12.37, Nashe says, '*Astra petit disertus*; hee is gone to heaven to write more Astrologicall discourses'; as McKerrow notes, the Latin tag is indeed from William Lily's *Grammar* (1958: 1.301.24, 4.181). For 'cut' as 'quip', see p. 60.1-2 & *n.* above.
- p. 60.45 *youngman*] It was not uncommon for this to be spelt as one word – e.g. *FQ* III.x.2.7 ('That fiers youngmans unruly mastery'), *LG* ('a number of lustie and choise valiant yongmen') (Harvey 1590b: 133), etc.
- p. 60.45-46 *as beardles...face*] Nashe in *PP* says that if anyone gives him patronage 'I will doo him as much honour as any Poet of my beardlesse yeeres' (1958: 1.195.6). Quite possibly, Harvey is not alluding to this one phrase but to a peculiarity of Nashe's. In *SN* he states that if he spends any longer soberly praising Essex and Sir John Norris, 'I shall have a long beard lyke an Irish mantle [. . .] God forfend, for at no hand can I endure to have my cheeks muffled up in fur like a Muscovian', and then goes on to talk of the inconvenience of beards; in *HWY*, he says that Harvey has called him 'the great Captaine of the Boyes' (p. 113.3) 'in respect of the minoritie of my beard' (1958: 1.292.12-23, 3.129.14). According to Nicholl, Nashe's 'total lack of beard [. . .] was often commented upon. It was part of Nashe's air of perennial boyishness', noting that *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* remarks on this as well (1984: 8-9). 'Beard' was used 'allusively, of age, experience, virility' (*OED sb.* 1d).
- p. 60.46 *as Penniles...purse*] See p. 15.30 & *n.* for the pun involved.
- p. 60.46-47 *hee undertaketh...advocate*] Again, the italics give the impression that Harvey is quoting when, as Nashe objected in *HWY*, he does not use this phrase in *SN*; however, he does write, after defending Greene, 'What a *Calimunco* am I to plead for him [. . .] A thousande there bee that have more reason to speake in his behalfe than I' (1958: 3.125.24, 1.330.15-18).
- p. 60.47 *as...Barr*] Probably Harvey is alluding to Plato's *Apology*, which purports to be Socrates' speech at his trial.
- p. 61.2-3 *Divels Oratour*] See p. 1.15 & *n.*
- p. 61.5 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n.*
- p. 61.6-7 *it were...him*] The image associates Nashe with a tinker or pedlar – see p. 106.28 *n.*
- p. 61.8-9 *Calumny...Impudency*] See p. 12.27-28 & *n.*
- p. 61.9 *hould-out rubbers*] 'to hold one's own, keep one's ground' (*OED rubber sb.*<sup>2</sup> †4). *OED*'s only instances are this and *IParnassus* 384, where Luxurio says to Ingenioso, 'how haste thou held out rubbers ere since thou wentest from Parnassus?', which makes it possible that, as Leishman suggests, the later passage deliberately echoes this (1949: 154).

- p. 61.17-18 *how...paper*] To ‘canvas’ someone meant to toss them in a blanket as a form of punishment; this was occasionally done to dogs (presumably for the amusement of spectators). See Deskis 2007 for allusions to this. Possibly Harvey is also punning on the sense of ‘canvass’ as ‘discuss, criticize, scrutinize’ (see *OED* canvass v. †1, 4).
- p. 61.18-19 *ô Gryson...beaste?*] Richard Harvey in *LG* mentions ‘Grison or any cavalliere’ (1590b: 8); McKerrow comments, ‘he must mean, I think, Federico Grisone, a writer on horsemanship, one of whose works had been translated by T. Blundeville, c. 1580, as *The Art of Riding and Breaking Great Horses*’ (Nashe 1958: 4.166). Gabriel in his copy of Blundeville’s *The foure chieftest Offices belonging to Horsemanship* (1580) wrote that Blundeville’s own work was ‘more briefe, & plaine, then Grison in Italian’ (Stern 1979: 202).
- p. 61.19-21 *But...cut-of*] ‘Crest’ is here ‘A “comb”, a tuft of feathers, or similar excrescence, upon an animal’s head’; ‘to cut [. . .] the comb of’ means ‘to lower of pride of’ (*OED* crest sb.<sup>1</sup> 1b, comb sb.<sup>1</sup> 5).
- p. 61.22 *the strongest...fealt*] Like ‘hot breath’ (see p. 59.28-29), this seems to be synonymous with scurrility. Cf. p. 79.1.
- p. 61.26-27 *But...mouth*] *OED* defines ‘with open mouth’ as ‘with mouth open to speak; also, gaping with wonder’ (open a. (adv.) III 21), neither of which seems to fit Harvey’s context. The phrase seems to mean ‘triumphantly’ or ‘loudly’ in Sidney’s *Defence*: despisers of poetry ‘cry out with open mouth as if they overshot Robin Hood, that Plato banished them [poets] out of his commonwealth’ (1966: 52.1). In *Henry IV*, Worcester uses similar language to describe defamation: ‘we in the world’s wide mouth / Live scandaliz’d’ (I.3.151); Gascoigne in *The Steele Glas* complains that his detractors have ‘raunged long about the world so wyde, / To finde a pray for their wide open mouthes’ (1907-10: 2.144). Given how frequently Harvey uses the conventional image of the barking dog (signifying malice or intemperate criticism) to describe Nashe (e.g. p. 26.35, p. 50.38), it is possible that this is in play. Cf. ‘I see two dogges strongly and lightlye running hitherward with open mouth’ (Aesop 1585: fol. 132<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 61.27-28 *his Spite...full*] See p. 59.2-3 & n. above. The notion that the toad was poisonous appears in Pliny, *Natural History*, XXV.LXXVI.123, and is reflected in *PP* (Nashe 1958: 1.225.5-6), *Richard III* I.3.246 and *As You Like It* II.1.13.
- p. 61.33 *Achates*] This is ‘a friend of Æneas, whose fidelity was so exemplary that *Fides Achates* became a proverb’ (Lemprière). Webbe, in the epistle to Edward Suliard prefacing *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, declares that he will be ‘a faythfull and trusty *Achates*’ to Suliard’s family (1870: 16).
- p. 61.33 *Pylades*] ‘*Pilades*, A gentillman of Phocæa, whiche was so faithfull a friend of Orestes (with whom he kept companie whyles he was madde) that he would never forsake him’ (Cooper). He is cited as the archetypal faithful friend in *Defence of Poetry* (Sidney 1966: 24.10-12).
- p. 61.33 *Diomedes*] Cooper calls him ‘kyng of *Aetolia*, Tydeus his sonne, who with the residue of the Grecians went to Troye, and there so manfully behaved himselfe, that next to Achilles and Ajax he was compted the moste valiaunt’.

- p. 61.33 *Achilles to Patroclus*] Patroclus is the comrade of Achilles who accompanies him to the siege of Troy and is dearer to him than any other (see *Iliad*, XVIII.78-93). In the *Amores* attributed to Lucian, their relationship is explicitly sexual (*Affairs of the Heart*, 54). Marlowe was aware of this aspect of the legend – see *Edward II* 4, 394 (1987-98: 3.100, 23) – as was Shakespeare (*Troilus and Cressida* V.1.13-16). In Barclay's *Shyp of Folys*, however, the two are cited among archetypal faithful friends (1874: 1.68-70), and Cooper merely says that Patroclus was 'brought up together with Achilles, who ever after loved hym most tenderly', and that Achilles returned to the field 'to revenge his friendes death'.
- p. 61.33-35 *Hercules to Theseus*] Hercules' eleventh labour 'was his goyng into hell, & fetchyng thence Theseus' (Cooper). For the pair as the archetypal faithful friends, see 'News from Heaven and Hell' (Peck 1978: 147).
- p. 61.35 *Sworne Brothers*] I cannot explain the change in font here. If Harvey is quoting anyone, it seems to be himself in *FL*, on Nashe and Greene's relationship (see p. 14.21-27). Harvey reiterates this charge in the teeth of Nashe's denial in *SN*: 'neither was I *Greenes* companion any more than for a carowse or two' (1958: 1.303.12).
- p. 61.37 *proffite, and pleasure*] Harvey pairs 'pleasure' and 'profit' again on p. 67.47 and p. 68.32-33. Possibly there is an echo of *Ars Poetica* (see p. 13.9-10 n.). However, McKerrow comments that phrases such as the title-page motto of *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, 'No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred', were commonplace (Nashe 1958: 4.4). Dennis McCarthy cites, as one of his pieces of evidence that the 'T.N.' who wrote the preface to Bandello's *Straunge, lamentable and tragicall hystories* (1577) was Thomas North, the fact that both T.N. and North (in the preface to his translation of Plutarch) make this contrast (2007: 245). He seems to be unaware the the phrase from Horace is explicitly quoted earlier in the preface (North 1579: fol. \*iij').
- p. 61.43 *Life is sweete*] Tilley cites examples from 1576 (L254).
- p. 61.44 *an...selfe*] Cf. Tilley F696: 'A friend is one's second self'. Brydges takes this out of italics (1815: pt. 8.50); the font gives the impression that Harvey is quoting, but cf. p. 53.37-38 & n.
- p. 61.45-48 McKerrow writes of the Harveys, 'They are accused of pedantry [. . .] because they admitted into their English work references to persons and to books which would have been more in place in writings restricted by their language to the perusal of scholars' (Nashe 1958: 5.68). This list of great friendships of antiquity covers very similar ground to similar passages in *The Shyp of Folys* (Barclay 1874: 1.68-70) and *The Royal Exchange* (Greene 1881-86: 7.243).
- p. 61.45 *Where was...Nisus*] In the *Aeneid*, Euryalus and Nisus are two Trojan youths who go to Italy with Aeneas. When Nisus decides to storm the Rutulian camp at night, Euryalus accompanies him, and when Euryalus is taken captive, Nisus sacrifices himself to avenge his friend (Virgil, *Aeneid*, IX.176-445). The pair are cited as the archetypal faithful friends in Ovid's *Tristia* (I.ix.33-34) and Sidney's *Defence* (1966: 33.14-17).
- p. 61.45-46 *where Damon, there Pythias*] Cooper calls the pair 'Twoo philosophers of Pythagoras his secte, in the league of frendshyppe beyng eche to other moste faythfull'. For Damon as the type of the faithful

friend see *Euphues*: 'hee had guesstes and companions of all sortes [. . .] as well *Damocles* to betray him, as *Damon* to bee true to hym' (Lyly 1902: 1.186.6-10).

- p. 61.46 *Laelius*] This is 'a Roman consul, A.U.C. 614, surnamed *Sapiens*, so intimate with Africanus the younger, that Cicero represents him in his treatise *De Amicitia*, as explaining the real nature of friendship, with its attendant pleasures' (Lemprière). For *Laelius* as the type of the faithful friend see *Euphues*: 'Hee could easily discern [. . .] the faith of *Laelius*, from the flattery of *Aristippus*' (Lyly 1902: 1.186.11-14).
- p. 61.46 *Damides*] Possibly Harvey means the friend, companion and biographer of Apollonius Tyanensis, whom Lemprière calls 'Damis'.
- p. 61.46-47 *where Proclus, there Archiadas*] Proclus, a Neoplatonist philosopher (fl. 5th century A.D.), left one third of his estate to his friend Archiadas, grandson of Plutarch (Fowden 1982: 51).
- p. 61.47 *where Pyrocles, there Musidorus*] These are the two heroes of Sidney's *Arcadia*. When the two are shipwrecked, and Musidorus believes Pyrocles to be drowned, he tries to kill himself, being unable to live without his friend (Sidney 1987: 6.13-24).
- p. 62.2 *Xenophon for Scipio*] Harvey writes in his marginalia of Scipio's admiration for Xenophon (1913: 194.26).
- p. 62.2 *Virgil for Augustus*] See p. 10.38-40 *n*.
- p. 62.2-3 *Justin for Marcus Aurelius*] Marcus Junianus Justinus was a Roman historian who wrote an 'epitome' of Trogus Pompeius; his dates are unknown but have been estimated as the time of Marcus Aurelius (*OCD*, Lemprière).
- p. 62.3 *Livy for Theodosius Magnus*] I cannot find Harvey's source for this, although Lemprière calls the Emperor 'fond of patronizing the cause of virtue and learning'.
- p. 62.3 *Cæsar for Selymus*] There had been two Ottoman Emperors called Selim: Selim I was nicknamed 'Selim the Grim' and ruled 1512-20; Selim II ('Selim the Drunkard') ruled 1566-74 (Parker 1999: 269). The only Great Turk of whom I can find any recorded admiration for Caesar is Mohammed II (d. 1481): according to Richard Knolles, 'He delighted much in reading of histories, and the lives of worthie men, especially the lives of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Julius Cæsar*, whom he proposed to himselfe as examples to follow' (1603: 433). It is worth noting that in some marginalia very similar to this passage (in which Harvey lists powerful men and the authors who were their constant reading), the Turkish Emperor who admires Caesar is Beyazid ('*Cæsaris ipsius Commentarij, Baiazeti, Turcarum Imp. admirabiles*') (1913: 194.30).
- p. 62.3-4 *Philip...fift*] Philippe de Comines, or Commynes (1447-1511), was adviser to Louis XI and Charles VIII. His memoirs, first printed in 1524, contain contrasting portraits of his first master, Charles Duke of Burgundy, and Charles's rival, King Louis (for whose more remunerative service Comines deserted the Duke in 1472). *DBF* compares him to Machiavelli in being aware of the incompatibility of morality with practical politics. Harvey in some marginalia describes Charles V taking Louis XI, as described by Comines, as his role-model (1913: 195). It is regarding Louis's personality that Bacon cites

‘Commineus’ in ‘Of Friendship’ (1972: 82-83). Hallam suggests the appeal that his text might have had to Protestant humanists imbued with the ideal of the active life: ‘He is the first modern writer [. . .] who in any degree has displayed sagacity in reasoning on the characters of men [. . .] Nothing of this could have been found in the cloister [. . .] An acute understanding and much experience of mankind gave Commine this superiority; his life had not been spent over books’ (1882: 1.241-42). Smith comments that Thomas Danett’s English translation would not be published until 1596 (1904: 2.437), but a ‘boke intituled *the history of PHILIPPE COMINES treatinge upon the actes and Deades of kynge LEWES the XI<sup>th</sup>*’ was licensed to Thomas Marshe in 1565-66 (Arber 1875-94: 1.308). According to Rosenberg it had circulated among Leicester’s circle for 30 years before its publication (1955: 65).

- p. 62.4-5** *nor Aretin...Curtesans*] A ‘courtesan’ is both a courtier and a prostitute (*OED* †*courtesan*, -zan, *sb.*<sup>1</sup> and *a.*, *courtesan*, -zan<sup>2</sup>). Aretino in *I Ragionamenti* has ‘a courtesan instructing her novice frankly [. . .] in the tricks of the trade’, as in his *La Cortigiana* one speaker advises another on how to be a courtier (McPherson 1969: 1551, 1556). Aretino in the latter emphasizes the effeminacy, dishonesty and promiscuity of courtiers, as also how the Papal curia is infested with ‘Ganymedes’ (1976: 22-23), so the ambiguity may be intentional.
- p. 62.8** *superintendent of the presse*] ‘Superintendent of the press’ here is similar to ‘patriarch of new writers’ (see p. 65.45). ‘Superintendent’ as a translation of the Biblical *episkopos* was preferred by Puritans to ‘Bishop’ (see p. 86.26-27), and here may be used as no more than a vague ironic epithet.
- p. 62.14** *I have favour to be*] Perhaps this means ‘I should be flattered to think myself’; cf. *OED* *favour sb.* 2a.
- p. 62.16** *to be...Company?*] Harvey is playing with a phrase meaning ‘Invested with the rights or immunities of, admitted to the privileges of (a chartered company, corporation, city, or the like)’ (*OED* free *a.*, *sb.*, *adv.* A IV 29a).
- p. 62.16-18** *Whiles...skin*] See p. 54.30-32 *n.*
- p. 62.17** *hott-spurr*] See p. 20.33 & *n.*
- p. 62.18** *indistillation*] Brydges reads ‘in distillation’ (1815: pt. 8.52), and the word is not in *OED*.
- p. 62.18-19** *He...roses*] The curative property of roses is contrasted with thorns, which represent invective (see p. 79.41-42 for a similar figure). The only vernacular book on medicine known to have been owned by Harvey is the 1561 English translation of Hieronymus Brunschwig’s *A most excellent and perfecte homish apothecarye* (Stern 1979: 204). Many of the prescriptions involve the medicinal use of roses: ‘syrup of Roses’ is prescribed ‘For them whose guttes are gnawen or wounded’ (Brunschwig 1561: fol. 31<sup>v</sup>). See also p. 158.34-36.
- p. 62.20** *Lillyes*] Both Brydges (1815: pt. 8.52) and Collier (1870b: 39) make the initial ‘L’ lowercase. Since Nashe detected a reference to John Lyly at p. 54.30 – p. 55.1, and Harvey puns on Lyly’s name in the ‘Advertisement’ (p. 105.28-29, p. 106.11), perhaps he is punning here.
- p. 62.20-22** *Poules...sores*] John Hester (d. 1592), distiller (on p. 127.24 Harvey calls him a ‘Chimist’), operated from his house on the Thames waterfront (*ODNB*). A 1588 broadsheet advertising the ‘Oiles,

Waters, Extractions, or Essences, Saltes, and other Compositions' sold by him is in the British Library, inscribed by Harvey (Stern 1979: 84-85). Grosart reads '*Vnguent*', seemingly thinking that Harvey means the title of a text (1884-85: 2.80).

- p. 62.24 *Poggius...Valla*] Poggio Bracciolini (1381-1459), Florentine scholar. According to Hallam, his main bequest to posterity is in the recovery of 'lost works of Roman literature that lay mouldering in the repositories of convents [. . .] we owe to this one man eight orations of Cicero, a complete Quintilian, Columella, part of Lucretius, three books of Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Tertullian, and [. . .] twelve comedies of Plautus' (1882: 1.87-88). For Valla see p. 51.34 *n*. Collier removes the comma after 'Poggius', seemingly understanding the 'that' as a relative pronoun (1870b: 39). He is not necessarily wrong: McKerrow suggests, as an influence on Nashe's contributions to the quarrel with Harvey, 'the numerous literary quarrels of the Italian Renaissance, those for example of Poggio Bracciolini with Francesco Filelfo and Laurentius Valla' (Nashe 1958: 5.88).
- p. 62.24 *altobe-assed*] Completely made an ass: the form is not unusual. Cf. 'His pittious bodye was all to bee rente and torne [. . .] his face al to be spit and buffeted' (Stockwood 1584: sig. A4<sup>r-v</sup>); *PP*, 'his Cappe furd [. . .] and all to be tasseld'; *SN*, 'all to berayd [i.e. befouled]'; *HWY*, 'hee would all to be-rime Doctour *Perne*' (Nashe 1958: 1.166.19, 295.29, 3.368.8); *PWH*, 'give the infant a bibbe, he all to beslavers his mother tongue' (Lyly 1902: 3.404.34), etc.
- p. 62.25 *Trapezuntius*] George of Trebizond (1395-1486), author of a *Dialectic* whose pre-Gutenberg methodology Ong compares invidiously with Ramus' (1958: 79). He appears to have been a major figure, at least earlier in the sixteenth century: the study of his works was prescribed (along with those of Aristotle and Melancthon) by Henry VIII's Royal Injunctions to Cambridge in 1535 (Ong 1958: 94), and he is one of the five intellectuals whose genitures Cardano published in *Libelli duo* (Grafton 1999: 65-67).
- p. 62.26 *afterclaps*] *OED*'s only definition is 'An unexpected stroke after the recipient has ceased to be on his guard', citing Samuel Johnson (*OED* afterclap). The gloss in Grosart's index, 'ill consequences', makes more sense in Harvey's context (1884-85: 3.104). This would seem to be its sense in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*: when (during her captivity in Mary's reign) Elizabeth is 'very princely entertained' by Lord Tame's guests, her keeper warns them 'to take heed and beware of after-claps' (1837-41: 8.615).
- p. 62.25 *arrant knight*] This spelling of 'errant' is not uncommon in the period – Nashe uses the form 'knights arrant' in *UT* (1958: 2.241.33) – but Harvey elsewhere uses 'arrant' to mean 'Thoroughly bad, good for nothing, rascally' (*OED* *a.* †5); see Glossary (Appendix A).
- p. 62.32-35 *who seeith...one*] Nashe in *SN* speaks flatteringly of the Queen (see p. 60.31-32 *n.*), William Cecil (p. 60.33-34 *n.*) and Spenser (p. 63.25-26 *n.*), while trying to reconcile their endorsement of Harvey with his own low opinion. Whoever Harvey specifically has in mind here, it is worth noting that, while denigrating *FL*, Nashe in *SN* is careful not to alienate John Wolfe. He tells Harvey, 'Thy booke I commend; as very well printed'; responding to p. 4.9-11 (where Harvey states that Greene offered Wolfe money to cut the defamatory matter from *QUC*), Nashe says 'I am sure the Printer beeing of that honestie

that I take him for, will not affirme it' (1958: 1.265.8, 279.27). Nashe's prudence was rewarded in September 1593, when *UT* was entered to Wolfe in the Stationers' Register (Arber 1875-94: 2.636).

- p. 62.35-36 *S. Fame...chalke*] See p. 47.7 n. Here as on p. 136.15-18 below ('Discretion [. . .] will soone discerne betweene White, and Blacke: and easely perceive [. . .] what would be marked with an Asteriske, what noted with a blacke Coale'), Harvey alludes to annotating practices. Glossing *Virgideciarum* l.iii.49 ('Wo to the word whose margent in their scrole, / Is noted with a blacke condemning cole'), Davenport cites this passage as an allusion to the *nigrum theta* (usually written Θ) with which Elizabethan readers marked what they saw as errors (Hall 1949: 15, 167).
- p. 62.41 *Pumps, & Pantofles*] In *SN*, Nashe twice uses 'Pumps and Pantofles' as a nickname for Harvey; McKerrow glosses that pantofles are 'high-heeled shoes' and pumps 'low slippers [. . .] which were of course an alternative foot-wear to pantofles' (1958: 1.278.31, 279.6, 4.169). In Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, a group of artisans appear before Henry VIII, and in the long description of their dress for the occasion, we are told that 'they had [. . .] pumps and pantofles on their feet' (1912: 167.19-20). They are also placed together in *The Woman Hater*, but the passage is ambiguous: the characters described are penniless courtiers (Beaumont, Fletcher 1966-96: 1.161). The passage places them as fashion statements alongside cross garters, by now definitely consigned to the past (see Duncan-Jones 2001: 157-58). In 1589, Puttenham seems to have thought of 'pantofles' as elite dress: he writes that, in contrast to satires or comedies, 'matters of great Princes were played upon lofty stages, & the actors thereof [. . .] for a special preheminance did walke upon those high corked shoes or pantofles' (1936: 34). They were synonymous with arrogance (see Tilley P43).
- p. 62.44-45 *those...Antipathy*] For examples of this current at the time, see Pliny, *Natural History*, X.203-06, Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584: 301-02).
- p. 62.45 – p. 63.3 *It is...want of Pride*] Since, especially in the first sentence, Harvey here appears to strike an autobiographical note, his turbulent academic career may be relevant. When the fellows of Pembroke Hall blocked the award of his MA in 1573, it was on the grounds that he 'was not familiar like a fellow' and 'did disdain everi mans cumpani', to which he protested that he 'was aferd les over mutch familiariti had mard al', and that having been friendly to some other fellows, he had been rebuffed and had withdrawn from company (see Nashe 1958: 5.70). Both McKerrow and Moore Smith read these problems as stemming from the fact that Harvey's social background differed from those of the other fellows (Harvey 1913: 10-12).

'Audacity' or self-confidence was a quality with which education in the Tudor period was meant to provide students. In *SLW* 1894, Summers introduces a boy who has been given the Epilogue to recite 'to get him audacity' (Nashe 1958: 3.293). Cranmer's secretary, Ralph Morice, blamed Cranmer's schoolmaster for depriving him of 'that benefitt of memorey and audacitie in his youthe that by nature was given unto hym' (quoted Mayor 1863: 205). William Gager defended the staging of plays by Oxford undergraduates on the grounds that it was done 'honestly to embolden' them (quoted Leishman 1949: 34). As a means of self-promotion, Harvey might have imbibed the doctrine of audacity from his reading



- of Machiavelli; Chapter XXV of *The Prince* ends, 'fortune is a woman and if she is to be submissive it is necessary to beat and coerce her [. . .] she favours young men [. . .] because they command her with greater audacity' (1999: 82).
- p. 62.45-46 *that...preferment*] Cf. 'to break one's back or neck: [. . .] fig. to overpower, render nugatory, crush' (*OED* break v. II 7b).
- p. 63.6 *Tarquinius Superbus*] Lucius Tarquinius, last king of Rome, was given the cognomen 'Superbus' because of his arrogance (Livy I.XLIX); in *FQ* I.v.49.6, 'Proud *Tarquin*' appears prominently among the illustrious Roman corpses in the House of Pride.
- p. 63.6-7 *Spurius Maelius*] A wealthy Roman knight who gained great popularity by distributing free corn to the plebeians in a time of famine. He plotted to make himself king and was executed in 439 B.C. (Livy IV.XIII-XIV).
- p. 63.7 *Publius Clodius*] See p. 4.47 n.
- p. 63.7 *Lucians Rhetorician*] See p. 51.14 n.
- p. 63.8 *Blind...bayarde*] Cf. 'Who so bold (As bold) as blind bayard?' (Tilley B112).
- p. 63.9 *gay nothing*] See p. 13.13 n.
- p. 63.11 *magnifying his owne bable*] Brydges reads 'babble' (1815: pt. 8.54), which would certainly make sense in the context, but cf. p. 23.51 n.
- p. 63.14-15 *What...realme?*] Harvey is perhaps thinking of Nashe's preface to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589): 'I know not almost any of late dayes that hath shewed himselfe singuler in any speciall Latine Poeme [. . .] *Thomas Newton* with his *Leiland*, and *Gabriell Harvey*, with two or three other, is almost all the store that is left us' (1958: 3.320.21-30).
- p. 63.15-18 *what...ambition?*] Harvey seems to mean that, in *SN*, Nashe intermittently reminds the reader of facts which do Harvey credit: I cannot identify the passages in question.
- p. 63.18-22 *The truth...credit*] Harvey's strategy here is similar to that used by him in *FL*. He claims that Nashe, in insulting him, has insulted his patrons, and that he is writing in defence of them rather than of himself, as in *FL*, he claimed that his only care was for the reputation of his family (see p. 20.28-35).
- p. 63.24 *in tenebris...prooffe*] The 'darkness' is the figurative darkness of shame (see *OED* in *prep.* 38).
- p. 63.25-26 *I speake...regardeth*] Bird wrote the First Letter of *FL* in commendation of Harvey, Spenser the sonnet which appears at the end, and Bodin's praise of him is mentioned briefly (p. 36.35). Nashe's objection in *HWY* that he does not disregard the three 'In any thing but in praising him' is accurate (1958: 3.126.31). He claims that Harvey himself wrote Bird's letter and Spenser's sonnet (Nashe 1958: 1.273.26-30, 326.33-327.3). About Spenser, Nashe in *SN* is always fulsome in praise, while trying to separate him from Harvey, e.g. 'Immortall *Spencer*, no frailtie hath thy fame, but the imputation of this Idiots friendship' (1958: 1.282.11). Bodin he refers to slightly mockingly as 'Bodkin', but whatever his opinion of him in 1592, McKerrow notes that by 1596 he had read Bodin's *Six livres de la république* (Nashe 1958: 1.294.7, 5.125).

- p. 63.28 *M. Thomas...Poet*] See p. 22.7 *n.* Harvey here can only mean the younger Watson; Nashe in *HWY* seems to deny the truth of Harvey's claim (1958: 3.126.33-127.8).
- p. 63.28-29 *M. Thomas...Antiquary*] See p. 45.17 *n.*
- p. 63.29 *M. Daniel...Court*] Rogers (1538?-1591), diplomat and scholar, was connected with Walsingham (whose agent he was), Sidney and Leicester: he went on several missions to France, the Low Countries and Germany, liaising with Protestant leaders (*ODNB*).
- p. 63.29-30 *Doctor...Oxforde*] Brydges identifies this as 'DR. GRIFFIN FLOYD, the Queen's Professor of Law at Oxford, [. . .] afterwards King's Professor of Civil Law, and Chancellor to the Bishop of Oxford. He died 1586' (1815: pt. 8.228).
- p. 63.30-31 *Doctor...Cambridg*] Peter Baro (1534-99) practised as a civil lawyer in Paris before training as a minister at Geneva under Calvin. He came to England as a Huguenot refugee after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and due to the influence of Burghley was made Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1574. His Protestantism proved to be so moderate that, in 1581, complaints were made about his toleration of Catholic tenets; eventually, having criticised the Lambeth Articles of 1595 (designed to repress anti-Calvinist views), he was forced to leave Cambridge (*DNB*). Citing some marginalia unprinted by Moore Smith, Stern gives a reference to a 'Doctor Daro the Frenchman' who has praised Harvey, and whom she is unable to identify (1979: 182); perhaps this is Baro.
- p. 63.31 *Doctor...Arches*] Bartholomew Clerke (1537?-1590) was educated at Cambridge, proceeding LLD in 1572: in 1573 he was made Dean of the Arches (*ODNB*). Harvey evidently knew Clerke before his departure from Cambridge, since he dedicates his *Rhetor* (1577) to him (Stern 1979: 28).
- p. 63.31-32 *Doctor...Court*] See p. 45.18 *n.*
- p. 63.32-33 *Doctor...Germany*] See p. 51.38 *n.* Harvey's annotations in his copy of Freigius' *Mosaicus*, lauding him as both scholar and man, suggest that they were acquainted (1913: 203).
- p. 63.33 *M. Secretary Wilson*] See p. 11.4 *n.*
- p. 63.33 *Sir Thomas Smith*] Harvey owed his Fellowship at Pembroke Hall to Smith's influence (Stern 1979: 12).
- p. 63.33-34 *Sir Walter Mildmay*] See p. 11.4 *n.*
- p. 63.34 *milord...Rochester*] John Young (1532?-1605) was elected Master of Pembroke in 1567 and Bishop of Rochester in 1578: Harvey and Spenser were at Pembroke during his Mastership (*ODNB*). Young interceded with the Fellows of Pembroke over the withholding of Harvey's MA (Stern 1979: 25). Spenser was his secretary in 1578 (Stern 1979: 49), and the character of Roffy in *SC* September, 'wise and as Argus eyed', has been identified as him (Spenser 1995: 151, 156).
- p. 63.34 *milord Treasurer*] William Cecil; see p. 9.50-51. His endorsement of Harvey seems to have amounted to more than his support when Harvey was suing for the post of Orator: in 1598, Harvey reminded Robert Cecil 'how speciall and extraordinarie favour it pleased aswell my Lord your most worthy father, as my Lady your excellent mother to voutsafe me many yeares since' (1884-85: 3.xxv).

- p. 63.34-35 *milord...Leicester*] The fullest account of Harvey's patronage by Leicester is Woudhuysen 1980: 132-81. For a shorter account see Rosenberg 1955: 323-36, although she perhaps places too much credence in Nashe's narrative in *HWY* of the disintegration of their relationship after the publication of *3PL* (1958: 3.78-79). Here Harvey specifically means Leicester's 'ernest request for the continuance' of Harvey's Fellowship at Pembroke Hall (Stern 1979: 48).
- p. 64.4-7 *Other...followe it*] Cf. Tilley L518: 'Love (Woman, Honor), like a shadow (crocodile, death), flies one following and pursues one fleeing'. Tilley cites examples from 1586, although the first one involving honour is from 1598.
- p. 64.10 *Envy...Vertue*] Cf. 'Envy is the companion of honour' and variations (Tilley E171a).
- p. 64.10 *Socrates...Honour*] See p. 24.20-22 & n.
- p. 64.11 *Osorius De Gloria*] Harvey in *Ciceronianus* describes this as a pallid imitation of Cicero (quoted Ryan 1953: 152-53).
- p. 64.11 *Jovius Elogyes*] Paolo Giovio was Bishop of Nocera; one of his most famous works is *Historiarum sui temporis Libri XLV* (1553). Protestant Englishmen seem not always to have regarded him as the epitome of accuracy. Roger Ascham in *Discours and affaires of the state of Germanie* states that a historian should 'write nothing false' and 'be bold to say any truth [. . .] For which two pointes *Cæsar* is read to his great prayse, and *Jovius* the Italian to hys just reproch'; 'his whole study and purpose is [. . .] to spite England [. . .] to keep up the Pope, to pull downe Christ and Christes Religion' (1904: 126, 145). Donne in his IVth Satire (47-48) is curter: the courtier he describes could 'outlie either / Jovius or Surius, or both together' (1912: 1.160, 2.120). Harvey means a particular book. In *The Worthy tract of Paulus Iouius*, Lodovico Dominico tells Giovio that he has omitted to mention many famous emblems, adding 'But herein you may excuse your self. and say as you did in your Booke *de Elogijs*, or the discourse of famous men, newly published: that albeit there are certaine left out, yet the fault was not yours, in that you had not their true portraitures, but rather theirs who neglected to send them to your studie, to accompanie so many worthy and Heroicall persons' (Giovio 1585: sig. Hi<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 64.11-12 *Cardans nativities*] On occasions these seem to have been very flattering, especially when Cardano was creating a geniture for a potential patron, as with Pope Paul III in 1538 (see Grafton 1999: 64-70).
- p. 64.12 *Cosmopolites Dialogues*] Moore Smith identifies these as the Huguenot tract *Dialogi ab Eusebio Philadelpho cosmopolita in Gallorum et cæterarum nationum gratiam compositi* (1574), which Harvey in his marginalia praised alongside not only Machiavelli but also figures such as Ramus and Sir Thomas Smith, both of whom he praises publicly (1913: 255, 119.21-28). See also p. 83.48 – p. 84.1 & n. Moore Smith's abridgement of the quotation as 'Cosmopolites Dialogues, or later Histories' is misleading, as by the latter Harvey seems to mean the works of other people.
- p. 64.18-19 *Falsus...mendosum?*] This is from Horace's *Epistles*, I.XVI.39. Fairclough translates, 'Whom does false honour delight, whom does lying calumny affright, save the man who is full of flaws and needs the doctor?' (Horace 1929: 353).

- p. 64.19-21 *For...banquett*] 'Imaginative' could mean 'imaginary' (*OED* a. 4), but no such sense of 'contemplative' is listed in *OED*. Harvey's privileging of the active over the contemplative life is a theme to which he returns repeatedly.
- p. 64.22 *a tyrant*] Plutarch states that it is the nature of a tyrant to be extravagant and headstrong in their desires (*Life of Dion*, XVIII.2).
- p. 64.23 *That resteth*] 'That which lies' (see Abbott 1870: 164-67).
- p. 64.24-25 *Onely...yeeld*] See p. 11.15 n.
- p. 64.30 *imputations of counterfeit praises*] In *SN*, Nashe claims: that Bird's letter in *FL* is by Harvey, that Spenser's sonnet at the end of *FL* is by Harvey, and that Harvey had written the epistle to *3PL* under the guise of a 'well-willer' of his (1958: 1.273.26-30, 326.33-327.3, 296.15-297.3).
- p. 64.32-33 *my...Fantasie*] Greene in *QUC* states that Harvey had been imprisoned in the Fleet (see Appendix C, 30). Harvey in *FL* denies this (p. 10.49 – p. 11.1, p. 35.32-33). Nashe in *SN* reiterates the claims: 'I have seene your name cutte with a knife in a wall of the Fleete, I; when I went to visit a friend of mine there' (1958: 1.300.9).
- p. 64.35-36 *the goodwife...conveiance*] Harvey is embroidering a proverbial phrase. Nashe in *HWY* called this 'his meazild invention of the Good-wife my mothers finding her daughter in the oven, where she would never have sought her, if she had not been there first her selfe: (a hackny proverb in mens mouths ever since K. Lud was a little boy [. . .])' (1958: 3.129.17). Tilley gives examples from 1520 (W353), comparing F117 ('Who is in fault (guilty) suspects everybody').
- p. 64.36-38 *He...nothings*] All copies of *PS* I have examined read 'matters,; and'. Since Harvey's syntax would in modern punctuation require a comma here, I have opted for the comma for the sake of clarity, although his text reads semi-colons on these occasions just as often. The use of colons and semi-colons in Harvey's text seems not to be unparalleled (see McKerrow 1939: 42-43).
- p. 64.36-37 *non proficient*] *OED* defines as 'One who fails to make progress or improve', citing examples from 1579. Brydges removes the italics (1815: pt. 8.57), which give the impression that Harvey is quoting: Nashe in *SN* calls him 'a scholer in nothing but the scum of schollership, [. . .] the droane of droanes, and maister drumble-bee of non proficientes' (1958: 1.302.6-8).
- p. 64.37 *his...Cunnycatching*] The first of Greene's 'coney-catching' pamphlets, *A Notable Discouery of Coosenage* (1591) is divided into two parts: 'The Art of Connycatching' and 'The Art of Cross-biting' (Johnson 1954: 18-20). The former is the title under which it was entered in the Stationers' Register (Arber 1875-94: 2.600).
- p. 64.38-41 *Examin...Nashe*] In *HWY*, Nashe (wilfully or not) misinterprets this: 'He needed not to go so far about to sent me out by my *stile* and my *phrase*, for if he had ever overlookt it he would have seene my name to it'. Harvey means the epistle 'The Printer to the Gentlemen Readers' which prefaces the first edition of *PP* and is signed 'R.I.' (Richard Jones), not Nashe's own epistle to the second. Harvey, as McKerrow inferred, had only read the first edition (Nashe 1958: 3.127.18, 1.150, 4.86). The epistle to the

first edition is very short, and (apart from calling *PP* 'pleasaunt and wittie') contains no praise of Nashe (1958: 1.150.5).

- p. 64.44 *De Secretis non revelandis*] 'Concerning a secret not to be revealed.' Cf. Harvey's *Letter-Book*: 'whatsoever I comunicate privately with yowe or howe merrely so ever I write unto you, lett it be Mum to all the world beside, and reckonid in secretis non revelandis' (1884: 76). There is perhaps specific allusion to some text that I have not traced.
- p. 65.1 *gloria patri*] I can find no other examples of the phrase, which in context seems to mean something like 'heirloom', 'birthright', 'source of family pride'.
- p. 65.2 *the printers Gentleman*] See p. 59.29-36 n.
- p. 65.3 *pettigree*] A common form of 'pedigree'. Cf. *Defence of Conny-Catching*: 'I [. . .] account thee no honest man that wilt deny thine owne brother and thy father: For sir know I have learned your pettegree' (Greene 1881-86: 11.84).
- p. 65.3 *Kilpricks*] Brydges reads 'Kilpricks' (1815: pt. 8.58), although, as McKerrow says, "'Chilperic" is meant' (Nashe 1958: 4.367).
- p. 65.6 *Tonosconcoleros*] This was another name for Sardanapalus (Selden 1614: 6), an Assyrian emperor 'exceedingly geven to effeminate wantonnesse and folie' (Cooper). His epitaph, boasting of his decadence, is cited by E.K. in the gloss to *SC* May 69 (Spenser 1995: 97).
- p. 65.7 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 65.9 *Ouldgate*] Possibly Harvey means Aldgate, between Tower Postern and Bishopsgate, described by Sugden as one 'of the principal gates of the old City', but it is the contrast with Newgate that is mainly important.
- p. 65.14-16 *offer...with her*] Cf. p. 22.37-39, where Harvey offers to submit his and Nashe's reputations to the judgement of 'Fame' personified. Here Harvey perhaps means that Nashe's reputation is not good enough for him to defame others. 'Play the blab' seems to have been a stock phrase. In *Greene in Conceit*, the narratee begins to ask Greene's ghost to reveal the secrets of the afterlife, but Greene replies, 'I dare not play the blab' (Dickenson 1598: sig. [A4]). *OED* gives an example from Holinshed (blab *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- p. 65.17-18 *the soile...Impudency*] See p. 12.27 & n.
- p. 65.23 *an invincible stomack*] For the pun, see p. 55.35 n.
- p. 65.24 *Apicius*] 'There were three persons of this name, all noted for their voracious appetite' (Lemprière).
- p. 65.24 *Epicures Philosophy*] Brydges reads 'the epicure's' (1815: pt. 8.58), but Harvey is more likely to mean an Anglicized version of 'Epicurus' (cf. his use of 'Cardan' for 'Cardano', 'Aretine' for 'Aretino', etc.). When, in Acts 17.18, Paul disputes in Athens with Epicurean philosophers, the Bishops' Bible comments: 'The Epicures were a sect of learned men, whiche (being without the knowledge of God) helde opinion, there was no lyfe or joy after this lyfe, but that al mens felicitie dyd consist in the pleasures of this world'. Cooper distinguishes Epicurus from Aristippus by his privileging of spiritual

and intellectual (rather than carnal) pleasure, concluding: 'His life is reported to be of merveilous sobrietie and continencie: but that name of pleasure, wherein he placed felicitie, caused all voluptuous and sensuall philosophers of him to be called *Epicureos*'.

**p. 65.25** *Pythagorean*] Pythagoras 'would eate nothyng that had lyfe, and lyved in a mervailous abstinence, and continence' (Cooper).

**p. 65.25** *gorge upon gorge*] *OED* defines this as 'a second meal before another is digested' (*OED* gorge sb.<sup>1</sup> †4).

**p. 65.26** *at these yeares*] i.e. 'at your age', as in *Merchant of Venice* III.1.32.

**p. 65.27** *Doctor Pernes...yeares*] Harvey in some marginalia mentions an 'Owld Doctor Kenoll of Oxford' with whom he once had a battle of wits; Moore Smith identifies this as 'John Kennall, D.C.L. 1553, Archdeacon of Oxford from 1561 to his death at Exeter, where he was Canon Residentiary, in 1591', suggesting that the 'Doctor Kenol' mentioned above is the same man (1913: 191.6-18, 289). His similarity to Perne involves more than longevity. Marprelate groups the two with Whitgift in *Epitome* as three 'moods' in a syllogism (sig. [E4]<sup>v</sup>): Pierce comments, 'there were "other notable turncoats as expert as Whitgift's Master Doctor Pearne," and among them is named the otherwise obscure "Doctor Kennolde."' – *A Dialogue wherein is Plainly laide open*, sig. Diiij' (1911: 159n.). *ODNB* has no entry under any of the variants of his name. Harvey's pairing of 'Kenol' with Perne suggests that their flying at Oxford did not take place in a mood of friendly banter.

**p. 65.31** *too-gant*] Presumably 'gaunt'; cf. p. 73.36 ('hant' for 'haunt').

**p. 65.32** *Arte Notory*] See p. 57.27 n.

**p. 65.32** *muchgoditch-them*] Brydges renders this 'much good itch them' (1815: pt. 8.59). Perhaps more plausible is that this is a contraction of 'much good do it them'; in *LS*, Nashe says of readers who read too much into his work, 'They will needes have it so, much good do it them' (1958: 3.213.5-6). Glossing *UT* ('he [. . .] bad much good it us'), McKerrow cites Henry Butts's 'Grace after Diets dry Dinner', which ends 'Mytchgoodditchye' (Nashe 1958: 2.267.24, 4.280).

**p. 65.33** *Aristophanes clowdes*] Cooper notes that Aristophanes 'was in displeasure with Socrates, and therefore he reprehendeth him in hys comedy called the Clowdes'.

**p. 65.34** *Apuleius witches*] Sorcery and sorceresses recur in *The Golden Ass*. Harvey here seems not to be alluding to a specific episode, although at one point the witch Pamphile turns herself into an owl and flies to meet her lover (III.21). See p. 114.31-33. That witches could fly was conventional (see Scot 1584: 9).

**p. 65.34** *your...sinnes*] Harvey is referring to Nashe's presentation of the Seven Deadly Sins in *PP*: see p. 14.31 & n.

**p. 65.34** *Castell of Health*] This seems to mean something instructive, a (figurative) health-regime to be followed. Sir Thomas Elyot's *Castle of Helthe* was published in 1534; Stanford Lehmborg calls it 'an attempt to summarize the teachings of the ancient Greek and Roman physicians, especially Galen, so that English men and women may understand and regulate their health' (*ODNB*). The phrase also appears in *FQ* I.ix.31.2, and was perhaps commonplace.

- p. 65.35 *lett-blood in the Cephalica veine*] For similar lexis, cf. *PP*: 'I determined to clawe Avarice by the elbowe, [. . .] and lette him bloud with my penne [. . .] in the vayne of liberalitie' (Nashe 1958: 1.161.31-34); *PWH*: 'Ile let him bloud in the combe' (Lyly 1902: 3.400.22-23). Lyly's meaning is perhaps 'abate his pride' (cf. *OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> comb 5), and Harvey seems here to mean that Nashe's brain must be rid of these epithets, as if they were diseased blood.
- p. 65.35-36 *Asses...infinitly*] See p. 60.5-6 n. Nashe in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to *SN* calls Harvey a 'dodipoule' (1958: 1.256.36).
- p. 65.37 *Lumbardy, or the Low-Cuntries*] For proverbs about the stupidity and drunkenness of the Dutch, see Tilley D564-57. Sugden gives no evidence of similar stereotypes about Lombards, but perhaps the similarities were geographical. The English commentary to Ortelius's *Theatre of the VWorld* notes of 'the seaventeene provinces which the Emperor *Charles the fift* left unto his sonne King *Philip the second* of Spaine' that 'Some parte of this country is very even & flat lyke unto *Lombardy*' (1601: fol. 32<sup>v</sup>). For puns on the phrase 'Low Countries', see p. 34.22 & n.
- p. 65.40 *as shallow...foorde*] As Patrick Collinson notes, Andrew Perne was responsible 'for the scheme later implemented as Hobson's Conduit, which brought water down from Trumpington to cleanse the fetid King's Ditch' (*ODNB*). Regarding the change in Harvey's tone between *FL* and *PS*, it is perhaps instructive to compare p. 21.11-12. When Harvey first makes allusion to his and Nashe's shared past as Cambridge men, it is in the context of making peace with Nashe; here the reference is derogatory.
- p. 65.40-41 *the newe...children*] Philippe Ariès suggests 1600 as an approximate date by which artefacts specifically designed to be played with by children were being made (1962: 68). Harvey evidently regards them as a novelty. 'Toy' was a word in transition, still principally meaning a thing of small worth. *OED*'s two instances in the modern sense before 1656 use the forms 'playing toy' and 'toyes which children use to play with' (*sb.* II 6).
- p. 65.41 *toys to mocke apes*] This seems to have been a frequently-used phrase. Harvey in *3PL* calls Perne 'a right Juggler [trickster, deceiver], as ful of his sleights, wyles, fetches, casts of Legierdemaine, toyes to mocke Apes withal, odde shiftes, and knavish practizes, as his skin can holde' (Spenser 1912: 622). Nashe uses it in *LS* (1958: 3.212.11).
- p. 65.41 *trinketts to conquer savages*] Gift-giving was practised by Europeans in America, to win the goodwill of the indigenous population and thereby to facilitate the process of colonisation. If Harvey here infantilizes Native Americans, imagining them to be astonished by inherently worthless items, the same process is displayed in the contemporary literature of colonisation (see Greenblatt 1991: 109-10).
- p. 65.43-44 *She knew...Asses*] As McCarthy says, the person quoted here is probably intended to be identified as Harvey's spectral 'Patroness' (2000: 27). Since Nashe has one of the speakers in *HWY* declare that 'there is no such woman, but tis onely a Fiction of his' (1958: 3.113.5), and since commentators such as McKerrow (Nashe 1958: 5.89) and Biller (1969: 65) have been inclined to side with Nashe, McCarthy compares (as proof of her existence) two other passages: 'he might with my good leave be the graund Generall of Asses [. . .] for so the Gentlewooman hath intituled him in a place, or

two' (p. 119.17-20), and *NL*, where her supposed description of Nashe as 'the Confuting Tosspot' appears (p. 155.13). McCarthy comments, 'he cites [. . .] words of hers that do not actually occur in the form quoted [. . .] It is a consummate piece of deception, if it is deception: much easier on Harvey's powers of memory if he were consulting or remembering a real document' (2000: 27). This does not seem to me quite as conclusive proof as it seems to McCarthy. Harvey himself *in propria persona* places Lyly among 'lustie tospots of Rhetorique' (p. 105.43).

**p. 65.45** *Patriarke of newe writers*] For the meaning of 'patriarch' in play here, see p. 10.49 & *n.* Nashe is presumably one of the 'new-new writers' to whom Harvey refers on p. 26.10-11: it is hard to recapture the pejorative force that such a phrase would have had in a conservative, authoritarian culture such as Harvey's. Cf. his similar use of 'modernists' (p. 57.24) and 'novelists' (p. 102.46). Charles Nicholl comments that in *PP*, Nashe 'seemed to catch the intellectual pulse of the 1590s: quick-witted, satirical, urban, freewheeling' (*ODNB*); one of the more obvious manifestations of the 'newness' of *PP* is the attack on antiquarians ('It argueth a very rusty witte, so to doate on worme-eaten Elde') (Nashe 1958: 1.183.14).

**p. 65.46-47** *I will...kind*] In *HWY*, Nashe replied to this: 'for the *baudie rymes* he threapes upon me [. . .] men in their youth (as in their sleep) manie times doo something that might have been better done, & they do not wel remember' (1958: 3.129.33-37). McKerrow identifies these verses as *The Choice of Valentines*, a poem which circulated in manuscript, and which was not printed in full until 1899; noting his 'very vague' response, and the fact that his name appears on two of the three extant manuscripts, he concludes 'There can, I fear, be little doubt that this poem is the work of Nashe' (1958: 5.141). In *I Parnassus* 1466, Ingenioso (who bears a strong resemblance to Nashe, and often quotes from his works) repents that he has 'made wanton lines to please lewd Gullio', this being the name of his foolish patron. Leishman suggests that this is an allusion to *The Choice of Valentines*, which is dedicated to a 'Lord S.' (1949: 206, 74-76). He also sees as an allusion to this poem Nashe's acknowledgement in *HWY* that his response to Harvey has been postponed by his writing 'toies for private Gentlemen' (1958: 3.26.13). 'Decipher' could mean generally 'to reveal, make known' (*OED* v. †5), but it is worth noting that one of the manuscripts collated by McKerrow is written partly in cryptography (Nashe 1958: 3.398).

**p. 65.48** *thy brothell Muse*] 'Brothel' as an adjective or attributive is not in *OED*, although Harvey's sense is clear. *The Choice of Valentines* is in fact about a visit to 'an house of venerie' (Nashe 1958: 3.404.24).

**p. 66.1** *a Confuter of Letters*] The running-title of *SN* is 'Foure Letters Confuted' (Nashe 1958: 1.247).

**p. 66.3** *Martial*] Lemprière says of the Roman satirist, 'In many of his epigrams the poet has unhappily shown himself a declared enemy to decency'.

**p. 66.6** *Neronists*] For Nero's debaucheries, see Suetonius, *Nero* XXVII-XXIX.

**p. 66.6** *Messalinists*] This is not in *OED*, but Cooper suggests Harvey's meaning when he calls the emperor Claudius's wife Messalina 'a woman of insatiable lecherie'.

**p. 66.6** *Dodecomechanists*] Grosart glosses this, 'the dodekatheos or secret and lecherous banquets of Augustus. See Suetonius, *s.n.* (Mr. W.G. Stone, Bridport)' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.137). At Augustus's



- orgies the guests impersonated twelve gods and goddesses (Suetonius, *Augustus* LXX). The word is not in *OED*; however, Richard Harvey in *LG* describes Mahomet's 'being borne basely, and living vitiously, and dying of lewd causes [. . .] his more then triple Dodecomechany' (1590b: 114).
- p. 66.7 *Capricians*] Perhaps this alludes to Tiberius Caesar's debaucheries during his retirement to Capri, for which see Suetonius, *Tiberius* XLIII. See also p. 53.40 *n*.
- p. 66.9 *noe...Atheisme*] See p. 66.9 & *n*.
- p. 66.10-11 *the Divell...Poet*] See p. 1.15.
- p. 66.12 *Duke Allocer...familiar*] McKerrow glosses, 'Allocer is one of the devils and spirits described by Scot in his *Disc. of Witchcraft*, bk. xv, ch. 2, ed. 1584, 391-2; he is "a strong duke and a great; he commeth forth like a soldier, riding on a great horsse..." (Nashe 1598: 4.326).
- p. 66.12-13 *the sonnes...agogg*] Harvey alludes to Genesis 3.6-7, where eating the forbidden fruit fills Adam and Eve with shame at their nakedness; all the senses of 'carouse' listed by *OED* relate to drinking.
- p. 66.16 *a wanton liver*] *OED* notes uses 'with allusion to the ancient notion that it was the seat of love and of violent passions generally' (liver *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2a), although perhaps Fraunce's statement that 'The liver is the seate of lust and concupiscence' is nearer Harvey's sense (1592: sig. H3<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 66.17-18 *Petrarckes...Bewty it selfe*] The vogue for English sonnets in imitation of Petrarch seems to have been at its peak during the writing of *PS*: it has been calculated as lasting from 1591 to 1597 (Mattingly 1933: 707). For all of Harvey's conventional praise of him here, there is an implicit repudiation of the Petrarchan cult of love in *FL*, since all of Harvey's own sonnets are about public virtues and the active life. Two passages in the 'Advertisement' read like explicit mockery of it: see p. 79.5-6, p. 88.23-24.
- p. 66.18 *Laura*] Famously the subject of Petrarch's sonnets: see Raleigh's first commendatory sonnet to *FQ* (Spenser 2001: 721), *Romeo and Juliet* II.4.39-41.
- p. 66.18 *the Daphne of Apollo*] The nymph loved by Apollo, who fled from him, pleaded with the gods to save her, and was turned into a laurel (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.454-552). *OED* defines 'Daphnean' as 'of or pertaining to virgin timidity and shyness'.
- p. 66.18-19 *the Thisbe of Pyramus*] The pair's story appears in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IV.55-166. Perhaps Harvey's reason for citing her as an example of sinful erotic love is that she felt for Pyramus 'passyng great love, contrary to the wylles of theyr parentes' (Cooper, art. Pyramus).
- p. 66.19 *lascivious Lais*] 'Lais, a common harlotte in Greece, who was of such excellent beautie, and therewith so pleasaunt, that unto her out of al Greece, there came to Corinthus, where she dwelled, men noble & ryche in great numbre, to company with her' (Cooper). She is cited as the archetype of female promiscuity in *The Anatomie of Absurditie* (Nashe 1598: 1.11.23) and *PWH* (Lyly 1902: 3.403 margin).
- p. 66.19 *a saving Hester*] In *Epistle*, Marprelate calls Elizabeth 'our gracious Hester' when imagining her intervention with Whitgift to halt persecution of Puritans (p. 32). For Esther's intercession with the Persian King to save the Jews, see Esther 7.3.

- p. 66.20 *destroying Helena*] Helen is both a paragon of beauty and the archetypal harlot in *As You Like It* III.2.142. She (rather than Paris) is often described as the cause of the Trojan war: see *FQ* II.vii.55.8-9, III.ix.35. In *FQ* III.x.12.7-9, she is depicted dancing for joy at the city's fall.
- p. 66.21 *witch of Thessalia*] Cooper says of Thessalia, 'the women there, beyng woonderfull witches, transfourmed men into the figure of beastes'. Marlowe, translating Ovid's *Amores* (I.viii.5, I.xiv.40, III.vi.27), uses Thessaly as a shorthand for witchcraft (1987-98: 1.23, 33, 72).
- p. 66.22 *Mercury*] He is here cited as 'God of eloquence' (Cooper).
- p. 66.22-23 *teacheth...gold*] Quicksilver seems to be associated with intelligence on p. 50.20 and p. 57.9. It is possible that alchemical terminology is being used here: Agrippa states that aged alchemists grow 'paraliticke thorowe the continuall handling of quickesilver' (1569: fol. 157<sup>v</sup>). See also p. 84.4 *n*.
- p. 66.27 *an Inglish Petrarch*] Possibly Harvey means Sidney: Harington calls him 'our English *Petrarke*' in his translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591: 126). Smith identified this as Spenser: 'Cf. Clerke, in his *Polimanteia* (1595), "Let other countries, sweet Cambridge, envy, yet admire... thy Petrarch, sweet Spenser"' (1904: 2.436).
- p. 66.43 *One...Roome*] See p. 13.43 & *n*.
- p. 66.45 *Ferraria*] Brydges reads 'Ferrara' (1815: pt. 8.61). The form used by Harvey would appear to have been common. According to Rowlands, 'Ferraria a very auncient citie, lyeth very faire and pleasauntly on the water Pado' (1576: 46).
- p. 66.46 *Manardus*] Smith glosses, 'Manardus, Joannes (1462-1536), author of several medical works' (1904: 2.436).
- p. 66.46-47 *Mantua...Philosopher*] Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-?1526) taught at the university of Padua. His *De Immortalitate Animæ* (1516) questioned the immortality of the soul; this was publicly burned in Venice, and Pomponazzi had to face charges of atheism (Hallam 1882: 1.321, Smith 1904: 2.436). Possibly the Mantuans took similar action. Harvey seems to have owned a copy which is not now extant (Stern 1979: 229).
- p. 66.48 *Venice...ribald*] I can find no evidence that Aretino was banished from Venice. However, he was forced to leave Rome three times: in 1522, after satirising Pope Adrian VI too often; in 1524, for writing erotic poetry; and for good in 1525, after being stabbed by a man in the pay of his enemy, Cardinal Giberti. He then settled in Mantua, but had to leave after his attacks on the Papacy meant that his patron Federico Gonzaga's protection was withdrawn from him. Relocating to Venice in 1527, he seems to have enjoyed greater success and prestige there than in any other place (due to the Republic's willingness to employ him as a satirist), to have stayed until his death in 1556, and been buried there. (See Aretino 1976: 20-34 *passim*.) Perhaps Harvey's notions of Italian geography are as impressionistic as those of Nashe, who in setting an episode of *UT* in Venice reveals that he is unaware that the streets are filled with water (1958: 4.276). See also p. 43.13 *n*.
- p. 66.48-p. 67.1 *had...insupportable*] Here as on p. 71.23-28, Harvey associates monarchies with order, and republics and city-states (here Italian) with anarchy, both political and literary. Venice, a republic, is

described by William Thomas in *The Historie of Italie* as a place of unbridled freedom: Venetians 'principle profession is libertee'; they 'trade and bring up their children in so much libertee' that by the age of twenty they know 'as much lewdnesse as is possible to be imagined'; in Venice, 'If thou be a Jewe, a Turke, or beleevest in the divell [. . .] thou arte free from all controllement' (1549: fols 78<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>, 85<sup>r</sup>).

**p. 67.1-4** *Germany...discipline*] The stereotypes on display in this passage require unpicking.

Paradoxically, the European countries considered cultural centres by Elizabethans were also, like Italy, Catholic. Nashe in *HWY* says that describing the awfulness of Barnes's *Parthenophil and Parthenope* would tax 'all the wits of *France, Spaine, or Italy*', and in *UT* has Jack Wilton call Italy 'that kind witt-nourishing climate' (1958: 3.89.34, 2.244.25). Conversely, in the lengthy diatribe against the Danes in *PP*, they are called 'grosse and sencelesse proud dolts' and 'an arrogant Asse-headed people, that naturally hate learning'; we are told that 'the quicke-witted Italians [. . .] mortally detest this surley swinish generation' (Nashe 1958: 1.177.24, 178.10, 180.22). For the stereotypes (of slow-wittedness and heavy drinking) by which Harvey's English contemporaries lumped Germans, Danes and Dutchmen together, see Draudt 1993: 118-20. As the *UT* quote suggests, climate is perhaps also a factor in these imagined national characteristics. In *Henry V*, III.5.15-25, after the English triumph at Harfleur, the Constable is astonished that a 'frosty people' from a 'foggy, raw and dull' country could vanquish the French whose blood is 'spirited with wine'; in *Paradise Lost* IX.44-45, Milton worries that the cold Northern climate will impede his imagination.

However, on p. 71.23-28, the distinction that Harvey makes between countries is principally political, and perhaps is here: France, Spain and Turkey are 'sovereign monarchies' whereas the other countries are 'popular states and petty principalities'. For the 'absolute' power of sixteenth-century French kings, see Buisseret 1972: 9-14; for Turkey and Spain as tyrannies, see *The Terrors of the Night* (Nashe 1958: 1.359.30-31). Denmark was an elective monarchy (see Sjögren 1965: 155-57). The Swedish king was described by Bacon in 1580 as 'of no great force or wealth' (1803: 3.21). Poland was also an elective monarchy, although the Ottoman Emperor seems to have had a large say in the election (see Bacon 1803: 3.19). Bohemia belonged to the Holy Roman Emperor (Bacon 1803: 3.11), as did Hungary, although there the Turks maintained a military presence: in the English commentary to Ortelius, we are told that, although 'The Emperor beareth at this present the tytle of King of *Hungarie*', 'the chief citties & best partes of this country are now in the possession of the Mahometicall Tyrant' (Ortelius 1601: fol. 90<sup>v</sup>). 'Muscovia' and 'Russia' seem to have been used synonymously (Ortelius 1601: fols 97<sup>v</sup>-98<sup>r</sup>, *Love's Labours Lost* V.2.121). That the Tsar technically ruled 'altogether like a tyrant' (Bacon 1803: 3.21) is perhaps not relevant.

**p. 67.3-4** *of the old, or new world*] Harvey is here contrasting, not Europe and America, but the present and the Classical past: cf. p. 75.14-19, p. 132.6.

**p. 67.7-8** *the lande...blesseth*] Once again, Harvey seems to have the four elements in mind (see p. 19.41-43 & *n.*).

- p. 67.14 *Travail...honour*] See p. 24.20-22, p. 64.10.
- p. 67.17-19 *there...invincibility*] Harvey is presumably thinking of Spain (see p. 13.47 & n.).
- p. 67.19 *the Comedyes of Athens*] These were proverbially uninhibited. Locher, in his prologue to *The Shyp of Folys*, says that of the Greek poets, some 'wrote Comedyes with great libertye of speche [. . .] Amonge whome Aristophanes Eupolis and Cratinus mooste laudable Poetes passed al other. For whan they sawe the youth of Athenes [. . .] inclyned to al ylles [. . .] in playne wordes they reprevd without favour the vyces of the sayd yl disposyd peple of what condition or order they were' (Barclay 1874: 1.6-7). Similar passages appear in *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (Webbe 1870: 27) and *Francescoes Fortunes* (Greene 1881-86: 8.129-30). Meres compares Nashe to Eupolis for his 'great libertie in taxing the vices of men' (1598: fol. 286').
- p. 67.21 *Gascoigne to sonnet*] Harvey here associates Gascoigne with the literature of a distinctly earlier era, as does Drayton in his verse letter to Henry Reynolds, where he and Churchyard are two mediocre poets 'In the beginning of *Eliza*'s raine' whose popularity did not long survive their deaths (1961: 3.228).
- p. 67.21 *Turbervile to madrigal*] George Turbervile or Turberville (1543/4-1597?), English poet and translator; his last work seems to come from the 1570s (*ODNB*). Nashe in the preface to *Menaphon* similarly makes him a figure from an earlier age: 'Maister *Gascoigne* [. . .] first beate the path to that perfection which our best Poets have aspired to since [. . .] Neither was M. *Turbervile* the worst of his time' (1958: 3.319.8-13). When Nashe in *HWY* mentions Harvey 'rayling at' Turberville and Elderton, McKerrow comments, 'So far as I am aware Harvey does not mention Turberville at all', but Nashe perhaps means this passage (1958: 3.123.26, 4.363).
- p. 67.21 *Drant to versify*] Thomas Drant (1540?-1578), poet and clergyman, was made archdeacon of Lewes in 1570; his translations of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, *Satires* and *Epistles* were published in 1567 (*ODNB*). However dismissive Harvey may seem of his verse here and on p. 79.9, he wrote in his 1598 copy of Chaucer, 'meethinkes neither exquisite Virgil is wronged bie Doctor Phaer: nor pithie Horace bie archdeacon Drant' (1913: 231.28).
- p. 67.22 *Tarleton to extemporise*] See p. 6.3 & n.
- p. 67.24-25 *M. Aschams...marke*] Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1545) is a defence of his hobby of archery. According to Rosemary O'Day, this became not only 'the standard authority on physical training as part of a gentleman's education' but also 'a model of English vernacular prose writing in terms of both style and organisation of subject matter' (*ODNB*).
- p. 67.25-26 *M. Gascoigne...Countrys*] Among other senses of 'to try conclusions', 'to engage in a trial of skill, strength, etc.' may be relevant (*OED* conclusion †8). See p. 6.38 n.
- p. 67.26-27 *bestowed...Indyes*] In 1576, Gascoigne wrote the prefatory epistle to Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia* (see Rosenberg 1955: 170). This was reprinted (without Gascoigne's introduction) in *Principal Navigations* (Hakluyt 1903-05: 7.158-90).
- p. 67.28-29 *the report...Drake*] Drake's raid on the West Indies was done with Elizabeth I's financial backing (as well as investment from Leicester and Raleigh, among others) but without her public support.

He took his fleet to sea in September 1585, returning in July 1586: in the intervening period he burnt and looted São Tiago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena and San Agustín. Ultimately, despite the ransom and booty which he extracted from the inhabitants, the voyage cost more than it brought home (*ODNB*). Possibly Harvey means ‘A summarie and true discourse of Sir Frauncis Drakes West Indian voyage’, printed in *Principal Navigations* (Hakluyt 1903-05: 10.97-120). A book of the same title went through four editions 1588-96 (*STC* 3056-3057.3). This is perhaps the same as the ‘Booke intytuled, *The voyage into the West Indydes made by Sir FFRAUNCIS DRAKE knight*’ licensed to Ponsonby on 26th November 1588 (Arber 1875-94: 2.508). Thomas Greepe’s *The true and perfecte Newes of the woorthy and valiaunt exploytes, performed and doone by that valiant knight Syr Frauncis Drake* (1587) deals with Drake’s raid on the Spanish coast as well (*STC* 12343).

p. 67.29-30 *the report...Forbisher*] Martin Frobisher (1535?-1594) mounted a plan to find a trade route to the Far East via the north-west, with backing from the Privy Council (*ODNB*). His three voyages in 1576-78 are described in *Principal Navigations* (see Hakluyt 1903-05: 7.204-44). The main source of ‘horror’ for Frobisher and his companions – other than the ‘boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile’ (Hakluyt 1903-05: 7.214) – appears to have been the indigenous population of ‘Meta incognita’ (i.e. the Inuit). Being wounded in a skirmish with some of the Englishmen, three of them drown themselves, being ‘altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth’; we are told that they are ‘Anthrophagi; or devourers of mans flesh [. . .] for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead (smell it never so filthily) but they will eate it’; ‘These people are great inchanter, and use many charmes of witchcraft [. . .] they made us by signes to understand, lying groveling with their faces upon the ground, and making a noise downward, that they worship the devil under them’ (Hakluyt 1903-05: 7.220, 227, 373-74).

p. 67.30-31 *the report...Raleigh*] Although Raleigh never went to Virginia, he supervised expeditions in 1585 and 1587, having been granted a patent to colonize (*ODNB*). ‘The voyages and Navigations of the English nation to Virginia, and the severall discoveries thereof chiefly at the charges of the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh’ appears in *Principal Navigations* (see Hakluyt 1903-05: 8.289-422). (‘Raleigh’ is the spelling adopted by *ODNB*.)

p. 67.33-34 *the report...dishonour*] Glory could mean ‘vainglory’ (*OED sb.* †1a). The volume of ephemeral literature generated by the attempted Spanish invasion of 1588 was understandably huge, but the titles listed in the Stationers’ Register do not afford many obvious candidates for the individual text to which Harvey alludes (tracts about English preparations, the camp at Tilbury, Elizabeth’s visit to this, and retrospective hymns of thanks for the nation’s deliverance being discounted). Given Harvey’s relationship with John Wolfe, it may be relevant that the first publication on the defeat of the Armada, ‘A Ballade intytuled, *the late wonderfull dystres whiche the Spanishe Navye sustayned yn the late fighte in the Sea, and upon the weste coaste of Ireland in this moneth of September 1588*’, was licensed to Wolfe on the 28th (Arber 1875-94: 2.501). However, Harvey seems to mean a news-pamphlet rather than a ballad, and Wolfe appears to have printed many other tracts (and ballads) about the Armada.

- p. 67.34-36 *the report...honour*] As David Bevington notes, the festive mood when Drake and Norris arrived in Plymouth in June and July 1589 was 'in blithe disregard of the expedition's loss of six thousand men and its having been forced to turn back from Lisbon' (Lyly 2000: 114). See Stow 1592: 1285-86.
- p. 67.36-39 *the report...fury*] See p. 33.12 n. On 23 November 1591, 'a reporte of the truthe of the fighte about the Isles of Azores this late Summer betwixte One of her Maiesties ships and an Armada of the Kinge of Spayne' was licensed to William Ponsonby (Arber 1875-94: 2.599). Extant, this has been attributed to Raleigh (STC 20651).
- p. 67.40-41 *M. William...needle*] William Borough (d. 1598), explorer and naval administrator, published *A Discourse on the Variation of the Compasse* in 1581; R.C.D. Baldwin notes that the ideas on display were largely the work of Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Borough's brother Stephen (ODNB).
- p. 67.41-42 *the new...Hydrographer*] Little is known of the life of Robert Norman (fl. 1560-84), whose *The newe attractiue, containing a short discourse of the magnes or lodestone* (1581) had Borough's *Discourse* attached as an appendix (STC 18647). His own self-description as an 'unlearned mechanician' (quoted ODNB) justifies Harvey's praise of him on p. 127.22-27 as an 'industrious Practitioner [. . .] Unlettered in bookes'.
- p. 67.43 *Martin Cortes*] His *Breve compendio de la Sphaera y de la arte de navegar* was translated into English by Richard Eden as *The arte of nauigation* (1561); by 1593 this had gone through six editions (STC 5798-5802). Andrew Hadfield calls Eden's translation 'the first English manual of navigation' (ODNB).
- p. 67.43 *Peter de Medina*] Pedro de Medina's *The arte of nauigation* was translated into English by J. Frampton in 1581 (STC 17771).
- p. 67.47 *proffit...pleasure*] See p. 61.37 n.
- p. 68.2-5 *When...turne*] The story appears in Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, XV.9.
- p. 68.9 *waged...Battail*] See Seneca, *On Anger* II.II.6.
- p. 68.10-15 *Pyrrhus...money*] 'Pyrrhus, A kynge of Epyre, by his mothers side descended of Achilles, by his fathers of Hercules, a stoute warriour and valiaunte capitaine' (Cooper). The story appears in Plutarch, *Life of Pyrrhus* VIII.3.
- p. 68.18-19 *Sir...Discipline in Esse*] 'Doctrine' and 'discipline' are repeatedly paired in the 'Advertisement', where the context is ecclesiastical (see p. 79.50-p. 80.1 n.). Here the words' respective senses are perhaps something like 'theory' and 'practise'. For another secular example, cf. John Harvey's *Discovrsive Probleme*: 'Compare their sayings with his doings; their doctrine with his discipline; their glosse with his text; and shall you discerne any great difference in effect?' (1588: 68).
- p. 68.18 *Sir...War*] Roger Williams (1539/40-1595), soldier and author, served in the Low Countries in the 1570s and 1580s, also taking part in the 1589 expedition to Portugal and Henri IV's campaign against the League (1589-93). He was knighted by Leicester in 1586. *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* (1590) is dedicated to Essex, whose 'confirmed follower' he was (ODNB).

- p. 68.19 *M. Thomas Digges Stratoticos*] Thomas Digges (1546?-1595) was author of *Stratoticos* (1579), a mathematical text designed for use by soldiers. Dedicated to Leicester, this was written as part of Leicester's bid to become leader of an English force in the Low Countries. Digges served in the expedition eventually sent over (*ODNB*).
- p. 68.20-22 *the Princely...Waites*] According to McKerrow, 'The story is from Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*, Gelo. 4' (Nashe 1958: 4.371).
- p. 68.22-24 *the gallant...Xenophon*] John Astley (d. 1595) held various court positions including gentleman of the privy chamber and master of the jewel house. He was also the author of *The Art of Riding* (1584), whose full title noted its use of 'certeine places alledged out of Xenophon' (*DNB*). Harvey appears to have owned this (Stern 1979: 201).
- p. 68.24 *Pietro Bizzaro*] Pietro Bizari (1530?-1586?), an Italian Protestant émigré, is one of the members of Leicester's circle whose verses appear in *Gratulationum Valdinensium* (Stern 1979: 41).
- p. 68.26-28 *the like...woorkes*] Thomas Blundeville dedicated *A newe booke contayning the arte of ryding, and breakinge greate Horses* (1560?) to Leicester, then Master of the Queen's Horse, as also an expanded version of 1565-66, *The fower chiefyst offices belonging to Horsemanshippe* (Rosenberg 1955: 47-49).
- p. 68.32-33 *pleasurable...discourses*] See p. 61.37 n.
- p. 68.33-36 *for three...fourth*] Clearly Harvey prioritizes the various qualities that he values in the *Arcadia*. Possibly he had reservations about its pastoral-romance content, similar to his reservations about *FQ* (see Spenser 1912: 628), which in the words of Sidney Thomas reveal him as 'the champion of humanism against medievalism' (1940: 422). For an account of Sidney's borrowings in the *Arcadia* from *Amadis de Gaule*, see O'Connor 1970: 183-201.
- p. 68.39 *Justine*] See p. 62.2-3 n.
- p. 68.39 *Eutropius*] 'Eutropius Flavius, a Latin historian in the age of Julian [. . .] He wrote an epitome of the history of Rome, from the age of Romulus to the reign of the emperor Valens' (Lemprière).
- p. 68.43-47 *he...Monomachies*] Stern infers from this that Harvey owned a copy of the 1590 edition of the *Arcadia*, since he 'refers to Zelmane, Amphialus, and a number of other characters found only in the "New Arcadia"' (1979: 235).
- p. 68.47 – p. 69.5 *And that...his owne*] Dametas is the rustic guardian of Philoclea and Pamela, described by Kalandar as 'the most arrant, doltish clown that I think ever was'. He and the equally absurd Clinias fight a comic duel. 'Dorus' is the name adopted by Musidorus when disguised as a shepherd; he and Dametas do not fight, but 'run at the ring' (perform a kind of joust) in front of Pamela (Sidney 1987: 17.35, 379-85, 153-54).
- p. 69.3 *Anaxius*] This is the king of Bithynia's nephew, 'to whom all men would willingly have yielded the height of praise, but that his nature was such as to bestow it upon himself' (Sidney 1987: 234.35).
- p. 69.6-7 *Homer...Princes*] 'Prince of poets' was perhaps a stock epithet for Homer. See Webbe: 'the truest, auncientest and best kinde of Poetry [. . .] I grounde upon *Homer* the Prince of all Poets' (1870:

- 26); ‘*Homer* is reputed the Prince of Greek Poets’ (Meres 1598: fol. 279<sup>v</sup>); and the full title of Chapman’s translation of the *Iliad* (STC 13633). By ‘poet of princes’, Harvey is perhaps alluding to Alexander’s fondness for him: see p. 10.38-40 & *n*.
- p. 69.10 *Pandarus*] Harvey probably means ‘a son of Lycaon, who assisted the Trojans in their war against the Greeks [. . .] He broke the truce which had been agreed upon between the Greeks and Trojans, and wounded Menelaus and Diomedes and showed himself very courageous’ (Lemprière).
- p. 69.12 *at those yeeres*] See p. 65.26 & *n*.
- p. 69.12-13 *Live...courage*] ‘Silver images’ are idolatrous in Isaiah 30.22 and Hosea 13.2, but here Harvey probably uses ‘silver’ only as a vague epithet of worth, and to create an antithesis with ‘golden’ (cf. p. 13.34, p. 15.45-46), while ‘image’ is ‘A thing in which the aspect, form or character of another is reproduced’ (*OED sb.* 4a). Gonzalo in *The Tempest* also invokes golden pillars, urging that the working of Providence be preserved for posterity: ‘set it down / With gold on lasting pillars’ (V.1.207). According to Dennis C. Kay, Gonzalo’s image fuses the Pillars of Hercules (the device of Charles V, appropriated by Elizabeth) with the indestructible pillars on which the sons of Seth recorded their discoveries (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, I.68-71), to create an image of eternal memory (1984: 322-23).
- p. 69.15-16 *the arme...chamber*] Possibly Harvey is alluding to Sidney’s statesmanship (see *OED chamber sb.* 4a for related senses, although in each case this is modified by ‘council’, ‘parliament’, etc.). Harvey is perhaps more likely to mean Sidney’s love poetry. Cf. Greene’s *Orpharion* – ‘Is it *Acestes* love that troubles thee? Why thou art a Souldiour, sworne [. . .] to incounter foes in the feelde, not to courte Ladies in the Chamber’ (1881-86: 12.28) – and *Richard III* I.1.9-13.
- p. 69.16 *Bellona*] ‘The goddess of battayle’ (Cooper).
- p. 69.18-23 *I cannot...harpe*] D.H. Willson quotes this passage among contemporary praise of James VI’s verse, commenting, ‘A King who befriended poets, who wrote celestial verse, and who welcomed flattery provided ample scope for those who wished to praise him’ (1956: 66-67). However, Harvey’s admiration for James as a writer would seem to have been sincere, witness the marginalia in his copy of *The Essayes of a Prentise, in the divine Art of Poesie* (Stern 1979: 223). Given Harvey’s slight reservations about the form of *Lepanto*, it is worth noting that it not only rhymes but is in ‘eight and six’, a kind of metre associated with ballads, and for which Webbe in his *Discourse* expresses disdain (1870: 36). In *Midsummer Night’s Dream* III.1.24-25, the rustic Peter Quince proposes to write the prologue to his play in it, and in *The Terrors of the Night* Nashe writes scornfully of ‘the eight and sixt age of Poetrie’ (1958: 1.343.11). Glossing Hotspur’s diatribe against ‘metre ballad-mongers’ in *I Henry IV* III.1.124, Humphreys comments, “‘Metre” often implied “doggerel verse””, giving examples from Peele and Campion (Shakespeare 1960: 93).
- p. 69.23 *royal...harpe*] As a royal poet writing divine verse, comparison of James with David is perhaps conventional. However, in *Essayes* he invites the comparison himself. In ‘The Uranie’, the Muse instructs Bartas ‘O *Salust*, Gods immortal honours sing: / And bending higher *Dauids* Lute in tone, /



- With courage seke you endles crowne abone' (James VI 1584: sig. [D3]<sup>f</sup>); on sigs Niiij<sup>f</sup>-Niiij<sup>v</sup> is James's translation of 'The CIII. Psalme'.
- p. 69.25-26** *like...howers*] James VI's translation of Bartas's *Furies* and his own *Lepanto* were printed in 1591 as *His maiesties poetick exercises at vacant howers* (STC 14379). One of the things which the elder Cato regretted was 'to have passed a day in inactivity' (Lemprière).
- p. 69.28-29** *The afore-named...Divinity*] Another allusion of Harvey's to his unpublished works; in p. 43.43-47, Barnes may very well be alluding to just this work.
- p. 69.38-39** *the Seaven...Greece*] See p. 60.4-5 *n*.
- p. 69.42** *instincte*] *OED*'s closest sense is 'impulse' (*sb.* †1). E.K. also applies the word to literary inspiration, in the dedicatory epistle to *SC*: 'the rakehellly rout of our ragged rhymers [. . .] rage and foam, as if some instinct of poetical spirit had newly ravished them' (Spenser 1995: 22). See also p. 57.11-12 *n*.
- p. 69.48 – p. 70.1** *the Magnes...Sea*] Unless it is an elaborate reference to compasses, I cannot explain what Harvey means by the magnet's ability to tame the sea. Batman states that 'witches use this stone' (1582: fol. 263<sup>v</sup>), and their ability to command the waters seems to have been conventional (see Scot 1584: 9, *Macbeth* I.3.4-25).
- p. 70.1-2** *as Jett...trifles*] Cf. *SLW* 953-57: Will Summers says of Harvest, 'If I had had but a Jet ring on my finger, I might have done with him what I list', adding that it is 'the nature of Jet to draw straw unto it'; McKerrow comments that 'Any number of allusions could of course be found' to this belief (Nashe 1958: 3.263, 4.433).
- p. 70.3** *festues*] Either a neologism or a misprint, the word is not in *OED* or Skeat. Brydges retains it (1815: pt. 8.68); Grosart also does, but glosses, 'query = fescue = Fease-straw, the point or pin used to point to the letters when reading. But *festuca* is Italian for straw as well as for fescue' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.143). The word also appears (italicized, as if foreign) in *Virgidemiarum* IV.ii.100, where Davenport's interpretation is the same as Grosart's (Hall 1949: 57, 299).
- p. 70.7** *whose writings*] Several of Henri IV's public letters, declarations and edicts had been published in English by 1593: see *STC* 13104-13117.
- p. 70.13-15** *Prowesse...valiancy*] The allusion is to the Holy Spirit's gift to the Apostles at Pentecost: 'And there appeared unto them cloven tongues, lyke as they had benne of fyre, and [it] sate upon eche one of them. And they were al filled with y<sup>e</sup> holy ghost, and beganne to speake with other tongues, as the spirite gave them utterance' (Acts 2.3-4).
- p. 70.16** *Some accuse their destiny*] Possibly Harvey is echoing *PP*: see p. 18.18.
- p. 70.23** *actours*] *OED*'s closest sense is 'One who acts, or performs any action, or takes part in any affair; a doer' (actor 3); Harvey seems to mean people actively involved in the world (particularly politically or martially).
- p. 70.24** *Argonauticall*] Here as in *FL*, the story of the Argonauts is the type of heroic activity (see p. 33.33).
- p. 70.25** *Entelechy*] See p. 33.32 *n*.

- p. 70.26 *the wing of the Eagle*] On p. 115.50, the eagle is a type of excellence. Harvey's sense here is either very oblique or very obvious. James M. Saslow calls the eagle 'a bird vested with multiple alchemical significance' (1986: 91); see p. 59.2 *n*. Pliny calls the eagle the strongest and most 'honourable' of birds (*Natural History*, X.III.6). The book of *Batman vppon Bartholome* about birds ('De Avibus in Generali') begins with 'the Eagle, which hath principalitye among fowles'; Batman states that it 'is right strong, bolde, and hardye, passing the strength and boldnesse of other birdes, and his strength is most in wings, feete, and bill [. . .] the Eagle flieth higher then other fowles' (1582: fol. 176<sup>v</sup>). In the 'Defiance to *Envie*' with which *Virgidemiarum* begins, Hall contrasts the high-soaring eagle with the 'lowly Bustard', making it a symbol of virtue (1949: 7). For all the proverbs of the eagle's supposed qualities, see Tilley E1-7. Perhaps because of this imagined pre-eminence, it was associated with royalty. Turberville devotes space to the description of the eagle 'who for that shee is Queene and chiefe of all hawkes, deserveth some larger discourse than the reste' (1575: 24). A letter of Aretino's to Henry VIII begins: 'Since you, great King, excelling in every virtue like the eagle which is sovereign over all the birds, deserve all honour and glory [. . .]' (1976: 163); Spenser in *SC* July allegorizes Elizabeth as an eagle (1995: 121 *n*.).
- p. 70.29-30 *the heate...Ayer*] These were the two 'noble' elements (see p. 19.41-43 *n*.).
- p. 70.32 *divine furie*] See p. 56.38 *n*.
- p. 70.36 *Secretes of Nature*] *OED* gives two examples of this phrase under the definition 'hidden affairs or workings (of God, Nature, Science, etc.)' (*a.*, *sb.* B I 1).
- p. 70.38 *Entelechy*] See p. 33.32 *n*.
- p. 70.45-46 *thou seemist...Musidorus*] In the *Arcadia*, the heroic Musidorus falls in love with Pamela, who is guarded by the foolish and cowardly Dametas; in order to court her, he tells Dametas that he has sought him out, 'as one in whose judgement and integrity the prince had singular confidence' (Sidney 1987: 110.19), and is employed by Dametas as a servant. Nashe in *SN* mocks Harvey's use of the word 'entelechy', evidently a coinage of his (1958: 1.265.17, 21, 316.9): Harvey seems to be making a larger point, about the foolish Nashe's contempt for virtue.
- p. 71.5 *his S. Fame*] See p. 47.7 *n*. The sense 'reputation' (*OED* fame *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2a) is in play here.
- p. 71.7 *bile*] See p. 56.14.
- p. 71.13 *a reference to the end*] Harvey is alluding to the proverb 'Remember (mark) the end' (Tilley E125).
- p. 71.19 *Reason...tyrant*] The closest proverb that Tilley has is 'Let reason rule all your actions' (R43).
- p. 71.21-22 *Such...veine*] This is parodied in *IParnassus* 1367-68, where Gullio claims to have written to his mistress 'Mercuriall and Martiall discourses, in the active and chivalrous vaunt' (Leishman 1949: 199-200).
- p. 71.22-23 *write...forhead*] See p. 48.1 & *n*. Similarly, Ingenioso in *2Parnassus* 93 determines to 'brand everlasting shame / On the world's forhead' (Leishman 1949: 225).
- p. 71.25-27 *licentious...Monarchie*] Cf. p. 66.45-p. 67.4.

- p. 71.30 *When...cure*] The 'king's evil' literally meant scrofula (see *OED* evil *a.*, *sb.* B II 7c); Harvey's metaphorical meaning is perhaps 'when respect for authority has collapsed'.
- p. 71.31 *The baddest...fastest*] 'An ill weed grows apace' (Tilley W238).
- p. 71.36 *My...fewe*] Harvey envisages a similarly enclosed readership for the 'Advertisement'; see p. 88.41-42.
- p. 71.39 *But...obsta*] A Latin version of the proverb which Harvey uses on p. 1.18-19.
- p. 71.41 *this...Lefters*] See p. 66.1 *n.*
- p. 71.42 *from the...withie*] A wilding tree is a crab-tree, and a withy a willow (*OED* wilding B 1, withy *sb.* 1). The phrase is not in Tilley, but crab-trees provide proverbially hard wood (if sour fruit), and willows are proverbially weak (Tilley C784, 787, 788, W404).
- p. 71.43 *Primerose hill*] The name does not appear in Sugden, and an advanced search of EEBO produces no instances earlier than 1679. The phrase 'a primrose hill' appears in *Hero and Leander*, a pornographic mock-heroic ode from 1653: 'So down they fell together clung, / Upon a Primerose hill most sweet' (Smith 1653: 7-8). Given what the couple in question are about to do on this hill, it seems possible that the phrase brought similar associations to Coleman Hedge; see p. 106.24-25, where it is grouped with Bridewell. The phrases 'primrose path' and 'primrose way' – as elaborations of Matthew 7.13 ('wyde is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction'), and therefore having associations with sin – seem to have been Shakespeare's invention (in *Hamlet* I.3.50 and *Macbeth* II.3.20-21 respectively); *OED*'s only other instances are after the two plays (primrose *sb.* (*a.*) 7).
- p. 71.43-44 *Coleman hedge*] Sugden calls this 'A garden on the S. side of Fenchurch St., Lond., near the Ch. of St. Katherine Coleman'; the one reference to it which he cites, from Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, suggests that it was frequented by prostitutes. For more examples, see Nashe 1958: 4.480.
- p. 71.45-46 *more...Goute*] The incurable nature of gout was proverbial (see Tilley G386). Harvey in his marginalia has notes on how to avoid it by moderate diet (1913: 187).
- p. 72.1-4 *Gabriel...mouth*] See Nashe 1958: 1.305.7.
- p. 72.8-9 *in...jollitie*] In a mood either of arrogance or jocularly (see *OED* jollity †4, †8). One of *OED*'s instances of the latter sense takes the form 'upon a jolity' (i.e., as a joke): for similar syntax see p. 83.8 *n.*
- p. 72.9-10 *Si ais, nego*] 'If you affirm [it], I deny [it].' Nashe in *SN* (responding to p. 17.4-5) writes '*si ais nego*. I never printed rime in my life' (1958: 1.318.23).
- p. 72.11-12 *Lucian...against you*] This quote (slightly abridged) is from *SN* (Nashe 1958: 1.285.13-20). Nashe in turn is responding to *FL* (p. 4.42-43).
- p. 72.14 *like a bold Pandare*] Brydges reads 'pandar' (1815: pt. 8.72), but Harvey probably means the Pandarus whom he names on p. 69.10. The name of Chaucer's Pandarus takes the same Anglicised form in the epistle to Harvey at the beginning of *SC*, where E.K. states that the motto 'Uncouthe unkiste [. . .] served well Pandares purpose, for the bolstering of his bawdy brocage' (Spenser 1579: sig. ¶ij<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 72.18 *the long-sword of Impudence*] I can find no evidence that the association was conventional. On p. 78.31-33 and p. 103.35-36, Harvey seems to link long-swords and broad-swords with verbal violence,

and in the first place specifically with medieval culture. In *Merry Wives of Windsor* II.1.211-18, the long-sword is a heavy weapon from the past, contrasted with the lighter modern rapier, as H.J. Oliver notes (Shakespeare 1971: 49 n.). See also *Romeo and Juliet* I.1.73-74. If Harvey imagines the Middle Ages as a crude time dominated by violence, this was not uncommon in his period: Elizabeth I, reading some documents from the reign of Richard II, is supposed to have remarked 'In those days force and arms did prevail; but now the wit of the fox is everywhere on foot' (quoted Neale 1932: 387).

p. 72.19-20 *Distrust...artificiall foole*] Harvey is perhaps punning on 'natural' in the sense of 'half-witted person' (*OED sb.* I 2); the same joke is made in *Twelfth Night* II.3.81-84.

p. 72.21 *a forhead of brasse*] 'Forehead' could refer to 'the countenance as capable of expressing shame, etc.' (*OED* †2). A brass forehead might mean what would recently have been called 'brass face'. Richard Harvey in *LG* calls Marprelate's anti-episcopal mission 'a stubburne and arrogant quarel, begun upon private æmulation, and continued with a brazen forehead' (1590b: 145). Cf. p. 74.5 below.

p. 72.22-23 *looke...Fortune*] See p. 62.45 – p. 63.3 & n.

p. 72.25-26 *Audendum...aliquid*] Roughly, 'boldness is worth [suffering] prison and chains, if you wish to be a person of importance'. Cf. Juvenal, *Satires* I.73: 'aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum, / si vis esse aliquid'; Ramsay translates, 'If you want to *be* anybody nowadays, you must dare some crime that merits narrow Gyara [a prison island] or a gaol' (1918: 9).

p. 72.26 *Simplicite...world*] 'Principle' could mean 'fundamental source from which something proceeds [. . .] ultimate basis upon which the existence of something depends' (*OED sb.* I 3). What 'the Principles of natural things' were had been the cause of debate among philosophers for millennia: see Agrippa 1569: fol. 64<sup>r-v</sup>.

p. 72.27 *Nashe...Elementes*] All created things were thought to be compounded of elements, their durability or evanescence dependent on how thoroughly they were compounded (Tillyard 1943: 70).

p. 72.29-30 *for...at-large*] 'Any my brief triplication' is 'any rejoinder of mine'; the word in this sense originally comes from civil law (*OED* triplication 2, citing this as a figurative instance). For the syntax see Abbott 1870: 23. Harvey uses both 'triplication' and 'quadruplication' in the sense of quips when relating his battle of wits with Dr. Kenoll at Oxford (1913: 191.6-16).

p. 72.31 *he sweareth...penn*] Answering p. 17.21-24, Nashe says 'Thou art no mute, yet shalt thou be haunted and coursed to the full. I will never leave thee as long as I am able to lift a pen' (1958: 1.319.29).

p. 72.35 *put...coate*] Perhaps 'dispel with conscience' or 'turn conscience to jest'. The phrase 'vice's coat' is not in *OED*; however, 'fool's coat' occurs in contemporary texts as the costume of the jester. *SLW* begins with the entrance of Summers 'in his fooles coate but halfe on' (Nashe 1958: 3.233). *PWH* uses it figuratively: 'Martin writes merely, because (hee saies) people are carried away sooner with jest than earnest. I, but Martin, never put Religion into a fooles coate' (Lyly 1902: 3.412.19-21). Harvey pairs fools and vices on p. 104.9. The Vice of the morality plays seems to have worn distinctive clothing: when Hamlet denounces Claudius as 'a vice of kings [. . .] A king of shreds and patches' (III.4.98-103), Harold

Jenkins notes that some editors see the latter phrase as ‘suggested by the parti-coloured dress of the Vice’ (Shakespeare 1982: 325).

- p. 72.36 *proove...counterfaict*] See p. 72.3-4. Nashe’s boast perhaps puts a scatological spin on a commonplace: cf. Hamlet’s verses to Ophelia: ‘Doubt truth to be a liar, / But never doubt I love’ (II.2.117). See also Tilley T581.
- p. 72.37-39 *But...valuation?*] Brydges retains the question-mark (1815: pt. 8.73), although in the period this could signify an exclamation, as Harold Jenkins notes, glossing *Hamlet* II.2.499 (Shakespeare 1982: 267).
- p. 72.41-45 *It had...stomack*] Harvey is alluding to the convivial gathering which was allegedly the death of Greene, and at which Nashe was supposedly present (see p. 4.8-9, p. 6.29-30).
- p. 72.45-47 *Did...unmercifully?*] I have not identified any stories of this precise nature, but this bears a resemblance to myths of the desecration of the Eucharistic host by Jews, on the grounds that it was the body of Christ (see Shapiro 1996: 93-94). Behind this sentence and the previous one is the idea that damage done to a person’s image can harm the person themselves: Christopher Hatton in his 1589 speech opening Parliament alludes to similar plots against Elizabeth by Catholic enchanterers using paintings of her (quoted Neale 1957: 196). Other allusions to this practice are cited by McKerrow, who calls the idea ‘one of the most ordinary forms of witchcraft’ (Nashe 1958: 4.216).
- p. 72.46 *cuggelled*] i.e. ‘cudgelled’; for a similar spelling see ‘bugget’ for ‘budget’ (p. 106.28).
- p. 73.2 *the sonne of a mule*] See p. 48.15 & n.
- p. 73.3 *a brabbling Sophister*] See p. 20.41 n.
- p. 73.4 *whose two swords*] See p. 52.6 n.
- p. 73.7 *Haddock*] No insulting or figurative sense is in *OED*, but Harvey applies this to Nashe again on p. 120.45.
- p. 73.7-9 *thou wilt...dogfish*] *OED* notes that ‘lobster’ was an insult (lobster<sup>1</sup> 2 f.a), defines ‘cod’s-head’ as ‘A stupid fellow, a blockhead’ (2) and notes that ‘dogfish’ was ‘Applied opprobriously to persons’ (2).
- p. 73.9 *Dorbell*] Nashe in *PP* calls *LG* ‘ugly, dorbellical and dumpish’ and in *SN* says of Gabriel’s doctorate, ‘Howe Dorbell comes to be Doctour none asks’. McKerrow glosses the first of these, ‘The word is derived from the name of Nicholas de Orbellis or Dorbellus (d. 1455), one of the best of the commentators on the *Summulae Logicales* of Petrus Hispanus, the chief textbook of logic from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. His name is often found in conjunction with that of Duns [Scotus] as representing the pre-renaissance learning, both having given rise to terms for folly’ (Nashe 1958: 1.198.12, 279.2, 4.123).
- p. 73.10 *quicksented*] *OED* only gives two examples of ‘quick-scented’, from 1590 and 1647, and has no definition (*OED* quick *a.*, *sb.*<sup>1</sup>, *adv.* A IV 29). The word was used literally of hunting dogs which were quick to pick up a scent – e.g. ‘the Dogges that must kill a Fox must be swifte, stronge, and quicke sented’ (Topsell 1607: 224), and cf. *Taming of the Shrew* Induction 1.21-22; here Harvey uses it figuratively, with regard to intelligence.

- p. 73.11 *in their arguing kinde*] The qualification is significant. For Harvey's disdain for scholasticism, see p. 91.1, p. 100.20 n.
- p. 73.12 *Javell, or Tartaret*] Leishman cites this passage when glossing *Parnassus*, 556-57, where Ingenioso, disillusioned with logic, exclaims 'A plague on youe, Javel, [. . .] Tartaret, they have poysned mee with there breathes'; he identifies them as 'Chrysost. Javel, a Dominican, who died about or after 1540, wrote a *Compendium Logicæ* and several commentaries on Aristotle [. . .] Peter Tartoret, or Tataret, was a lecturer on Aristotle at Paris at the end of the fifteenth century, and his commentaries were several times printed' (1949: 123-24). (The attribution of the speech to Philomusus, giving him two consecutively, seems to be a printer's error.)
- p. 73.13 *crabfish*] This might mean a crab (*OED*); a 1580 example cited by *OED* ('A rude pesant, and crabbe of the countrie') seems to convey either ignorance or ill-manners (crab *sb.*<sup>2</sup> 6).
- p. 73.13 *Carters Logique*] See p. 20.41 & n.
- p. 73.13-14 *the Posteriorums...Lapide*] *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'posteriorums', meaning 'The Posterior Analytics of Aristotle' (†1). Johann Heynlyn (1425?-1496), German scholar, got his Latin cognomen from his birthplace of Stein. According to *ADB*, his only printed work was *Libri artis logicae*, but his commentaries on Aristotle are extant in manuscript. He taught theology at the Sorbonne, described by Buisseret as a centre of 'outdated scholasticism' (1972: 23-24), with which Harvey here seems to associate him.
- p. 73.14 *Emprese*] See p. 56.16 & n.
- p. 73.17-18 *drewe...eares*] Cf. 'to pull or drag by the ears: i.e. roughly, violently' (*OED* ear *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1c).
- p. 73.20 *Behemoth*] This is the 'beast Behemoth' described in Job 40.15-24, who 'drynketh up whole rivers' (40.23). The Bishops' Bible gloss to 40.15 comments, 'The Hebrues say, Behemoth signifieth an Oliphant, so called for his hugenesse'.
- p. 73.21 *the hideous Leviathan*] Leviathan is described in Job 40.25-41.25. The Bishops' Bible gloss to 40.25 comments, 'Leviathan is a whale', and the heading to Chapter 41 states, 'By the greatnesse of this monster Leviathan, God sheweth his greatnesse'.
- p. 73.25 *smelleth...pumpe*] Harvey had written the same of *PWH*: see p. 104.41.
- p. 73.26 *Gascoignes weedes*] Collier reads 'Gascoignes Weedes', reversing his usual practice regarding capital letters (1870b: 66). This was one of Gascoigne's works: as Smith notes, his *Posies* was divided into *Flowers*, *Herbs*, *Weeds* and *Certayne Notes of Instruction* (1904: 2.437). For the pun on clothing, see *OED* weed *sb.*<sup>2</sup>.
- p. 73.26 *Marlowes bravados*] Hale Moore calls this 'a vague deprecation of Marlowe's writing for its conceited boldness' (1926: 341).
- p. 73.28 *nippitatie*] See p. 53.31-32 n.
- p. 73.29 *lenten...herring*] Brydges reads '*Lenten Stuff*' (1815: pt. 8.75), perhaps misled by the subsequent reference to herrings into thinking that Harvey is alluding to *LS*: this was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1598 as 'a booke called the praise of the Redd herringe' (quoted Nashe 1958: 3.141). *OED*

- gives examples of the phrase (meaning 'provisions suitable for Lent') from 1494; the second, from Hall's *Chronicle* (1548) gives herring as an example of this (*OED* Lenten B *attrib.* 3). See p. 4.8 n.
- p. 73.30-33 *his only...meaning*] Harvey perhaps has particularly in mind the list of words and phrases from *FL* given by Nashe as examples of Harvey's 'inkehornisme', of which McKerrow comments, 'some of Harvey's phrases seem more odd when removed from the context' (1958: 1.316.3-19, 4.188).
- p. 73.33 *O times; ô pastimes*] Harvey seems to be echoing Cicero's *In Catilinam* I.i.2 ('O tempora, o mores!').
- p. 73.36 *hanteth roisterly companie*] 'Hant' is a 16th-century form of 'haunt', e.g. Lyly's *Midas*, IV.1.21-22, where Apollo says to Pan, 'Thy pipe a Nymph? some hag rather, hanting these shady groves' (1902: 3.140). Harvey thought of Nashe and Greene (rightly or wrongly) as close friends (p. 6.29-32, p. 14.21-27) and was aware of Greene's underworld connections (p. 6.13). This passage is possibly based on Nashe's reputation rather than anything written by him, although in *SN*, responding to p. 14.21-27, Nashe writes: 'I and one of my fellowes, *Will. Monox* (Hast thou never heard of him and his great dagger?) were in company with him [Greene] a month before he died' (Nashe 1958: 1.287.34).
- p. 73.40 *the very Baggage of new writers*] See p. 65.45 n.
- p. 73.40-41 *I....person*] Since Harvey uses this formula, suggesting that he has a network of anonymous friends, in several other places (e.g. p. 103.30-32, p. 134.25-26), it is necessary to note that Nashe in *HWY* does as well (1958: 3.21.34-22.24).
- p. 73.43-48 *He might...contempt of other*] Harvey's source for this seems not to be folkloric: there is nothing comparable in Tilley. Cf. Greene's *Royal Exchange*, the Italian original of which he calls 'full of many strange and effectuall Aphorismes, ending in short contrived Quadruplicities': this consists of lists such as 'Foure thinges are oft the faultes of youth' and 'Foure sorts of men fall into penurie' (1881-86: 7.222, 277, 301). Possibly the inspiration for this was Proverbs 30.15-30.
- p. 73.46 *other foure speciall thinges*] i.e. four other special things. For similar syntax see Penry's *Treatise*: 'you are bounde to detest both the same, & all other the impieties, that raygne in our Church' (1590: sig. [E4]<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 73.48 – p. 74.1 *I could...peremptorie*] Elaborate wordplay seems to be deployed here. 'Fatal' could mean 'Prophetic' (*OED* 4 †b), but 'peremptory' could also mean 'fatal' in the familiar sense of 'Deadly, destructive' (*OED* †II 6). 'Book of fate' is a set phrase, used in 2 *Henry IV* III.1.45 by the King ('O God, that one might read the book of fate') and by Despair in *FQ* I.ix.42.4 (the times when all created things will end 'in his eternall booke of fate / Are written sure'). The phrase is not biblical.
- p. 73.48 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 74.1 *arread*] Not in *OED*; as a transitive verb, cf. 'attax' in *Lear* I.4.353 ('You are much more attax'd for want of wisdom').
- p. 74.4 *high...Moone*] Cf. p. 24.16-17 & n.

- p. 74.5 *wainscott forehead*] See p. 72.21 above. For similar lexis to Harvey's, cf. Marprelate's denunciation of 'our impudent / shamelesse / and wainscote faced bishops' (*Epistle*, p. 33), and the subsequent reference in *Mar-Martine* to Marprelate's 'seasoned wainscot face' (Lyly 1902: 3.426.96).
- p. 74.6 *Rudhuddibras*] Rudhudibras (also Lud, Ludhurdibras, or Hudibras) was an ancient British king (the grandfather of Leir). From his context, Harvey would seem to think of Rudhudibras as a fearless warrior, but according to Holinshed, 'hee sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to hir former quietnesse' (1807-08: 1.446).
- p. 74.6 *arreare*] No such sense of 'arrear' is in *OED*, but cf. 'arread' on p. 74.1. Relevant senses of 'rear' include 'To construct', 'to cause to arise or appear', 'to foster, nourish' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> II 7a, †b, 9b).
- p. 74.6-7 *such...withal*] For similar wordplay see p. 25.33.
- p. 74.7-8 *a flying...Ayre*] Bladud (or Baldud) was the son of Rudhudibras and the father of Leir; he 'decked himselfe in feathers, and presumed to flie, but by falling [. . .] he brake his necke' (Stow 1592: 15).
- p. 74.8-9 *a Simon...Capitol*] Simon Magus is a biblical figure: he 'used witchcraft, and bewitched the people of Samaria, sayeing that he was a man that coulede doo great thynges'; he attempts to buy the power of the Holy Spirit from the Apostles, for which Peter rebukes him (Acts 8.9-24). Harvey is here drawing on the post-biblical legends about his encounters with Peter and Paul in Rome. In *The Golden Legend*, a contest of magical skills with the two Apostles ends unfortunately for Simon: 'he went up to an high tower which was on the capitol, and [. . .] threw himself out [. . .] and began to fly in the air', but after Peter orders the demons which Simon commands to drop him, he falls and breaks his neck (Voragine 1900: 4.20).
- p. 74.20-21 *Awaite...Path*] The couplet from the sonnet at the end of *SN* (Nashe 1958: 1.334.3-4).
- p. 74.22-23 *with...perficie*] The Latin phrase appears at the end of *SN*: McKerrow identifies it as 'Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 389' (Nashe 1958: 1.334.6, 4.196). Mozley's reading is 'Aut non temptaris, aut perfice', which he renders, 'either make no venture or be successful' (Ovid 1929: 38-39).
- p. 74.28 *the Royall Exchange*] That this was thought of as one of London's most spectacular buildings is suggested by the prominent place in Richard Rowlands's description of the capital given to 'the sumptuous monument in the citie of London called the Royall exchange, [. . .] begun and afterwards fully finished at the costes & charges of the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Greasham knight, to his everlasting fame & commendation' (1576: 52).
- p. 74.29 *perfect...Apelles*] 'Apelles, An excellent peinter in the tyme of Alexander, borne in the yle of Cos, of whom only Alexander would be peyncted. Whan he died, he left an Image of Venus unperformed, whiche no man after hym durst enterpryse to finyshe, for the incomparable beautie thereof' (Cooper). Apelles is cited by Webbe as the archetypal great artist (1870: 14), and John Harvey uses similar language to Gabriel in his *Astrologieall Addition*: 'my meaning is not to perfect *Apelles* picture, or to teach him, of whom I may learne' (1583: sig. B<sup>r</sup>). Cf. p. 96.22 *n*.
- p. 74.33-34 *his Painting...Path*] For the associations of 'tread' with dancing, see *OED* v. B 2d.
- p. 74.42 *the new...buttry*] See p. 53.24 & *n*.



- p. 74.43 *One...He's*] Presumably the 'she' is Harvey's 'Patroness' and one of the 'he's is Harvey himself, but the identity of the second man is unclear. Perhaps it is intended to be identified as the speaker of the 'round discourse' at p. 57.2-37, perhaps Richard Harvey, who had made a statement of solidarity with Gabriel in the preface to *Philadelphvs* (1593), as Stern notes (1979: 91).
- p. 74.43-44 *his Railing Ink-horne*] The italics give the impression that Harvey is quoting, but the phrase does not appear in *SN*. See p. 53.37-38 & *n*.
- p. 74.44 *Holborne Conduit*] Holborn was 'One of the main thoroughfares of Lond., running W. from the corner of Newgate St. and Old Bailey to Drury Lane [. . .] At the junction at Snow Hill (or Snor Hill) and H. stood the H. Cross, and by it a conduit, built in 1577 by William Lamb on the site of an older one that had fallen into decay' (Sugden).
- p. 74.45 *Hosier Lane*] 'In Lond., running from W. Smithfield to King St. Stow describes it as "not over well built or inhabited, having all old timber houses"; and says that during Bartholomew Fair all the houses were made public "for tippling and lewd sort of people"' (Sugden). McKerrow comments on Harvey's phrase, 'I cannot explain the reference to sponges' (Nashe 1958: 4.361). It may just be relevant (given Harvey's mentions of John Danter elsewhere) that this is where Danter's shop was, as the title-page of *SN*'s second edition states (Nashe 1958: 1.248).
- p. 74.47 *socket-worne*] Like a burnt-out candle. *OED* cites this as the sole instance; 'socket' here is 'the part of a candlestick or chandelier in which the candle is placed' (*OED sb.* 3b). *OED*'s first instance of 'socket' in this sense is from *PWH*: 'within a while appeared olde *Martin* with a wit worn into the socket, twinkling and pinking like the snuffe of a candle' (Lyly 1902: 3.410.21).
- p. 75.1 *pore-blind*] Brydges retains this form (1815: pt. 8.78), which should perhaps be 'purblind' in a modern-spelling edition. Richard Harvey uses this spelling in *Philadelphvs*: '*Coil* saw in his poreblinde eyes, that it was best to yeald to Roome' (1593: 66).
- p. 75.3 *where...part?*] According to Lemprière, the Furies 'were supposed to be the ministers of the vengeance of the gods, always employed in punishing the guilty upon earth, as well as in the infernal regions'; they 'were generally represented with a grim and frightful aspect [. . .] and were always attended by terror, rage, paleness, and death' (art. Eumenides). They were all female; as on p. 50.46, Harvey suggests that Nashe's chiding feminizes him.
- p. 75.5 *impossibilities in nature*] John Harvey uses the same phrase in *Discovrsive Probleme*, regarding untrustworthy prognostications: 'It avaieth not, to enterprize impossibilities in nature [. . .] upon irregularities in arte' (1588: 39).
- p. 75.7-8 *to give-over...felde*] See p. 24.2.
- p. 75.10 *the great...Amen*] The beginning and the end. In the 'horn-book' reproduced by Foster Watson, the alphabet begins with a capital 'A' and ends with the phrase 'est amen' (1908: 161).
- p. 75.15 *Pyrrhus*] See p. 68.10-15 & *n*.
- p. 75.21-22 *cowled...paramours*] 'Cowl' does not appear in *OED* as a verb. Just possibly, Harvey means 'cooled', since the two words were spelt interchangeably, as McKerrow notes (Nashe 1958: 4.268).

‘Cool’ might be used to mean ‘soothe’; see ‘†to cool one’s cares: to assuage them’ (*OED* cool v. 5a).

However, on p. 125.42 he seems to use the word to mean ‘clothe’.

- p. 75.23 *the most...Vertues*] The Graces are ‘the sister-goddesses [. . .] regarded as the bestowers of beauty and charm, and portrayed as women of exquisite beauty. Usually spoken of (after Hesiod) as three in number, Aglaia, Thalia, and Euphrosyne’ (*OED* grace sb. I 4). By ‘the Virtues’, Harvey is most likely to mean ‘certain moral qualities regarded as of special excellence or importance, as the four cardinal virtues (see *CARDINAL* a. 2), the three theological virtues (see *THEOLOGICAL* a. 1), or the seven virtues opposed to the seven deadly sins’ (*OED* virtue sb. I 3b). These were personified as women in patristic, medieval and Renaissance literature and art, for which see Warner 1985: 148-58.
- p. 75.30 *challenging*] Perhaps Harvey means ‘defiant’ or ‘insulting’, his sense being ‘typical of the language used in issuing a challenge to a duel’. When, in *As You Like It*, Rosalind receives an insulting letter from Phoebe, she describes its tone as ‘a boisterous and a cruel style, / A style for challengers’ (IV.3.31). See also *King Lear* V.3.130-38, *Much Ado About Nothing* V.1.144-49. This sense is not in *OED*, but cf. braving †*ppl.* a. 1.
- p. 75.38-39 *for...offended him*] Hunter identifies the person loved, praised and favoured by Harvey as Lyly (1962: 47), Stern as Oxford, the praise being that of *Gratulationum Valdinensium* Book IV (1979: 65 n.). Surely Hunter is correct; the language used here by Harvey would apply to a social equal, not a superior. Cf. the very deferential tone adopted by Harvey towards Oxford in *FL* (p. 11.16-30) and his mention of his friendship with Lyly and rueful acknowledgement of Lyly’s abilities in the ensuing book of *PS* (p. 77.3-4, p. 77.20, p. 106.5).
- p. 75.36 *with a nimble dexteritie*] Cf. p. 55.41 & n.
- p. 75.40 *odious...provision*] Harvey is quoting *PWH* (see Appendix B, 12-13).
- p. 75.42 *misused the verbe passive*] That Harvey has been punished for his silence and unwillingness to enter quarrels is a favourite complaint of his (see, for example, p. 17.24, p. 28.10-13).
- p. 75.44-45 *twitched...sleeve*] *OED* gives examples of ‘to hold, pull, shake, take, etc., by the sleeve, in order to detain, attract attention’ (sleeve sb. 2a). In *SN* it seems to mean something like ‘rebuke’: ‘hee mutters [. . .] what a hell it is for him, that hath built his heaven in vaine-glory, to bee puld by the sleeve’ (Nashe 1958: 1.268.26-28). Cf. also p. 18.37-38. ‘Twitch’ might mean ‘to nip; to hurt or pain’ (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 4).
- p. 75.46 *have amongst you*] ‘Have amongst you’ appears in *UT* (Nashe 1958: 2.207.3), where the context suggests that it is a challenge to a game, although that is not necessarily the case here. More likely is that this is the language of violence. In *Hay any worke for Cooper*, Marprelate addresses the Bishops ‘have among you once againe my cleargie masters’ (sig. [A2]’).
- p. 75.47 *blind...house*] Cf. *IParnassus* 396, where Luxurio charges Ingenioso with ‘fidlinge thy pamphlets from doore to dore like a blinde harper’ (Leishman 1949: 155). A ‘ballett intituled *the blende [sic] harper &c*’ was licensed to Owen Rogers in 1565-6 (Arber 1875-94: 1.260): in Harvey as in *IParnassus*, street-ballads stand in metonymically for popular culture in general. There seems to have been a tradition of

blind ballad-singers. In *PWH*, Marprelate is told, 'If thy vain be so pleasant, and thy wit so nimble, [. . .] write some ballads for blind *David* and his boy' (Lyly 1902: 3.412.22-24); Sidney in *Defence* admits 'I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas that I found not my heart moved [. . .] and yet is it sung but by some blind crowder' (1966: 46.10-12), etc.

**p. 75.47-48** *were...Vanie*] Harvey similarly associates caps with wit on p. 106.30.

### An Advertisement for Pap-Hatchet, and Martin Mar-prelate.

The 'Advertisement for Pap-hatchet, and Martin Mar-prelate' which constitutes the central third of *PS* is possibly the least-read and least-discussed of the English writings which Harvey published during his lifetime. By his own admission, he did not initially intend it for publication ('These Notes, if they happen to see light, are especially intended to the particular Use of afewe') (p. 88.41). Nashe in *HWY* pointedly refrains from responding to it – 'For Master *Lillie* (who is halves with me in this indignitie that is offred) I will not take the tale out of his mouth' (1958: 3.137.32) – and as a result it does not have the commentary that Nashe gave Harvey's writings against him, and the commentary that McKerrow gave Nashe. Elsewhere in the same text, however, Nashe summarized it curtly as Harvey's 'key-cold defence of the Cleargie' (1958: 3.62.2).

It is Harvey's response to the passage in *PWH* in which he and his father and brothers are alluded to (see Appendix B); and Nashe's comment on the passage in *QUC* which provoked *FL* ('About some seaven or eight lines it was which thus hath pluckt on an invective of so many leaves') might more justly have been made of this (1958: 1.271.24). Beginning and ending with *PWH* – Harvey quotes repeatedly from the tract, as elsewhere he does with Nashe's – the main body of the text is concerned with what Tolman calls 'a full presentation of the views of Harvey concerning church polity' (1918: 174): a defence of episcopacy and critique of radical Protestantism (in England and on the continent). 'Advertisement' is probably to be understood as 'warning', the title locating the text among such moderate Protestant tracts as Stephen Bredwell's *Admonition to the followers of Glover and Browne* (1588) and Thomas Cooper's *Admonition to the People of England* (1589) (the latter alluded to on p. 79.31). This summary is intended as a rough guide to the issues which the 'Advertisement' addresses.

p. 77.1 – p. 79.12	<i>PWH</i> is frequently quoted from, and Harvey's previous relationship with Lyly touched on.
p. 79.13-46	It was an error for the pro-Episcopal satirists to imitate Marprelate.
p. 79.46 – p. 82.23	Marprelate and other reformers show a lack of moderation, patience and respect for their ecclesiological superiors (including the early Fathers and Apostles, whose example they ought to imitate).
p. 82.48 – p. 83.48	Harvey addresses individual reforms for which Puritans clamour.
p. 84.39 – p. 85.9	Puritans would replace Bishops with a seniore or body of elders, on the Genevan model.
p. 85.23 – p. 86.25	An ecclesiastical discipline such as practised in Geneva would be inappropriate for a monarchy such as England.
p. 86.25 – p. 87.25	The authority of Bishops has existed since the age of the Apostles; the only serious challenge to it has come from the heretic Acrius, who was driven by personal ambition, as are many recent reformers.
p. 87.31 – p. 88.9	Chaos would result from the socially levelling changes suggested by reformers.

p. 88.9-37	Harvey stresses the importance of obedience to one's sovereign and mutual charity among Christians.
p. 88.41 – p. 89.42	He explains his reasons for writing the 'Advertisement' and tries to arm himself against personal criticism.
p. 89.44 – p. 91.14	The reformers are themselves no more free from faults than the Bishops whom they criticise so freely; Harvey detects arrogance in their firm conviction of the rightness of their cause and mentions the failings of individual reformers.
p. 91.15-51	People of different theological affiliations have praised each other; their example should be imitated.
p. 92.1-44	Harvey compares Puritans to the Zealots who rebelled against Roman authority: both groups prioritise religious scruples over their duty to their sovereign.
p. 93.23 – p. 94.22	Puritans place too much emphasis on Old Testament authority: Harvey digresses about the pernicious influence of Jews generally.
p. 94.22 – p. 96.2	Reformers would place too much power in the hands of the minister of each parish, who would err, being only human.
p. 96.3 – p. 99.25	Reformers would also place ecclesiastical power into the hands of people who are unsuited for the responsibility because of their social status: this would have disastrous consequences.
p. 99.25 – p. 100.10	Harvey returns to the specific subject of Marprelate.
p. 100.32 – p. 101.40	Marprelate is compared to the Apostles, whom he claims to emulate.
p. 101.51 – p. 102.14	Reformers' plans for ideal church-government have yet to be put into practice.
p. 102.15 – p. 103.11	The consequences of these reforms are unknown and might be disastrous; Harvey leaves the subject of Marprelate.
p. 103.13 – p. 106.48	Harvey returns to the subject of <i>PWH</i> .

*PWH* associates Harvey with Marprelate; Nashe, as Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass note, caricatures Harvey as a Puritan (2008: 394); that Harvey was in some way involved with the Marprelate tracts is a charge recently repeated by no less an authority on Elizabethan Puritanism than Patrick Collinson (*ODNB*, art. Andrew Perne). Nashe also caricatures Harvey as a man eccentric to the verge of insanity, his vocabulary absurd and incomprehensible, and even Harvey's sympathetic biographer, Virginia F. Stern, states that to his and Nashe's readers he would have appeared 'preoccupied with abstruse and erudite matters' (1979: 109). At the risk of distending my explanatory notes unnecessarily, I have tried to show where Harvey's arguments and frames of reference coincide with those of other conservative Protestant responses to Marprelate (for a bibliography of contemporary texts responding to Marprelate, see Arber 1895: 139-41). Since Harvey avowedly includes the 'Advertisement' in *PS* on the grounds of the similarity between Lyly and Nashe, I have also tried to show the places where Harvey writes about Lyly and Marprelate in terms similar to those

he employs in *FL* and elsewhere in *PS* about Nashe: in some cases, the verbal correspondences are very strong.

The 'Advertisement' is dated 'this fift of November: 1589' (p. 106.47). Paul H. Kocher states that it was 'incorporated *verbatim*' into *PS* (1943: 540 *n.*), but there are several places where Harvey may just have inserted references and allusions to more recently-made enemies than Lyly: one where he may be referring to *QUC* (p. 96.16-17), one mentioning Faustus (p. 103.13), and one which mentions Greene by name (p. 105.7). On p. 93.10-12, Harvey alludes to contemporary events which have reached his ears since he began composition of the 'Advertisement': if, as is possible, he is referring to the Parliament which sat between February and March 1588/9, he must have begun writing the 'Advertisement' before the appearance of *PWH*. This would explain the book-ending of the 'Advertisement' with two sections (p. 77.1 - p. 79.12, p. 103.13 - p. 106.48) which deal specifically with *PWH* when the greater part of the text does not mention it at all. Excerpting sections of the 'Advertisement' for inclusion in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, G. Gregory Smith draws from these two parts but not from the rest of the 'Advertisement' at all, which suggests how different their subject-matter is (personal satire and – very broadly – literary criticism, rather than ecclesiology). If Harvey had added these sections to an existing MS after reading *PWH*, this might not be unprecedented: Nashe in *SN* suggests that the Fourth Letter appended to *Three Letters* in 1592 was an existing MS with references to himself and Greene inserted subsequently (1958: 1.327.4-8), and George L. Barnett suggests that in 1578 Harvey incorporated into a hastily-composed *Gratulationes Valdinenses* sections previously-written and unrevised (1945: 148-49 *n.*).

Harvey's insertion of the entire text of the 'Advertisement' into *PS* is problematic. Stern asks 'why Harvey did not publish this important tract until 1593' (1979: 88); Nashe makes the same point in a different way when, in *HWY*, he remarks of Marprelate, 'A day after the faire, when he is hangd, Harvey takes him in hand' (1958: 3.138.11). Harvey in *FL* acknowledges the 12-year gap since his last publication (p. 9.15), and Warren B. Austin's suggestion that Harvey's experiences after the publication of *3PL* in 1580 had made him wary of publishing anything controversial should be borne in mind (1947: 23 *n.*). There is also the question of why Harvey should have responded at such length to such a short passage. Nashe (responding to p. 79.19-21) ridicules the possibility that Harvey might have been thought to be Marprelate: 'there is nere a Pursivant in England, in the pulling on his boots, ever thought of him or imputed to him so much wit' (1958: 3.138.16).

Several reasons for the insertion suggest themselves. Harvey's own stated reason is that 'Tom-Penniles now, [is] so like Papp-hatchet, when the time was, that I neede but overrun an old Censure of the One, by way of a new application to the Other' (p. 75.27). McKerrow comments that it 'is more natural if we suppose Nashe to have been associated with Lyly in the anti-Martinist campaign' (Nashe 1958: 5.48-49). It is also natural to suppose that the 'Advertisement' was a rhetorical exercise and display of learning of which Harvey was proud. More tentatively, it might be ventured that he was anxious to distance himself from radical Protestantism: in 1573, while still at Pembroke Hall, he had had to defend himself against the charge that he 'had greatly commendid thos whitch men call praecisions and puritanes', which had impeded his academic career (quoted Tolman 1918: 173).

Suggestively, Moore Smith praises Harvey's 'statesmanship' alongside 'his independence of ecclesiastical prejudices' and 'powers as a writer' as a quality displayed in the 'Advertisement' (1913: 58). By 1598, Harvey had still not given up his hopes of preferment and office, witness his letter of that year to Robert Cecil, suing for the Mastership of Trinity Hall, in which he cites, as evidence of his fitness, his writings 'in celebration of her Majesties most prosperous, and in truth glorious government' (1884-85: 3.xxvii). Perhaps it is not far-fetched – however far-fetched Harvey's aspirations may have been – to see the publication of this tract in *PS* as an attempt by Harvey to display his willingness to do the state some service. Perhaps it is an 'Advertisement' in more senses than one.

**p. 77.3** *the name...nature*] i.e. Lyly's real name.

**p. 77.4** *the Savoy*] A building on the North bank of the Thames, between the Strand and the river (Sugden). Originally a palace, in the reign of Henry VIII it became an almshouse, and by this point was 'a London address for noblemen and their servants' (*ODNB*, art. Lyly).

**p. 77.5** *young...laide*] G.K. Hunter interprets this, '*Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* [. . .] is, as Harvey's gibe indicates, a mosaic of scraps of humanist wisdom and gossipy classical quotations [. . .] and much of this material is indeed copied out of the encyclopaedias compiled by the greatest of the "elder friends", Erasmus' (*ODNB*, art. Lyly). By contrast, the reading of Katherine Wilson, who is aware of 'Harvey's aspirations towards being part of the efflorescence of vernacular humanist writing in the late 1570s', is that 'Harvey had been overtaken in the struggle for publication' by Lyly (2001: 80, 88). In support of Hunter, the same metaphor (a bird hatching the eggs laid by others) is used in *2Parnassus* 163-69 to describe collections of apophthegms (Leishman 1949: 230).

**p. 77.5-6** *surely...Pap-hatchet*] Harvey decries Lyly's abandonment of courtly literature for crude polemic. The name 'Euphues' derived from the Greek for 'well-endowed'; Ascham in *The Scholemaster* defined it as 'he, that is apt by goodness of wit and appliable by readiness of will to learning' (quoted Hunter 1962: 49).

**p. 77.13** *weeneth most at-home*] Perhaps 'thinks most highly of himself'. The phrase is not in Tilley or *ODEP*, but cf. p. 103.1-2.

**p. 77.14-15** *whatsoever...preferment*] 'Court holy-water' is a 'proverbial phrase for fair words or flattery without performance or sincere intention' (*OED* †). Lyly's encouragement by Elizabeth to apply for the Mastership of the Revels (which was ultimately withheld from him) seems to be dateable to 1588; see his two petitions to her, reproduced by Hunter 1962: 85-87. However, his attendance at court in hope of preferment was of longer duration than this, hence his 1597 letter to Robert Cecil complaining that 'thes 12 yerres' he has 'entertayned the p'roguing of her majesties promises' (Lyly 1902: 1.68).

**p. 77.18-19** *Euphues...wise*] 'It is good to be merry and wise' was proverbial (Tilley G324).

**p. 77.19-20** *it is better...frend*] 'Better lose a jest than a friend' was proverbial: ultimately the saying stems from Quintilian (*ODEP* J40).

**p. 77.20** *cramme the capon*] Capons were forcibly fattened: see *Hamlet* III.2.93-94.

- p. 77.21-22 *Bolde...lucke*] See p. 15.46-47 *n*.
- p. 77.22-23 *happ-hazard...pate*] Here as on p. 110.7, Harvey seems to regard this as a personal name. *OED*'s first instance of the word (in the nominal sense of 'Mere chance or accident; fortuity') is a century before its first adjectival sense, and is the name of a character in the 1575 play *Appius and Virginia* (*OED* A sb. a).
- p. 77.23 *imbarke...wisemen*] Harvey is here playing with the title of the text which he names on p. 106.40 below. *Das Narrenschiff* (1494) by Sebastian Brant (1458-1521) was highly popular: it went through three editions in the year that it first appeared and was translated into Latin, Low German, Dutch, English and French (*ADB*). Alexander Barclay's very free English translation of 1509 was called *The Shyp of Folys*; this categorizes various kinds of foolish or sinful behaviour, 'vyces whiche mankynde doth incomber' (1874: 1.4).
- p. 77.23-24 *I cannot...Candlestickes*] This is one of several passages from *PS* and *NL* which appear to have been borrowed by the author of *The Art of Iugling or Legerdemaine* (1612), attributed to Samuel Rid (see *STC* 21027). All appear in the epistle 'To the curteous Reader', where the author arms himself against the hostile reception of his book, but make very little sense out of context, which (as with Nashe's quotations from Harvey) is perhaps the point: see Appendix E, 16. The other lines of Harvey's used are at p. 77.30-31, p. 97.32-38, and p. 158.1-3.
- p. 77.23-24 *nosing of Candlestickes*] 'To smell of the candle' seems to have suggested an affected, self-consciously 'literary' style (Tilley C43).
- p. 77.24 *alla Savoica*] 'In the Savoyard manner' (i.e. as practised by Lyly).
- p. 77.25 *the guift...Magnus*] The 13th-century Dominican scholar attempted to turn base metals into gold (Hamilton 1986: 168).
- p. 77.26-29 *When...woombe*] Harvey is here mocking the far-fetched analogies of Euphuism: Michael Drayton, writing long after the style had passed out of vogue, defined it as 'Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of Fishes, Flyes, / Playing with words, and idle similies' (1961: 3.228). Bond notes of Lyly 'that the majority of his natural-history allusions are definitely assignable to' Pliny (1902: 1.viii-ix).
- p. 77.29-30 *blesse...crosses*] Cf. Tilley C836: 'He has never a cross (penny, halfpenny) to bless himself withal'.
- p. 77.30-31 *In...man*] Another phrase borrowed by the author of *The Art of Iugling or Legerdemaine*: see Appendix E, 16.
- p. 77.31 *as plaine...Accursius*] Smith glosses, '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' (1904: 2.438). Hallam presents Saxoferrato's work as a vast improvement on that of the former Accursius and his followers (1882: 1.68); perhaps Harvey does not see them as both 'plain' in quite the same way.
- p. 77.31 *Barthol de Saxoferrato*] Smith reads 'Barthol.' (1904: 2.269.31), but the jurist's name was often Anglicized in this manner, like other Italian names in the Elizabethan era: see p. 18.51 *n*. Smith suggests that Harvey admired his plain prose (1904: 2.438); Harvey certainly admired his frugal lifestyle (1913: 89-90).



- p. 77.33 *The French...Madnesse*] *The Mirroure of Madnes, or a Paradoxe maintaining Madnes to be most excellent: done out of French into English, by Ia. San. Gent* (1576). Sidney Lee compared it to Erasmus' *Encomium Morae* (DNB, art. James Sandford); another reference-point might be Agrippa's *De vanitate et incertitudine scientiarum*, Sandford's translation of which was published in 1569. Essentially the work consists of a series of attacks, on individuals (e.g. Aristotle, Cicero), beliefs (Stoicism, Epicureanism, transubstantiation) and ways of life (soldier, courtier, astronomer), emphasizing the meaninglessness of human life. Neither EEBO nor COPAC identify the French original or its author. As Harvey suggests on p. 106.20-22, it shares a certain structureless quality with *PWH*.
- p. 77.34 *young-man*] Smith reads 'young man' (1904: 2.269.35), although it was not uncommon to write this as two hyphenated words or as one: see *FQ* III.x.2.7 ('That fiers youngmans unruly mastery'), *LG* ('a number of lustie and choise valiant yongmen') (Harvey 1590b: 133), etc.
- p. 77.34-35 *as...taile*] The 'old fox' is most likely to be Andrew Perne (see p. 10.1), who had died in April of that year (*ODNB*), but Harvey's sense is not entirely clear. According to *OED*, 'bewray' is only ever used transitively. Possibly, however, Harvey is punning. 'Beray' could be used reflexively (*OED* 1b); *OED* is squeamish about the precise meaning, but the instances which it cites seem to be scatological, as is Nashe's reflexive use, in *HWY* (what Harvey does in fear when hearing of the book) (1958: 3.38.17-19). To give somebody 'a flap with a foxtail' could mean to cheat them (Tilley F344). Foxes were thought to urinate in their tails and splash this in the face of dogs pursuing them (Batman 1582: fol. 385<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 77.35-36 *a Lion...eare*] The first and last of these phrases are proverbs (Tilley L313, A355), the others relate to qualities which Harvey suggests that *PWH* displays: arrogance (the cock), obscenity (the goat, symbol of lust).
- p. 77.36-37 *artist...tearmes*] Cf. 'The workman is known by his work' (Tilley W860; the earliest instance is from 1596).
- p. 77.38-45 *Papp...Lane*] The title-page of *PWH*, with a few small omissions (Lyly 1902: 3.393).
- p. 77.42 *John...Astile*] Bond glosses, 'Noakes or Nokes [. . .] is a typical rustic name [. . .] allusive here (with "John Astile") to the manner adopted in the pamphlet' (Lyly 1902: 3.574). Cf. however Sidney, *Defence of Poetry*: 'doth the lawyer lie then, when under the names of *John-a-stiles* and *John-a-nokes* he puts his case?' Van Dorsten glosses, 'originally "John (who dwells) at the stile" and "John (who dwells) at the oak"', fictitious name traditionally used for the two parties in a legal action' (1966: 53.26-28, 97).
- p. 77.42-43 *Bayly of Withernam*] The title-page of *PWH* reads 'Baylive'. 'Bailey' was a variant of 'bailiff', e.g. Fynes Moryson on Poland: 'the great men there intertayne Jewes to be their Balyes, to order and gather their Rents' (1903: 488); *QUC*: 'at every third step he looked back as if he were afraid of a Baily or a Sarjant' (Greene 1881-86: 11.289), etc. Bond glosses, 'Withernam' as 'a law term signifying *reprisal*, or "taking of other goods or cattle in lieu of those unjustly taken"' (Lyly 1902: 3.574).
- p. 77.43 *cum...perennitatis*] See p. 20.35 *n*.

- p. 77.46-48 *What...leafe*] See p. 48.1 n. The same conceit – a forehead shows a person's character, as a title-page suggests a book's contents – appears in 2 *Henry IV* I.1.62-63.
- p. 77.47 *Oriental Starre*] 'Oriental' could be used 'of a heavenly body when in the eastern part of the sky, esp. of a planet when seen in the east before sunrise' (*OED* A *adj.* 1). Harvey uses the phrase later in *PS*, apparently to mean something unique or of great beauty (p. 120.17).
- p. 77.49 *Milke...hoony*] Perhaps not an allusion to Joshua (see p. 22.1 n.) but to the custom of making offerings of milk and honey to Mercury, 'because he was the god of eloquence, the powers of which are sweet and persuasive' (Lemprière).
- p. 77.50 – p. 78.2 *Roome...wittes*] The opening of *PWH* (Lyly 1902: 3.394.7-9).
- p. 78.4-5 *his Preamble...reader*] Lyly 1902: 3.396-97.
- p. 78.13-14 *that will...cushion*] 'To bore someone's nose' meant to cheat or swindle them (see Tilley N229 and *OED* nose *sb.* II 9e for examples). Perhaps this came from the practice of putting rings through the nostrils of pigs or bulls to lead them around. 'To run someone through the nose with a cushion' was proverbial by 1672 (Tilley N239); earlier examples appear in *The Old Law* (Middleton 1885-86: 2.201), *English-men for my Money* (Houghton 1616: sig. G3<sup>v</sup>) and *The Gentle Craft* (Deloney 1912: 129.17).
- p. 78.14 *Collyrium*] This could mean various kinds of medication. The earliest instance in *OED* of 'A solid medicine made up in a cylindrical form to be introduced into any of the openings of the body' is from 1748; judging by *NL*, Harvey would seem to think of this as liquid (p. 154.49).
- p. 78.14-15 *that...country*] 'these mutiners [. . .] must have their mouthes bungd with jests' (1902: 2.396.23-24). 'In a country' means 'in the country': see p. 49.38 n.
- p. 78.17 *hairebrain'd*] This form appears in *HWY*; McKerrow notes that it 'appears to have been the commoner at the date' (Nashe 1958: 3.8.15, 4.305). Cf. p. 106.3.
- p. 78.20-21 *in the...lived*] William Absolon was appointed master of the Savoy in 1576; he had possibly taught Lyly at the King's school in Canterbury, where he worked between 1564 and 1566, and at which Lyly's two brothers were pupils (*ODNB* art. Lyly).
- p. 78.21 *a dapper...companion*] Nicholl interprets this as a 'spruce, dandified figure' (1984: 55). However, on p. 56.1, Harvey applies both words to the intellect. 'Deft' could mean 'clever' (*OED* 2); all of *OED*'s definitions of 'dapper' relate to 'dress or appearance', but the first instance of its being used 'Of animal and things' is applied to something immaterial: Colin Clout's reference in *SC* October 13 to 'the dapper ditties that I wont devise' (Spenser 1995: 160).
- p. 78.24 *Ile, Ile, Ile*] See p. 38.35: Harvey is prefacing three uses of the word 'I'll', which he perhaps feels are absurd bombast.
- p. 78.24 *parlous*] Glossing Marprelate's remark in *Hay any worke for Cooper*, 'cards [. . .] though they bee without hornes / yet they are parlous beasts' (sig. [A3]<sup>v</sup>), Pierce comments, 'Parlous seems to oscillate in meaning between *perilous* and *shrewd*' (1911: 219 n.).
- p. 78.24 *Hese...none*] See p. 14.7-8 n.
- p. 78.24-25 *hele...tricke*] 'I would it were come to the grasp, we would show them an Irish tricke, that when they thinke to winne the game with one man, wee'le make them holde out till wee have but

- two left to carrie them to the gallowes' (Lyly 1902: 3.400.12). *OED* explains this as alluding to 'An old game resembling backgammon' (Irish *A adj.* 4, *B sb.* †3).
- p. 78.25 *hele...Irish*] 'Ile make thee to [. . .] weep Irish; [. . .] there is no better revenge on *Martin*, than to make him crie for anger' (Lyly 1902: 3.410.14-16).
- p. 78.25 *hese...blow*] This exact phrase does not appear in *PWH*, although promises of violence towards Marprelate are very frequent. As Tribble notes, a 'conflation between words and blows [. . .] typifies both Martinist and anti-Martinist tracts' (1993: 108). Not in *OED*, the phrase appears in Thomas Wilson's *A Discourse vppon vsurye*: 'this is called a double stoccado, that is to saye, the stycking blowe, or the double stabbe' (1572: fol. 100<sup>r</sup>). Cf. p. 78.29 below.
- p. 78.25 *his Posie, What care I?*] 'Tush, (what care I) is my posie' (Lyly 1902: 3.401.9).
- p. 78.25-26 *Vie stabbes*] 'Yes *Martin*, we will drop vie stabbes'; Bond glosses 'match thee at stabbing' (Lyly 1902: 3.399.12, 577).
- p. 78.28 *dubble V.*] The name with which the prefatory epistle to *PWH* is signed (Lyly 1902: 3.395.15).
- p. 78.28-29 *O dreadfull...penne*] See *2Parnassus* 311, where Ingenioso calls Nashe 'a fellow [. . .] that carryed the deadly Stockado in his pen' (Leishman 1949: 245).
- p. 78.30-33 *Other...short?*] For Harvey's idea of Gawain as the archetype of the fierce warrior, see *FL* (p. 23.40). Nashe in *SN* also mentions his skull, clearly thought to be of a monstrous size: 'O would thou hadst a quaffing boule, which, like *Gawens* skull, should containe a pecke'. McKerrow glosses, 'I have not met elsewhere with this statement about Gawain's skull', but provides information about the various legends of Gawain's remains, their whereabouts and their size, including Caxton's statement that the skull was on display at Dover Castle (Nashe 1958: 1.258.12, 4.157). The rattling dolls which Harvey mentions in *FL* (p. 18.4-5) would have contained dried beans or peas (see Tilley B127). Harvey is just possibly echoing *PWH*: 'Ile make his braines so hot, that they shall crumble and rattle in his warpt scull' (Lyly 1902: 3.401.10).
- p. 78.33 *Thou professest Railing*] See p. 17.38 & *n.*
- p. 78.34 *disdaining...age*] See p. 50.46, where Harvey addresses Nashe in very similar terms.
- p. 78.36 *thossame...tubb*] 'And now you talke of a cooper, Ile tell you a tale of a tubb' (Lyly 1902: 3.399.39).
- p. 78.37 *horning*] Perhaps this means 'Cuckolding, cuckoldry' (*OED vbl. sb.* †3): Hunter defines Harvey's sense as 'committing adultery' (1962: 41).
- p. 78.39-40 *the highest...apron*] Combining two passages from *PWH*: 'we are [. . .] in all cases alike, till we have brought *Martin* [. . .] to bee taken away with *Bulls* voider. O here were a notable full point, to leave *Martin* in the hangmans apron'; 'we will bring *Bull* to hang them [. . .] *Buls* motion fits them best' (Lyly 1902: 3.404.27-30, 406.15-18). Bull, the hangman, seems to have been a well-known figure – see *SN* and *An Almond for a Parrat* for other references (Nashe 1958: 1.319.35, 3.348.30-32).
- p. 78.39-40 *His Ryme...ale*] '*Elderton* swore hee had rimes lying a steepe in ale, which shoulde marre all your reasons' (Lyly 1902: 3.398.17).
- p. 78.40-42 *his Reason...Martins*] 'I thought to touch *Martin* with logick, but there was a little wag in *Cambridge*, that swore [. . .] he will *ergo Martin* into an ague. I have read but one of his arguments.

*Tiburne stands in the cold, But Martins are a warme furre: Therefore Tiburne must be furd with Martins* (Lyly 1902: 3.398.23-34). Bond states confidently that Nashe is meant by the 'wag', which is not impossible (Lyly 1902: 3.577).

- p. 78.42-43 *nothing...knaverie*] The 'third disputer' is Lyly: 'O (quoth I) boy thou wilt be shamed; tis neither in moode nor figure' (1902: 3.398.35).
- p. 78.43-44 *in eodem tertio*] The context would suggest a phrase from logic. Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*: '*Quæ in eodem tertio conveniunt, et inter se conveniunt*, a rule taken from the mathematics, but so potent in logic as all syllogisms are built upon it' (1915: 87).
- p. 78.48 *liverie*] *OED* gives no instances of the adjective before 1778, and none of its senses are relevant. Cf. however *UT*: 'At the townes end met him the burgers and dunsticall incorporationers of *Wittenberg* in their distinguished liveries, their distinguished liverie faces, I meane, for they were most of them hot livered dronkards' (Nashe 1958: 2.247.12). Cf. also p. 106.23, where Harvey calls *PWH* a 'drunken, and shamelesse Declamation'.
- p. 78.49 *all the...orders*] There may be a specific allusion here to a passage in *PWH*: 'Thou seest Martin, with a little helpe, to the foure & twentie orders of knaves, thou maist solder the foure and twentie orders of fooles'; Bond interprets this as an allusion to the different mendicant orders denounced by Luther in *Liber Vagatorum*, although he acknowledges that there were actually 28 of these (Lyly 1902: 3.412.41-42, 588). Similarly, *The Fraternity of Vagabonds* (1561?), attributed to John Awdeley, categorises 'the Twenty-five Orders of Knaves' (see Judges 1965: 51-60). The phrase 'the four and twenty orders of knaves' is in Tilley (O78), but is not properly explained.

Considering Harvey's context, it may be worth noting that there were 24 bishops in England (the Archbishops included), as *PWH* mentions elsewhere: 'weele teach thee to commit sacriledge, and to robbe the Church of xxiiij. Bishops at a blowe' (Lyly 1902: 3.407.2-3); Harrison lists the different sees (1968: 122-23). Hence Marprelate's use of the phrase 'all the twenty-four orders of bishops' in *Schoolpoints* 12 (Pierce 1911: 188); *Martins Months minde* ironically has 'our orders foure and twentie' mourning for Marprelate's death (Nashe 1589: sig. [G4]<sup>v</sup>).

- p. 78.51 *hedded...Saracen*] Grotesque, enormous Saracens' heads were popular inn-signs. Davenport, glossing Hall's *Virgidemiarum* VI.i.13 ('like a painted staring *Saracin*') gives contemporary allusions (1949: 87, 250).
- p. 78.51 – p. 79.1 *his stomack...Orontius*] Smith identifies this as Orontius Finaeus, a mathematician (1904: 2.438). His name was Oronce Fine, Finé or Finée (1494-1555); *DBF* provides information on his maps and mentions his refining the '*horloge planetaire*' of the Cardinal of Lorraine, which may be the globe Harvey means. For the pun on stomach, cf. p. 55.35 *n*.
- p. 79.1 *his breath...Mercator*] Boreas is the north wind (Lemprière), and proverbially strong – cf. 'stately Homer [. . .] whose passion blustereth like Boreas, whose reason breatheth like Zephyrus' (p. 124.12-15); 'thy fell stomacke, that blustereth like a Northeren winde' (p. 125.18). 'Strong breath' seems to signify 'abuse' to Harvey: cf. p. 61.21-22.

Gerhard Kremer (1512-94), cartographer, was known by the Latinised version of his surname. Of all the maps that he had produced by 1589, *ADB* notes that his map of Europe (1554) gained him a reputation as the greatest projective geographer of his time, and that his 1569 map of the world

- marked a new era in the history of navigation and established his reputation worldwide (*ADB*, art. Mercator). By his ‘great map’, Harvey’s readers would perhaps be most likely to understand the 1569 world-map, *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum nauigantium emendatè accommodata*. Martin Frobisher referred to it as ‘the greate mappe universall of Mercator’ (quoted Crane 2002: 270). However, while Boreas and the other winds appear on Mercator’s 1578 edition of Ptolemy, they do not on *Nova et aucta orbis* (see Crane 2002: Plate Section 1 figs 4-6). For the depiction of the four winds in contemporary maps (with cheeks distended from blowing) see Breton, *Wonders worth the hearing* – ‘for his face it was like one of the foure windes in a Mappe, that should blowe over the stoutest May-pole in a Country’ (1602: sig. B<sup>v</sup>) – Lyly’s *Midas* IV.3.64-65 (1902: 3.148), *PP* (Nashe 1958: 1.177.30-32). Perhaps the specific map in question is less important than Harvey’s self-signalling as a humanist invested with practical knowledge, in implicit contrast to Lyly (cf. p. 78.18-19, p. 78.37-38, p. 106.13-14).
- p. 79.4 *like his wives spindle*] In 1583, Lyly had married Beatrice Browne (Hunter 1962: 71), although this is probably not important; the spindle is here both the type of thinness (see *OED sb.* 15a) and the proverbial attribute of the woman, as in the proverb ‘When Adam delved and Eve span who was then the gentleman?’ (Tilley A30).
- p. 79.4 *as lank...herring*] Proverbial (Tilley H447).
- p. 79.7-8 *But...worke*] ‘Paint’ has associations with flattery and deceit in this period (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 5, †6), and Shakespeare, in Sonnet 82, 13, uses ‘painting’ in this sense (1997: 274). To ‘go roundly to work’ means, figuratively, to speak plainly or directly. Marprelate uses the phrase when preparing to berate Cooper: ‘holde my cloake there sombody / That I may go roundly to worke’ (*Hay any worke for Cooper*, p. 6). See also *Hamlet* II.2.139.
- p. 79.9 *Dranting of verses*] See p. 67.21 *n.* Drant had been much mentioned in *3PL*, when Harvey and Spenser were in the grip of quantitative metre. Spenser writes that ‘the Rules and Precepts of Arte’ which he follows in his verse are ‘the very same which *M. Drant* devised’; Harvey writes ‘you shal never have my subscription or consent (though you should charge me with the authoritie of five hundreth Maister *Drants*) to make your *Carpēnter* our *Carpēnter* [. . .]’, etc. (Spenser 1912: 612, 630). Stern comments on the current passage that Harvey now rejects quantitative metre as an ‘awkward literary experiment’ like Euphuism (1979: 86).
- p. 79.10 *the Prognostication...Securis*] Smith glosses, ‘i.e. John Lyly (“Pap-hatchet”)’ (1904: 2.438); however, another allusion is also involved. John Hatchett (*fl.* 1550-80), physician, wrote under the Latinised version of his name, publishing from c. 1561 until 1580 an annual *Prognostication* (*ODNB*).
- p. 79.11 *afterclapps*] See p. 62.26 *n.*
- p. 79.19-20 *had I...suspected*] *PWH* did not in fact suggest that Harvey was Marprelate, but rather someone who might on a whim (‘toy’) join with him (see Appendix B, 11-13).
- p. 79.23 *May-games*] This may just be an allusion to *The May-game of Martinism*, a tract promised in *The Retvrne of Pasquill* but which never materialised (see Nashe 1958: 1.83.1, 88.31, 107.11). (*Martins Months minde*, listing the responses to Marprelate, mentions his being ‘made a *Maygame* upon the *Stage*’ (Nashe 1589: sig. E3<sup>v</sup>)). Alternatively, this might be a coincidence explicable by

Marprelate's use of what Tribble calls 'a satire which claimed for itself a voice of festive comedy' (1993: 104).

p. 79.26 *a professed jester*] See p. 17.38 & n.

p. 79.27 *the foile of Oxford*] Hunter notes about p. 104.11 ('the fiddle-sticke of Oxford') 'presumably he means the University as well as the Earl' (1962: 41).

p. 79.28 *the Apesclogg of the presse*] 'Clog' here is 'A block or heavy piece of wood [. . .] attached to the leg or neck of a man or beast, to [. . .] prevent escape' (*OED sb.* 2). For apes wearing these see *UT* (Nashe 1958: 2.269.23) and *Batman* 1582: fol. 380<sup>r</sup>. Here the meaning seems to be 'an unwanted encumbrance'; Harvey in self-deprecating mode writes to Wolfe in *NL* that *PS* 'was an arrow in my hand, a clogg in your' (p. 153.16).

p. 79.28-31 *to have followed...Cooper*] Harvey perhaps has in mind Aristotle's doctrine of moderation, and avoidance of excess or deficiency, expounded in *Nicomachean Ethics* II.ii.6-7. The brief passage in *Poetics* V about subjects unsuitable for comedy is not relevant, since Aristotle specifies subjects which should be treated with pity (such as deformity). Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594) was Bishop of Lincoln from 1570-1 until 1584, then Bishop of Winchester (*DNB*). His response to the Marprelate tracts, *Admonition to the People of England* (1589), is much mocked by Martin in *Hay any worke for Cooper* (1589) and the later Marprelate tracts, in which he is often called 'profane T.C.' to distinguish him from Cartwright, e.g. *Schoolpoints* 3 (Pierce 1911: 186).

p. 79.31-33 *Especially...feate*] In *FL* (p. 19.41-43), and later in the 'Advertisement' (p. 103.5-6), Harvey evokes the four elements: here he evokes the four humours, which corresponded to them. The four figures represent not only the inappropriateness of jesting in ecclesiastical matters but also unbridled emotions, since ideally the humours and the passions which they stimulated were equally mixed without one predominating and were subservient to reason (see Tillyard 1943: 76-78); hence Harvey makes them fools and (in Elderton's case) figures from 'low' culture. Wright has a similar passage (although he is addressing Marprelate): 'Is this the honest nature, charitable disposition, and curteous behaviour, beseeming a civill religious Gentleman? No, no *Martine*, thy odious railing scoffes, and vile carterly rethorike (more fit for Skogan, Will Summer, or a vice in a play) bewraieth in thee rather a vile, base and churlish disposition' (1590: sig. A2<sup>v</sup>).

p. 79.36 *repayed...home*] 'Home' here is 'so as to touch, reach, or affect intimately; closely, directly, effectively, thoroughly, out and out' (*OED home adv.* 5a). One of the examples cited by *OED* is from Mary Sidney (c. 1586): 'Lord [. . .] pay them home, who thus against me fight'. A similar phrase occurs in *The Tempest* V.1.70 ('I will pay thy graces / Home both in word and deed') and is used by William Webbe of Chaucer ('what enormities he saw in any, he would not spare to pay them home') (1870: 32) and Marlowe in his translation of Ovid's *Amores*, II.x.26 ('I pay them home with that they most desire') (1987-98: 1.48). Perhaps it means 'to recompense fully' (either in the sense of reward or punishment according to the context).

p. 78.38-39 *better...superlative*] For the wordplay involved, see p. 10.32 n.

p. 79.41-42 *A glicking...Ergo*] Emphasizing, as so often, the importance of moderating one's discourse, Harvey here uses the terminology of a formal university debate. Cf. the passage from Nashe's preface to *Menaphon*, which, as McKerrow notes, contrasts 'the uneducated merchant class with the

pretentious university wit': 'Oft have I observed [. . .] a secular wit that hath lived all dayes of his life by What doe you lacke? to be more judiciall in matters of conceit then our quadrant crepundios, that spit *ergo* in the mouth of every one they meete [. . .] the irregular Ideot, that was up to the eares in divinity before ever he met *probabile* in the Universitie, shall leave *pro & contra* before hee can scarcely pronounce it' (1958: 4.448, 3.314.29-315.16).

p. 79.44 *Browne*] Robert Browne (1550?-1633). After being educated at Cambridge, he refused several episcopal licenses to preach, believing that the authority of bishops was contrary to God's law. Like Francis Kett and the Family of Love, he had a congregation in Norfolk. Believing 'that England was as Ægipt [. . .] ffor the outwarde bondage & appression off the church, by popish fforceings, lawes & penalties' (Harrison, Browne 1953: 428), he spent a period in the 1580s in exile, first in Middelburgh, then in Scotland. The formation and disintegration of the community which he led in Middelburgh is described in his tract *A True and Short Declaration, Both of the Gathering and Ioyning together of Certaine Persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell amongst them* (c. 1583); Browne does not emerge as an irenic personality. In 1583, two men were condemned to be hanged for selling Browne's books, and a proclamation by Elizabeth specifically condemned his writings. However, after his return to England and the publication of *An Answer to Master Cartwright* (attacking Cartwright for advocating conformity), he received quite lenient punishment, before formally subscribing to the Church of England. He was then made master of a school in Southwark (he seems to have repeatedly depended on the protection of William Cecil, who was a relative of his). One of the terms of Browne's subscription was that he publish no more controversial books. However, he seems to have engaged in a controversy with the reformer Stephen Bredwell, who published his own contributions, and excerpts from Browne's, in *The Rasing of the Foundations of Brownisme* (1588). For a summary of Browne's career until 1589, see Smith 1937: 291-328. As Katherine S. Van Eerde notes, Browne and Henry Barrow, as leading separatists, 'were publicly associated with the Marprelate Tracts' in several of the officially-sanctioned responses (1981: 40 n.). However, Marprelate in *Hay any worke for Cooper* explicitly distances himself from Browne: 'The ministers maintenance by tithe / no puritane denieth to be unlawfull. For Martine [. . .] doth account no Brownist to be a puritane' (p. 25).

p. 79.45 *Barrow*] Henry Barrow (1550?-1593). An associate of John Greenwood (see p. 84.2 n.), he was arrested while visiting Greenwood at the Clink prison in Southwark in 1587, remaining incarcerated until their joint execution (*ODNB*). While being interrogated by Whitgift, he called the Archbishop 'that second beast spoken of in the Revelation' (Malham 1808-11: 2.27). When *The Returne of Pasquill* lists as enemies of the Church of England 'Papist, Atheist, Brownist, Barowist, Martinist, Anabaptist', McKerrow glosses 'Brownist, Barowist' as 'Practically the same. They were the sect which later became the Independents or Congregationalists. Their chief tenet was the independence and self-government of each congregation' (Nashe 1958: 1.94.12-16, 4.61). Browne and Barrow are paired below (p. 89.22, p. 90.15-16, p. 92.48-49) and in *Marre Mar-Martin*: perhaps the reasons for this included their mutual antagonism (as well as alliteration), since Martin and Mar-Martin are paired as well, the implication being that they are as bad as each other (Crippen 1911-12:

- 367, 369). After Browne's subscription, he was criticised by Barrow and Greenwood (Smith 1937: 321).
- p. 79.45-46 *it is... Temple*] Just possibly there is an allusion to the book of Haggai, where the prophet exhorts the people to rebuild the Temple: 'Is it tyme for you your selves to dwelle in seeled houses, and this house lye waste?' (1.4).
- p. 79.48 *maisons*] Nashe, when repeating Harvey's phrase in *HWY*, renders this 'masons' (1958: 3.45.28), as does Brydges (1815: pt. 8.87).
- p. 79.50-51 *to cleere... Discipline*] There may be wordplay here. On p. 82.51, p. 85.45 and p. 94.45 below, 'sea' means 'see'. Glossing *Measure for Measure* III.2.213 (where the same spelling is originally used), J.W. Lever calls it 'a common variant', noting that this is the form taken by all four examples of the word in the 1623 Folio (Shakespeare 1965: 91 *n.*).
- As on p. 68.18-19, the contrast between 'doctrine' and 'discipline' is made repeatedly throughout the 'Advertisement'. Here, 'discipline' is perhaps 'the system by which the practice of a church, as distinguished from its doctrine, is regulated' (*OED sb.* 6b), and the distinction is the same one which Harvey makes on p. 82.23-24.
- p. 80.1-2 *Roome... pulled-downe in one day*] The proverb was current from 1546 (Tilley R163). It was of course the aim of reformers to 'have all the remnants and reliques of Antichriste bannished out of the Church', as Marprelate puts it in *Epitome* (sig. B') – i.e. the vestiges of Catholic ritual and Episcopal structure.
- p. 80.15 *suspected for silence*] i.e. suspected on account of his silence. That Harvey had been made to suffer for having been silent is a favourite complaint of his; see p. 47.15.
- p. 80.16-17 *They... space*] Harvey means that the men with whom the reformers disagree have been held in high esteem for so long – for examples of similar syntax see Abbott 1870: 308-09.
- p. 80.19 *it swarveth... way*] Perhaps echoing John 14.6: 'I am the way, the trueth, and the lyfe.'
- p. 80.22-23 *Plato... Bridle*] Plato's comment on the two philosophers appears in Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, IV.6. Xenocrates (d. 314 B.C.) was one of Plato's disciples, and Lemprière describes his 'dull and sluggish disposition'.
- p. 80.24 *Admonitions*] Harvey is alluding to John Field and Thomas Wilcox's *Admonition to the Parliament* (1572), which Collinson calls 'the first popular manifesto of Elizabethan presbyterianism' (1961: 131). Later in the same year, Thomas Cartwright issued *A seconde admonition to the Parliament* in support; Whitgift's response to this initiated the long printed controversy between the two (for details of which see Nashe 1958: 4.70).
- p. 80.26 *reane*] Brydges reads 'rein' (1815: pt. 8.88), perhaps correctly.
- p. 80.29 *Numantine Warre*] Perhaps Harvey means 'pointless conflict'. For nearly twenty years the inhabitants of Numantia in Spain, besieged by the Romans, held out until they were nearly all dead rather than capitulate; the Romans then razed the fortress, thus gaining little in the process (Cicero, *De Officiis*, I.xxii.76; Strabo, 3.4.13).
- p. 80.37-38 *What... God?*] Cf. p. 79.45-46; also Nehemiah 2.17, where Nehemiah exhorts, 'let us buyld up the wal of Hierusalem'. The phrase 'city of God' first appears in Psalms 46.4: 'the citie of God: the holy place of the tabernacle of the most hyghest'. In several places it is clearly to be



understood metaphorically, e.g. Revelations 3.12: 'the name of the cite of my God, [whiche is] new Hierusalem'.

- p. 80.38-39** *Can...soules?*] The *Republic* and *Utopia* here epitomise works of the imagination, contrasted with the truth of scripture. Scot in *Discoverie of Witchcraft* places *Utopia* alongside pagan fictions: 'Ovids *Metamorphosis* [sic], *Aesops fables*, *Moore's Utopia*, and diverse other fansies' (1584: 248). *Greenes newes* instructs the reader to read it, and More's specifically Catholic works on Purgatory and the adoration of images, asking 'tel me then if you do not find matter seeming more incredible then any by me here alleaged' (McKerrow 1911: 7). Harvey is perhaps employing irony here, but in some marginalia contrasts *Utopia* with Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*, the latter epitomising humanist involvement with the real world: '*Vivimus in Smithi Rep., non in Utopia Mori*' (1913: 197). For similar use of *Utopia* by More's Protestant contemporaries, as a means of discrediting him, see Pineas 1964.
- p. 80.46** *the Tabernacle of Moses*] In Exodus 25.8, God commands Moses to tell the Israelites to 'make me a sanctuarie, that I may dwelle amongst them'. For the building of the tabernacle where the Ark of the Covenant is housed, see Exodus 25-27, 36-40.
- p. 80.46** *the Temple of Salomon*] The 'house unto the name of the lord' which Solomon announces in I Kings 5.5: its building and dedication are described in I Kings 5-8.
- p. 80.47** *the silver...Constantine*] The first Christian ruler of the Roman Empire was often cited as the exemplar of the godly ruler, hence John Foxe's celebration of Elizabeth as a second Constantine (quoted Collinson 1967: 25); in a 1613 sermon, Sampson Price places him with David, Solomon, Josiah, Edward VI and Elizabeth as one of the monarchs whose 'names amongst all true hearted Protestants, are like a precious oyntment' (1613: sig. H2<sup>r</sup>). See also p. 89.49 and p. 96.39 below. For his contested reputation in the Renaissance see Barnes 1981: 273-74. His reign could be taken by Protestants as epitomising the purity of the primitive Church – one of the issues on which John Whitgift and Thomas Cartwright argued was whether Episcopal authority had existed then. See Bancroft's *Sermon* for a summary of their debate (1588: 100-03).
- p. 80.50 – p. 81.2** *The matter....subject?*] The wholesale dispersal of ecclesiastical power was proposed by several Puritans. Cartwright had taught publicly at Cambridge that the congregation 'should have a voice in the election' of ministers (Mullinger 1884: 207). One of the charges on which John Udall was summoned before the Bishop of Winchester in 1586 was that he had taught 'that there ought to be in the church a pastor, deacon, and elder elected by the congregation' (*ODNB*, art. Udall). In *Epitome*, Marprelate is triumphant that Whitgift has had to admit 'that the ministers ought to be chosen by voyce' (sig. C<sup>r</sup>); Pierce glosses, 'That is by the voice of the people' (1911: 131 n.). Given the associations that Harvey makes between Switzerland and mob rule at p. 86.5-6, it may be worth bearing in mind that an aspirant minister in Geneva had to be selected by ministers and then vetted by the council and the 'Seniorie' before he was 'finally presented to the people [. . .] to y<sup>e</sup> ende he maye be receyved by the common consent into y<sup>e</sup> companie of y<sup>e</sup> faithfull' (see Fills 1562: sig. Aii<sup>v</sup>). Reformers also wanted to change offices as well as the way in which they were filled: see p. 102.28-29 n., p. 103.5-6 n., etc.

- p. 81.18-20 *not to...other*] Harvey's characteristically verbose embroidering of 'Look before you leap' (Tilley L429).
- p. 81.22-23 *Ignorance...devotion*] 'Ignorance is the mother of devotion' (Tilley I17).
- p. 81.23-24 *blind...flies*] 'The blind eat many a fly' (Tilley B451).
- p. 81.38-39 *what wiser...Councels?*] Huffman sees an allusion here to the councils convened by the primitive church to deal with schism and heresy – e.g. at Nicæa in 325 A.D. (1988: 62).
- p. 81.44-48 *They...nature*] The issue of exactly which Church of England rites constituted 'things indifferent' or *adiaphora* and which an impediment to conformity was a key issue to Puritans (albeit one on which Marprelate does not touch in any more detail than Harvey). The list of 'Popishe names and offices' retained in the Church of England, and specific rites in 'The Church Service', among the 'hundred pointes of Poperie' in Gilby's *Pleasant Dialogue* (1581), perhaps give an idea of Puritan objections (quoted Arber 1895: 28-29, 33-34).
- p. 81.49 *M. Beza*] See p. 52.38 *n*.
- p. 81.49 *M. Melvin*] Brydges glosses, 'Could this be Sir James Melville, the Scotch statesman and historian, who died 1606?' (1815: pt. 8.230). 'Melvin' seems to have been a variant form of 'Melville'; A.F. Pollard identifies the 'Master MELVIN' mentioned in a 1589 tract as a Scottish representative at Mary Stuart's funeral as 'Andrew Melville' (Pollard 1903: 481). Brydges seems to mean Sir James Melville (1535/6-1617), privy councillor to Mary and James VI, who was sent on several diplomatic missions to France and England (*ODNB*). Perhaps a more likely candidate would be the scholar Andrew Melville (1545-1622); in 1574 he became principal of Glasgow University and, influenced by Ramus, reconfigured the curriculum to make a break from scholasticism. In 1578 he was elected moderator of the general assembly of the Scottish Kirk, and in 1580 became principal of St. Mary's College at St. Andrews University. He actually knew Beza and Cartwright while a refugee in Geneva (1569-74). His nephew James (1556-1614) was much under his influence; both opposed the 1584 'Black Acts' asserting the authority of Bishops (for which they paid with a spell in exile 1584-85) and were outspoken critics of James VI. James was also moderator, in 1589 (*ODNB*).
- p. 82.2-4 *Howbeit...Ecclesiasticall*] Marprelate twice uses similar lexis. The first time is when rehearsing the articles of his faith regarding church government in *Epitome*: 'The puritans saye / that these offices and officers / whiche our savior Christe and his Apostles did ordaine / are unchangeable / and that it is not lawfull for any prince to alter them / no not though the circumstances of times / places and persons / should seeme in regard of convenience / to enforce him thereunto' (sig. [B2]<sup>v</sup>). The second time is in *Hay any worke for Cooper*, regarding his own use of satire: 'jesting is lawfull by circumstances, even in the greatest matters. The circumstances of time, place and persons urged me thereunto [. . .] Is it not lawfull in it selfe, [. . .] when the circumstances doe make it lawfull?' (p. 14). In both cases, he is describing a situation in which one may legitimately do something otherwise questionable.
- p. 82.5-6 *Qui...docet*] 'Those who can make distinctions well, can teach well.' I cannot find the source of this.
- p. 82.7-9 *in the other...Analogy*] Harvey's lexis chimes with a phrase in the Bishops' Bible translation of Acts 9.22: 'But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jewes which were at

- Damascus, proving by conferring [one scripture with another] that this is very Christ'. The bracketed phrase does not appear in the Geneva or King James bibles and seems to be an extra-scriptural interpolation. What Paul is presumably doing in the passage in question is what Peter (in Acts 2.16) and Stephen (in Acts 7.37) do, citing Old Testament messianic prophecy in defence of Christ.
- p. 82.13-14 *To...cleane*] Cf. Luke 11.41: 'geve almes of those thinges which are within: and behold, al thinges are cleane unto you.'
- p. 82.14 *S. Paule...architect*] Harvey is alluding to Paul's own claim in I Corinthians 3.10: 'as a wyse maister buylder have I layde the fundation, and another buyldeth thereon'.
- p. 82.15-16 *omnisufficiently...People*] In Acts 9.15, God tells Ananias that Paul 'is a chosen vessel unto me, to beare my name before the Gentiles'. See also p. 101.14 *n.* for the distinction between Peter and Paul.
- p. 82.16-17 *became...some*] See I Corinthians 9.22: 'I am made al thynges to al menne, that I myght by al meanes save somme'.
- p. 82.16-17 *a Christian Mercury*] Mercury is cited as the god of eloquence and persuasion – see p. 13.45 *n.* Perhaps there is a specific allusion to Acts 14.12: when Paul preaches in Lycaonia, the inhabitants call him 'Mercurius, because he was y<sup>e</sup> chiefe speaker'.
- p. 82.18-21 *I would...governours*] See Acts 23.33-25.32. In making Paul a dutiful subject, Harvey prudently omits his speaking to Felix 'of ryghteousnesse, temperance, & judgement to come', at which Felix trembles (Acts 24.26).
- p. 82.23-24 *The chiefest...government*] Pierce, commenting on what Marprelate in *Epitome* calls the 'state of the question' (sig. [B2]<sup>v</sup>), notes 'that the main dispute is ecclesiastical and not theological' (1911: 126).
- p. 82.30-31 *aswell...Doctrine*] See p. 79.50 – p. 80.1 *n.*
- p. 82.33 *Free-Citties*] 'Free states' could mean republics (as on p. 95.4-5); here Harvey perhaps means independent city states under republican government, such as Geneva and Zurich, whose ecclesiastical discipline was held up as a model for imitation by English Puritans.
- p. 82.34 *Presidents*] 'Precedents': see p. 14.31 *n.*
- p. 82.37-40 *And...Apostles?*] In Acts 5.40, the Sanhedrin determine to have the Apostles beaten rather than executed. Harvey is here alluding to what Shapiro calls 'the pressure at the radical extremes of Protestant thought to value Old Testament teachings' (1996: 22). Similarly, *The First Part of Pasquils Apologie* notes in Penry's *Treatise of Reformation* 'a desire the Reformer hath, that the Bishoppes of the land should be throwne downe, and the Jewes Synedrion set up' (Nashe 1958: 1.128.24). In *Alchemist* II.5.17, the Puritan Ananias states that all languages are 'heathen, but the Hebrew', and Herford and the Simpsons' comment on this demonstrates that the privileging of the language and authority of the Old Testament was part of the prevailing stereotype of Puritans (Jonson 1925-52: 5.334, 10.87).
- p. 82.42-46 *Importunacy...Theorie*] In 1586, the Speaker instructed the House of Commons to ignore 'the wearisome solicitations of those that commonly be called puritans, wherewith the late Parliaments have been exceedingly importuned' (quoted Collinson 1967: 303). Marprelate in *Hay any worke for Cooper* perhaps has the same phenomenon in mind when he says 'many have put her

majestie / the parliament & counsel in minde / that the church officers now among us / are not such as the Lord aloweth of' (p. 15). For the specific allusion in 'admonitions', see p. 80.24 & *n*.

p. 82.48-49 *May...function*] This was a staple of Puritan literature, e.g. Browne's *True and Short Declaration*: 'Nowe whereas thei mingle civil & church offices, it was answered bi the word off God that such mingling was flatt antichristianitie [. . .] if once ecclesiasticall persons, as thei call them, get civil offices, thei become that second beast which is antichrist' (Harrison, Browne 1953: 413). The Genevan statutes specified 'that the mynisters take not upon them anye Civil jurisdiction', and that the consistory 'be in no case any derogacion to the auctoryte of the Seniorie' (Fills 1562: sig. Ci<sup>v</sup>).

p. 82.49-51 *every...Sea*] See p. 79.50-51 *n*. Harvey means the consequences of the devolution of ecclesiastical power proposed by some reformers. Barrow, asked at one of his examinations 'Whither he thinketh that every parish, or particular church, ought to have a presbyterie?', answered 'over every particular congregation of Christ ther ought to be an eldership' (Malham 1808-11: 2.21). Harvey's position is the same as that of Philip Stubbes, who concluded 'that it would rather bring confusion, than reformation' (1583: sig. [N8]<sup>v</sup>).

p. 82.51 *the noblest...Jerusalem*] *Natural History*, V.xv.70.

p. 83.5 *the Decurions...Chiliarkes*] See Exodus 18.25: 'Moses chose active menne out of al Israel, and made them as leaders over the people, namely, rulers of thousandes, rulers of hundredes, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tennes'. In *A Defence of the Government Established in the Chvrch of Englande*, John Bridges paraphrases this, 'as the Greeke setteth them out [. . .] Chiliarkes, (or Rulers of thousands): Hecatontarks, (or Rulers of hundreds): Pentecontarks, (Quinquagenarians or Rulers of fiftie): Deacharks, or Rulers of tenne' (1587: 988). Nashe mocks these words as coinages of Harvey's (1958: 3.45.23-24).

p. 83.7-9 *there was...Consistories*] Gabinius's consulate was 57-55 B.C.: apart from Jerusalem, the other councils were in Gadara, Amathus, Jericho and Sepphoris (Josephus, *Jewish War*, I.160-70).

p. 83.8 *in a Romane Pollicy*] As an act of 'Political sagacity; prudence, skill [. . .] in the conduct of public affairs; statecraft, diplomacy; in bad sense, political cunning' (*OED* *policy sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 3). For similar syntax (an adverbial phrase with concrete use of an abstract noun), cf. 'in a bravery' (Appendix A); *Martine Mar-Sixtus*: 'in a great solemnity' (R.W. 1591: sig. A3<sup>r</sup>); Bacon's 'Of Goodness', 'in a waggishness' (1972: 37), etc.

p. 83.15 *Aristotles...év*] Harvey's allusion is to *Politics* I.1.5: Rackham translates the phrase as 'one thing for one purpose' (Aristotle 1932: 5). (See p. 98.16 & *n*.) Harvey seems to have been fond of this motto: it appears in some marginalia, after 'On Iron in y<sup>e</sup> fyer atonce' (1913: 94).

p. 83.16 *Hercules...atonce*] Proverbial – see Tilley H436 ('Hercules himself cannot deal with two').

p. 83.16-19 *at-least...Ecclesiasticall*] The italics give the impression that Harvey is quoting, but these are perhaps commonplace phrases among puritans keen to separate civil and ecclesiastical offices (see p. 82.48-49). In 1649, the Assembly of Divines found that a case referred to it (of a woman accused of Judaizing) fell outside its jurisdiction since it was 'merely ecclesiastical' (Shapiro 1996: 25). *OED* cites another instance of the phrase from the Puritan Eusebius Pagitt (*OED* *mere a.*<sup>2</sup> and *adv.* †B).

- p. 83.19-26 *When...Sanedrim*] This is perhaps the passage that Moore Smith has in mind when he comments, 'He shows that [. . .] the Primitive Church adapted itself to temporal circumstances [. . .] Perhaps nothing wiser or more far-sighted was ever written in the whole of the 16th century' (Harvey 1913: 58-59). Huffman similarly calls Harvey's argument 'a fascinating shift to the notion of doctrinal development [. . .] He shows that the erroneous Puritan [. . .] idea that the Primitive Church was intended by God to be static and perpetual [. . .] leads to a barbaric rejection of new knowledge gained by experience'; he states that Harvey plays with 'doctrinal development, two and a half centuries before John Henry Newman made it a burning issue in Anglican thought' (1988: 59, 65). Tolman calls Moore Smith's comment 'somewhat excessive' (1918: 174), and Harvey's argument is perhaps not as innovative as Moore Smith and Huffman suggest. For instance, Stubbes uses it in *The Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses*, where Theodorus asks, 'What say you to a seigniorie or eldership, were it not good for the state of the church at this day that y<sup>e</sup> same were established in every congregation, as it was in y<sup>e</sup> apostles daies', to which Amphilogus replies, 'The churches then wanted christian princes and magistrates to governe the same [. . .] But God be thanked we have most christian kings, princes and governors [. . .] the institution of elders was but meere ceremoniall, and temporall, and therefore not to continue alwaies' (1583: sig. [N8]<sup>r-v</sup>). Marprelate is perhaps trying to pre-empt reasoning like this in *Epitome* (see p. 82.2-4 *n.* above).
- p. 83.28-29 *lost...labour*] i.e. wasted their time. For other examples of the phrase 'to lose labour' see *OED* labour *sb.* 1b, Tilley L9.
- p. 83.35-37 *No...gain-sayd*] I have not been able to locate a corresponding passage in Machiavelli. In Chapter VI of *The Prince*, Machiavelli discusses the introduction of innovations to the constitution, but he emphasizes the danger and uncertainty involved (1999: 19). It is entirely likely that Harvey is being ironic. The point of the allusion depends on what Machiavelli represents here, the wise statesman or the schemer and atheist. Cf. the ambiguous mention of him in *FL* (5.16); for the Machiavellianism of Marprelate, see *Martins Months minde*, where he is imagined bequeathing 'to my lay brethren, my works of Machivell, with my marginal notes [. . .] the verie Thalmud, and Alcoran of all our *Martinisme*' (Nashe 1589: sig. G2<sup>r</sup>). The comparison is also made in *Marre Mar-Martin* (Crippen 1911-12: 368).
- p. 83.35 *Upsy-downe*] Not in *OED*; cf. *James IV* III.3.50 ('There found I all was upsy-turvy turned') (Greene 1970: 71).
- p. 83.38 *Diogenes...pompe*] Lemprière writes of the Cynic philosopher, 'he boasted so much of his own poverty, and was so arrogant, that many have observed that the virtues of Diogenes arose from pride and vanity'. Diogenes, invited to Plato's house, trampled on his carpets and announced that he was trampling on Plato's pride, whereupon Plato commented that he showed pride of another sort (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.26). In *LG*, Richard Harvey seems to be citing the same incident in the same context (Puritan critics of the episcopacy): 'these upstarteds wits wil choake God with his owne scripture [. . .] they will tell him that his lambe is too hote and wants a shearer [. . .] humbling the excellency of one contrary, because it is compared with the lowlinesse of another [. . .] if it were as they say being extremely and abominably false, yet how great was the pride of *Diogenes* which contemned the decency of *Plato*?' (1590b: 159-60)

- p. 83.38-39 *An...Jewes-trumpe*] See p. 82.37-40 *n.* above.
- p. 83.39-40 *Pontificall Consistorie*] Harvey's point here and below – that the power given to each consistory would be as much as that claimed by the Pope – echoes Bancroft, who says: that the Scottish presbytery 'did imitate preposterouslie the papall jurisdiction' in attempting to overrule James VI; that, if the English imitated the Scots, 'in steede of one Pope we shoulde have a 1000'; and that English Puritans, once in power, 'would no doubt tyrannise by their censures over both prince and people at their pleasure, in a most untollerable and popelike maner' (1588: 74, 76, 94).
- p. 83.40-42 *let...both*] Perhaps the distinction between Moses and Aaron here is between temporal and spiritual authority. Cf. Richard Harvey, *LG*: 'he is the surest freend to God and Gods people, which joyneth the power of the world unto the mightines of the word, the arme of *Moses* to the tongue of *Aron*' (1590b: 150). Douglas Brooks-Davies, glossing the qualified praise of Aaron in *SC* July 161-64, notes that as first high priest of the Jews he was 'the exemplar of priestly perfection', but that his worshipping of the golden calf associated him in the eyes of some early Protestants with Catholic idolatry (Spenser 1995: 126). Harvey brings an awareness of this duality to p. 94.37-41.
- p. 83.41 *Moses chaier*] This means, metonymically, Moses' authority (see *OED* chair *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3b), but there is an echo of Matthew 23.2: 'The Scribes and the Pharisees sate in Moses seate'.
- p. 83.42-43 *let...Priesthood*] Harvey's meaning is perhaps 'give the parish clergyman a monarchic degree of power'; he is using a phrase from I Peter 2.9: 'ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthoode, an holy nation, a peculier people'.
- p. 83.44 *Presbiter John*] Harvey puns on the name 'Prester John', a mythical Asian ruler of vast wealth (Hamilton 1986: 160-61). Coincidentally or not, Marprelate repeatedly calls John Bridges this (e.g. *Epitome*, sig. [B2]<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 83.45 *as deare...eye*] *OED* (*Jew sb.* 1b) defines *Jew's eye* as 'proverbial expression for something valued highly', but only cites 2 instances – this and *Merchant of Venice* II.5.42 – before 1833. Tilley J53 cites the same two examples, but compares G96 ('As free of his gift as a blind man (poor man, Jew) of his eye') – i.e. this relates to the stereotype of Jews as tight-fisted.
- p. 83.45-46 *that...sententia*] I have not found the passage in Josephus (whose text is in Greek). Roughly translated it means 'the King does [or 'can do'] nothing without the judgement of the High Priest and the elders'.
- p. 83.46-47 *Onely let...Roome*] For 'Roome' Brydges reads 'room', and on p. 94.49 'Rome' (1815: pt. 8.95, 118). In each case he loses Harvey's joke, which depends on the two words being pronounced identically – see *Julius Caesar* I.2.154, *Rape of Lucrece* 715, 1854 (where 'Rome' is rhymed with 'doom').
- p. 83.47-48 *the humour...England*] The soldier and privateer Thomas Stucley (1520?-1578) was according to contemporary reports an illegitimate son of Henry VIII; he harboured a grudge against Elizabeth, who blocked his attempts to become marshal of Ireland. He spent the 1570s in Europe attempting to gain support for an invasion of Ireland, and in 1578 set sail at the head of a force jointly funded by Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII. Forced to dock in Lisbon, he was persuaded by King Sebastian of Portugal to join him in fighting the Moors at Alcazar, where he was killed

- (*ODNB*). The kind of ‘man of action’ for whom Harvey harboured a private admiration, as some marginalia of his testify (Stern 1979: 229).
- p. 83.48 – p. 84.1 *Some...Philadelphus*] Lionized as the founder of the Roman republic and expeller of the Tarquins, an unpleasant side to Junius Brutus’s personality is suggested by his having his own sons executed (Plutarch, *Brutus* I.2). (Here Huffman understands Tarquinius Superbus to be the archetype of ‘great ambition’ (1988: 59): on p. 63.6 Harvey associates him with pride.) ‘Junius Brutus’ was also the pseudonym under which *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos* (1579), a Protestant work justifying resistance to authority, was published (*OER*, art. Hubert Languet). ‘Eusebius Philadelphus’ alludes to another Huguenot tract, *Dialogi ab Eusebio Philadelpho cosmopolita in Gallorum et cæterarum nationum gratiam compositii* (1574). In some marginalia in his copy of Quintilian, Harvey places the author alongside Agrippa, More, Aretino and Rabelais. Noting this passage, p. 90.20-23 and p. 91.47-48, Moore Smith comments, ‘It would seem that Harvey by 1589 had lost his admiration for him’ (Harvey 1913: 119, 255). Huffman suggests that Harvey’s *Anticosmopolita* – the work of his, now lost, mentioned by E.K. in his gloss to *SC* September 176 (Spenser 1995: 156) – was a ‘rebuttal’ of the latter (1988: 178). Bancroft in his *Sermon* also pairs the two texts: ‘Reade the writings of the chiefest pillars of these platforms, as [. . .] the booke intituled *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos* [. . .] The dialogs of *Eusebius Philadelphus*, with sundry other of that sort: and you shal find in them these most strange and rebellious propositions stiflie maintained’ (1588: 78).
- p. 84.2 *Greenwood*] John Greenwood (1560?-1593), separatist closely associated with Barrow (who was arrested while visiting him in prison). Jailed for recusancy, the pair collaborated on tracts smuggled out and printed abroad; a series of ‘conferences’ organised by the ecclesiastical authorities exposed the division between their position and that of more moderate reformers. They were hanged together (*ODNB*).
- p. 84.4 *Mercurie sublimed*] To ‘sublime’ a substance could mean to vaporize it (*OED* v. 1). Mercury treated in this way was used alchemically: see Scot’s *Discouerie* (1584: 354), Jonson’s *Alchemist* II.5.31-36 (1925-52: 5.335).
- p. 84.9 *the worst is*] *OED* defines this phrase as ‘the most painful or unfortunate thing or circumstance is’ (*OED* worst *a.*, *sb.* B 3d).
- p. 84.11 *Lesbian Canons*] Flexible rules. Cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* V.x.7 (‘what is itself indefinite can only be measured by an indefinite standard, like the leaden rule used by Lesbian builders’).
- p. 84.11-12 *Canon of Polycletus*] Polycletus was a sculptor, whose statue of one of the Persian King’s guards was called the Rule, as it was so perfect that it was regarded as the standard by which all other statues were to be judged (Lemprière).
- p. 84.14-15 *that Pamflet...regiment*] Harvey’s annotated copy of Robert Fills’s 1562 translation surfaced in the 19th century, but its whereabouts are currently unknown (Stern 1979: 213); ‘aswell [. . .] regiment’ is part of the work’s full title, and should perhaps here be in italics. Fills had been a Marian exile in Geneva, and Rosenberg cites his dedication of the work to Leicester as the earliest example of Leicester’s patronage of Puritans (1955: 205).
- p. 84.22 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 *n.*

- p. 84.27 *Josephus*] ‘*Josephus*, the sonne of Mattathias, a prieste, of Hierusalem, wrate in Greeke the battayle of the Jewes, and destruction of the citie by Vespasian and Titus. whereat he himselfe was presente. He wrate also of the antiquitie of the Jewes [. . .] He was after the incarnation of Christ .lxvi. yeres’ (Cooper). F.O. Mann, identifying ‘*de Bello Judaico*’ as the source for Deloney’s ballad *Canaans Calamitie*, states that ‘Josephus was a most popular writer with the Elizabethans’, noting English translations in 1557-8, 1591 and 1602 (Deloney 1912: 595). The Stationers’ Register records the licensing of ‘a ballet intituled *the complaynte of JOSEPPUS*’ in 1568-69 and another ‘intituled *the troubles of JOSEPHUS*’ in 1569-70 (Arber 1875-94: 1.378, 398). Josephus might also be the source for the ‘ballett in[tit]uled *ye honorable and Wofull Dystruction of Jerusalem*’ licensed in 1568-69, and of another ‘of *the woman that was constrayned to eate hyr sonne for hunger*’ (Arber 1875-94: 1.380, 363), the latter being one of the most sensational incidents in the siege of Jerusalem (see *Jewish War* VI.201-19). Perhaps a factor in this popularity was that Josephus could be made to bear a Christian reading: Cooper states that ‘it repugneth not much, that in his heart he embraced the fayth of Christ’. Cf. p. 92.20-31 n.
- p. 84.27 *Philo*] Cooper calls Philo ‘a philosopher of the secte Academicke, and a Jewe, borne at Alexandria, a man of great eloquence and wisdom’. For his authority in Christian England during the period, see the table ‘touching the successive order of the Kinges or Monarchies of Babylon and of Persia’ in the Bishops’ Bible between Chronicles and Ezra, where it is stated ‘we wyl herein folowe Philo Judeus, and Metasthene, auncient authours, whose opinions doo neerest agree with the holy scripture’.
- p. 84.27 *Egesippus*] Perhaps Harvey means the ecclesiastical historian Hegesippus, fl. 178 A.D. (Lemprière).
- p. 84.28 *Sigonius*] See p. 52.5 n.
- p. 84.28 *Freigius his Mosaicus*] Stern calls *Mosaicus* (1583) ‘an account of various prominent Biblical figures from Adam to Moses’ (1979: 153).
- p. 84.28 *Bonaventura*] Similarly, in some marginalia in Freigius’ *Mosaicus*, Harvey mentions ‘Sigonius, et Bonaventura de Rep. Hebræorum’ among books on Jewish history (1913: 211.18-19); Moore Smith has no comment. The only author that I can think Harvey might mean is St. Bonaventure (1221-74), known as ‘the Seraphic Doctor’, Minister-General of the Friars Minor, and prolific writer on philosophy and theology; for a list of his works see *CE*. However, Puritans would hardly regard him as one of ‘their own’. Another monastic, Girolamo Savonarola, seems to have been appropriated as a Protestant *avant la lettre* in the same period (see Bèze 1581: 19-20); however, Bonaventure’s only reforming activities seem to have been his reform of the Franciscans in 1260, and in his writings, according to Paschal Robinson, he ‘regarded new opinions with disfavour and ever strove to follow those generally received in his time’ (*CE*).
- p. 84.31-32 *Had...Sanedrim*] Harvey would appear to mean a text of Ramus’ which is not extant: *OED* gives no instances of ‘to come to light’ in a weaker sense such as ‘to become better known’ (*OED* light sb. 3). If so, I cannot identify it, although in a letter of 1576, Théophile de Banos mentions works by Ramus in manuscript which he has not yet received (Ong 1958: 29). Given the sense in which Harvey predominantly uses ‘discipline’ in this book, if he did mean one of Ramus’ published



- works, it would most likely be *Commentariorum de religione Christiana libri quatuor*, printed posthumously in 1577, to which Harvey refers in some marginalia (1913: 195.19-20, 204.6, 291): Ong describes this as proposing ‘a mild Zwinglian theology’ (1958: 28).
- p. 84.33-34 *God...Tree*] Broadly, Harvey expresses concern about the consequences of Puritan thought due to its Old Testament foundations. None of the images are in Tilley or Dent, but the last suggests ‘the tree is known by his fruite’ (Matthew 12.33), which Harvey quotes directly on p. 133.14. See Tilley T497 for other examples of this, and F777 and T486 for variants not dissimilar to Harvey’s.
- p. 84.34 *Abraham...beginning*] See Genesis 12.1-2.
- p. 84.35 *Christ...history*] In medieval Christian theology, the purpose of Old Testament revelation was to prepare the world for the coming of Christ; the Jews, having rejected Christ, ceded their rights as God’s chosen people, and the blessings of the Old Israel passed on to the New (Christendom) (Hamilton 1986: 146). Luther expressed the continuity of this view in 1517: ‘the Jewes were in tymes past, the peculiere people of God, but when they fledde from the lyght of the Ghospell, and refused the benefyte of Christ, they were forsaken, and so gave place to the Gentyles’ (Sleidanus 1560: fol. xix<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 84.47-49 *the Elder-tree...stormes*] Batman calls the elder ‘full sounde and sad without, and full hollowe within [. . .] the [. . .] fruit is black, with horrible smel and savour; and this is therefore unprofitable to eate’ (1582: fol. 319<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 84.50 *Martin Seniour*] *Just Censure* is written in the persona of Marprelate’s eldest son, rebuking ‘Martin Junior’ for publishing *Theses Martinianae*; the name is also applied to the text itself (Pierce 1908: 150).
- p. 84.50 *Penry*] John Penry (1562/3-1593) wrote several tracts highlighting the persistence of Catholicism in his native Wales and calling for reform of the Church of England: this earned him several spells of imprisonment and a period in exile in Scotland (ODNB). He had common theological ground with Marprelate, who describes his interrogation by the Bishops sympathetically in *Epistle* (pp. 29-30); in *Hay any worke for Cooper*, Marprelate lists him as one of those who have been wrongly suspected ‘to make Martin’ (p. 21), and in *Just Censure*, Martin Senior makes Whitgift name ‘that seditious Welch man Penry’ as ‘the Author of all these libelles’ (sig. Aij<sup>v</sup>), which Martin Senior denies (sig. Bij<sup>r</sup>). *An Almond for a Parrat* identifies Penry as Marprelate, and the nominally anti-Marprelate *First Parte of Pasquils Apologie*, which is as much a response to Penry’s 1590 *Treatise* as to Martin, states that he oversaw the printing of some of the tracts (Nashe 1958: 3.365.25 ff., 1.115.27-29). Nashe in *HWY* states that Marprelate has been hanged (1958: 3.138.11-12), as in 1593 Penry was, Stow’s chronicle describing him as ‘a principall penner and publisher’ of the Marprelate tracts (1598a: 437). Humour is not one of the weapons utilised by Penry in the texts printed in his own name. McGinn 1943 assembles the evidence for Penry’s involvement: his position can be summarized, ‘only to Penry may be given the name of Martin, if by that name we mean the author of the *Epistle* and the inventor of the “martinizing” style [. . .] he alone was the guiding spirit of Martinism’ (1943: 88). Publishing Penry’s notebook the following year, Albert Peel felt that the contents told against Penry’s authorship (1944: xxv). Consensus seems to have moved towards Job

Throckmorton's authorship of the tracts (see, for example, Neale 1957: 220, Tribble 1993: 182), although evidence exists of Penry's involvement in the printing (Arber 1895: 127).

- p. 85.2-3 *young Phaeton...Sunne*] See p. 14.11 n.
- p. 85.5-9 *his suddaine...or Poplars*] The Latin might be translated, 'So weeps Clymene, and so weep the Clymeneides also'. The phrase is not in Ovid, although he describes the same events (see *Metamorphoses*, II.333-66).
- p. 85.10 *sophisticall wrangling*] *OED*'s closest sense of 'sophistical' is 'of the nature of sophistry or specious reasoning', but see p. 20.39 n.
- p. 85.17 *Ramus*] For Beza's hostility to the teaching of his logic at Calvinistic centres, see Mullinger 1884: 410.
- p. 85.17 *Erastus*] See p. 52.38 n. for his contention with Beza.
- p. 85.17 *Kemnitius*] Martin Chemnitz (1552-86), of Wittenberg. Called 'one of the leading theological minds of the time' by Robert Kolb, he was involved in drafting the 1577 Formula of Concord intended to end doctrinal disputes among Lutherans (*OER*). He is mentioned in laudatory terms both by Marprelate (*Epitome*, sig. D<sup>r</sup>) and Richard Harvey, who in an anti-Marprelate passage in *LG* places 'Martin Chemnisius' alongside Luther and Bucer as 'learned and good men of God' (1590b: 55).
- p. 85.19 *Gribaldus*] Matteo Gribaldi (d. 1564), Italian jurist; his most famous work was probably the highly popular *De Methodo ac ratione studendi in Jure civili* (1544), a guide to the study of Roman law to which Harvey refers in some marginalia (1913: 186, 287). He settled in Geneva, and while his relationship with Calvin was initially cordial – Calvin describing him in the preface to a tract of Gribaldi's as 'a learned man & an eloquent' (1550: sig. Aiiii<sup>r</sup>) – his antitrinitarian views led to Calvin banning him permanently from the city in 1555 (*OER*).
- p. 85.19 *Baldwinus*] See p. 52.38 n. Regarding Baudouin's heresy, Harvey in some marginalia refers to his *De institutione historiae universae* (1561), which questioned the literal truth of the Old Testament (1913: 204, 294).
- p. 85.19 *Apostataes*] This form was not uncommon – e.g. Marprelate, quoting Aylmer's *Harborowe*: 'he hath forsaken God, like an Apostata' (*Epitome*, sig. [A2]<sup>v</sup>), Scot's *Discouerie*: '*Julianus* was an *Apostata*, and a betrayer of christian religion' (1584: 535-36), etc.
- p. 85.20 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 85.28 *aëry in resolution*] Huffman suggests that Harvey is punning here – see p. 86.35 below (1988: 63). However, this spelling was not unique to Harvey – cf. *The Fortvnate Isles* 91, where Johphiel introduces himself as 'An aëry jocular spirit' (Jonson 1925-52: 7.710).
- p. 85.32-41 *M. Calvin...Prince*] Calvin was banished from Geneva in spring 1538, the Council revoking the edict in September 1541 (*DBF*). *FP*<sup>2</sup>, *DBF* and Bancroft 1588: 47 both give as the reason Calvin's refusal to use wafer-cakes in communion, but Hooker, in a longer narrative of the same event, has it as the excommunication of a particular Genevan (1594-97: 1.5-9). As for his 'French party', Jean-Daniel Benoit cites, as one of the factors with which Calvin had to contend in his struggle to reform Geneva, the resentment of older Genevans of the influx of French refugees and Calvin's being a foreigner himself (*DBF*).

- p. 85.33 *whome...great Calvin*] I have not been able to identify the passage of Beza's voluminous writings alluded to by Harvey, although in the text accompanying Calvin's picture in *Les Vrais Povrtraits des Hommes Illustres*, Beza calls him 'ce grand docteur' (Bèze 1581: 121).
- p. 85.41 *M. Traverse*] See p. 52.39 n.
- p. 85.41-42 *Could...roast*] Brydges reads 'roast' (1815: pt. 8.99). See p. 28.21 n. In Geneva at least, the system was in fact more oligarchic than democratic. To be a councillor or elder it was necessary to be a citizen, and to hold any office a candidate had to be at least a burgess (Fills 1562: sig. Dv<sup>r</sup>v).
- p. 85.42 *Helvetian*] i.e. Swiss. Cf. *Epitome*, where Marprelate lauds 'Geneva / and other the Helvetian Churches' (sig. [B4]<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 85.45 *give...Sea*] See p. 79.50-51 n. Harvey's context being the involvement of 'mechanical' people in ecclesiastical matters, it would be appropriate for his lexis here to echo slang: cf. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* I.4.85-86, where Firke says of one of his fellow-artisans 'heelee give a villanous pul at a Can of double Beere' (Dekker 1953-61: 1.35).
- p. 85.46-49 *It were...Gradation*] 'Politique' here is as likely to mean 'skilfully contrived' as 'political' (*OED* politic *a.*, *sb.* A 2, †1a). The adverb appears when the same rhetorical figure is used in a different context in Greene's *The Royal Exchange*. The author of the Italian original lists as the 'Foure things' which drive 'a man from hys house': '1. Too much smoke. 2. A dropping rooffe. 3. A fylthie ayre. 4. And a brawling woman'. Greene comments 'Heere pollitiquelie is used a figure called *Clymax*, or *Gradatio*, where ascending from the lesse, hee endeth in the greater' (1881-86: 7.249).
- p. 86.4-6 *They...reformation*] It was conventional to compare the multitude to a beast with many heads – see Tilley M1308 for examples. Cf. also p. 90.36 & n.
- p. 86.7-8 *as...challenged*] By 'at large', perhaps Harvey is more likely to mean 'At length, in full, fully' than 'free[ly], without restraint' (*OED* large *a.*, *adv.*, *sb.* C II 5c, 5a). Cf. p. 24.42 ('as elsewhere I have copiously declared').
- p. 86.8-9 *the government...hart*] See p. 55.35 n.
- p. 86.11 *ordained...condition*] Perhaps Harvey means 'constrained by their birth to private not public life': see *OED* private *a.* (*sb.*) A 2a ('Not holding public office or official position'), *OED* condition *sb.* II 10a ('social position, estate, rank').
- p. 86.13-14 *If...enclosures?*] See p. 53.39 & n. Enclosure was sometimes carried out by the consent of the whole community, sometimes it was imposed on tenant farmers by their landlords. Enclosures were one of the grievances of Kett's rebels in 1549 (Holinshed 1807-08: 3.963-64); for some contemporary denunciations of enclosure see More's *Utopia* (1989: 18-20), Harrison's *Description of England* (1968: 256-59), Tawney, Power 1924: 3.51-81. Possibly by 'enclosures' Harvey is being figurative, meaning things which ought to be kept private: the same metaphor is used in *2Parnassus* with regard to adultery (Leishman 1949: 248). However, some enclosures were actually laid open again after protests – Thirsk cites an example from 1569-70 (1959: 7).
- p. 86.26-28 *There...Apostles*] Harvey's argument is perhaps a conventional one for defenders of episcopacy. In *Epitome*, Marprelate tries to be armed against it, telling the Bishops, 'Archbishop Titus and Timothie will never maintaine your popishe callings' (sig. 2<sup>v</sup>). Pierce identifies this as a specific allusion to Bridges's *Defence* (1911: 121). *OED* notes that, as a translation of the New

Testament's *episkopos*, 'superintendent' was 'used controversially instead of "bishop" by extreme Protestant reformers of the 16th century' (*OED* superintendent A sb. 2a), citing (*inter alia*) *PWH*: '[Martinists] studie to pull downe Bishoppes, and set up Superintendents, which is nothing else, but to raze out good Greeke, & enterline bad Latine' (Lyly 1902: 3.403.16-17).

- p. 86.29 *the eloquent Apollos*] In Acts 18.24, Apollos is called 'an eloquent man, and myghty in the scriptures'.
- p. 86.29 *Evodius of Antioche*] Brydges retains the original's 'Euodius' (1815: pt. 8.101); Collier modernizes the spelling (1870b: 94). Evodius was the first Bishop of Antioch after St. Peter, and is mentioned by Eusebius and Origen (*CE*).
- p. 86.33-36 *Thesame...naming*] On pp. 16-18 of his *Sermon*, Bancroft (citing Epiphanius) gives a potted history of Alerius' attempts to be made Bishop of Pontus, which failing, 'he affirmed [. . .] that there was no difference by the word of God betwixt a priest and a B. He used for prooffe of these his assertions the very same arguments which now are used of those that maintaine his opinions [. . .]' (1588: 18). The comparison of Puritan critics of episcopacy with Alerius was commonplace: see Huffman 1988: 173-74 for examples.
- p. 86.44-46 *I fear...pompe*] Harvey's sense – that there are worse abuses in a Protestant state than episcopal supremacy – is broadly clear, but his syntax is a little garbled. The second 'that' in the sentence is clearly a demonstrative, and perhaps in the first there is an elision of the demonstrative and the relative pronoun, as in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* IV.1.3 ('throw us that you have about ye'). Cf. p. 2.3. However, 'that' could mean 'when' (see Abbott 1870: 186, 193-94 for Shakespearean examples), as perhaps the first 'that' does here. 'Reformation' would then be abstract and not concrete, and 'advised' would mean 'well considered, judicious' rather than 'Counselled' (*OED* 4, 6).
- p. 86.47-48 *the delict...Church*] Pierce (despite being Marprelate's partisan) acknowledges that scandal about individual Bishops – as opposed to criticism of episcopacy *per se* – plays a large part in Marprelate's satire (1911: 177), and even Martin Junior (in thesis 39 of *Theses Martinianae*) acknowledges the distinction between a corrupt office and a corrupt individual inhabiting it (sig. Bj<sup>n</sup>). Elizabeth I's proclamation responding to Marprelate distinguished between the 'doctrine' of the pamphlets and the 'matters [. . .] against the persons of the Bishoppes' (quoted Arber 1895: 109).
- p. 86.50 – p. 87.14 *I have...Church*] Harvey's insinuation in this passage – that the discontent of Puritan critics of episcopacy is merely frustrated ambition – echoes Bancroft's *Sermon*: 'The second cause why so many false prophets are gone into the world, I finde to be ambition [. . .] not by such as are already advanced to any honour or authoritie, but rather by those who accounting themselves nothing inferior to any of their superiours, do affect with greedines the like places and preferments: the which if they misse one way, they labor to attaine them by another' (1588: 16). The thought was perhaps conventional. The Bishops' Bible gloss to Acts 20.30 – in which Paul warns the Church at Ephesus 'of your owne selves shal menne arise, speaking perverse thynges, to draw away disciples after them' – comments, 'Through their ambition, whiche is mother of al sects and heresies'. See also *Martins Months minde* (Nashe 1589: sig. E3<sup>r</sup>), *UT* (Nashe 1958: 2.237.30 ff.).

**p. 87.5-7** *Doctour...judgement*] Laurence Humphrey (1527?-1589) was a Protestant exile in the reign of Mary Tudor, and an associate of John Bale and John Foxe. In the 1560s, as President of Magdalen College, Oxford, he led the campaign against the wearing of clerical vestments along with Thomas Sampson, dean of Christ Church. However, he retained his college position and was later made dean of Gloucester, and a gap widened between him and a younger generation of reformers. Having nurtured the early career of John Field, he distanced himself when Field was imprisoned as a result of his *Admonition to Parliament* (see p. 80.24 *n.*); in 1575 he expelled six junior college fellows who 'were at loggerheads with Humphrey over his perceived lack of religious zeal' (*ODNB*). The extent of Humphrey's later conformity is suggested by Marprelate's allusion to his pluralism in *Epitome* sig. [F3]<sup>v</sup>; see Pierce 1911: 166 *n.* For a summary of Humphrey's protest see Strype 1711: 162-73; Strype notes Leicester's role as Humphrey's protector. William Fulke (1536/7-89) participated in the protest against vestments while fellow of St John's College, Cambridge in the mid 1560s; after resigning his fellowship he became chaplain to Leicester and, in the words of Richard Bauckham, moved 'towards a more conformist position in his later years' (*ODNB*). Moore Smith concludes that Harvey knew both men. He identifies the former as the 'Doctor Humfry' in whose company in Oxford Harvey mentions being in some marginalia; Harvey also quotes a pun by 'D. Fulk' (1913: 191.8, 289, 140.11, 266).

**p. 87.9** *Admonitions*] See p. 80.24 & *n.*

**p. 87.18-19** *no such...Prooffe*] 'Armour of proof' was a common phrase, 'proof' meaning 'The condition of having successfully stood a test, or the capability of doing so' (see *OED sb.* B II 10a), but Harvey is punning.

**p. 87.21-23** *all resteth...grapes*] Alluding to the fable of Aesop's in which a fox, unable to reach some grapes, claims that they are sour (1585: fol. 61<sup>v</sup>).

**p. 87.29-30** *Possession...adversarie*] Cf. 'Possession is eleven (nine) points of the law' (Tilley P487), but Tilley, *ODEP* and Dent<sup>2</sup> cite no instances earlier than *Edward III*, printed in 1596.

**p. 87.37** *Admonitioner*] For the specific allusion here, see p. 80.24 *n.*

**p. 87.48-49** *Never...Pilgrim*] The widow, the orphan and the stranger are repeatedly linked in the Old Testament as objects of charity, e.g. Deuteronomy 10.17-19: 'the Lord your God [. . .] dooth right unto the fatherlesse and wydowe, and loveth the straunger, to geve hym foode and raiment. Love ye therefore the straunger also [. . .]'. During the Middle Ages, the lodging of strangers was one of the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, and enabled poor pilgrims to travel across Europe (Hamilton 1986: 139).

**p. 88.1-9** *Equality...government*] Perhaps what Harvey has in mind is enforced equality between people of inherently different natures. In *3PL*, he uses similar lexis in what seems like a similar sense: 'Geometricall Proportion seldome, or never used, Arithmetically overmuch abused: Oxen and Asses [. . .] draw both together in one, and the same Yoke' (Spenser 1912: 621). In his copy of Livy, he similarly writes of Sir Thomas Smith's applying the precepts of only a few authors, despite his wide reading: 'Not the most, but the Best; was his rule. And I am for Geometrical, not Arithmetical Proportion' (quoted Jardine, Grafton 1990: 54). Stern comments on this passage, 'Harvey, like Spenser and other Renaissance contemporaries, believed in a hierarchy of competence and that

- equality should apply only to things similar', citing *FQ* (V.ii.30-50) and *Troilus and Cressida* 1.3.101-26 (1979: 88). 'Balance' is literally 'apparatus for weighing' and figuratively anything 'by which actions and principles are weighed or estimated' (*OED* v. I 1, II 8a); similarly 'standard' is both literally 'authorized exemplar of a unit of measure or weight' and figuratively 'authoritative or recognized exemplar of correctness' (*OED* n. (a.) A II 9a, 10a).
- p. 88.15-16 *Regnum...Texts?*] Cf. the 'Sentences [. . .] Concerning Unity', the Latin mottoes which formed part of Elizabeth's coronation pageant. These included 'Regnum divisum facile dissolvitur' – 'a divided kingdom is easily destroyed' (Pollard 1903: 373-74).
- p. 88.17 *Or...iucundum?*] From Proverbs 133.1: 'Beholde how good and joyfull a thing it is: brethren to dwelle together in unities.'
- p. 88.17 *Sweet...sweet*] Cf. p. 28.37, where Harvey's tone is similarly irenic.
- p. 88.26 *we may...Discipline*] See p. 79.50 – p. 80.1 n.
- p. 88.27 *an Eccho*] 'Eccho' (the two 'c's appear to have been Harvey's preferred spelling) always appears in Harvey's text with a capitalised initial: see p. 51.15, p. 123.28, p. 159.34. Although Brydges invariably makes the 'E' lowercase, the second and third of these suggest that Harvey has in mind the nymph who pined away for love of Narcissus until nothing remained but her voice; after being cursed by Juno she was unable to speak, only repeat the words of others (see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* III. 356-401).
- p. 88.29 *Est Amen*] Means of ending (see p. 75.10).
- p. 88.29-31 *That Reconciliation...Aurelius*] See Marcus' *Communings with Himself*, III.11. In Haines's translation, this reads: 'To the stand-bys mentioned add yet another, that a definition or delineation should be made of every object that presents itself, so that he may see what sort of thing it is in its essence stripped of its adjuncts' (Marcus Aurelius 1930: 59).
- p. 88.30 *veales*] Brydges reads 'veils' (1815: pt. 8.105). Cf. *FQ* I.i.4.4 ('Under a vele, that wimpled was full low'); II Proem 5.1-2 ('enfold / In covert vele and wrap in shadowes').
- p. 88.32 *the precepts...Ramus*] Harvey writes in his copy of Livy: 'There is no specialist in political, or economic, or ethical axioms drawn from histories and poems to match Aristotle in his Politics, Economics, Ethics. But how much greater would he have been had he known histories that were so much greater – especially Roman history? Machiavelli certainly outdid Aristotle in observation of this above all, though he had a weaker foundation in technical rules and philosophical examples. Hence I generally prefer Aristotle's rules, Machiavelli's examples'. Later in the same book he writes 'I want a politician who fixes the adamant basis on deeper foundations, and illustrates the best precepts with the best examples, and thus outdoes Aristotle himself in weight of principles, Machiavelli in choice of histories' (Jardine, Grafton 1990: 61-62).
- p. 88.38-39 *if Truth...prevayle?*] Cf. Smith 792 ('Truth is mighty and will prevail'): Smith cites this as an example.
- p. 88.42 *afewe...wisedomes*] It is not clear if Harvey means Lyly or Marprelate, but in *FL* he describes his personal enemies with similar language (see p. 26.27).
- p. 88.50-51 *as...matter*] In modern syntax, perhaps the 'always' would appear between the 'have' and 'so'; for similar transposition of adverbs by Harvey's contemporaries, see Abbott 1870: 310-12.

- p. 88.51 *Ut...intelligent*] Harvey quotes the Prologue to Terence's *The Lady of Andros*, l. 17: 'faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant?' Sergeaunt translates, 'Does not this use of their critical faculty show that they are no critics?' (1912: 6-7). (The playwright is responding to hostile comment on his plays.)
- p. 89.18 *the sharpest inventions*] See p. 48.42 *n*.
- p. 89.20-21 *to controwle...side*] Leicester's patronage of Puritans was often represented as done for purely cynical reasons. In 'News from Heaven and Hell', he is told that he has been 'a great patron of Purytanes, makeing religion your coler only to flese bishops liveings and to have converted them to your owen use' (Peck 1978: 152); in *Leicester's Ghost*, he is made to admit that 'by pretence of hott and fervent Zeale / In welth and faction I more stronge did growe [. . .] To serve my tourne, I could turne Puritant' (Rogers 1972: 12). See also McGinn 1946: 446. Leicester having died by 1589, this passage of Harvey's presumably has no specific application. In a passage in *PWH* alluding to Marprelate's aristocratic patrons, it is suggested that he has 'crept into the bosome of some great men, saying [. . .] that thou canst [. . .] bring the lands of the Clergy, into the cofers of the Temporalitie' (Lyly 1902: 3.402.27-30); Bancroft in his Paul's Cross sermon has a substantial attack on the 'laie factious' who 'do greatly urge in the ministry the Apostolicall povertie, to the intent that they might obtaine the pray, which they looke for' (1589: 24-28). Rosenberg states that 'Derogators of Leicester and other Puritan nobles charge them with battenning on unfilled church livings' (1955: 137).
- p. 89.24 *H.N.*] Hendrik Niclas, Dutch Anabaptist who succeeded Joris as leader of the Davidians (see note on 'David Gorge' below). He was known as Henry Nichols in England, where he settled towards the end of Edward VI's reign; his followers were called the 'Family of Love' or the 'Famillists'. 'Several of his books were translated into English, and a *Confutation* of his heresies was published in 1579 by J. Knewstub' (Nashe 1958: 4.325).
- p. 89.25 *David Gorge*] 'Otherwise called David George, Joris, or Joriszoon. He was born at Delft in 1501, and about the year 1535, separating from the Anabaptists, formed a congregation of his own, the Davists or Davidians. He professed to be guided by visions and revelations, some of which he printed in his *Wonder Buk* of 1542. Soon after this date he gave up his propaganda and settled down at Basle under the assumed name of John Von Brügge, where he lived quietly until his death in 1556' (Nashe 1958: 4.325).
- p. 89.25 *Servetus*] Michael Servetus (1509/11-1553). He left his native Spain in 1528 or 1529 and lived and studied in France, where he practised medicine, under an assumed name. His radical theological works attacked trinitarianism, and when his true identity was discovered by the French authorities, he was tried for heresy and sentenced to death. Escaping from prison, he tried to make his way to Italy through Geneva, but he was condemned by Calvin and burnt at the stake (*OER*). Nashe in *HWY* cites him as the archetype of the heretic (1958: 3.124.25).
- p. 89.32 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 89.34 *seven-fold Sheild*] In the *Iliad* Ajax carries a brass shield, backed with seven layers of oxhide, which Hector's lance cannot pierce (VII.222, 245). Cited as an emblem of impenetrability (*Antony*

and Cleopatra IV.14.38-39) and martial valour (*Leicester's Ghost* 1466) (Rogers 1972: 59); Spenser's Guyon carries one (*FQ* II.v.6.3).

- p. 89.36 *Some...every-one*] Harvey is here contrasting the fault-finding of others with his own (implicitly broadminded and tolerant) behaviour. 'To sleep', used intransitively, could mean 'To be [. . .] quiescent' (*OED* v. B I 4a): 'watch' is 'be or remain awake' (*OED* v. I †1a). *OED* gives no instance of 'to watch to', but it occurs in Browne's *True and Short Declaration* (c. 1583): he describes how his congregation 'agreed off the manner, howe to watch to disorders' (Harrison, Browne 1953: 423). The meaning would seem to be 'be vigilant in looking for', 'give close attention to'.
- p. 89.40-42 *in matters...thing*] Brydges makes the semi-colon after 'wall' a full stop, cutting the sentence's adverbial phrase off from its main verb (1815: pt. 8.107). Perhaps by 'Take heede' Harvey means a warning, and in a modernised text the phrase should be in inverted commas. Cf. p. 13.42 ('an abundant Cautele can do little hurt'), and the capital 'T' for the first word of Harvey's 'observation' on p. 90.36-38 below.
- p. 89.42-43 *Were...Circumstances*] Cf. p. 82.2-4 above.
- p. 89.44-45 *Men...imperfections*] Cf. *A Myrror for Martinists*: 'They then are too peevish and wayward, which at this day doe faine and imagine to themselves a Church so reformed heere in earth, as they will have nothing out of square in the same' (T.T. 1590: 2).
- p. 89.45-46 *the golden...imperfections*] Harvey is more likely to mean the apostolic era (see p. 86.27) than the classical Golden Age (for which see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.89-112).
- p. 89.47 *Moses tabernacle*] See p. 80.46 n.
- p. 89.48 *Salomons Temple*] See p. 80.46 n.
- p. 90.1 *Luciferian spirits*] Perhaps 'Luciferian' here means 'ambitious, proud, overreaching'. Lucifer's fall was proverbially due to his pride – see Isaiah 14.12-14: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer [. . .] for thou saidest in thine hart, I wil climbe up unto heaven, and exalt my throne above, besyde the starres of God [. . .] I wyl clymbe up above the cloudes, and wyl be lyke the hyghest of al.'
- p. 90.1-2 *it is...neast*] Cf. Tilley B377, 'It is a foul bird that defiles his own nest'.
- p. 90.2-3 *a prowld...wheate*] Tares are 'an injurious weed among corn' (*OED* tare sb.<sup>1</sup> 3a). Harvey here echoes Christ's second parable of sowers and seeds (Matthew 13.24-30). The enemy of a 'housholder' sows tares among his wheat by night: when the man's servants offer to gather the crop, he dissuades them 'lest whyle ye geather up the tares, ye roote up also the wheate [. . .] Let both growe togeather untyl the harvest'. Christ expounds this: the wheat are the godly, the tares the wicked, the harvest the end of the world (38-39).
- p. 90.3 *upbraideth...cockle*] See p. 40.12-13 n.
- p. 90.4-5 *Lordes...causes*] Marprelate in *Epitome* pays tribute to 'the noble men / and gentlemen that favour the sinceritie of the gospell' (sig. E<sup>r</sup>). Aristocrats explicitly named in the Marprelate tracts as patrons of Puritanism are Leicester's brother, the Earl of Warwick (*Epistle*, p. 31) and his stepson Essex (*Just Censure*, sig. [A4]<sup>r</sup>). The anti-Marprelate *Almond for a Parrat* names Leicester's brother-



- in-law the Earl of Huntingdon as a patron of the Puritan Giles Wigginton (Nashe 1958: 3.363.11); for a study of his activities fostering Protestantism in the Midlands, see Cross 1960.
- p. 90.7-8 *Conscience...witnesses*] Proverbial (Tilley C601).
- p. 90.8 *de Re*] 'Concerning things.'
- p. 90.8 *de Homine*] 'Concerning men.' 'De Nomine' might perhaps make as much sense.
- p. 90.10-14 *what should impertinent...effect?*] Collier interpolates commas after each 'what', making them interjections (*OED* B I *int.* 2a). Perhaps, however, they mean 'why?' (*OED* what A III *adv.* †); Harvey appears to be using 'what' in this sense on p. 91.46-47, which Collier leaves as it is (1870b: 103, 107).
- p. 90.11 *wrined*] Distorted. 'Wrinch' appears as a noun in Aylmer's *Harborowe* (quoted by Marprelate in *Epitome*, sig. [D4]<sup>v</sup>): 'your wrinches and cavillations be nothing worth'. Pierce glosses, 'wrenches; here applied to a twisting or wrenching of a text in argument' (1911: 149 *n.*).
- p. 90.15 *how should...saintified*] See p. 25.51 *n.*
- p. 90.18-20 *when Elias...Baal*] Despite Elijah's repeated claims that of the faithful only he is left, God tells him: 'I have leaft me seven thousand in Israel, of which never man bowed his knees unto Baal' (I Kings 18.22, 19.10-18).
- p. 90.23-24 *one Abraham in Ur*] For Abraham's departure from Ur, and God's particular blessing of him, see Genesis 11.31-12.3.
- p. 90.24 *one Lot in Sodome*] 'Lot abode in the cities of the playne, and pitched his tent until Sodome. But the menne of Sodome were wicked, and exceeding sinners agaynst the Lord' (Genesis 13.12-13). Of all the Sodomites, only Lot and his family are saved from destruction (see Genesis 19.12-25).
- p. 90.24 *one Daniell in Babilon*] Harvey seems to be mistaken. Daniel is neither the only Israelite at Nebuchadnezzar's court (see Daniel 1.3-6), nor the only one to have 'knowledge and understandyng in al learning and wisdome' (Daniel 1.17). Elsewhere Harvey's knowledge of Daniel seems sketchy: see p. 94.9 below.
- p. 90.24 *one Jonas in Ninive*] God sends Jonah to Nineveh 'for their wickednesse is comme up before me' (Jonah 1.2).
- p. 90.24-25 *one Job in Huz*] God says of Job, 'there is none lyke hym in the earth' (Job 1.8); the Bishops' Bible spells the name of his homeland 'Hus'.
- p. 90.25 *one David...Saule*] David is the only man who can soothe Saul's evil spirit, and the one man out of the whole Israelite host who fights Goliath: we are told that 'Saul was afrayde of David, because the Lorde was with hym' (I Samuel 16.14-23, 17.8-51, 18.12).
- p. 90.25-26 *one Obadia...Achab*] 'Obadia feared God greatly. For when Jezabel destroyed the prophetes of the Lorde, Obadia tooke an hundred prophetes, and hyd them by fyftie and by fyftie in a cave, and provided bread and water for them' (I Kings 18.3-4).
- p. 90.26 *one Jeremy...Zedechias*] 'Zedekias kyng of Juda' has Jeremiah 'bounde in the court of the prison, which was in the kyng of Judaes house' for prophesying of his captivity by Nebuchadnezzar as a result of the Israelites' wickedness (Jeremiah 31.1-5). Jeremiah is of course in opposition to the entire nation, a 'rebuker of the whole lande' (15.10), 'despised and laughed to scorne of every man' (20.7), etc.

- p. 90.26-27 *one Zorobabel...Nabuchodonosor*] Again, Harvey's biblical memory seems to be hazy: 'Zorobabel the sonne of Salathiel and his brethren' join with 'Josua, the sonne of Josedec and his brethren' in rebuilding the temple (Ezra 3.2, 8, 5.2, Haggai 1.14), so he is not an isolated figure. Both are among 'the children of the province, that wente out of y<sup>e</sup> captivity, whom Nabuchodonosor y<sup>e</sup> king of Babylon had carried away' (Ezra 2.1). Possibly Harvey was remembering Haggai 2.24: 'In that day, sayth the Lorde of hostes, wil I take thee Zorobabel my servant [. . .] and wyl make thee as a signet: for I have chosen thee'.
- p. 90.27 *one Nehemias...Artaxerxes*] Nehemiah is 'the kynges butler' (Nehemiah 1.11); for the particular favour which the Persian king shows him, see Nehemiah 2.6-8.
- p. 90.28 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 90.29 *apostataes*] See p. 85.19.
- p. 90.30 *ravenous woloves*] Cf. Matthew 7.15: 'Beware of the false prophetes which comme to you in sheepes clothyng, but inwardly they are ravening woolfes.'
- p. 90.30-31 *crafty foxes*] Foxes in Puritan polemic 'symbolised covert popery' (Collinson 1967: 78): possibly there is an echo of Christ's description of Herod (Luke 13.32).
- p. 90.31 *dogs to their vomite*] Cf. Proverbs 26.11: 'Lyke as the dogge turneth agayne to his owne vomite: even so a foole beginneth his foolishnesse agayne afresh'.
- p. 90.31 *generation of vipers*] Christ applies this phrase to the Pharisees (Matthew 12.34, 23.33); the Gospel of Matthew has John the Baptist using it for the Pharisees who come to be baptised (3.7), the Gospel of Luke for the whole crowd (3.7).
- p. 90.32 *Erasmus...Verborum*] Harvey means '*De copia verborum ac rerum* (Foundations of the Abundant Style; 1512), the first version of what would become his *Colloquia*, conversational discourses in Latin on a multitude of topics of the day' (*OER*, art. Erasmus).
- p. 90.32-33 *Omphalius...phrases*] See p. 52.36 n.
- p. 90.36 *Hydras heads*] The Hydra was often made the emblem of the multitude (cf. p. 86.5-6); C.A. Patrides gives examples (1965: 246 n.). The image is used for the diversification of Protestant sects in *Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior* (Nashe 1558: 1.59.10-12) and *Mar-Martine* (Lyly 1902: 2.423.21-22).
- p. 90.37 *Numantine skirmishes*] See p. 80.29 n.
- p. 90.37-38 *The...schollar*] Cf. *A Myrror for Martinists*: 'wee see commonly the most blinde, the most bolde: the more ignorant, the more busie: and the least wittie, to be most inquisitive' (T.T. 1590: 15).
- p. 90.41-42 *Browne...Oxford*] In *A Treatise vpon the 23. of Mathewe*, Browne is very hostile to the use of rhetoric and logic in the pulpit, and to university-trained preachers generally. For a representative diatribe, e.g. 'so soone as they have stood up in famouse places, & shewed their universitie degrees, and how wel they become their hoods, or their skarlett gownes, and what standing in Cambridg, and reading they are of in the tongues and Doctors: There may then be none like them' (Harrison, Browne 1953: 173). He saw corruption entering the Church shortly after the time of the Apostles, hence such anti-patristic comments as 'for warranting of such stuffe, *Augustine and Origen, and Jerom*, with such auncient fathers must be brought in [. . .] all those ancient Doctors or Writers, have

- lived in those corrupted daies [. . .] How manie foolish toyes, prophane fables, and vile errors be in *Augustin, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and others*' (Harrison, Browne 1953: 188-89).
- p. 90.43-47 *Barrow...favorits*] Barrow at one of his examinations was charged that 'he condemneth all writers, as Calvin, Beza, &c.' (Malham 1808-11: 2.17).
- p. 90.44 *Zuinglius*] Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), Swiss reformer resident in Zurich from 1519 until his death, and responsible for its abolition of the Mass and institution of a reformed Communion service in 1525 (*OER*). He was not the most extreme reformer in Europe, or even in Zurich: Anabaptism emerged there in the 1520s as a rejection of the limitations of the church under his leadership (*OER*), and in the 14th of the *Theses Martinianae* (sig. [A4]<sup>r</sup>), Marprelate states that the church in Zurich is 'to be accompted maimed and deformed' (see Pierce 1911: 308 *n.*).
- p. 90.44 *Oecolampadius*] Johannes Oecolampadius (né Huszgen) (1482-1531), Swiss reformer. An associate of Erasmus (whom he assisted in his edition of the Greek New Testament), Luther and Melancthon, he broke with them as he increasingly came under the influence of Zwingli. He played a key role in the reformation of Basel (*OER*).
- p. 90.44 *Brentius*] Perhaps Harvey means Johannes Brenz (1499-1570), city preacher of Schwäbisch-Hall in Franconia; he converted to Lutheran doctrines after hearing Luther speak while he was a student at Heidelberg (*OER*).
- p. 90.45 *Viret*] Pierre Viret (1511-71), Swiss reformer, played a prominent role in the conversion of Lausanne to Protestantism. Among various positions in France and Switzerland, he briefly replaced Calvin at Geneva (1540-42) and in 1563 was elected president of the fourth 'Synode national' which divided Protestant France into eight provinces. He survived two assassination attempts by his Catholic enemies, and in 1558, during his struggle to reform Lausanne, he was jailed by the Senate of Berne who wished him to adopt a less rigid form of discipline (*FP*<sup>1</sup>, *OER*). *FP*<sup>1</sup> notes the use of colloquialisms, puns and satire in his published works, as also (judging by the number of editions that they went through) their popularity.
- p. 90.45 *Marlorat*] Augustine Marlorat (1506-62); originally an Augustinian, around 1540 he left France for Geneva, where he was made a pastor. Nashe in *PP* mentions him alongside Beza and Calvin as a writer much cited by Puritans (1958: 4.118, 1.192.4-19).
- p. 90.45 *Knox*] A problematic figure in England; one of the first substantial works of the Elizabethan era, John Aylmer's *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes* (1559), had been a response to Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*. For its attempts to distance the reformers from Knox (and Elizabeth's wrath), see Rosenberg 1955: 27-30. The Scottish Reformation (in which Knox had played such a major part) had been very different from that in England, as James VI noted in *Basilikon Doron*: 'the Reformation of Religion in Scotland being made by a popular tumult & rebellion [. . .] and not proceeding from the Princes ordour (as it did in England)' (1599: 46). That the inferiority of English church-discipline to that in Scotland was a commonplace of Puritan literature is implied in *PP* (Nashe 1958: 1.225.8-12). Predictably, Marprelate was a fan: he mentions Scotland among the various European countries where episcopacy 'is accounted antichristian' (*Epistle*, p. 6); in *Theses Martinianae*, Knox is named as 'one of the first planters of the Gospell amongst us' (sig. C4<sup>v</sup>). Possibly Bancroft's *Sermon* is representative of the

Anglican view in calling him ‘a man [. . .] of wit and learning’ but ‘of nature too contentious’ (1588: 55-56).

p. 90.46 *Melvin*] See p. 81.49.

p. 90.46 *Fenner*] Dudley Fenner (1558?-1587), non-ordained clergyman and author, preached in Cranbrook in Kent before being suspended for nonconformity by Whitgift: he subsequently went into exile in the Netherlands. His printed works attest not only to his Puritanism but also his adoption of Ramistic logic: they include *The Artes of Logicke and Retorike* (ODNB). In *Epistle* (p. 3), Fenner’s *A Counter-Poyson modestlie written for the Time* is one of the texts which Marprelate challenges Richard Cosins (see p. 122.49-50 *n.*) to answer (Pierce 1911: 402 *n.*); in *Protestatyon*, Marprelate includes ‘M. Fenners, & M. Penries syllogismes’ among books ‘whereby the corruption and the unlawfulness of the places, and proceedings of L. bishops, are shamefully laide open unto the worlde’ (pp. 12-13).

p. 90.50-51 *Give...him*] Cf. p. 2.19-20, although Harvey’s sense here is perhaps different. Possibly Biller’s conviction that in the *FL* passage Harvey is using astrological language holds true here (1969: 2a); elsewhere he uses the phrase ‘Fiery Trigon’ to mean someone or something remarkable – see p. 59.30, p. 131.30, and Harvey’s *Commonplace-Book* (1913: 106.21-22). Richard Harvey writes of the moon with its ‘Dragons head’ in his *Astrological Discourse* (1583: 25), which takes the form of an address to Gabriel.

p. 91.1 *Sorbonist*] Perhaps Harvey means ‘idiot’. The only two senses of the word defined by *OED* are ‘A doctor or student at the Sorbonne’ and ‘A person of great learning’. Harvey’s context however seems to suggest that he sees it as synonymous with ‘Dunse’ (he pairs the two words again on p. 113.42). One of the instances which *OED* cites of its first sense is plainly derogatory – from *The Massacre at Paris*, when Harvey’s great hero Ramus inveighs against ‘the blockish Sorbonests’, the University of Paris having rejected Ramus’ theories (see Hallam 1882: 1.394-95). In the sixteenth century, the name ‘Sorbonne’ was used to mean the University’s theology faculty; according to David Buisseret it was ‘ferociously orthodox’ and a bastion of ‘outdated scholasticism’, and was responsible for the first burning of a Huguenot for heresy (1972: 9, 23-24, 26). For a contemporary diatribe against the Sorbonne by a Huguenot and humanist, see la Noue 1588: sig. F<sup>v</sup>. Perhaps, like ‘Dunse’, ‘Sorbonist’ is a word in transition during this period, meaning both ‘a hair-splitting reasoner; a cavilling sophist’ and ‘a dullard, blockhead’ (*OED* dunce *sb.* 3, 5).

p. 91.1 *Rabi Alphes*] Perhaps this means ‘man of great erudition’. Isaac ‘Al-Phasi [literally ‘of Fez’] (1013-1103), wrote a digest of the Talmud (*EB*).

p. 91.5-8 *But...shoulders*] See p. 90.35-36.

p. 91.11-12 *no seede...heresy*] Bancroft uses the phrase ‘seed of schism’ in his *Sermon*, quoting St. Jerome: ‘They [Bishops] had authoritie over the rest of the Ministerie, vt schismatum semina tollerentur: That the seed of schismes might be taken away’ (1588: 14-15).

p. 91.15 *Cardinall Sadolet*] See p. 52.36 *n.* In 1580, Harvey had made the same comment as he makes above on Sadolet in his copy of Luca Gaurico’s *Tractatus astrologicus*. Gaurico had drawn up a geniture or ‘nativity’ of Melanchthon, praising his learning but not his theology, and Harvey

compared Sadoletto's comments on Erasmus, Melanchthon, Bucer and Sturm, adding 'He was more humane and frank than many other papists' (quoted in Grafton 1999: 104).

**p. 91.15** *Cardinall Poole*] Brydges, who modernizes Harvey's spelling of personal names elsewhere – e.g. making 'Browne' 'Brown' – retains this spelling, and does not identify him (1815: pt. 8.109, 110). Reginald Pole (1500-58) was made papal legate to England in 1536 and succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1555. Moderate in some matters of doctrine, according to James Gairdner his views on justification were almost Protestant (*DNB*). 'Poole' would seem to have been a common form of his name. His ancestor William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, is a character in 2 *Henry VI*, and at IV.1.70 this pronunciation is punned on.

**p. 91.16** *Bucer*] Martin Bucer (1491-1551), German reformer, was born in Alsace, but in 1523 settled in Strasbourg after his excommunication. He strove to heal the theological rifts between the north Germans, the south Germans, and the Swiss, presiding over and attending numerous colloquies. Forced to leave Strasbourg, in 1549 he accepted Cranmer's offer of the chair of theology at Cambridge, where he taught until his death. With Melanchthon he compiled the *Consultation* on which the first Book of Common Prayer was modelled (*OER*, Mullinger 1884: 117-18). Mullinger says of his reputation at the time of Cranmer's offer, 'Emphatically a man of peace, he was distinguished by his untiring efforts in the cause of religious concord' (1884: 117).

**p. 91.16** *Sturmius*] See p. 52.37 *n*.

**p. 91.17** *the Queene Moother of Fraunce*] In 1570, Ramus appealed successfully to Catherine de' Medici for help in recovering his university titles (Glenn 1973: 367); his murder in 1572 was expressly against her orders (Ong 1958: 25). On the death of François II and the accession of Charles IX (1560), she had succeeded the Duc de Guise as regent of France. Initially she pursued a more conciliatory policy towards Huguenots; the apex of this was the 1561 Colloquy of Poissy, a meeting of Catholic and Protestant theologians, at which Catherine and the head of the Catholic deputation, Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, 'contrived by their suave behaviour to give the impression that they were prepared to concede [. . .] far more than was in fact politically or theologically possible' (Buisseret 1972: 44). The failure of the Colloquy, and the Massacre of Vassy of the following year, ended this period of toleration (see Buisseret 1972: 44-48).

A 1574 libel, *Discours merueilleux de la vie [. . .] de Catherine de Médicis*, crystallised the black legend which surrounded her after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; this has been attributed to the Calvinist Henri Estienne (*OER*, Kocher 1941: 351, *DBF*). An English translation was published the following year. She is described as having 'nothing [. . .] more rooted in her heart then ambition', being 'voyde both of conscience and religion', rejoicing 'in the death of any Protestant'; the Massacre of St. Bartholomew is blamed on 'the pernicious counsayles of this woman' (Estienne 1575: sigs Dj<sup>v</sup>, [E7]<sup>v</sup>, [E8]<sup>v</sup>, Gv<sup>v</sup>-[G6]<sup>f</sup>). For a cynical summary of her dalliance with toleration see sigs [B8]<sup>v</sup>-Dj<sup>v</sup> *passim*. Something of her reputation in England is suggested by the description of her in *Martine Mar-Sixtus* as 'Queene Mother and monster of France' (R.W. 1591: sig. [E4]<sup>v</sup>).

**p. 91.17-18** *the Cardinall...Ramus*] On October 8th 1570, a proclamation of Charles IX's forbade all Protestants to teach at the University of Paris, and Ramus not only lost his professorship but was turned out of his house. He wrote to the Cardinal of Lorraine, reminding him 'of the friendship that

existed between them nearly thirty-five years ago' and begging him 'not to cause the end of their lives to be so different to the commencement' (*CSP Foreign Elizabeth*). The Cardinal's relationship with Ramus dated back to their schooldays, but foundered after Ramus's 1561 conversion to Protestantism (Glenn 1973: 366-67). A Huguenot tract which Harvey is known to have owned (Stern 1979: 222) calls the Cardinal 'of a terrible, cruell and troublesome disposition' (Hotman 1573: sig. B3'). Hillman calls him 'the *bête noire* [. . .] of Protestant mythology'; he is not to be confused with his nephew Louis, subsequently Cardinal of Lorraine, although Marlowe in *The Massacre at Paris* conflates the two (Hillman 2008: 155).

- p. 91.18 *the Prince of Condé*] Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1530-69), brother of the king of Navarre and prince of the blood. His Calvinism, and Henri II's dislike of him, made him an outsider at court. In the period of instability following Henri's death, he headed the Protestant, anti-Guise faction: he passed state secrets to the English and was prime mover behind the 1560 conspiracy of Amboise, an abortive plan to capture the Guises and make François II listen to Protestant grievances (Buisseret 1972: 35-36). For the latter, he was sentenced to be executed, but reprieved after François's death. He was involved in another failed coup (an attempt to seize Charles IX) in 1567 (*DBF*).
- p. 91.18 *Jovius*] See p. 64.11 *n*.
- p. 91.18 *Reuclin*] Thomas Campion, in *Observations on the Art of English Poetry*, places 'Rewcline' alongside Erasmus and More as one of the 'learned men [. . .] who brought the Latine toong againe to light, redeeming it with much labour out of the hands of the illiterate Monks and Friers'; Davies glosses, 'Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522), German humanist especially noted for his revival of Hebrew studies, cabalistic explorations [. . .], and his mockery of the friars' (1969: 293).
- p. 91.19 *Camerarius*] Joachim Kammermeister (1500-74), friend and biographer of Melanchthon and supporter of Luther, helped write the Augsburg Confession: according to Marc R. Forster, he was 'one of the greatest polymaths of the century' (*OER*). Harvey in some marginalia mentions him alongside Melanchthon and Erasmus as one of the lights of Germany ('*Germaniæ lumen*') (1913: 256).
- p. 91.19 *Peucer*] Caspar Peucer (1525-1602), German humanist (1525-1602), who studied and then taught at the University of Wittenberg. He was very much influenced by Melanchthon, whose house he moved into and to whose daughter he was married. He edited some of Melanchthon's letters and writings after his death, and his dedication to Philippist theology cost him his relationship with the elector of Saxony, whose court physician he was (*OER*).
- p. 91.19 *Bembus*] The Venetian poet Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was a cardinal, as Sidney mentions when praising him in *Defence of Poetry* (1966: 62, 100). He also wrote an influential dialogue debating the use of the vernacular (as opposed to Latin) in literature (see Hallam 1882: 1.454-55). When he and Sadoletto are both mentioned in *Parnassus* 297 as types of the great rhetorician, Leishman notes that both were secretaries to Pope Leo X, and that their letters were 'regarded as models both of eloquence and of pure Latinity' (1949: 111 *n*).
- p. 91.19 *Osorius praysed Ascham*] The two were evidently friends (see Ryan 1953: 145); Ascham in *The Scholemaster* names 'my frende Osorius' among 'perfite Maisters of eloquence' (1904: 249).

- p. 91.20 *Ascham prayed Watson*] Thomas Watson (1515?-1584), the Marian Bishop of Lincoln who lost his see under Elizabeth, was a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, at the same time as Ascham, who in *The Scholemaster* extols his scholarship (and especially his tragedy *Absalom*) despite their religious differences (1904: 224, 278, 284, 289).
- p. 91.20-21 *who...him?*] Cardano, visiting England in the reign of Edward VI, had drawn up a geniture for Cheke, subsequently published, in which he predicted 'he will attain the highest level of brilliance and glory accessible to humanity, and the reputation for almost divine wisdom' (Grafton 1999: 117).
- p. 91.21-24 *Sir...Coronation*] The elder Smith took part in the embassy sent to France in 1551, was ambassador 1562-66, and took part in brief embassies in 1567 and 1571. His son accompanied him on his embassies (*ODNB*). Little is known of the younger Smith's activities during his early years in France, but Harvey could have heard of his reception first-hand, as the Smiths were relatives of his (see p. 11.26-27).
- p. 91.24-25 *Neander...Papistes*] Michael Neander (1525-95) of Sorau; he was educated at Wittenberg where he met Luther and Melanchthon, to whose influence he ascribed his love of learning. In 1550, on Melanchthon's recommendation, he was made master of a school at Ilfeld where he taught until his death. *ADB* places him alongside Sturm as one of the great 16th-century Protestant educators. His *Compendium Chronicorum* (1586) and *Orbis terrae partium succincta explicatio* (1589) were intended as textbooks to introduce schoolboys to history and geography (*ADB*). In some marginalia in his copy of Quintilian, Harvey contrasts his nature with Luther's inspired demagoguery (1913: 119).
- p. 91.25 *Agrippa*] In *De vanitate...*, dealing with 'the ringe leaders of the Germane Heresies [. . .] takinge beginning of *Luther*', Agrippa writes, 'are not the authours of them moste eloquente men, armed with [. . .] elegancie of stile? and whom [. . .] we have seene to be so muche praised for the perfecte knowledge of the tongues' (1569: fol. 20<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 91.26 *Erasmus*] Hallam gives a summary of Erasmus's relations with the reformers, his early respect for Melanchthon and Æcolampadius, and his gradual alienation (1882: 1.358-67).
- p. 91.26 *Duarene*] François Duaren, Douaren or Le Douarin (1509-59), jurist. A man admired by Harvey (see Stern 1979: 209-10 for the books of his which Harvey owned) and who shared his preference for the active life; in 1548 he left his chair in law at the University of Bourges and returned to the bar, feeling that he needed more knowledge of the practice as well as the theory of law (*FP*<sup>1</sup>). Harvey is mistaken about his religious sympathies; he corresponded covertly with Calvin, his relationship with whom was destroyed by his enemy Baudouin (see p. 85.19 above) (*DBF*).
- p. 91.26 *Bodine*] Perhaps, as with Duaren, Harvey is also mistaken about Bodin's religious sympathies. *DBF* says that, at the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, although – nominally at least – still a Catholic, he only narrowly escaped with his life.
- p. 91.34 *Ambidexteritie*] *OED* cites no instances of this earlier than 1652, and none in the sense in which Harvey seems to mean it (flexibility in matters of religion). Nashe in *HWY* quotes this as one of Harvey's neologisms (1958: 3.44.2), and Harvey clearly sees it here as a word applied by others, but uses it himself in the same sense of Andrew Perne on p. 130.23-25.

- p. 91.37-38 *not like...Minerva*] The siren here is the archetypal temptation, while Minerva epitomises control and restraint. In Homer, Athene often restrains heroes from giving way to dangerous emotions (e.g. in *Iliad*, I.188-222, when she stays Achilles from killing Agamemnon in anger). Cf. p. 130.49-50, p. 137.26-28. For the Sirens see *Odyssey* XII.37-54, 165-200. The story of Minerva's having broken in and bridled Pegasus is in Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, II.iv.1, but not in Homer.
- p. 91.45 *Xenocrates*] See p. 80.22-23 & n. Cooper tells the following anecdote of him: 'King Alexander on a time, as a bountifull prince, sent unto hym thirty talentes of golde as a present: but Xenocrates sent it backe againe unto him, sayynge, that kynges and princes have neede of money, and not philosophers'.
- p. 91.45 *Callisthenes*] A philosopher (related to Aristotle) who criticized Alexander the Great so openly that Alexander sentenced him to death (Plutarch, *Alexander* LII-LV). Castiglione in *The Courtier* makes the same contrast as Harvey: 'of these thinges in Alexander [his virtues], the author was Aristotle, in practising the waies of a good Courtier: the which Calisthenes coulde not do, for all Aristotle shewed him the way of it, who because he was a right philosopher, and so sharpe a minister of the bare truth without mingling it with courtlinesse, hee lost his life' (1974: 300).
- p. 91.45 *Eunapius*] Greek historian, born c. 345 A.D. (*OCD*). Harvey's praise of him here is striking: he was an admirer of Julian the Apostate and opponent of Christianity, and Richard Harvey in *LG* places him among 'that Greekish conceited crue, who vainly and impiously whetted the edge of their fantastical Rhetorike and Philosophy, against him that raigneth in heaven' (1590b: 87). See also p. 100.49.
- p. 91.46 *Iamblicus*] Perhaps Harvey means the Neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus (c. 245-325) rather than the novelist of the same name, since Eunapius wrote about the former in his *Lives of the Sophists* (*OCD*). Some of his pupils represented him as a champion of Hellenism against Christianity, although he seems to have been less, rather than more, involved in politics and anti-Christian polemic than Eunapius (see Barnes 1981: 68, 168, 255-56, 273).
- p. 91.47 *Oh a thousand times*] Cf. p. 33.35, where Harvey's emphasis is similarly on unity and harmony.
- p. 91.47 *Junius Brutus*] See p. 83.48 – p. 84.1 n.
- p. 91.48 *Philadelphus*] See p. 83.48 – p. 84.1 n.
- p. 91.48 *Deering*] Brydges identified this as 'EDWARD DERING, a native of Kent, A.B. of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1568, rector of Pluckley, Kent, adhered to the Non-conformists, died 1576' (1815: pt. 8.231). A comparatively moderate figure, he preached several times before Elizabeth (*ODNB*). Bancroft quotes some anti-Catholic invective of his in his *Sermon* (1588: 56-57), and he is named in Browne's *True and Short Declaration* in a bitter comment on Puritan preachers who 'both please the people, & the bishops also: & so are praised & mantained [*sic*] bie the people, & also suffered off the bishops, because forsooth thei are somewhat conformable' (Harrison, Browne 1953: 408).
- p. 91.48 *Baro*] See p. 63.30-31 n.
- p. 91.49-50 *that...Understanding*] i.e. the peace of God (see Philippians 4.7).



- p. 92.2 *painted walles*] An echo of Acts 23.3: Paul says to the High Priest Ananias, ‘God shall smite thee thou painted wal’.
- p. 92.4-8 *The Jewes...feete*] Bale, denouncing extreme Protestant sects, compares them to the ‘Pharisees, Sadducees, and Esse[n]es’ (1907: 291), as does *A Myrror for Martinists* (T.T. 1590: 24), so perhaps this was conventional. For a brief description of the customs and doctrine of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII.11-22; for a more detailed one, see his *Jewish War*, II.119-166. The Zealots are often identified as the fourth sect whom Josephus describes in *Jewish Antiquities* XVIII.23-25.
- p. 92.5 *their separate...Pharises*] *OED*’s earliest instance of ‘separate’ in the sense of ‘Parted, divided, or withdrawn from others’ is from 1667 (*OED* *pa. pple., a., sb. B adj.* 1a). Harvey’s context suggests that he means, not what a thing is by nature or treatment, but what a person is by choice; *OED* does not cover this exact sense. For a sense with overtones of spiritual fastidiousness, see II Corinthians 6.17, which in the King James version reads ‘bee yee separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing’. (The Bishops’ Bible reading is ‘be ye separated [from them]’.) Cf. also Hebrews 7.26: ‘an high priest [. . .] holy, harmelesse, undefiled, separate from sinners’.
- p. 92.9-10 *Jesus...light*] Cf. II Corinthians 11.14: ‘Satan [. . .] is transfourmed into an angel of lyght’.
- p. 92.10 *an hoat tost*] An elementary pun. Five of *OED*’s six instances of the phrase ‘*as warm* (*hot*, etc.) *as toast*’ have ‘a’ or are plural (*OED* *toast sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1b).
- p. 92.10-17 *Judas...libertie*] This is the man called by Gamaliel in Acts 5.37 ‘Judas of Galilee’, and by Josephus ‘Judas, a Gaulanite from a city named Gamala’. Judas and his fellow-rebel Saddok, a Pharisee, ‘said that the assessment carried with it a status amounting to downright slavery, no less, and appealed to the nation to make a bid for independence’ (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XVIII.4). Harvey’s use here and below of ‘zeal’ and ‘zealous’ is not casual, since Judas is identified as founder of the Zealots by Josephus.
- p. 92.12 *who but he*] When, in some marginalia on a passage in Domenichi’s *Facetie*, ‘about the disciplining of a presumptuous and unscrupulous peasant’, Harvey writes ‘who but HEE?’, Stern calls this ‘undoubtedly a reference to the unscrupulous behaviour and statements of Thomas Nashe’ (1979: 187). However, the phrase occurs several times in the writings of Harvey and his brothers, in contexts which suggest arrogance and vainglory, e.g. *LG*: ‘Let not the proud and pompous challenges of the envious men feare any young scholler [. . .] audacious crakers [boasters] are commonly fugitives [. . .] unablest workers are busiest worders [. . .] the challenger is for the most part ever vanquished, to day in the full who but he? and to morrow in the wanes who would have thought it?’ (Harvey 1590b: 193-94). See also John Harvey’s *Discovrsive Probleme* (1588: 19), and p. 120.20 below.
- p. 92.16-17 *very...libertie*] Harvey’s bracketed aside perhaps suggests that he is implicitly drawing a parallel with recent events; on the other hand, he uses the same phrase on p. 94.46. For the use of repeated tags as part of Harvey’s prose style, see Snare 1970: 27-28.
- p. 92.17-19 *But...offence*] Matthew 17.24-27.
- p. 92.19-20 *and set...God*] Matthew 22.21, Mark 12.17, Luke 20.25.

- p. 92.20-31 *Zelous...Common-wealth*] The final destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, and the Diaspora, happened decades after this initial rebellion, but Josephus (like Harvey) telescopes history, making Judas and Saddok the immediate cause: 'They sowed the seed from which sprang strife between factions [. . .] until at last the very temple of God was ravaged by the enemy's fire'; he blames 'innovation and reform in ancestral traditions' for 'the destruction of the congregation of the people' (which is perhaps what Harvey means by 'commonwealth') (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII.5-9). The Temple was destroyed in 70 A.D.: it was conventional to interpret this and the Diaspora as God's punishment of the Jews for rejecting Christ (Hamilton 1986: 146); for Elizabethan examples see Stockwood 1584 (esp. sigs [A6]<sup>v</sup>-[A7]<sup>f</sup>, sig. [B8]<sup>f</sup>, sig. C5<sup>f</sup>), Tymme 1588: sig. [A4]<sup>r-v</sup>, CT (Nashe 1958: 2.79.9-12). See also p. 96.27 *n*. Harvey's attribution of this to the Jews' being bad subjects to the Romans perhaps reveals how secular his concerns are.
- p. 92.21 *Simon the Galilean*] Possibly Harvey means Simon the son of Judas the Galilean; Josephus lists his crucifixion alongside his brother James as one of the key events in the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, but does not say what their crime was (*Jewish Antiquities*, XX.102).
- p. 92.26-29 *For...other*] Harvey seems to mean the Zealots, although this would be more applicable to the Essenes (for the separate nature of whose worship see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XVIII.19). This perhaps betrays Harvey's particular concerns in this passage, since the 'singularity' and separate nature of Puritans is part of their contemporary stereotype (see Collinson 1967: 26).
- p. 92.29 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 92.41 *like...Roome*] Perhaps Harvey means 'something greatly to be feared'. After his victory over the Romans at Cannae, Hannibal was about five days' march from Rome: Plutarch describes the panic which gripped the city when news arrived (*Life of Fabius Maximus*, XVII-XVIII).
- p. 92.43-44 *Plotts in Moone-shine*] See p. 57.12 *n*.
- p. 92.44-45 *S. Paule...Hope*] See I Corinthians 13.13.
- p. 92.44 *S. Paule...Apostle*] Possibly, given the aesthetic associations of the word during the period (for which see *OED* heroical 3 †b, heroic A *adj.* 3c), Harvey means Paul's knowledge of pre-Christian culture. Bland cites Paul's acquaintance with 'prophane writers' in defence of the use of rhetoric and philosophy in preaching (1589: sig. B3<sup>v</sup>), and this is perhaps in play in Marlowe's reputed comment that, of the Apostles, 'Paull only had wit' (quoted Kocher 1964: 160).
- p. 92.48 *deification of H.N*] See p. 89.24 *n*.; McKerrow glosses, 'The "deification" refers to a tenet of the sect as to a change in their nature after reception into the Church' (Nashe 1958: 4.325).
- p. 92.48 *glorification of Kett*] See p. 17.48 *n*. McKerrow suggests that Harvey is here identifying Kett with the author of the *Garland of Man's Glorification* who shared his name (Nashe 1958: 4.325).
- p. 92.49 *the communitie of Barrow*] Harvey's context requires 'community' to have more force than 'congregation': moreover, *OED*'s earliest example in the sense of a group united by religion but separated by it from their larger society is from 1860 (*OED* II 7c). 'Community' might mean 'joint or common ownership [. . .] as in *community of goods*', and *OED* cites a relevant example of this from 1645: 'Anabaptists, that hold community of goods' (*OED* I 1a). Some extreme Protestant sects practised this, taking as their model the Apostles as described in Acts 2.44-45: 'al that beleved were

together, and had al thinges common. And solde theyr possessions and goodes, and parted them to al menne, as every man had neede'. See p. 99.27 *n.* below.

p. 93.1 *new landes...honny*] See p. 22.1.

p. 93.8 *Table*] Literally this could mean 'a picture' (*OED sb.* I †3). Ephim G. Fogel, defending the Folio reading of *Henry V* II.3.16-17, states that the word there and elsewhere in Shakespeare means figuratively 'spitten [*sic*] image' or 'a veritable image' (1958: 486-88).

p. 93.10 *Martin in the Vintry*] According to Stow, 'the fayre parish church of *S. Martin*, called in the Vintry', was built on Royall Street, London, c. 1399 (1598b: sig. O3<sup>v</sup>).

p. 93.12 *certaine...hast*] See p. 82.37-40 *n.* The subject of Harvey's allusion is obscure. Possibly he means the last of the Marprelate tracts, *The Protestatyon*, which appeared in September 1589, reaching the author of *PWH* before he had completed his work: 'Here I was writing *Finis* and *Funis*, and determined to lay it by [. . .] within a while appeared olde *Martin* [. . .] in two sheetes of protestation paper' (Lyly 1902: 3.410.20-29). Alternatively, this could be an allusion to the activities of the Puritan faction in the House of Commons, in the Parliament of February-March 1588-9. They planned to petition for a debate at Westminster between a deputation of their ministers and the Bishops (such a public debate being something that Marprelate repeatedly calls for – e.g. *Epitome* sig. 2<sup>r-v</sup>). In the midst of the Marprelate ferment, the hopes of Puritans seem to have been high: a minister in Northampton expected that they would 'shake off all the antichristian yoke and government of bishops, and [. . .] jointly together erect the discipline and government [of Presbyterianism] all in one day'. In the event (the chamber having been expressly forbidden by Elizabeth to attempt any ecclesiastical reforms), members attempted to pass a bill limiting the ability of the Bishops to persecute non-conforming ministers, and another to suppress pluralism and non-residence, both of which were defeated after 'very hot and earnest' speeches. See Neale 1957: 216-32. The activities of 'the reverend Elders of *Martinisme* [. . .] the last Parliament' are alluded to in *The Retvrne of Pasqvill* (Nashe 1598: 1.92.5-6, Supplement 9). The main events of 1589 mentioned by Stow (other than the sitting of this Parliament) are the execution of Francis Kett (see p. 17.48 *n.*), the trial for treason of the Earl of Arundel and the continuance of war with Spain (including the expedition to Portugal) (1592: 1282-87), none of which (especially the last two) seem relevant.

p. 93.13-14 *are...course*] Have decided to act strongly. Batman explains that, when melancholy predominates, 'the patient is faint, and fearfull in heart', whereas choler 'breedeth boldnes and hardinesse [. . .] & stirreth to wrath' (1582: fols 32<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>r</sup>).

p. 93.16 *softer...mault*] Cf. Tilley F280, 'Soft fire makes sweet malt'.

p. 93.18-19 *fier...mouth*] For similar lexis, cf. 'her furious envy [. . .] which during his life time, boiled in her stomack against him' (Estienne 1575: sig. [B6]<sup>r</sup>), 'Cursing and banning [. . .] was [. . .] great easment to the boiling stomacke' (Puttenham 1936: 57). Harvey in some marginalia uses the phrase 'fier will owt', which has a proverbial ring (1913: 151.13).

p. 93.20 *Vulcanist*] This is given by *OED* as the first instance of 'One who works by fire; *spec.* an alchemist, a blacksmith' (†1), which appears to be Harvey's sense on p. 127.33. 'A fiery person' would also be plausible.

- p. 93.23-25 *I have... Retaliados*] The conversion of Jews was one of the signs of the second coming, and there were official drives to convert the Jews of France and Spain from the thirteenth century onward; by 1492, over three-quarters of Spanish Jewry had converted (Shapiro 1996: 14). However, they were the focus of resentment among 'Old Christians', and suspicions of apostasy and Judaizing among converts were a factor in the revival of the Inquisition in Spain (see Edwards 1984: 140-45). Jews stood to gain access to public office (secular as well as ecclesiastical) by converting: Florio defines 'Maráno' as 'a nick-name for Spaniards, that is, one descended of Jewes or Infidels and whose Parents were never christened, but for to save their goods will say they are Christians'. Judging by Edwards 1984, Bodian 1994 and Shapiro 1996: 13-26, '*converso*', '*marrano*' and 'New Christian' were the most commonly used names. 'Retaliado' is not in *OED*, Florio, Corro, Perceval or Minsheu, although the latter defines 'Retál' as '*circumcising*' and 'Retajádo' as '*circumcised*'.
- p. 93.26 *in doctrine, or in discipline*] See p. 79.50 – p. 80.1 *n*.
- p. 93.28-30 *the voyce... Jacob*] Harvey alludes to Genesis 27.5-23, in which Jacob cheats his elder brother Esau out of his father's blessing. Rebecca, Jacob's mother, puts 'the skynnes of the kiddes' on his hands to enable him to impersonate Esau ('a heary man') before the blind Isaac, who nonetheless recognises Jacob's voice.
- p. 93.31 *Hebrue Worthies*] The 'nine worthies' were historical or legendary heroes who often appeared in decorations, pageants and entertainments (such as the one which Holofernes stages for the French Princess in *Love's Labours Lost* V.2); according to Grierson, Donne has them in mind when in 'The undertaking' he claims, 'I have done one braver thing / Then all the *Worthies* did'. Three were from the Old Testament, three from classical antiquity and three from the Middle Ages. The line-up varied, but the three Jews were generally Joshua, David and Judas Maccabæus (Donne 1912: 1.10, 2.12).
- p. 93.33-34 *All... string*] *OED* notes instances of the phrase '† to hang (*together*) on or in a string: (of persons) to be united in purpose' (*OED* string *sb.* I 1m).
- p. 93.38 *whottist*] Most zealous (see *OED* *a.* 6a). Not an uncommon form in the period; see *FQ* I.x.26.8 ('pincers fyrie whott'), *IParnassus* 1513-14 ('hell [. . .] soe whott a place') (Leishman 1949: 210), etc.
- p. 93.40 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 93.40-42 *I am beholding... elsewhere*] Harvey is perhaps punning. 'Jewry' is not only 'Judaism' but also 'The district inhabited by Jews in a town or city' (*OED* †3, 2). Specifically, 'the Old Jewry' was a street in London where, in the reign of Henry III, 700 Jews were massacred, the synagogue subsequently becoming a friary (Stow 1598b: sig. [P7]<sup>r-v</sup>). Nashe makes a similarly acrid joke in *UT*. When all Jews are banished from Rome, Jack Wilton summarizes the Pope's decree as 'all fore-skinne clippers, whether male or female, belonging to the old Jurie, should depart'; McKerrow comments, 'I presume that Nashe is thinking of the district in London' (1958: 2.307.27-28, 4.290).
- p. 93.42-45 *an auncient... Dioces*] Peckham (d. 1292) was Archbishop 1279-92 (*ODNB*); he gave the order in 1282 (Stow 1592: 301).
- p. 93.49-50 *I know... Europe*] For instance, Harvey at Cambridge knew the distinguished Swiss Hebraist, Antoine Rodolphe Chevallier (Stern 1979: 183-84), and his pupil Hugh Broughton (Harvey

- 1913: 164, 278); Shapiro calls Broughton ‘probably the finest Hebrew scholar in Europe’ and gives a summary of his abortive mission to convert the Jews of Turkey (1996: 147-50).
- p. 94.3-4 *Graunt...ell*] *OED* ell<sup>1</sup> 1b gives instances of the proverbial phrase ‘give him an inch and he’ll take an ell: meaning that undue advantage will be taken of a slight concession’.
- p. 94.4 *with the advantage*] See p. 20.38 n.: here the language of usury is part of a particularly tart joke of Harvey’s (see p. 94.10).
- p. 94.4-5 *were...head?*] For the contrast between ‘doctrine’ and ‘discipline’, see p. 79.50-p. 80.1 n.
- p. 94.4 *one foote*] Collier reads ‘on’ for ‘one’ (1870b: 112). The two words were indeed spelt interchangeably during the period – e.g. *Canaans Calamitie*: ‘his blood bee on us, and one our children’ (Deloney 1912: 419) – and according to Abbott were pronounced identically (1870: 56-57). However, there is no need to make the emendation; ‘foot’ and ‘head’ are placed in apposition here as on p. 84.9, p. 86.8-9.
- p. 94.8 *their...Moses*] The cabala was a Jewish mystical tradition which emerged amongst the Sephardim of medieval Spain; it held that Moses had passed down to the initiated a way of interpreting the Old Testament, which enabled them to understand (and to realize in themselves) the divine creative power. Perhaps the most prominent Christian advocates of cabalistic studies were Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Cornelius Agrippa (Hamilton 1986: 170-71). In 1486 Pico undertook to defend publicly 900 theses concerning the cabala, but was prevented by Pope Innocent VIII as some of them were deemed heretical; for Harvey’s knowledge of his works see *3PL* (Spenser 1912: 619-20). Agrippa wrote on the cabala in *De occulta philosophia* and has a chapter devoted to it in *De vanitate...* (1569: fols 60<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 94.8-9 *their omniscious...Salomon*] In support of the statement in his *Astrological Discourse* about Solomon’s knowledge of astrology (1583: sig. ¶iij<sup>r</sup>), Richard Harvey cites the apocryphal Book of Wisdom, 7.17-21: ‘For he hath geven me the true science of thinges that are, so that I knowe [. . .] the ordinances of the starres [. . .] And al suche thinges as are eyther secrete or manifest’. Scot cites the same passage in support of Solomon’s knowledge of ‘naturall magicke’ (1584: 288-89). Agrippa, discussing cabbala, refutes claims ‘that *Salomon* was very wel learned in this Science, and thereby wrote an Arte against Deviles, shewing the manner to binde them, & conjure them, and charmes also against diseases’ (1569: fol. 61<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 94.9 *their Caldæan...Daniell*] ‘Chaldean’ could be used broadly to mean an inhabitant of the country of which Babylon was the capital (also known as Shinar), or specifically to mean one of the *Kaldi* or *Kaldai*, a Cushite tribe who inhabited the Babylonian plain. In Daniel 5.30 and 9.1, the Chaldeans ‘are classed with astronomers and magicians, and form a class who have a peculiar “tongue” and “learning,” and are consulted by the king on difficult subjects’ (Young). Hall in *Virgidemiarum* II.vii.15-16, attacking astrology, says that it began with the Chaldeans (1949: 30). Daniel himself was not one of the Chaldeans, as Browne in *A Treatise vpon the 23. of Matthewe*, separating divine and secular studies, makes clear: his context suggests that he regards this as a frequently-made error (Harrison, Browne 1953: 181).
- p. 94.10 *their liberall...Usurie*] Possibly ‘liberal’ here involves a pun, since it could describe both intellectual activity and generosity (*OED* A *adj.* 1, 2). It may be relevant that, as Shapiro notes,

‘exorbitant moneylending was often referred to as “biting” usury [. . .] This may in part be explained by the philological determination of Elizabethan writers on usury, whose Hebrew was good enough to know that the biblical word for lending at interest, *neschech*, also meant “to bite”’ (1996: 110).

- p. 94.10-12 *they are...all*] Harvey is perhaps alluding here to Edward I’s expulsion of Jews from England in 1290 (cf. p. 93.40-45): for information and myths circulating about this in the early-modern era, see Shapiro 1996: 46-55. In the last two decades of the fifteenth century, Jews were also formally expelled from various parts of Italy, Spain, Portugal and France (Kamen 1988: 45). Cooper is aware of this, but since he states that the ‘*Judæi* [. . .] were expelled out of this realme of Englande in the tyme of kynge Richarde the first, for theyr crueltie in sleaying of Christen children’, perhaps Harvey and his English contemporaries were not highly informed about these matters; Bale attributes the expulsion to King John (1907: 273).
- p. 94.13 *Meokekim*] See John Bridges’s *Defence*: ‘they were called by the tearme Sanhedrin, and they sate in the consistorie Gazith, to judge the judgements of the lives, and they were called Meokekim, that is, Scribes, or Lawe-makers’ (1587: sig. [Qqq8]’).
- p. 94.17-19 *I have...Tyrant*] Here as on p. 88.33, there is a contrast between ‘verbal’ and ‘real’; in legal terminology, property was divided into ‘real’ and ‘personal’ (*OED* personal *a.* 6b, real *a.* 6, thing *sb.* 12b). Cf. p. 102.27-28 for similar wordplay.
- p. 94.20 *a Cruell griper*] ‘Griper’ meant ‘A person or thing that distresses or inflicts pain’; given Harvey’s context, it may not be coincidence that it could also mean a usurer (*OED* †3, 2).
- p. 94.25 *cum mero imperio*] ‘With absolute authority.’
- p. 94.29-31 *The finest...abusive*] See p. 88.1-9 *n.*
- p. 94.29-30 *Aristotles...Boundes*] Possibly Harvey means the ‘golden mean’ (*aurea mediocritas*) or avoidance of excess (see p. 79.28-31 *n.*): the name comes from Horace, *Odes* II.x.5. Possibly he is using ‘golden rule’ loosely, although *OED* cites no instances earlier than 1807 (golden *a.* 5a).
- p. 94.33 *Every...mill*] Cf. Tilley M952, ‘Every miller draws water to his own mill’.
- p. 94.34-35 *the Patriarkes of Constantinople*] For their authority, see Hamilton 1986: 155-58.
- p. 94.36-37 *They...cases*] A *præmunire facias* was a writ summoning someone accused of ‘asserting or maintaining papal jurisdiction in England, thus denying the ecclesiastical supremacy of the sovereign’; the Act of Parliament was in the reign of Richard II (*OED* *præmunire sb.* 1).
- p. 94.37-40 *The first...Popes?*] Perhaps, like the precise moment when corruption entered the primitive church, there was dissension about this among early-modern Protestants. Penry specifies that ‘unto the time of Pope Silvester Rome it selfe was without any lordship at al’; a marginal gloss adds, ‘About the year 320’ (1590: sig. [G4]’). Penry perhaps had in mind what J.N.D. Kelly calls ‘the so-called “Donation of Constantine”, a document in which the emperor was represented as conferring on Silvester and his successors the primacy over the great ecclesiastical patriarchates, and temporal dominion over Rome, Italy, and all provinces and states of the west generally. [. . .] A fabrication of the 8th-9th cents., this document came to be treated as authoritative even by opponents of the papacy, and was only exposed as false in the 16th cent.’ (*ODP*, art. Silvester I). Farmer states that ‘it was in the 11th century that the power of the pontiff of Rome seems to have reached its utmost height.

- Gregory VII. assumed the exclusive title of Pope, which till then had been common to other bishops' (Bale 1907: 331).
- p. 94.40-41 *Aaron...Mirrours*] *OED* does not give Harvey's exact sense of 'ceremonial', although in several of the 16th- and 17th-century examples it carries the negative force which one would expect in a Protestant culture. Nashe also applies it to Judaism in *CT*, describing Jehochanan's '*desolation* of theyr ceremoniall Religion' (1958: 2.65.31-32).
- p. 94.45 *mooother-sea*] See p. 79.50-51 *n*.
- p. 94.49 *a great...Roome*] See p. 83.46-47 *n*.
- p. 95.15-16 *a reed...passion*] An echo of Matthew 11.7: Christ asks the multitude, regarding John the Baptist, 'What went ye out into the wyldernesse to see? A reede shaken with the wynd?'
- p. 95.20 *Apostata*] See p. 85.19.
- p. 95.20 *as convertible as Mercury*] Harvey's context suggests that he means the planet (rather than the substance or the god). Cf. Richard Harvey's *Astrological Discourse*: '*Aries* as every one knoweth, is a moveable signe, and *Mercury* a convertible, and wavering planet' (1583: 23).
- p. 95.21 *as...Moone*] This has a proverbial ring, but the closest Tilley has is 'As changeful (inconstant) as the moon' (M1111). *OED* gives three instances up to 1593 of 'lunatic' in the sense of 'Influenced by the moon' (*OED* lunatic *A adj.* †2a). Cf. *NL*: 'as lunatique creatures, as the Moone' (p. 152.1).
- p. 95.22 *a limme...Divell*] 'Limb of the devil' (and similar phrases) was a common term of abuse (see *OED* limb *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3b); 'the world' – understood as 'The pursuits and interests of this present life; *esp.*, in religious use, the least worthy of these' – is often paired with 'the flesh' and 'the devil' as one of the temptations against which Christians must guard, as on p. 95.49-50 below (see *OED* world *sb.* I 2 for more examples). The phrase is not scriptural but predates its use in *BCP*'s 'Letany and Suffrages', where the congregation pray to be delivered 'from al the deceytes of the worlde, the fleshe, and the devill'.
- p. 95.24 *a personall...solum*] See p. 20.35 & *n*.
- p. 95.27 *children of the world*] Echoing two Biblical passages: 'the chyldren of this world, are in their nation wiser then the children of lyght' (Luke 16.8); 'The children of this worlde marry wives [. . .] But they whiche shalbe counted worthie to enjoy that worlde, and the resurrection from the dead, doo not marry wyves' (Luke 20.34-35).
- p. 95.34-35 *who...Sword?*] Keys are the symbol of Papal authority (from Christ's words to Peter, Matthew 16.19: 'I wyl geve unto thee, the keyes of the kingdome of heaven'). From this stem all the Protestant and anti-clerical jokes in this period about the Pope's being Heaven's Porter, e.g. *Mirrour of Madnes* (Sandford 1576: sig. [B6]<sup>r</sup>), *Martine Mar-Sixtus* (R.W. 1591: sig. C<sup>v</sup>). See also Thompson A661.0.1.2. The sword perhaps signifies temporal power – Pope Gelasius I represented the Pope's spiritual and the Emperor's political offices as two swords (Hamilton 1986: 16); Nashe in *PP* states that in Denmark, 'Burgomasters and Gentlemen beare all the swaye of both swords, spirituall and temporall' (1958: 1.179.6). Hence the sword could represent the more distasteful aspects of the Pope's involvement in worldly matters – Greene in an anti-Papal diatribe in *The Spanish Masquerado* mentions 'their palpable and grosse herisies maintained, not with *Peters* doctrine, but

with *Paules sworde*' (1881-86: 5.248). The martial associations of the word 'sword' are perhaps not coincidental in Harvey.

- p. 95.36 *a Pope Joane*] The legend that an Englishwoman named Joan succeeded Pope Leo IV in 855, having risen to the rank of Cardinal disguised as a man, seems to have originated in the tenth century (Gontard 1964: 190). Perhaps Harvey means 'an impostor', perhaps an emblem of lechery. In the legend, Joan's fornication is exposed, which Marprelate perhaps had in mind when referring to 'Pope Joan the English harlot' (*Epistle*, p. 16).
- p. 95.36 *Pope Hildebrand*] The 11th-century German monk was adviser to five Popes before ascending the Chair himself as Gregory VII (1073-85). In his theses *Dictatus Papae*, he laid new claims regarding the extent of the Pope's temporal power; his pontificate was marked by his struggle with Henry IV, the Holy Roman Emperor, whom he excommunicated and who declared war on him; he was described by one of his advisers as 'a holy Satan'. (See Gontard 1964: 218-41.) In *Epistle*, Martin tells Whitgift, 'without your repentance / I feare me / you shalbe Hildebrand in deed'; a marginal gloss reads 'A fyrebrand in deede' (p. 24). Earlier he had been cited as the archetypal Bad Pope: 'if Hildebrande Pope of Rome [. . .] had beene Archbishop of Canterbury (and I think we have had Hildebrands there ere now [. . .])' (pp. 16-17). The episcopacy's usurpation of temporal power was one of Marprelate's bugbears – e.g. *Epitome* sig. D4<sup>r</sup>: 'Spirituell men should not medle with pollicie.'
- p. 95.36-38 *Accidents...corruption*] Aristotelian cosmology held that only things within the crystalline or fixed sphere (i.e., under the moon) were subject to change and decay. In 1572, Tycho Brahe's discovery of a new star in the constellation Cassiopeia (referred to by Harvey on p. 138.11) disproved this. Russell J. Meyer sees an allusion to this in *FQ* VII, in which Mutabilitie invades Cynthia's realm; he cites Harvey's interest in astronomy as typical of the Spenser-Raleigh circle (1984: 118-20).
- p. 95.39-41 *to exempt...ἀνυπεύθυνον*] Harvey is probably alluding to Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities* II.73, where, among the religious offices instituted by Numa Pompilius, the office of high priest is described: the word might be rendered as 'unaccountable'. Cary translates the passage: 'they are not liable to any prosecution or punishment, nor are they accountable to the senate or to the people' (Dionysius 1937-50: 1.529).
- p. 95.44 *high...Terminer*] People with great power. *OED* defines '*commission of oyer and terminer*' as 'a commission formerly directed to the King's Judges, Serjeants, and other persons of note, empowering them to hear and determine indictments on specified offences, such as treasons, felonies, etc., special commissions being granted on occasions of extraordinary disturbance such as insurrections [. . .] Hence in such phrases as *commissioners* or *justices of* [. . .] *o. & t.*'
- p. 95.49-50 *wage...Divell*] See p. 95.22 & n.
- p. 96.14 *Grimaldus...Senatore*] Laurentius Grimaldus (Wawrzyniec Goslicki) (d. 1607), Bishop of Posen, wrote a book, *De Optimo Senatore Libri II*, on how to counsel a ruler. This was published in Venice in 1568 and translated into English in 1598. Israel Gollancz suggested that the name of the *senex* in the Second Quarto and Folio texts of *Hamlet*, 'Polonius', was intended to suggest this



(Bowers 1953: 363); Harold Jenkins felt that this ‘may have been enough for “Polonius” to suggest itself as a suitable name for a loquacious counsellor’ (Shakespeare 1982: 421).

p. 96.14-16 *did...Counsellours*] This was the work translated into English in 1589 by John Thorius; see p. 38.1-3 *n.*, p. 41.1.

p. 96.16-19 *Witt...calling*] Velvet is understood as the fabric of elite clothes: in *Twelfth Night*, when Malvolio fantasizes about being ‘Count Malvolio’, he imagines himself in a ‘velvet gown’ (II.5.35-48). In *QUC*, the characters Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches represent different social classes: Cloth-breeches belongs ‘to the old auncient yeomanry, yea and gentility’ while Velvet-breeches states ‘I [. . .] honour your countrie and yong gentlemen here in *England* with my countenance [. . .] I sit and dine with the Nobility’ (Greene 1592b: sig. B<sup>v</sup>). J.P. Collier identified as Greene’s source the undated *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness* by ‘F.T.’, whom he named as Francis Thynne; in support of his suggestion that Greene’s plagiarist went unnoticed, he adduces the fact that ‘if Harvey, (a man extremely well versed in contemporary literature) had been aware of the fact that Greene’s “Quip” had been purloined from “The Debate,” he would not have failed to make abundant use of the fact against his adversary’ (1841: viii), which, in light of Harvey’s seizing on Greene’s apparently shaky knowledge of Genesis in *QUC*, is not unlikely (see p. 10.36-38). (*QUC* in turn appears to be the source for one of Rowlands’s verse characters, ‘Up-start Courtier’, in *Looke to it: For, Ile Stabbe ye*: ‘thou wilt not to thy Father moove thy Hat, / because he weares a paire of russet Hose, / Thy Velvet Breeches looke awry at that’ (1604: sig. B2<sup>v</sup>).)

Collier also attributes to Thynne (albeit on the somewhat questionable grounds of thematic and titular similarity to the *Debate*) the satirical tracts *A Pleasant Dialogue or disputation between the Cap, and the Head* (1565) and *Newes from the North. Otherwise called the conference between Simon Certain, and Pierce Plowman* (1579) (Collier 1841: xv-xvi). Whatever the authorship, this suggests a tradition of such dialogues into which *QUC* fits. Harvey is known to have read the dialogue known as *The English Courtier, and the Cutrey-gentleman* (first printed in 1579), which he quotes in some marginalia (1913: 245). (For Greene’s debt in *QUC* to sermons and homilies, see Hutson 1989: 181.) In 1600, a Chamberlain’s Men play called ‘*a morall of Clothe Breeches and Velvet Hose*’ was entered in the Stationers’ Register but is now lost; Greg comments that it ‘was presumably based on’ Greene’s tract (1939-59: 2.969). Alan C. Dessen, however, places it in the context of late morality plays representing the different ‘estates’ or ‘vocations’, which he catalogues (1965: 133 *n.*). So, unless Harvey’s passage was inserted after 1592 (see p. 105.7 & *n.*), Harvey is alluding to a sub-genre rather than Greene’s tract specifically. Possibly Harvey is projecting a potential work of his own (cf. p. 8.15-22): in this case, he would be less likely to be thinking of a morality play (for his disdain for which see p. 78.4, p. 104.9, p. 104.23-24) than a prose ‘dialogue’ – see *STC* 6798.7-6812 for examples, of which *A proper dyaloge, betwene a gentillman and an husbandmā* (1529?) seems particularly relevant.

p. 96.21-22 *Ne...Cobler*] Apelles of Cos exhibited his paintings to passers-by, and after overhearing a shoemaker find fault with his drawing of a sandal amended it; proud of this, the shoemaker then found fault with the leg, whereupon Apelles rebuked him by saying ‘that a shoemaker in his criticism must not go beyond the sandal’ (Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV.84-85). This became proverbial both

in Latin – see *Anatomie of Absurditie* (Nashe 1958: 1.21.16-18) – and in English – see *OED* last sb.<sup>1</sup> 2c, shoemaker 1b.

- p. 96.25-26 *The Laconicall...Magistrates*] The ephorate was the senate instituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, consisting of twenty-eight senators, and capable of checking the authority of the king (Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, V.6-8). Harvey is presumably thinking of the consistory promoted by many Puritans, and is aware of the republican implications of this – as Elizabeth I's proclamation responding to the Marprelate tracts stated, this would have meant 'the overthrowe of her Highnesse lawfull Prerogative' (quoted Arber 1895: 109).
- p. 96.27 *the abomination of desolation*] A particularly terrible abomination. The phrase is used by Christ (Matthew 24.15, Mark 13.14) in allusion to the prophecies of Daniel (Daniel 8.13, 9.27, 11.31, 12.11). The abomination could be variously interpreted as Titus's destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D. – see the Bishops' Bible glosses to Daniel 9.26 and 12.11, and Stockwood 1584: sigs [B6]<sup>v</sup>-[B7]<sup>r</sup> – or the Crucifixion – see Deloney's *Canaans Calamitie* (1912: 420.11-12). The Bishops' Bible gloss to Daniel 11.31 links 'the abominable desolation' to idolatry, and Browne's Puritan application of this to Catholicism in *A Treatise vpon the 23. of Mattheue* seems to be near Harvey's context: 'the abomination of desolation shall be set up, and stande in the holie place, as we knowe it is at Rome, which some tyme had more grace' (Harrison, Browne 1953: 200).
- p. 96.28 *in diebus illis*] Once upon a time. McKerrow calls this 'A common expression derived, I suppose, from Genesis 6.4 "Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis"' (Nashe 1958: 4.205). 'Clothbreeches' uses it several times in *QUC*.
- p. 96.28-34 *but old...Popular*] Harvey is alluding to *Politics*, II.vi.14-20. The relevant passages are, in Rackham's translation: 'the Ephors are appointed from the entire people, so that quite poor men often happen to get into the office, who owing to their poverty [are] easily bought [. . .] And because the office was too powerful, and equal to a tyranny, the kings also were compelled to cultivate popular favour, so that in this way too the constitution was jointly injured, for out of an aristocracy came to be evolved a democracy' (Aristotle 1932: 141).
- p. 96.39 *Constantine*] See p. 80.47 n. Cooper says of 'Constantinus', 'After he had atteyned the monarchie, he dayly most studiously laboured to augment the faith of Christ'.
- p. 96.39 *Theodosius*] Theodosius Magnus was the last Roman emperor to rule a united empire, it being divided after his death between his two sons; according to Lemprière, 'The laws and regulations which he introduced in the Roman empire, were of the most salutary nature'. Cooper says that he 'much favoured and furthered Christian religion [. . .] By expresse lawe he decreed that daunsyng and wanton daliaunce should not be used in bankettes'.
- p. 96.39 *Charles*] Charlemagne was known both by this name and as 'Charles the Great' in this period: Holinshed, in his description of Henry V's claim to the French throne, uses both (1807-08: 3.65-66). His activities, and those of his *douze peres*, in combating Islam and spreading Christianity, are described in several medieval histories and romances, including that translated by Caxton as *The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce, Charles the Grete*, in which we are told that 'grete vertu & mervayllous effect was comprysed in thys man. For whan it was not warre for to mynysshe thynfydellys and encrease the crysten fayth, For tenhaunce the name of god he made the offices and

legendes of holy sayntes, & dyd reduce in to mynde and remembraunce the passyons of holy marters in establysshyng theyr feestes' (1880-81: 2.211). The comparison of him with Constantine is also made by Sleidanus: 'god hath at every time stirred up certain great princes more notable then the rest, when ether the state of religion or common welth shuld be altred, of the which sort was Cirus, Alexander of Macedonie, Julius Caesar, Constantine, Charlemaigne' (1560: sig. Aiiii<sup>r</sup>).

- p. 96.44-47 *When...Reformation*] Perhaps there is an echo here of I Thessalonians 5.6: 'Therefore let us not sleepe, as doo other: but let us wathe, and be sober'. It was conventional to represent sin and spiritual complacency as a kind of sleep: this was the central conceit of the now-lost late morality play *The Cradle of Security* (c. 1572). For biblical and other early-modern examples, see Pearlman 1990: 371-72.
- p. 96.44 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 97.1-2 *give-out...drawen*] The 'Fortunate Isles' of Græco-Roman mythology were associated with the Elysian Fields as well as the island of Ogygia where Homer's Calypso lives; they were variously identified as the British Isles and the Canaries (see Bennett 1956: 117-21). Here as on p. 98.9 below, Harvey means an unattainable state of perfection.
- p. 97.3-4 *had...cushion*] Sacrificed their rest or peace of mind. 'To take one's pennyworths of the pillow' meant to sleep long or soundly – see Dent P219.2 for examples.
- p. 97.24 *double Ancher*] See p. 49.3-5 n.
- p. 97.28 *a jugglers sticke*] The phrase is not in *OED*, but perhaps Harvey means something constantly thrown around and therefore changeable. He uses a very similar phrase later in *PS*, with regard to Andrew Perne's pliability in religion: 'his hart a juggling sticke: his minde a mist' (p. 133.37).
- p. 97.28 *in Capite*] Harvey is punning – he means 'in the imagination'. Cf. *2 Henry VI*, IV.7.115-16: Jack Cade decrees that when he is king 'men shall hold of me *in capite*'. Ronald Knowles glosses '*in capite*' 'in chief: a law term. A tenant *in capite* held land direct from the king, the feudal head' (Shakespeare 1999: 326 n.).
- p. 97.31 *hoat...cold*] Proverbial – see Tilley L483.
- p. 97.32-38 *There...fluvius?*] This whole passage was used by the author of *The Art of Iugling or Legerdemaine*: see Appendix E, 5-11.
- p. 97.32-35 *There...moneth?*] The fable in question is not in Aesop, and is not catalogued by Thompson, Aarne or Briggs, although the inconstancy of the moon is proverbial (see Tilley M1111). Pseudo-Aesopic fables were a feature of contemporary sermons: see Pierce 1911: 170 n.
- p. 97.38 *what...fluvius?*] *Populus*, *chorus* and *fluvius* are three of the six masculine nouns which end in -e or -us in the vocative (the other three being *agnus*, *lucus* and *vulgus*). This was presumably familiar from contemporary Latin grammars (see Lily 1574: sig. Bj<sup>r</sup>, Leech 1590: sig. C4<sup>r</sup>). *Populus* can mean 'masses, populace, common people' and *chorus* 'group, crowd': Harvey's point seems to be the fickleness of the multitude (see Patrides 1965 for other examples of this in contemporary thought). For the polyp's habit of changing colour according to its environment, see Pliny's *Natural History* IX.87.
- p. 97.39-46 *Doctour...Consistorie*] Roger Kelke (1523/4-1576) was Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, from 1559 until his death; he was temporarily Vice-chancellor of the university in 1567

and 1571-2 (*ODNB*). He had spent Mary Tudor's reign in exile in Switzerland, and J.B. Mullinger refers to his 'adherence to the puritanical doctrines which he had embraced abroad' (*DNB*). He was also one of those who signed a letter to William Cecil (the Chancellor) advising against the enforcement of the vestment regulations at the university following the protest by the more extreme Protestants (see p. 87.5-7 *n*), and N.G. Jones calls Magdalene during his mastership 'more Puritan than Church of England' (*ODNB*). However, Jones presents him as a more moderate Protestant than Harvey seems to, noting that he was one of the nine college heads who deprived Thomas Cartwright of his professorship and banned him from preaching at the university. 'Knack' seems to involve wordplay: *OED* notes that it was 'formerly often, a deceitful or crafty device, a mean or underhand trick; later *esp.* an adroit or ingenious method of doing something' (*sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1). Regarding Kelke's 'blunt manner', *ODNB* quotes P. Cunich as to his being personally 'overbearing and awkward'.

- p. 97.51 *that flourishing Universitie*] A description of Cambridge of which Harvey was fond – see *FL* (p. 10.23-24).
- p. 98.3-5 *It...beast*] The allusion is to Aristotle's critique of absolute monarchy in *Politics* III.XI.4. Rackham translates the passage: 'He therefore that recommends that the law shall govern seems to recommend that God and reason alone shall govern, but he that would have man govern adds a wild animal also; for appetite is like a wild animal, and also passion warps the rule even of the best men. Therefore the law is wisdom without desire' (Aristotle 1932: 265).
- p. 98.9 *Elisian...Integritie*] A place of impossible perfection. In Roman mythology, Elysium was the abode of virtuous souls after death, described by Virgil in *Aeneid* VI.637-78.
- p. 98.12 *Bel-vedere*] *OED*'s earliest instance in any sense is from 1596, and the italics perhaps reflect that this was still a foreign word. Florio defines 'Belvédère' as 'a faire sight'.
- p. 98.16 *the Delphical sword*] Perhaps Harvey means 'a multi-purpose instrument'. A similar phrase is used by Aristotle in *Politics* I.i.5: Rackham translates it as 'Delphic knife', but suggests that the implement may have been used both as a weapon and domestically, for eating (1932: 4). Aristotle's context is that nature does not make anything like a knife of this sort but designs one thing for one purpose. Harvey's views on the appropriateness of the presence of working people in a decision-making body, and faith in the judgements which they would deliver, is obvious.
- p. 98.23 *All-hallowes in hoony-lane*] This 'small parish church' stood in Cheapside (Stow 1598b: sig. P4<sup>r</sup>). Nashe uses 'Honey Lane' metaphorically in *CT*: 'The Bee [. . .] is free of Honny lane, to bestir him with his sting' (1958: 2.185.20-23). Possibly Harvey is doing something similar; given his context, it is also important to note that in the 1570s All Hallows became a Calvinist centre (see Collinson 1967: 86).
- p. 98.33 *the Fathers Conscript*] *OED* defines '†*fathers conscript*' as 'a collective title by which the Roman senators were addressed'; its earliest use when applied to 'the administrative council of a [. . .] municipality' is from 1727 (*OED* *conscript a., sb.* A 1, 1b).
- p. 98.41 *all-hart*] 'Heart' here means 'Courage, spirit' (*OED sb.* I 11a), although Harvey is being ironic. For the same phrase see Richard Harvey's praise of Essex in *LG*: 'I pray God he may alwaies with all blessed increase be like himself, that for action is naturally borne Al Hart of his Noble

- Father, for Instruction since his death is artificially made All Studious of his careful Tutor' (1590b: sig. A3<sup>r-v</sup>).
- p. 98.48 *much...helpe*] Tilley gives the Northern/Scots version, 'Muckle ado and little help' (A36); Harvey uses the same phrase in *3PL* (Spenser 1912: 615, 621).
- p. 98.50-51 *what...England?*] See p. 82.49-51 *n*.
- p. 99.1-2 *a greater...Chronicle*] See p. 127.39 *n*. The sweat (see p. 104.25) is the sweating-sickness (*OED* sweat *sb.* II 3 †b), as opposed to *a* sweat, an outbreak of this; there were five of these in England 1485-1551 (Nashe 1958: 4.264).
- p. 99.2-4 *Martin...Orient*] Phaëthon (see p. 14.11) is again cited as an example of impetuous youth, or perhaps of the danger of placing power in an unworthy person's hands. When his chariot plunged towards earth, he scorched Libya and turned the Ethiopians black (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II.235-38).
- p. 99.5 *solitaque...ending*] Harvey's pun involves the sense of heavy 'serious, grave' (*OED* *a.*<sup>1</sup> III 12). The Latin is from *Metamorphoses* II.162; Miller translates, 'the yoke lacked its accustomed burden' (Ovid 1916: 1.71).
- p. 99.7 *Nec...illis*] *Metamorphoses* II.170 – Phaëthon's panic when he loses control of the horses. Miller translates, 'He knows not [. . .] where the road is; nor, if he did know, would he be able to control the steeds' (Ovid 1916: 1.73).
- p. 99.10 *Deucalions Diluge of water*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.253-415. Jove, angry at the degeneracy of mankind in the Iron Age, floods the world: the only survivors are Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha.
- p. 99.11-13 *Magnæ...vertunt*] *Metamorphoses* II.214-16. When the sun-chariot falls to earth, 'Great cities perish with their walls, and the vast conflagration reduces whole nations to ashes' (Ovid 1916: 1.75).
- p. 99.16-17 *Pænam...advancement*] *Metamorphoses* II.99 – Phoebus's words to Phaëthon.
- p. 99.25-26 *Good...thiselfe*] Harvey's point (that Marprelate damages himself and his adherents) is made in *FL* apropos Nashe, with very similar lexis (p. 23.40-41).
- p. 99.27 *Anabaptisme*] A word used with more pejorative force than exactitude in the Elizabethan era. *OED* notes that 'Anabaptist' was applied not only to Baptists but 'also, somewhat loosely, to other rejecters of Anglican doctrine as to the sacraments and "holy orders"' (*OED* Anabaptist 3). Pierce, commenting on Thomas Cooper's representation of all Puritans as 'the *phantasticall spirites of Anabaptists, of the families of the love*, and sundry others of like sort', says 'Anabaptist was the episcopal equivalent for rascal; of Anabaptism as a religious socialism and as general revolutionary propaganda, except among a few Continental refugees possibly, there is little or no trace at this time, and at no time was it an English movement' (1911: 260-61). It was perhaps not a name that English puritans self-applied. In *Epistle*, Marprelate ends his 'Conditions of Peace' with the request that the Bishops 'never slander the cause of reformation / or the furtherers thereof / in terming the cause by the name of Anabaptisterie' (p. 39); later in the same text he states that 'The people [. . .] runne into corners [. . .] because you keep the meanes of knowledge from them. Running into corners will breed Anabaptistrie / Anabaptistrie will alienate the heartes of the subjects from their lawfull governour' (p. 52). Greenwood, asked at one of his examinations 'Do yow hold it lawful to baptise children?',

answered ‘Yea; I am no Anabaptist, I thanke God’; John Penry thought that it was ‘tending to the anabaptisticall inversion of all good order in the church’ to allow anyone in the congregation to preach at will (Malham 1808-11: 2.30, 35). Nevertheless, the full title of Robert Some’s 1589 tract *A godlie treatise...* places Greenwood and Barrow among ‘*the Anabaptisticall order*’ (quoted Arber 1895: 140).

The name had radical political associations because of the groups which emerged in Switzerland, Germany and the Low Countries in the 1520s. Although there was little homogeneity between them, they were broadly organized around the rejection of infant baptism, a belief in the imminent end of the world and the repudiation of all authority (spiritual and secular) except for scripture (*OER* art. Anabaptists). Some of them believed in community of goods: the preacher Thomas Müntzer taught ‘that all thinges should be common, & al men of like fredom & dignitie’ (Sleidanus 1560: fol. lv<sup>v</sup>). Sleidanus describes the Anabaptist uprising which ended in his execution (1560: fols lv<sup>r</sup>-lvii<sup>v</sup>). This text was read by both Harvey in Latin (Stern 1979: 235-36) and Nashe in English – Nashe uses it as a source for the description of a later Anabaptist uprising, in Münster, in *UT* (1958: 4.268). Elizabethan horror at the violence of these is also vividly expressed in *A Whip for an Ape* (Lyly 1902: 3.420.85-88) and *The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (Hooker 1593-97: 1.37-42).

- p. 99.33 *examine the Spirite*] Harvey is perhaps echoing I John 4.1: ‘beleeve not every spirit, but prove the spirites whether they are of God or not: for many false prophets are gone out into the worlde’. (For ‘prove’ as ‘examine’ see *OED* v. B 1a.) Wright cites the same passage in the context of Marprelate’s ‘godly zeale’ (1590: sig. A3<sup>v</sup>), and Bancroft made it the text of his anti-Puritan sermon of 1588-9 (see p. 52.41 *n.*).
- p. 99.43-44 *in hope...Bishopsgate*] Harvey is perhaps not citing Highgate for any specific associations which it has, but is making a simple pun: cf. p. 102.28-29.
- p. 99.44-45 *some...Reformation*] Cf. *Martins Months minde*: ‘he revealeth the faults of others so whotlie, and revileth them so bitterlie, as if that name at no hand appertained to him’ (Nashe 1589: sig. B3<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 99.46 *other*] ‘Others’: see p. 2.22 *n.*
- p. 99.47 *trimme...beard*] Perhaps ‘abate his pride’. The phrase is not in *OED*, *ODEP*, Tilley or Dent. N.B. however Dent<sup>2</sup> B143.21 (‘To shave someone’s beard (fig.)’). *OED* notes uses of ‘beard’ ‘allusively, of age, experience, virility’ (*OED sb.* 1d). Cf. also ‘to cut [. . .] the comb of: to lower the pride of’ (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> comb 5) and ‘crest’ in Glossary.
- p. 99.48 *Knowledge...Discipline*] See p. 79.50 – p. 80.1 *n.*
- p. 100.1-2 *marvell...Doctrine*] See p. 79.50 – p. 80.1 *n.*
- p. 100.8-9 *it...desert*] i.e., ‘despite everything I will proportion...’; *OED* gives similar phrases ‘introducing a statement of what will happen unless prevented by overpowering difficulties’ (*OED hard adv.* 2c).
- p. 100.13-14 *The State Demonstrative*] i.e. the act of praising; see p. 10.13.
- p. 100.16 *Aqua Vitæ*] The phrase is used literally in English of alcohol: *OED* only cites one use ‘fig.’; or in the literal L. meaning’ from 1600 (*OED aqua-vitæ* 3). Stubbes uses it in the context of spiritual

sustenance: ‘our soules (which live by the word of God, as our bodies doe by meate) be daily fedde with hearing the word read as it were with aqua vitæ’ (1583: sig. L2<sup>v</sup>). ‘Water of life’ is a biblical phrase – Christ says to the Samaritan woman at the well: ‘If thou knewest the gyft of God [. . .] thou wouldest have asked of hym, and he would have geven thee water of lyfe’ (John 4.10). See also John 4.11, 7.38, Revelations 21.6, 22.1 and 22.17.

**p. 100.16-17** *It...wordes*] The boundary between gentry and nobility was policed vigorously in the Elizabethan era. Gascoigne distances himself from authors who ‘term every gentlewoman a Lady, and every gentleman *domine*’ (quoted Wilson 2001: 79), and ‘the difference in degrees between Earls, and Gentlemen’ was a factor in Sidney’s tennis-court quarrel with Oxford (see Greville 1651: 74-81).

**p. 100.16-20** *It...Sanctification*] Harvey is alluding to the doctrine of justification by faith alone (as opposed to good works), a key tenet of Protestant theology. Luther, translating Romans 3.28, rendered it ‘We hold that man is justified without the works of the law, only by faith’, and subsequently defended himself against his Catholic critics in an open letter; he regarded the Epistle of St James as apocryphal, since it taught that Abraham was justified by works in offering Isaac (Rupp, Drewery 1970: 87-91, 97). The Bishops’ Bible heading to Genesis 15.6 is ‘Abram juste by fayth’. Therefore, as McKerrow notes, Puritans could be caricatured as not believing in good works by satirists like Nashe (1958: 4.23).

**p. 100.20-22** *the...effectively*] Collier makes the semi-colon after ‘distinction’ a full stop (1870b: 128). Perhaps, however, ‘We...effectively’ is to be understood as the imitated or summarised words of the theologians themselves. (Cf. p. 89.40-42 & *n.* above.) ‘Schoolman’ might mean either ‘one of the succession of writers, from about the 9th to the 14th century, who treat of logic, metaphysics, and theology as taught in the “schools” or universities of Italy, France, Germany, and England; a mediæval scholastic’ or ‘one who is expert in formal logic or school-divinity’ (*OED* 1, 2). Harvey uses it in the former sense when he writes in his *Letter-Book* that the contemplative ideal ‘was expired when Dunse and Thomas of Aquine together with the whole rablement of schoolemen were [. . .] expelled the Universitye’ (1884: 78). Here, however, he is perhaps using it in the latter sense, since the theorists in question are ones with whom he shares common theological ground. For Harvey’s hostility to scholastics, see p. 91.1 *n.* above; for qualified praise, see p. 73.9-14.

**p. 100.21-22** *We...effectively*] I cannot explain the distinction made here. *OED*’s earliest sense of ‘apprehensively’ is from 1656 (‘Men are said to be justified...apprehensively by faith’), although its definition, ‘By laying hold’, is perhaps inaccurate (†1).

**p. 100.24-26** *He meant...under Paules*] To emphasize the moderation of his Protestantism, Harvey acknowledges the necessity of works as well as faith. In his elaborate joke, different London churches represent different doctrines. According to Stow, ‘under the Quire of Pauls [. . .] was a Parish church of Saint *Fayth*, commonly called Saint *Faith* under Pauls’; ‘S. Austins by Paules’ is perhaps ‘The parish church of S. *Augustine* [. . .] in Watheling streete’, which would seem to have been nearby (Stow 1598b: sig. [S5]<sup>v</sup>, sig. [S3]<sup>r</sup>). (‘Austin’ for ‘Augustine’ was a common form, e.g. ‘he dellyted strongely in the bookes of saint austyn, especially in that whyche is named de civitate dei’ (Caxton 1880-81: 1.30).) St. Augustine of Hippo, as a bishop whose ‘rule’ was adopted in the

11th century by a monastic order, could have brought associations with the ceremonial aspects of Christianity for early Protestants (see p. 90.41-42 *n.*). Gregory I ('Gregory the Great') was Pope 590-604; according to David Hugh Farmer, his *Pastoral Care* 'formed the episcopate of the Middle Ages more deeply than any other book [. . .] It would be hard to name anyone more influential in forming the spirit of medieval monasticism' (*ODS*).

- p. 100.32-33 *The Apostles...scoffers*] Cf. *LG*: 'the primitive Church did not flourish by jybng or rayling' (Harvey 1590b: sig. a<sup>v</sup>). *Martins Months minde* makes the connection with Marprelate's avowed agenda more explicitly: 'they pretend [. . .] to reduce all to the precise forme of the Primitive Church [. . .] they being as it were our newe *Apostels* (and verie *Apostolique* are their writings no doubt, and their pistles savoureth much of the phrase of the *Apostles* epistles)' (Nashe 1589: sig. [C4]<sup>v</sup>). See also *A Myrror for Martinists*: 'this grave modestie is to be learned by the examples of the Apostles, who although they had many enemies, yet notwithstanding did not immodestly rage in any place of their writings and sermons [. . .] The Apostles, whose steps they [reformers] would seeme to followe, by their example exhorted the world to humilitie, lowlynes, meeknesse and patience: these teach their schollers pride, crueltie, scolding, and cursed speaking' (T.T. 1590: 10-11).
- p. 100.43-44 *Their Doctrine...Charitie*] See p. 79.50 – p. 80.1 *n.*
- p. 100.47-50 *peruse...himsel[e]*] This list of anti-Christian writers of antiquity covers similar ground to a longer passage in *LG* (see Richard Harvey 1590b: 85-91): I have cited this without sharing E.G. Harman's conviction that Gabriel Harvey wrote part of *LG* (1923: 58-60).
- p. 100.48 *Plinie*] Harvey perhaps means the younger Pliny. In *LG*, Richard Harvey denounces 'the two *Plinies*, the uncle and the nephew' as 'the most wretched soules to God', the first for denying the immortality of the soul, the second for reporting 'of Christ and the primitive christians of his age, as he listeth, in the abundance and liking of his owne carnall conceit' (1590b: 90).
- p. 100.48 *Suetonius*] Suetonius lists Nero's persecution of the Christians ('a class of men given to a new and mischievous superstition') among his public works and suppression of abuses (*Nero* XVI.2).
- p. 100.48 *Tacitus*] In *LG*, Richard Harvey calls Tacitus 'more hote in *Antichristianisme* then *Suetonius*' when describing Vespasian's supposed healing powers, and later comments, 'I cannot deny but *Cornelius Tacitus* is a grave & wise historian in many points, yet how lightly and foolishly, nay how wickedly and impiously doth he report of Christ and his professed followers?' (1590b: 40, 90-91).
- p. 100.48 *Antoninus*] Harvey is perhaps most likely to mean the 2nd century A.D. Roman Emperor whose full name was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: see p. 55.40-41. Several passages in his *Communings with Himself* allude to the Christians, whose excessive willingness to meet death he decries. C.R. Haines addresses these, and the Emperor's reputation as a persecutor of Christians, emphasizing that the latter has been exaggerated (Marcus Aurelius 1916: 381-85).
- p. 100.49 *Symachus*] Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (c. 340-402), Roman senator and orator. *OCD* calls him a 'leading proponent of the pagan religious cause against the Christian emperors', and Richard Harvey in *LG* states that he 'reviled Christ in abominable most hellish tearmes' (1590b: 91).



- p. 100.49 *Lucian*] See p. 4.42. Marprelate is compared to Lucian in *Martins Months minde* – ‘*Lucian the Athiest*, was never so irreligious’ (Nashe 1589: sigs [B4]<sup>v</sup>-C<sup>r</sup>) – and by Thomas Cooper in *Admonition to the People of England* (quoted Pierce 1911: 282 *n.*).
- p. 100.49 *Libanius*] Cooper calls him ‘a great Rhetorician, in the tyme of *Julianus Apostata*, which wrote argumentes upon the orations of *Demosthenes*’. Despite his adherence to paganism, he was favoured not only by Julian (for whom he wrote a funeral oration) but also Theodosius, and several of the early Fathers were his pupils in rhetoric at Antioch (*OCD*). Possibly he is the ‘*Libanus the Philosopher*’ cited by Richard Harvey alongside Hierocles, Philostratus, Lucian and Eunapius (1590b: 87).
- p. 100.49 *Philostratus*] Flavius Philostratus (*c.* 182 – *c.* 250), the author of *Imagines* (see p. 14.15-18 *n.*), wrote a life of Apollonius of Tyana, crediting him with magical abilities, to which Eusebius responded critically (see Barnes 1981: 164-67); Harvey’s own, private reading of Philostratus was less hostile than the mention of him here would suggest, judging by some marginalia of his (1913: 152-53, 272).
- p. 100.49 *Eunapius*] See p. 91.45 *n.*
- p. 100.50 *Porphyrie*] Porphyry (born in Tyre *c.* 234 and still alive in 301) wrote two anti-Christian works, *On Philosophy from Oracles* and the longer and more bitter *Against the Christians*; these survive only in the quotations of the Christian writers (Eusebius, St. Jerome) who responded to them. For a summary of their arguments see Barnes 1981: 174-78.
- p. 100.50 *Hierocles*] Sossianus Hierocles (*fl.* 303-10), a Roman writer and administrator, held various public offices under Diocletian: he wrote a work comparing the miracles of Jesus (invidiously) to those of Apollonius of Tyana. This is no longer extant but is summarized and quoted by Lactantius and Eusebius (see Barnes 1981: 164-67).
- p. 100.50 *Julian himselfe*] See p. 4.43 *n.* Julian the Apostate’s pre-eminence among early critics of Christianity is implicit here and in the lengthy passage in *LG* about the ‘wicked ruffianly apostate *Julian*’ (Harvey 1590b: 85-86).
- p. 101.4 *travailed*] Harvey probably means ‘travelled’: see *FL* (p. 13.12).
- p. 101.7-8 *how...sinners*] In 16th-century English translations of scripture, ‘publican’ means ‘tax-gatherer’, with the consequent sense of ‘one cut off from the church, an excommunicated person’ (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1, †2). The phrase ‘publicans and sinners’ occurs (Matthew 9.9-11, 11.19, Mark 2.14-16, Luke 5.27-30, 7.34) in relation to Christ’s summoning of Matthew/Levi as a disciple, and the Pharisees’ disapproval.
- p. 101.8-10 *what...feete*] John 13.5-12.
- p. 101.10 *applicably*] *OED*’s only sense is ‘So as to be applied, applicably, suitably’. Cf. ‘In a pliable manner; flexibly, yieldingly, docilely’ (*OED* plially), Harvey’s use of ‘applicable’ on p. 130.5, and all the occasions when he has the prefix ‘a-’ before an otherwise familiar word, e.g. ‘arread’ (p. 74.1), ‘arrear’ (p. 74.6), etc.
- p. 101.12-13 *in shewing...Samaritans*] See John 4.4-43.
- p. 101.13-14 *in sending...Grecians*] For details of Paul’s sojourns at Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth, see Acts 17.1-18.18.

- p. 101.14 *Zealous...Hebrues*] In the Bishops' Bible chapter-heading to Galatians 2, Peter is called 'the Apostle of the Jewes'; Paul says in Galatians 2.7, 'the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was committed unto Peter'.
- p. 101.14-15 *vertuous Romans*] For stories of Peter's apostolate and eventual martyrdom in Rome, see Voragine 1900: 4.16-27. The tradition is post-biblical but attested to by various early Fathers (see *ODS* art. Peter (1)).
- p. 101.15 *his brother... Scythians*] For Andrew's ministry to Scythia, see *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 2.95). Sugden calls the Scythians 'a nomadic tribe probably of Indo-Germanic affinities, but supposed by some authorities to have been akin to the Ottoman Turks, or the Mongols [...] The last traces of the Sns. disappeared about 100 B.C., but the name continued to be applied in a vague way to the tribes of central Russia and Asia'. As he says, 'it is their barbarity that is most insisted on' in the Renaissance plays in which they are cited, but Scot strikes the same note as Harvey in *Discouerie of Witchcraft*: 'The *Scythians*, being a stout and a warlike nation (as divers writers report) never see anie vaine sights, or spirits' (1584: 152).
- p. 101.15-16 *incredulous...Parthians*] According to Sugden, ancient Parthia corresponded 'roughly to the Persian province of Khorassan'. Voragine in *The Golden Legend* cites 'Isidore, in the book of the Lives of the Saints', to the effect that Thomas 'preached the Gospel to miscreants [i.e. misbelievers], to them of Persia and of Media' (1900: 3.148). For the reception of his ministry, see p. 101.31 below.
- p. 101.20-22 *how frutefully...harmonie*] *OED* defines the 'Church militant' as 'the Church on earth considered as warring against the powers of evil', whereas the 'Church triumphant' is 'the portion of the church which has overcome the world, and entered into glory' (*OED* church *sb.* B II 4b).
- p. 101.26-28 *the Bloud...Church*] Harvey is alluding to Tertullian, *Apologeticus* L.13: 'semen est sanguis Christianorum [the blood of Christians is seed]', often misquoted as 'the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church'.
- p. 101.29 *the beheading of Paule*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 4.32-33).
- p. 101.29 *James*] See Acts 12.1-2.
- p. 101.29 *the crucifying of Peter*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 4.21-27).
- p. 101.29 *Andrew*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 2.104).
- p. 101.29 *Philip*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 3.157).
- p. 101.30 *Simon*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 6.80).
- p. 101.30 *the stoning of Stephen*] See Acts 7.57-60.
- p. 101.30 *the burning of Marke*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 3.137); the Alexandrians, having strangled Mark, *plan* to burn his body, but are prevented by a miraculous storm, after which the Christians ensure its burial.
- p. 101.30 *Barnabas*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 3.220).
- p. 101.30-31 *the flaying of Bartholmew*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 5.41).
- p. 101.31 *the murdering...dart*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 2.147). 'Dart' could mean a weapon of various sizes (see *OED sb.* 1); Caxton's translation has 'a glaive'.
- p. 101.31 *of Mathew with a sword*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 5.153).
- p. 101.31-32 *of Matthias with an axe*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 3.59).

- p. 101.32 of *James...club*] See *The Golden Legend*, where the weapon is ‘a fuller’s staff’ (Voragine 1900: 3.161).
- p. 101.42-43 *Sweet...Senior*] See p. 25.51 *n.*, p. 90.15 *n.*
- p. 101.43-44 *Juniours...maioraltie*] Even allowing for the vagaries of Elizabethan spelling, neither *ODNB* nor *Athenae Cantabrigienses* furnish any potential candidates. No such person is mentioned in Harvey’s marginalia, and Brydges does not identify him. If Master Raye cannot be identified, then knowing what Harvey means by ‘maioraltie’ is problematic. Brydges reads ‘mayoralty’ (1815: pt. 8. 132), but Collier retains the ‘maioraltie’ of the original text (1870b: 130). *OED*’s only definitions of ‘mayoralty’ relate to holding the office of mayor: however, Harvey’s context would support an interpretation such as ‘old age’. See Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 73-74, where Urania, explaining the reverence once held for the aged, says (in Frazer’s translation): ‘I incline to think that the elders (*maiores*) gave their own name to the month of May, and that in doing so they had their own age in view’ (1931: 265). It would be characteristic of Harvey to be punning as Falstaff is in *1 Henry IV* II.4.489 (‘I deny your major’), where the reading of the folio and all quartos is ‘Maioir’ (Shakespeare 1960: 83*n.*).
- p. 101.46 *take all for me*] Perhaps Harvey means ‘count me out’. Cf. *Antony and Cleopatra* IV.2.8, where Enobarbus, asked by Antony how he will fight in the forthcoming battle, replies ‘I’ll strike, and cry “Take all”’. Johnson glossed this: ‘Let the survivor *take all*. No composition: victory or death’. M.R. Ridley follows Collier in thinking that the phrase comes from ‘the language of gaming’, citing an instance from *A Warning for Faire Women* (‘He drop with you; and he that has most, *take all*’) (Shakespeare 1981a: 146-47).
- p. 101.46-47 *some...aworke*] Nashe uses similar lexis to describe the excessively inquisitive or intrusive: see *SN* – ‘The tale of the Beare and the Foxe, how ever it may set fooles heads a worke a farre off, yet I had no concealed ende in it’ – and *LS* – ‘I stand lawing here, what with these lawyers and selfe-conceited misinterpreters [. . .] Have with them for a riddle or two, onely to set their wittes a nibbling, and their jobbernoules a working [. . .]’ (Nashe 1958: 1.320-21, 3.216.16-21). John Harvey in *Discovrsive Probleme* uses the same phrase to describe fruitless speculation, when he states that prophecies have been used ‘to busie the minds of the vulgar sort, or to set their heads aworke withal, and to avert their conceits from the consideration of serious, and graver matters’ (1588: 68).
- p. 101.48 *there... Understanding*] See p. 91.49-50 above.
- p. 101.49-50 *Nulla...omnes*] Drances’ words to Turnus in *Aeneid* XI.362, advising peace with the Trojans: Fairclough translates, ‘No safety is there in war; for peace we pray thee, Turnus, one and all’ (Virgil 1960: 2.259).
- p. 101.50 *No...Law*] *OED* defines the ‘fetial law’ as ‘the Roman law relating to declarations of war and treaties of peace’ (*OED* fetial, fecial *A adj.*); Harvey from his context would seem to have the latter in mind.
- p. 102.6 *Christall*] Harvey seems to use this in the sense of ‘paragon’. No such instance of the word appears in *OED*, but see *LG*, where Richard Harvey calls the Israelites’ contribution to the tabernacle ‘A christall glasse for this age to looke in’ (1590b: 155). ‘Crystal’ could mean ‘mirror’ (see Parker 2009), and see Appendix A for ‘mirror’ in this sense.

- p. 102.6-11 *When....astray*] Cf. Harvey's comments in his copy of Foorth: 'raunging and transcending generalities in abstracto & contemplativo, & in y<sup>e</sup> Clowdes, nothing but idle & vain speculations. Idle Heddes ar allway in y<sup>e</sup> transcendentibus, & in nubibus: politique Witts, evermore in concreto activo' (1913: 199.24). Harvey's Humanist preference for active engagement in the material world over abstract theorizing is revealed repeatedly in the 'Advertisement' – e.g. p. 80.7, p. 80.40-41 (where he is being ironic), p. 100.16-17.
- p. 102.8 *Presidents*] Precedents; see p. 14.31 *n.* above.
- p. 102.12-13 *even...enough*] Cf. Matthew 26.41.
- p. 102.16-17 *how...plottes*] Cf. Tilley H279: 'So many heads so many wits'.
- p. 102.22-24 *He...Glosse*] If Harvey has an individual in mind, it is most likely to be Thomas Cartwright (p. 102.45-46 below would support this). Cartwright's status among Elizabethan Puritans was very high: Patrick Collinson says of his place in the Marprelate tracts, 'No other Puritan minister was mentioned so often, or with more approval' (*ODNB* art. Cartwright). But when Cartwright taught that it was better to conform and wear vestments than to be deprived, he was condemned by the London presbyterian conference 'for setting himself "against the Church and the brethren"' (Collinson 1961: 140). The disillusion of a younger generation of Puritans with Cartwright is also expressed in Browne's *An Answer to Master Cartwright His Letter for Ioyning with the English Churches*; Browne himself, having in turn conformed, was regarded by several of his disciples as an apostate (Smith 1937: 312-13, 321-26).
- p. 102.27-28 *If...advisement?*] Used concretely, 'cogitation' could mean 'a thought or reflection' (*OED* 2), and 'consultation' 'a meeting for deliberation or discussion' (*OED* 2a). Given the possibility that Harvey is making a specific allusion, or using esoteric terminology, it may be worth noting that a 'consultation' was a kind of writ (*OED* 4). Harvey uses legal terminology elsewhere, e.g. p. 72.29-30.
- p. 102.28-29 *If...attainted?*] As on p. 99.33-34, Harvey is making a pun on place-names, the places themselves being unimportant: he is alluding to Marprelate's desire to replace bishops with elders. Sugden cites the 1624 play *Shanke's Ordinary* for the idea that Aldersgate was named 'of elders, that is, ancient men'; as Douglas Brooks-Davies notes, 'elder' and 'alder' were spelt interchangeably (Spenser 1995: 180 *n.*).
- p. 102.30-31 *what...Sunne?*] Tilley cites this line as an instance of the proverb 'Out of God's blessing into the warm sun' (G272), used when someone leaves a good situation for a bad one.
- p. 102.37 *Udal*] John Udall (1560?-1592/3) met Penry at Cambridge when they were both students. He preached at Kingston upon Thames but was disciplined by the Archdeacon of Surrey in 1586 for, amongst other things, introducing 'new ceremonies' and a 'new forme of prayer' and allowing private prayer-meetings. Able to count on the protection of the Earls of Warwick and Huntingdon, he was reinstated, but turned to the writing of polemical tracts (*ODNB*). In *Hay any worke for Cooper*, Marprelate names Udall among people who have been wrongly suspected 'to make Martin' (p. 21), but elsewhere he makes it clear that he regards him as a fellow spirit: in *Epistle*, he praises Udall as 'a notable preacher of the Gospell / and vehement reprover of sinne' and describes in detail his 'silencing' by the Archdeacon of Surrey (pp. 34-35). Marprelate also mentions 'my frend and deare

brother Diotrephes his Dialogue' (*Epistle*, p. 6) and 'the Demonstration of Discipline / published together with mine Epistle' (*Epitome*, sig. 2<sup>v</sup>), of both of which Udall was the author (Pierce 1911: 27 n., 120 n.). There is evidence that Udall was involved in the printing of the first Marprelate tract (his *A demonstration of the trueth of that discipline which Christe hath prescribed* was printed on Waldegrave's secret press at the same time) but he was absent in Newcastle for the rest of the controversy (see Arber 1895: 81-93 *passim*, 121-22, 169-72).

- p. 102.43 *the learnedest...Battledore*] 'not to know a B from a battledore' (arch.) to be utterly illiterate' (*OED* *battledore* sb. 5). Sugden calls 'the Arches' 'The Ecclesiastical Courts of Appeal for the province of Canterbury. It was so called because it sat in the Ch. of St. Mary de Arcubus (St. Mary of the A[rches]) in Cheapside [. . .] It took cognizance of all matters coming under Ecclesiastical Law, such as marriage and divorce, wills, abuses in the Ch., etc.'. Stern makes the case for Harvey's having pleaded there after getting his DCL from Oxford, but the evidence is not conclusive (1979: 80-84).
- p. 102.45 *Doctour Chapman*] Brydges glosses, 'Qu. Dr. Edw. Chapman, B.D. of Cambridge?' (1815: pt. 8. 231). Edmund Chapman (1537/8-1602), deacon of Norwich, was given his BD at Cambridge in 1569 but incorporated DD at Oxford in 1578. In 1570 he emerged as a supporter of Cartwright's, and indulged in a little light iconoclasm (destroying the organ of Norwich Cathedral), but later 'urged restraint and moderation on less temperate colleagues' (*ODNB*).
- p. 102.51 – p. 103.1 *that would...Hildebrand*] Perhaps Harvey means 'replace peace with strife': see p. 95.36. In 1080, during Gregory VII's struggles with the Holy Roman Empire, the Archbishop of Ravenna was created Pope Clement III in opposition to him (Gontard 1964: 238-39).
- p. 103.1-2 *sturr lesse abroad*] Perhaps 'be less critical of others'; cf. p. 77.12-13. To 'stir' could mean both 'To go out [. . .] usually with †*abroad*' and 'To make a disturbance, commotion or tumult' (*OED* v. II 12b, 14c).
- p. 103.3 *Lacedemonian Ephorie*] See p. 96.25-26.
- p. 103.5-6 *M. Fier...Church*] In *Epitome*, Marprelate summarises the Puritan view of church offices: 'by these 4. officers (say our brethren) Pastors / Doctors / Elders and Deacons / God hath appointed that all matters of the Church / should be decided and determined' (sig. [B3]<sup>v</sup>). In *Hay any worke for Cooper*, he lists their functions, citing New Testament authority (pp. 11-12). This was the Genevan model (see Fills 1562: sigs Ai<sup>v</sup>-Aii<sup>v</sup>, [A7]<sup>r</sup>-Biii<sup>v</sup> for their various responsibilities). The descending order of the four elements is important (see p. 19.41-43 & n.).
- p. 103.9-11 *The severall...occasion*] Apart from his frequent complaint of insufficient preaching, Marprelate does not touch on matters of ritual either. See p. 81.44-48 & n.
- p. 103.13 *Doctour Faustus*] Paul H. Kocher cites this as the first extant reference in English to Faust, also mentioned in Henry Holland's *A Treatise Against Witchcraft* (1590). *A Ballad of the life and death of Doctor Faustus* was entered in the Stationers' Register in February 1589 but has now been lost. Kocher infers that Harvey had read the English Faust Book (Marlowe's source) although he acknowledges that no copy of this exists before 1592. He says, 'We may reject as improbable the alternatives that the allusion is to the ballad or to Marlowe's play. No doubt the ballad was one of the ephemeral single-sheet broadsides issued so prodigally in London. Harvey in Cambridge is not likely

to have seen it or to have thought it worth citing even if he had. The case is less clear with regard to Marlowe's play, which Harvey might have made a point of hearing on some visit to London, but no such visit is recorded and on the whole Harvey does not seem to have been much of a playgoer' (1943: 540-41). He forgets that a) by this point Harvey's Cambridge career was over, even though his fellowship had not yet lapsed (for Harvey's relocation to London c. 1588 and subsequent legal career see Stern 1979: 80-85); b) Harvey's mentioning the play would not mean that he had seen it; and c) Kocher has no proof that the 'Advertisement' was incorporated '*verbatim*' into *PS* as he claims (1943: 540*n.*) – there was nothing to stop Harvey inserting references to his enemies into an existing manuscript, as indeed Nashe suggested that he did in both *FL* and *PS* (1958: 1.327.4-8, 3.124.24-34). (See p. 96.17 and p. 105.7 for other places where Harvey may have done this.) Harvey's hostile mentions of Marlowe elsewhere in *PS* – p. 73.26, p. 110.36 – are worth noting. Whatever the exact point of this reference, it is important to note its derogatory tone. The sort of semi-legendary figure whose life was the basis of ballads, chapbooks and vernacular plays would not bring associations of high culture with them for Harvey.

p. 103.13-14 *As...leisure*] See Appendix B, 5.

p. 103.15 *will...Tittle-tittle*] Is the subject on which I end. Some horn-books had a row of dots after the alphabet, which schoolboys were taught to read 'tittle, tittle, tittle' (Watson 1908: 161). Nashe uses the phrase 'This is the tittle est amen of it' to mean 'conclusion, sum' (1958: 1.366.28, 4.205). Cf. p. 75.10, p. 88.29.

p. 103.16-17 *put...purgation*] Figuratively, either test, punish or scare Lyly. When, in *As You Like It* V.4.43-44, Touchstone declares 'If any man doubt that, let him put me to my purgation', Latham sees this as an allusion to trial by combat (Shakespeare 1975: 123-24 *n.*). The phrase could also mean to administer emetic or laxative medication: see *Hamlet* III.2.297-98.

p. 103.17-18 *make...Circle*] Conjurers were supposed to draw a protective circle inside which they stood: Scot in *The discoverie of Witchcraft* gives an example (1584: 420).

p. 103.18 *betake...heeles*] Perhaps there is wordplay in 'circumference'; 'round' could mean 'Of movement: Quick, brisk' (*OED* *a.* III 11*a*) and 'roundness' 'Energy, activity' (*OED* †7).

p. 103.19-20 *or to...warning*] See Appendix B, 12-13.

p. 103.22 *bellybiters*] Grosart glossed this as 'a vile meaning' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.115). For the sexual associations of the word 'belly', see *Merchant of Venice* III.5.41, *The Winter's Tale* I.2.204, *HWY* (Nashe 1958: 3.129.27-28).

p. 103.23 *Pedomancie...Necromancie*] Not in *OED*, 'pedomancy' would seem to be a tongue-in-cheek nonce-word perhaps meaning 'running away'. For 'chiromancy' and 'necromancy' see Agrippa 1569: fols 50<sup>v</sup>, 57<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>.

p. 103.25-26 *I could...blush*] There is some topical allusion here (evidently to a story which Harvey felt discredited Lyly), but I cannot identify it. According to Stow, 'At Limestreet corner is a faire parish Church of S. *Dionys* called Backchurch, lately new builded'; this was already standing by 1446 (1598b: sig. [L7]<sup>r</sup>). According to Sugden, St. Pancras was 'Pronounced and usually spelt Pancridge, or Pancrede, in the 16th and 17th cents.'; at this point it was 'a very sparsely inhabited country district'. It is perhaps important that, as he notes, the 14th-century church continued to

perform masses after the Reformation and was a centre for Roman Catholics, as that ‘chanter’ could mean ‘A priest who sings masses in a chantry’ (*OED* chanter<sup>1</sup> 4). While Bond summarizes this as ‘He vaguely hints at some discreditable relations’, he adds, ‘by “the Clerk of Backchurch” Harvey means that Lyly is a leader among scandal-mongers’ (Lyly 1902: 1.7 & *n.*).

- p. 103.28 *Asse in presenti*] Cf. *Defence of Conny-catching*: ‘he had past *As in præsenti*, and was gone a proficient as farre as *Carmen heroicum*’; Grosart glosses, ‘phrases in Latin grammars of the period’ (Greene 1881-86: 11.80, 308). Nashe makes the same joke as Harvey in *SN*; McKerrow calls it a ‘frequently occurring jest’ (1958: 1.282.23, 4.171).
- p. 103.28-29 *to imagine...reckoning*] See p. 4.22-23 & *n.*
- p. 103.30-32 *I know...Art*] Harvey’s anonymous friend shares his turn of phrase: cf. p. 10.47. Bond infers from this ‘that dabbling in magic had been made a charge against Lyly’, citing a 1582 letter of his to Oxford (evidently written when Lyly was in disgrace) ending ‘as I know my L. to be most honorable, so I beseech god in time he be not abused. Loth am I to be a prophitt, and to be a wiche I loath’ (1902: 1.29). Another interpretation is that, like all the references to ‘conjuring’ in this passage, this is an echo of the threat to ‘conjure’ Harvey in *PWH*; see Appendix B, 5.
- p. 103.32 *he that...phrase*] i.e. Harvey himself: see Appendix B, 11-12.
- p. 103.33 *he that...taunts*] See Appendix B, 7-8.
- p. 103.35 *resounde...horse*] See *Æneid* II.52-53. When the Trojans are pulling the horse into the city, Laocoön throws his spear into its belly, and Virgil describes the great echo.
- p. 103.35-36 *I have...entered*] An ambiguous phrase. Perhaps Harvey is referring to literary styles, saying that a less crude response to Martin would have been better (cf. p. 79.28-31, and Harvey’s use of ‘long-sword’ on p. 72.18, p. 78.32). Alternatively, he might be suggesting Lyly’s folly in having entered the quarrel at all: the broadsword is potentially the attribute of a heroic warrior (in Drayton’s ‘Ballad of Agincourt’, this is the weapon wielded by Henry V (1961: 2.378)). Richard Harvey uses the phrase ‘stand at the door’ (meaning, perhaps, to hold back or refrain from involvement) in *LG*, contrasting (as Gabriel does) Cartwright’s behaviour with Marprelate’s: ‘such jolly fellowes, will goe unto them at any time [. . .] though TeeCees stand never so stately at the dore’ (1590b: 162).
- p. 103.36-40 *although...well*] Harvey is alluding to the passage in *The Odyssey* where Odysseus blinds the Cyclops Polyphemus, having introduced himself as ‘Nobody’ (so that Polyphemus’ neighbours disregard his cries) (9.364-412). ‘Outis’ is an English transliteration of the Greek word, hence Jonson’s joke in *The Fortvnate Isles* 96: ‘Know ye not Outis? Then you know Nobody’ (1925-52: 7.710). An ‘excrement’ could be any ‘excreted substance’ (*OED* excrement<sup>1</sup> 2a); Homer describes the Cyclops drunkenly vomiting up fragments of Ulysses’s companions (*Odyssey* 9.371-74).
- p. 103.42-43 *made...Croiden*] Perhaps Harvey means blackened or dirtied in a figurative sense – ‘defamed’. Sugden says of Croydon that ‘Large quantities of charcoal were made there for the supply of Lond.’, and most of the references that he cites relate to this – e.g. Appendix C, 6-7. Possibly Harvey is playing with the phrase ‘to carry or bear coals [. . .] submit to humiliation or insult’ (*OED* coal *sb.* 12).
- p. 103.43 *no such...Silence*] Harvey’s sense seems broadly to be that the best strategy for responding to *PWH* is to ignore it. I have not however been able to trace the specific allusion here. It is perhaps to

some euphuistic folklore about the leopard's stealing silently upon its prey, the ape, but there is nothing to this effect in Maplet 1567, Batman 1582 or Topsell 1607. Whatever the point of this image, Harvey returns to it in *NL* (p. 151.31), and later in *PS* he pairs the leopard and the fox as emblems of cunning (p. 119.2), as Batman takes the leopard's trapping of the lion as an instance of 'deceit and guyle' (1582: fol. 371<sup>v</sup>).

- p. 103.44-46 *quaking...epistle*] See Appendix B, 5-9. Collier reads '*Epistle[s]*' (1870b: 136), but perhaps Lyly's joke was that the 'Earthquake Letter' in *3PL* was a little long for actual private correspondence. Having one's ears cut off was the punishment for slander (amongst other things). Gascoigne in *The Steele Glas* declares that he will not say anything defamatory of the court 'for both myne eares' (1907-10: 2.144); in the Prologue to *The Woman Hater*, the author declares 'you shall not find in it the ordinarie and over-worne trade of jeasting at Lordes and Courtiers, and Citizens', since 'he that made this play, meanes to please Auditors so, as hee may bee an Auditor himselfe hereafter, and not purchase them with the deare losse of his eares' (Beaumont, Fletcher 1966-96: 1.157).
- p. 103.50-51 *his knavish...fictions*] Harvey uses a very similar phrase when dealing with Nashe: see p. 16.30-31.
- p. 104.1 *couragious*] Either Harvey is being ironic, or he means 'vainglorious'. No such sense is defined by *OED*, but Webbe in his *Discourse* seems to use it in the same sense: 'manie Romaine Poets [. . .] in a certaine corragious heate gaped after glory by wryting verses, but fewe of them obtained it' (1870: 94).
- p. 104.1-3 *If...necke*] Verbatim from *PWH* (Lyly 1902: 3.413.16-18).
- p. 104.7 *losers...wordes*] Cf. Tilley L458: 'Give losers leave to speak (talk)'.
- p. 104.8 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 104.8-9 *He hath...naughtes*] Hunter notes that Harvey's description of Lyly as 'Vicemaster of Paul's' has often been quoted out of context as evidence of Lyly's having held 'a regular post as a teacher of the St Paul's choirboys (Vicemaster = Assistant Master)'; he emphasizes instead the pairing of 'vice' and 'fool' (1962: 75). (Cf. p. 78.4.) Harvey associates the theatre – even the comparatively elite theatre with which Lyly was associated – with the crude buffoonery of the medieval morality play with its Vice. When Kocher comments, 'Harvey does not seem to have been much of a playgoer', he is probably thinking of passages such as this (1943: 541). Lyly's association with the boys of Paul's (as playwright and impresario) seems to have begun in 1583-4, when they joined the children of the Chapel Royal in performing *Campaspe* at court on New Year's Day, as part of the Earl of Oxford's campaign to regain Elizabeth I's favour. By 1591, the company had been dissolved. Alone or jointly, they are known to have acted seven of Lyly's eight plays (see Hunter 1962: 73-82). 'Foolmaster of the Theatre' Hunter sees as 'a direct reference to the playhouse of that name, built by James Burbage in 1576' (Hunter 1962: 80), although he acknowledges that only adults acted there, and Harvey's fondness for parallelism can distort his sense (see p. 2.15).
- p. 104.11-12 *sometime...London*] Huffman here identifies 'Oxford' with the Earl, as Hunter more tentatively did on p. 79.27 above; he also sees 'London' as the Bishop (1988: 63). Brydges here makes 'bable' 'babble', although when the same word recurs on p. 104.14 below he retains it and



when it appears on p. 52.5 he renders it 'bauble' (1815: pt. 8.127, 31). This would not be an unprecedented spelling of 'bauble' (see p. 23.51 & *n.*); the repeated spelling in *Ship of Fools* suggests that it was pronounced with a short 'a', e.g. 'Suche shall in this Barge bere a babyll' (Barclay 1874: 1.14). A similar crux occurs in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* I.2.99. 'Bauble' is a more attractive reading here than 'babble', since Lyly by this point was *not* the talk of London, his star having fallen somewhat, as the commercial history of *Midas* reveals (2000: 111). Hunter states, 'the early 'eighties marks the crest of Lyly's literary reputation', and the earliest reference to him as an author who has fallen out of fashion is from 1589 (1962: 72, 257).

- p. 104.12-13 *A workeman...termes*] Cf. 'the workman is known by his work' (Tilley W860; the earliest instance is from 1596).
- p. 104.13-16 *I...Point*] See Appendix B, 11; Harvey also echoes 'Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he would be decyphered, and so perhaps discouraged. He shall not be brought in as whilom he was, [. . .] with [. . .] an apes face' (Lyly 1902: 3.408.18-22). See p. 26.10-15 *n.*
- p. 104.17 *losers...actes*] 'Give losers leave to speak (talk)' was proverbial (Tilley L458).
- p. 104.18 *painted scabbard*] See p. 23.49 *n.*
- p. 104.18-24 *all you...pleasure*] Hunter interprets the 'apes' as the boys of Paul's (1962: 75); but since he identifies the 'two such' as Lyly and Nashe, it is also possible that Harvey means one of Lyly's fellow-writers. In *FL*, Harvey calls Greene 'the ape of Euphues' (p. 13.5), and see p. 107.4-5 below. Hunter compares this to a letter that Jack Roberts wrote to Sir Roger Williams in 1585, which warns 'beware of my lord of Oxenford's man called Lyly, for if he see this letter he will put it in print or make the boys in Paul's play it upon a stage'; he infers that 'Lyly already had a reputation for putting contemporary personalities into his plays' (Hunter 1962: 75-76).
- p. 104.24-25 *a chafing...Paper*] 'let them but chafe my penne, & it shal sweat out a whole realme of paper, or make them odious to the whole Realme' (Lyly 1902: 3.407.38-40). The pun involved depends on the contemporary pronunciation of 'realm': cf. *Leicester's Ghost* 257 ('he that is cheif [*sic*] Subject in the Reame') (Rogers 1972: 16).
- p. 104.25 *the Papersweat*] See p. 99.1-2 *n.*
- p. 104.27 *But...Tubb*] See p. 78.36 *n.* Perhaps 'point' here is '†an instance (of some quality, etc.)' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> A II 5a); cf. p. 16.28, where Harvey uses the phrase 'piece of cunning'.
- p. 104.28-29 *The sweet...sinne*] 'a good honest strippling [. . .] askt his sweete sister, whether lecherie in her conscience were a sinne? In faith (quoth she) I thinke it the superficies of sinne' (Lyly 1902: 3.399-400).
- p. 104.30-32 *the true...conscience*] 'I could tickle *Martin* with a true tale of one of his sonnes, that having [. . .]' (Lyly 1902: 3.401.34-37).
- p. 104.32-34 *the sober...Pope*] 'One there was, and such a one as *Martin* would make the eldest of his Elders, that [. . .] at his table [. . .] sate [. . .] in more pompe than a Pope' (Lyly 1902: 3.403-04).
- p. 104.34-35 *the starved...diet*] As Stern noted (1979: 120), this line is echoed by Luxurio in *I Parnassus* 417: 'I have served here an apprentishood of some seaven yeares, and have lived with

the Pythagorean and Platonick Δίαίτια as they call it. Why, a good horse would not have endured it' (Leishman 1949: 156). See p. 65.25 & *n*.

- p. 104.36 *the Zelous...malt*] 'It was one of your neast, that writt this for a love letter, to as honest a woman as ever burnt malt [. . .] *my love to thee is, as Paules was to the Corinthians; that is, the love of copulation*' (Lyly 1902: 3.403.23-27).
- p. 104.37 *Aretines Religion*] Presumably lechery: for Aretino's reputation among Elizabethans 'as the pornographer *par excellence*' see McPherson 1969: 1551.
- p. 104.37-38 *the holie...concupiscence*] 'one of his minions, [. . .] thinking to rap out an oath and sweare by his conscience, [. . .] swore by his concupiscence' (Lyly 1902: 3.411.35-37).
- p. 104.39 *Martin...deceit*] Verbatim from *PWH* (Lyly 1902: 3.403.35-36).
- p. 104.43 *Hundred merrie Tales*] The title of an anti-Martinist tract threatened in *PWH*: 'there is a booke coming out of a hundred merrie tales'; 'In the hundred merrie tales, the places, the times, the witnesses and all, shall be put downe to the prooffe'; 'Looke how manie tales are in this booke, so manie must you abate of an hundred in the next booke, reckon this for one' (Lyly 1902: 3.400.17-18, 401.37-38, 405.11-12). This was the name of a jestbook which seems to have been a byword for crudeness. In *Much Ado About Nothing* II.1.119, Beatrice is horrified to hear Benedick say 'that I had my good wit out of the "Hundred Merry Tales"'; Humphreys glosses, 'Beatrice's pride in wit and sharpness is grossly snubbed by such a comparison' (Shakespeare 1981b: 116 *n*.).
- p. 104.44 *Lucians true narrations*] See p. 16.27 *n*.
- p. 104.44 *the heroicall historyes of Rabelais*] Cf. p. 112.18-20 below, from which it is obvious that Harvey had read *Gargantua*, and his praise of Rabelais in his marginalia (1913: 119.25).
- p. 104.45 *Howleglasse*] *A merye jeste of a man called Howleglas* was one of the four jestbooks given to Harvey by Spenser in 1578 (see p. 4.42 *n*.). The name is a literal translation of the German 'Eulenspiegel' ('owl-mirror'); Till Eulenspiegel, a peasant's son, is the hero of a collection of stories popular in the sixteenth century (Stern 1979: 228). Glossing a reference made by Nashe, during an anti-Puritan tirade in *The Anatomie of Absurditie* ('they [. . .] publicly pretend a more regenerate holines, being in their private Chambers the expresse imitation of Howliglasse'), McKerrow notes that in Scotland he was 'associated with vice rather than humour [. . .] In England, on the other hand, he was more often classed with the comic characters of the Jest-books', citing this as an example. He gives information about the various English editions, all of which were before 1560 – like Skelton, Scogan and *The Ship of Fools*, Eulenspiegel belongs with the crude literature of another era (Nashe 1958: 1.22-23, 4.23).
- p. 104.45 *Frier Rush*] A folkloric figure, some legends about whom were collected in a chapbook. Rush is a devil who infiltrates a friary in human form and plays a series of pranks (sometimes of a lethal nature) on the brothers. A 'boke intituled *ffreer RUSSHE*' was entered to John Alde in the Stationers' Register for 1568-69 (Arber 1875-94: 1.389). *STC* lists no copies before 1620 (21451); however, the book must have been printed by 1584, as Scot mentions it in *The discoverie of witchcraft*, in a passage marked 'Hudgin of Germanie and Rush of England': 'There go as manie tales upon this *Hudgin*, in some parts of *Germanie*, as there did in *England* of Robin good fellowe [. . .] *Frier Rush* was for all the world such another fellow as this *Hudgin* [. . .] in so much as the

- selfe-same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skullian, which is saide to have beene slaine, &c: for the reading whereof I referre you to Frier *Rush* his storie' (1584: 522).
- p. 104.47 *Secretaries*] Harvey seems to mean 'writers'; see p. 105.2.
- p. 104.46-47 *the renowned...fift*] See p. 62.24 *n*. During this period, Poggio was perhaps most widely known for his fables, which were translated by Caxton and printed as an appendix to Aesop's (see Aesop 1585: fols 125<sup>r</sup>-134<sup>v</sup>). Unlike Aesop's, the fables are almost entirely about humans and sometimes fail to reach a moral. As some of them are crudely sexual and some anti-clerical, the collection reads rather like a jest-book. Like Gabriel, Richard Harvey in *LG* links Poggio with Eulenspiegel: 'all juglers, owleglasses and poggians, all decayed and bankrout spendthrifts, all lightheaded and ungracious mates' (1590b: 162). Like Gabriel, Hall in *Virgidemiarum* II.i.55 pairs Poggio with Rabelais as the epitome of bawdry (1949: 23). As Smith notes, Harvey in this passage alludes to the end of Poggio's *Facetiae*, in which he names three friends, 'princeps fabulator Raçellus Bononiensis [. . .] Antonius item Luscus [. . .] Cinciusque Romanus', with whom he exchanged stories and jokes whilst at the papal court ('in secretiori aula Martini papae'); this group he names the *Bugiale* (Smith 1904: 2.438-39).
- p. 104.48 *Doctour Clare*] Brydges 1815 and Smith 1904 do not identify him. Perhaps it might be inferred from Harvey's context that the title is ironic: see below.
- p. 104.48 *Doctour Bourne*] Both Brydges (1815: pt. 8.231) and Smith (1904: 2.439) identify this as William Bourne (1535?-1582), who wrote mathematical, nautical and military treatises which included almanacs (*ODNB*). The 'Doctor' would be ironic as, according to G. L'E. Turner, 'He was not a university-educated man, unlike other authors dealing with mathematical topics at this time' (*ODNB*). However, Harvey owned his highly popular *Regiment for the Sea* and in some marginalia commends his *Treasure for Traveilers* (1913: 173, 214). He also explicitly praises him on p. 127.22-27 below, although this is among qualified praise of the 'industrious Practitioner [. . .] Unlettered in bookes'.
- p. 104.49 *Wakefield*] I cannot identify the person meant here. As Skelton and Scogan were semi-mythical figures thanks to their status as jest-book heroes (see p. 4.51 *n*.), possibly Harvey might mean a legendary character. George-a-Greene, the Pinder of Wakefield, was a well-known figure in the mythology of Robin Hood, as Drayton notes in *Poly-Olbion* (1961: 4.529). Robert Greene's play *George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*, was printed posthumously in 1599 but is mentioned in Henslowe's diary in 1593. 'A ballet of Wakefylde and a grene' was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1557-8 (Knight 1994: 63-64, 119). If this title appeared on the broadside, and Harvey had once caught a glimpse of it – as he claimed in *FL* to have done with Greene's works (see p. 13.22-25) – he might just have thought that 'Wakefield' was a personal name. In writing disdainfully of medieval or popular culture Harvey often reveals his hazy knowledge of it (e.g. see p. 23.40 & *n*.).
- p. 104.50 *Committing of matrimonie*] 'because thou saist thou art unmarried, thou maist commit matrimonie' (Lyly 1902: 3.413.1-2).
- p. 104.51 *carousing...Church*] 'these *Martins* cannot carouse the sapp of the Church, till by faction they make tumults in religion' (Lyly 1902: 3.396.17-18).

- p. 104.51 *cutting...conscience*] ‘hee’le cogge the die of deceipt, and cutte at the bumme-card of his conscience’ (Lyly 1902: 3.403.36-37).
- p. 104.51 *besmearing of conscience*] ‘my wit [. . .] will all to besmeare their consciences’ (Lyly 1902: 3.395.2-3).
- p. 105.1 *spelling...booke*] ‘such unmannerlie knaves as Martin, must bee set againe to their A.B.C. and learne to spell *Our Father* in a Horne booke’ (Lyly 1902: 3.404.22-24).
- p. 105.1 *the railing Religion*] See p. 78.1.
- p. 105.2 *whotly*] See p. 93.38 n.
- p. 105.2 *Lucianicall*] Hunter understands this as ‘blasphemous’ (1962: 69).
- p. 105.2 *the minion Secretarie*] ‘Minion’ here is either (ironically) ‘Dainty, elegant, fine, pretty, neat’ (*OED* a. 1 – many of the examples are ironic or derogatory) or (attributively) ‘A favourite of a sovereign, prince, or other great person; *esp.* opprobriously, one who owes everything to his patron’s favour, and is ready to purchase its continuance by base compliances’ (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1c). Cf. p. 75.33. Hunter notes that the assumption that Lyly was Oxford’s secretary is based on this passage, but does not discount the possibility: ‘Ascham had been the Queen’s Latin Secretary, Dyer was Leicester’s “confidential agent or gentleman secretary”, Spenser was secretary to the Bishop of Rochester, Antony Bacon was secretary to Essex, etc., etc.’ However, he is aware that Harvey elsewhere uses the word simply to mean ‘writer’ (1962: 69, 356); see p. 50.21, p. 104.47, p. 123.29; also p. 120.32, where Harvey calls Nashe ‘this minion Humorist, and Curtesan Secretary’.
- p. 105.3 *Faith...stile*] ‘Faith, thou wilt bee caught by thy stile’; Bond glosses, ‘having just dropped into euphuistic punning’ (Lyly 1902: 3.401.14, 581).
- p. 105.3-4 *Indeede...humour*] Tilley cites the title of Jonson’s 1601 play as the first instance of ‘Every man in his humour’ (M121); perhaps this or a similar phrase was current earlier.
- p. 105.4 *the Midas by his eares*] R. Warwick Bond sees this as an allusion to Lyly’s *Midas*, the composition of which he therefore places between May and September 1589: ‘Harvey, writing at his Cambridge rooms, must have seen the play during the long vacation on the St. Paul’s stage, where its performance would serve as rehearsal for its production at Court’ (1902: 3.111 n.). In the same paragraph he sees a phrase from *An Almond for a Parrat* (‘a man can not [. . .] write *Midas habet aures asininas* [. . .] but hee shall bee in daunger’) as another allusion to Lyly’s play, a theory for which McKerrow had little time (Nashe 1958: 3.341-42, 4.461). ‘An ass is known by his ears’ was proverbial (see p. 77.35-36 & n.).
- p. 105.5 *Albertus Secrets*] See p. 77.25 n. In some distinctly scornful marginalia discussing ‘owr vulgar Astrologers, especially such, as ar commonly termed Cunning men or Artsmen’, Harvey writes that ‘Albertus secrets, & Aristotles problems Inglished’ are ‘their great Doctours’; Moore Smith glosses, ‘a suppositious work of Albertus Magnus, called *Liber Aggregationis seu Liber Secretorum*, &c., or [. . .] *Liber Secretorum Alberti Magni de virtutibus herbarum et animalium quorundam*’ (1913: 163, 277-78). An English translation, *The Boke of secretes of Albartus Magnus*, was printed in London by William Copland c. 1560, going through 5 editions (*STC* 258.5-262).
- p. 105.6 *Bebelius*] Heinrich Bebel (1472-1516?), a native of Justingen, made Poet Laureate by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1501. His most famous work was the *Facetien*, first published in 1501 and

frequently reprinted with additions; this was a collection of anecdotes largely gleaned from other sources, and contained not only anti-clerical satire of an often crude and scurrilous nature but also gibes at the adoration of Christ and the Resurrection (*ADB*). Smith calls the *Facetien* a ‘contribution to Poggian literature’ (1904: 2.439); Bebel admired Poggio greatly (Hallam 1882: 1.88 *n.*).

p. 105.6 *Wakefields lyes*] See p. 104.49 *n.*

p. 105.6-7 *Parson Darcyes knaveries*] Brydges glosses, ‘PARSON DARCYE and WAKEFIELD seem by Harvey’s context to have been of Elderton’s class’ (1815: pt. 8.231). Smith identifies the former less tentatively: ‘Brian Darcy, referred to in Scot’s *Discouerie of Witchcraft*, 1584’ (1904: 2.439). This Darcy (d. 1587) was a magistrate whose witch-hunting activities at St. Osyth in Essex are recorded in the tract *A true and just reporte of the information, examination and confession of all the witches, taken at S. Oses* (1582); he did not take holy orders (*ODNB*). Harvey had clearly read Scot’s *Discouerie* (see p. 127.50 *ff.* below), but all the (hostile) mentions of Darcy by Scot call him ‘the lord Darcy’ or ‘*Brian Darcie*’ (1584: 17, 542-43). A ‘boke intituled *the confession of parson DARSY upon his Deathe*’ and ‘a ballet intituled *a shorte Dyscription of parson DARCY*’ were both licensed to Thomas Colwell in 1565-66 (Arber 1875-94: 1.310); *pace* Brydges he was evidently, not an author of ballads like Elderton, but someone who featured in them. *CSP* does not name him.

p. 105.7 *Tarletons...Pamflets*] The scorn here for Tarlton, Elderton and Greene is interesting, especially as Harvey claimed in *FL* not to be acquainted with Greene (p. 5.50) or have read any of his works (p. 13.22-25). All three had mocked Richard Harvey and his prognostication (see p. 16.40-42), but Greene surely not until 1592. Either: a) Harvey inserted this subsequently (see p. 103.13); b) there is something in Greene’s writings of 1583-89 mocking Richard – and Nandini Das suggests that the preface to *Planetomachia* has a sideswipe at him (2006: 439-40); or c) the mockery of Greene is something conventional – cf. *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, where Greene’s works are among several kinds of popular writings attacked, along with ‘monstrosity literature’, ballads, prognostications, etc. (R.W. 1591: sigs A3<sup>v</sup>-[A4]<sup>r</sup>). For conventional disdain for Tarlton, see Hall’s *Virgideciarum* VI.i.203-04 (1949: 93), *Mar-Martine* (Lyly 1902: 3.426.106).

p. 105.8-9 *Where...obscure*] Harvey makes the same pun on ‘vein’ on p. 129.28-29. For ‘Braggadocio’, see p. 59.47 *n.* *FQ* did not appear in print until 1590, but Harvey had had a sneak preview by 1580 (Spenser 1912: 628).

p. 105.9 *Braggadocio*] See p. 59.47 *n.*

p. 105.10 *Sugerloafe*] *OED* defines this as ‘A moulded conical mass of hard refined sugar’ (*OED* sugar-loaf 1); Harvey’s figurative sense, applied to something literary of great ‘sweetness’, charm or worth – he is being ironic – would appear to be unique.

p. 105.13 *quintessence...dissolved*] Brydges (1815: pt. 8.139) and Smith (1904: 2.273.25) remove the comma after ‘amber’, necessary for separating the two items. In *The Alchemist* II.2.76 and IV.1.137 respectively, ‘dissolved pearl’ and ‘tincture of amber’ are among the delights which Mammon expects to enjoy (Jonson 1925-52: 5.320, 363). Cleopatra (Pliny, *Natural History*, IX.119-21) and Caligula (Suetonius, *Caligula*, XXXVII) are said to have drunk liquefied pearls. The act is cited by Horace as an instance of prodigality (*Satires*, II.III.239-41), as also in 2 *Tamburlaine* I.3.218-25

- (Marlowe 1987-98: 5.96), *UT* (Nashe 1958: 2.267.22-23), *Leicester's Ghost* 534 (Rogers 1972: 26), etc.
- p. 105.14-15 *Some...Vacation*] Cf. the phrase in Harvey's commonplace-book: 'Not every fayre box, or gallypott, that standith in y<sup>e</sup> Apoticyes shop, is full of good ointment, or good conserves' (1913: 99). He would seem to have copied this from Sir Hugh Platt's *Floures of Philosophie* (1572).
- p. 105.15 *Dia-pap...Dia-nut*] See p. 77.38-39. The prefix 'dia-' means that medication of some kind has been made from a substance (see p. 150.24 & n.): the contrast is with the precious 'restoratives' described on p. 105.12-13.
- p. 105.21 *Doctour Bancroft*] See p. 52.41 & n.
- p. 105.21 *Doctour Sutcliffe*] See p. 52.39 n. However, Sutcliffe's earliest printed work is from 1591, so Harvey either inserted this subsequently or is alluding to his sermons.
- p. 105.21-22 *this Mammaday...hatchet*] Cf. *PWH*: 'what care I to knocke him on the head with his owne hatchet' (Lyly 1902: 3.399.6-7).
- p. 105.22-23 *I will...simples*] There is wordplay here: 'simples' means both 'plants and herbs employed for medicinal purposes' and 'foolishness, folly' (*OED* simple B sb. 6, 3a pl.). When Nashe makes a similar pun in *UT*, McKerrow calls it 'obvious and frequent' (1958: 2.230.1, 4.265).
- p. 105.23-25 *The Pap...Lane*] Cf. p. 77.38-45. For 'the hangman's apron' see p. 78.39-40 n.
- p. 105.25-26 *Martins...mowing*] The title-page motto of *PWH* is 'Martin hangs fit for my mowing' (punningly, as the prospect of Marprelate being hanged is joked about throughout) (Lyly 1902: 3.393).
- p. 105.26 *Huff, Ruff, and Snuffe*] *PWH* is dedicated 'To the Father and the two Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe, and Snuffe' (Lyly 1902: 3.394.1) – i.e. Marprelate and Martins Senior and Junior (see p. 25.51 n.). Saintsbury noted that three characters in Preston's *Cambyeses* have these names (Lyly 1902: 3.574); see also 'huff-snuff' in Glossary.
- p. 105.27 *never...herring*] The phrase '*never a barrel the (a) better herring*' *OED* defines as 'nothing to choose between them' (*OED* herring 2; see *OED* barrel sb. †4 for more examples).
- p. 105.30 *lilly of the Valley*] A biblical phrase: 'I am the rose of the fiede, and lillie of the valleys' (Song of Solomon 2.1).
- p. 105.36-37 *display...coolours*] Colliers were proverbially black: see Tilley L287 ('Like will to like, quoth the devil to the collier') and Appendix C, 6-7.
- p. 105.37-38 *most-unreasonable...ayre*] Cf. 'Empty vessels sound most' (Tilley V36).
- p. 105.38 *other*] 'Others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 105.39 *the learned Nightingale*] *OED* notes that this was 'Applied to [. . .] melodious singers or speakers' (*OED* nightingale<sup>1</sup> 2). Perhaps it was a conventional way of describing a scholar, as a swan was a synonym for a poet – see *Parnassus* 294: 'Harke shrill Don Cicero how sweete he sings, / See how the groves wonder at his sweet note, / And listen unto their sweet nightingale' (Leishman 1949: 111).
- p. 105.39-40 *tast...Raven*] Cf. *Titus Andronicus* III.i.158: Titus, given hope of reprieve for his sons by the moor Aaron, says 'Did ever raven sing so like a lark [. . .]?' The proverbial hoarseness of the

- raven is in play in both passages (see Tilley R33). Harvey is also playing on the proverb 'A leg (pestle) of a lark is better than the body of a kite' (Tilley L186).
- p. 105.41-43 *The Muses...Rhetorique*] See p. 75.23 & n.
- p. 105.42 *quaffers of Helicon*] Cooper calls Helicon 'A mountayne in Bæotia, dedicate to the Muses'; this was the place of Hippocrene, 'A fountayne in Bæotia, dedicated to Apollo, and the .ix. Muses'. Nashe in *LS* calls Homer 'a good old blind bibber of *Helicon*' (1958: 3.155.5), invoking the kind of carefree creativity and bibulous good-nature from which Harvey implicitly distances himself here.
- p. 106.2 *Il'e, Il'e, Il'e*] See p. 38.34-36, p. 78.24.
- p. 106.5 *any...gift*] Grosart reads 'any of his commendable gift' (Harvey 1884-85: 2.219), perhaps understanding this as 'anyone as gifted as him'. Harvey's meaning might instead be 'any commendable gift of his', a slightly more qualified compliment. For similar syntax in Shakespeare, see Abbott 1870: 23.
- p. 106.7 *woodden Jestes*] Possibly 'wooden' here is 'Of inferior character, poor, worthless' (*OED* 2 †c; the first instance is from 1592). Nashe in *HWY* plays on the phrase when abusing Harvey's poem on *Perne* on p. 135.28-40: 'He brings in his coffin to speake: what a wodden jest is that?' (1958: 3.137.8).
- p. 106.8-9 *good...pottes*] This seems to have been a frequent gibe: McKerrow gives instances (Nashe 1958: 4.118).
- p. 106.10 *Realmes...Wast-paper*] See p. 104.24-25 n.
- p. 106.11 *lillypot*] *OED* gives this as the only instance of 'A size of writing paper distinguished by the "lily-pot" as a water-mark' (*OED* lily-pot †3). Smith concurs, noting the pun on Lyly's name (1904: 2.439).
- p. 106.12 *Vanitas vanitatum*] See p. 13.16 n.
- p. 106.20-22 *Even...reason*] See p. 77.33 n.
- p. 106.23 *drunken*] Perhaps this was used in the sixteenth century figuratively, to denote the qualities associated with someone drunk: see *Richard III* I.1.33 ('drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams'); *LG*: 'this mad and drunken world' (Harvey 1590b: 112). All *OED*'s figurative instances are followed by 'with' (or in the 14th century 'in' or 'of'), suggesting the intoxicating effects of something – joy, flattery, etc. (*OED* drunken *ppl.* a. 1c).
- p. 106.24 *Rhetorician of Bridewell*] Bridewell was 'A palace in Lond., on the W. side of the Fleet Ditch abutting on the Thames'; given to the city by Edward VI as a workhouse, it became famous as a prison for prostitutes (Sugden). It was synonymous, like Billingsgate, with crude abuse: cf. *Locrine*, where Strumbo, having been abused by Margerie, says 'I thinke you were brought up in the universitie of bridewell, you have your rhetorick so ready' (W.S. 1595: sig. F2<sup>v</sup>). Possibly, by pairing this with Bedlam, Harvey is echoing *PWH*: 'Martin, I have taken an inventorie of all thy uncivill and rakehell tearmes, and could sute them in no place but in Bedlam and Bridewell' (Lyly 1902: 3.409.36).
- p. 106.25 *Primerose hill*] See p. 71.43 & n. for the associations of this place with prostitutes, and p. 104.37 & n., p. 104.40 for the supposedly indecent qualities of *PWH*.

- p. 106.28 *the Pedlars...bugget*] McKerrow glosses 'the Tynkers budget' as 'the bag in which he carries his tools', citing another instance of the phrase from Greene (Nashe 1958: 1.77, 4.52). In *Euphues the Anatomy of Wyt*, Lyly himself uses similar lexis at the beginning of his preface 'To the Gentlemen Readers': 'I was driven into a quandarie Gentlemen, whether I might send this my Pamphlet to the Printer or to the pedler. I thought it to bad for the presse, & to good for the packe.' Bond glosses, 'the pedlar's pack, hospitable to the popular and ephemeral, ballads, broadsides, &c. Cf. Autolycus' (Lyly 1902: 1.182, 329). William Turner in *Turners dish of Lentten stuffe* (1612) similarly associates 'the Tinker with his budget, / the begger with his wallet' with ballads (quoted in Würzbach 1990: 264-65), and the existence of 'a ballett intituled *pedler and his packe*' strengthens this association (Arber 1875-94: 1.386). Lawlis feels that Lyly means shoddy goods generally (1967: 123 *n.*); either way, Harvey is suggesting that *PWH* displays a low level of wit and erudition.
- p. 106.30 *biggin*] This might denote various kinds of headwear: a night-cap, a child's cap, or a barrister's cap (*OED* *biggin*<sup>1</sup>). Harvey perhaps has in mind a passage from *PWH*: Martin's 'head is swolne so big, that he had neede send to the cooper to make him a biggin' (Lyly 1902: 3.399.38). Possibly his meaning here is 'apex'. Cf. *Hamlet* II.2.228-29, where Guildenstern, asked by the prince how he and Rosencrantz are, replies 'on Fortune's cap we are not the very button' (Jenkins glosses, 'the highest point' (Shakespeare 1982: 249*n.*)); also *Timon* IV.3.360, where Apemantus calls Timon 'the cap of all the fools alive' (Oliver glosses, 'summit, apex' (Shakespeare 1959b: 111*n.*)).
- p. 106.34-35 *monstrously...spannel*] Brydges reads 'spaniel' (1815: pt. 8.142), a reasonable reading bearing in mind p. 130.40. The captain and his faithful friend seem to have evaded the attention of Harvey's contemporaries (as well as posterity in the form of the *DNB* and *ODNB*). A Captain Christopher Lister (d. 1589) accompanied the Earl of Cumberland in his expedition to the Azores (see Hakluyt 1903-05: 7.1-31 *passim*), and a Captain Edmund Lister is mentioned in dispatches to the Privy Council from Ireland between 1597 and 1600 (*CSP Ireland Elizabeth*). The latter might be the 'Captaine Lyster' who served in France under Norris and Frobisher in 1594 (Van Meteren 1602: 137). The 'father Lyster' mentioned several times in Jack Roberts's 'Ironical Letter' of 1585 to Sir Roger Williams would seem from the company he kept to have been a captain (Wilson 1920: 81); a Catholic priest is unlikely to have been a member of Leicester's expedition to the Low Countries, and 'Father' was a name 'given to an old and venerable man' (*OED sb.* 8a), which would fit Harvey's Captain. Since Hakluyt was one of Harvey's 'Oxford frends' (1913: 233.6-7) and *Principal Voyages* is mentioned earlier in *PS* (p. 67.31-32), and Harvey featured in Essex's circle of patronage (see p. 8.10 *n.*, p. 33.13 *n.*), these two might be possible, if perhaps not likely, candidates. Another possibility is that Lister was someone like the 'Banks' whom Nashe mentions several times (along with his horse) – someone who exhibited a performing pet for money (1958: 4.266).
- p. 106.35-36 *the Hangmans apron*] See p. 78.39-40 *n.*
- p. 106.35-36 *They...foines*] For the possible wordplay involved, see p. 60.1-2.
- p. 106.39-40 *his sweet...nut*] See p. 77.38-39.
- p. 106.40 *the Ship of Fooles*] See p. 77.23 & *n.*
- p. 106.43 *conjuring leafe*] Harvey has a specific line from *PWH* in mind (see Appendix B, 5).



*Pierces Supererogation Book III*

Nashe summarises the subject-matter of *PS*, 'It is devided into foure parts; one against mee, the second against M. *Lilly*, the third against *Martinists*, the fourth against D. *Perne*. Neither are these parts severally distinguished in the order of handling, but, like a Dutch stewd-pot, jumbled altogether' (1958: 3.117.27). This is particularly true of the third and final part of *PS*, which features very substantial digressions unrelated to Nashe and *SN*, although its subject-matter is largely, in the words of McKerrow, 'more or less disconnected criticisms of *Strange Newes*' (Nashe 1958: 5.93). I have attempted below to summarise the sections of the third book which are of any considerable length.

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| <b>p. 107.1 – p. 108.34</b>  | Harvey shifts his focus from Lyly back to Nashe. (Much of this section is concerned with Lyly, his erstwhile friendship with Harvey, desertion of him, and influence over younger writers such as Nashe.)   |
| <b>p. 108.34 – p. 110.2</b>  | Harvey returns to the critiquing of <i>SN</i> , responding to individual phrases. Much is made of how supposedly coarse and feminine Nashe's satire is, resembling the railing of a whore or butter-woman.  |
| <b>p. 110.3-29</b>           | Harvey protests his unwillingness to participate in the quarrel.  |
| <b>p. 110.29 – p. 111.10</b> | Any impartial reader of Nashe could see his arrogance, folly, verbal excess, and that his principal motivation is to make a name for himself.   |
| <b>p. 111.22 – p. 112.17</b> | Harvey vows to punish and humble Nashe.   |
| <b>p. 112.34 – p. 113.8</b>  | He would happily write in a more moderate style, but the register of his response has been determined by Nashe.   |
| <b>p. 113.45 – p. 114.11</b> | However jocular Nashe tries to appear, his satire is essentially malicious.   |
| <b>p. 114.27 – p. 120.11</b> | Because of Nashe's supposed fondness for calling people asses, Harvey digresses in praise of the ass, naming the famous asses of antiquity. He lists the medicinal uses to which parts of the ass may be put, and states that, since Arcadia has been called 'the Land of Asses', a great many figures from Greek mythology were asses. |
| <b>p. 120.12 – p. 121.32</b> | Harvey returns to the subject of Nashe.   |
| <b>p. 121.32 – p. 122.10</b> | He denounces Pietro Aretino, Nashe's stylistic touchstone.  |
| <b>p. 122.33 – p. 123.24</b> | He responds to Nashe's cavils about the lexis of <i>FL</i> , protesting how familiar it would be to any person of reasonable learning, and retaliating with his own list of Nashe's coinages.   |
| <b>p. 123.48 – p. 124.29</b> | Since Nashe prioritises wit over scholarship, Harvey ironically denigrates various great authors in comparison to Nashe, elevating 'nature' over 'art'.   |
| <b>p. 124.33 – p. 126.28</b> | Nashe boasts and threatens, but his writing is not equal to his arrogance: Harvey's expectations of great things were dashed on reading <i>SN</i> .   |
| <b>p. 126.48 – p. 128.17</b> | Nothing is so perfect that fault may not be found with it, nor anything so worthless that it may not be put to some use. Harvey praises 'expert   |

- artisans' with little formal education, moves on to the praise of vernacular English authors, and climaxes with the praise of English clergymen.
- p. 128.17 – p. 129.3** Even Nashe's writings may be of some use: in seeking to gain something from them, Harvey will be like an alchemist making gold from base metals.
- p. 129.3 – p. 131.36** He digresses from the subject of how much he has learnt from his enemies to an attack on Andrew Perne, from whom he says he has learnt most.
- p. 131.36 – p. 133.32** Having described at length Perne's guile and hypocrisy, Harvey praises stealth and cunning generally.
- p. 133.32 – p. 136.5** He returns to the subject of Perne, with a mock epitaph for him.
- p. 136.24 – p. 139.43** He promises a reply to Nashe by the 'Gentlewoman' who is his patron, whom he praises at length.
- p. 139.43 – p. 140.12** Pleading pressing business, Harvey takes his leave.
- pp. 142-47** Appended are verses by John Thorius, Anthony Chute, Jean de Fréville and Harvey himself.

**p. 107.1-p. 108.34** In the words of McKerrow, 'The first part of this third section defies analysis' (Nashe 1958: 5.93), and before Harvey returns to the business of addressing *SN*, his meaning is even more than usually opaque. However, several phrases in this section appear to be echoes of *PWH*, and since Harvey mentions being deserted by former friends (see p. 108.13-27), he seems to be expressing resentment at Lyly's defection to the ranks of his enemies (for references to their former friendship see p. 75.33-46, p. 77.4, p. 77.6, p. 77.15). Here, as often, Harvey writes of his enemies as a homogenous mass, but is perhaps mistaken in thinking of Nashe and Lyly as close friends. As G.K. Hunter notes, Lyly as a courtier, MP and member of a distinguished humanist family had a status denied to Nashe: he detects 'a streak of social deference' in Nashe's invariable references to him as 'Master Lyly' (1962: 79-80).

**p. 107.2** *Braggadocio*] See p. 59.47 *n*.

**p. 107.4** *Nash...Greene*] See p. 17.2-3 & *n*.

**p. 107.5** *Greene...Euphues*] See p. 13.5.

**p. 107.5-6** *the three...presse*] *OED* cites this as an instance of 'maumet' in the sense of 'A person who is the "tool" or "puppet" of another' (2 †b). It could also mean 'an idol' (*OED* †1a), which would make this a similar phrase to Harvey's description of his literary enemies as 'the Loadstones of the Presse' (p. 26.10-11), and his statement that (in G.K. Hunter's reading) Lyly and Nashe 'have the stage at commaundement' (see p. 104.23 & *n*).

**p. 107.6** *drawe all in a yoke*] The phrase, not in *OED*, seems to mean 'are equal'. Cf. *3PL*: 'Geometricall Proportion seldome, or never used, Arithmetically overmuch abused: Oxen and Asses [...] draw both together in one, and the same Yoke' (Spenser 1912: 621). See also *SN*: 'I can drawe equally in the same yoke with the haughtiest of those foule-mouthd backbiters' (Nashe 1958: 1.320.15).

**p. 107.6-7** *some Schollars...masters*] See Tilley S136, S138.

**p. 107.8** *It must go hard, but he wil*] 'Despite everything, he will [...]'. See p. 100.8-9 *n*.

- p. 107.10 *Suffenus*] See p. 38.32 *n*.
- p. 107.10 *Shakerly*] Nashe in *SN* declares, 'I meane to present him [Harvey] and *Shakerley* to the Queens foole-taker'. McKerrow gives contemporary references to Shakerley, calling him 'a frequenter of Pauls [. . .] notorious for his swaggering behaviour', suggesting that he was 'a half-witted fellow who subsisted on the charity of those whom he amused' (1958: 1.257.3, 4.155). His Christian name seems to have been Peter: in the references collected by McKerrow, he is invariably associated with arrogance and folly.
- p. 107.10-11 *advancing...victorie*] Cf. Tilley V50: 'Do not triumph before the victory'. Stern seems to be mistaken in seeing the subject of this as Shakerley rather than Nashe (1979: 108 *n*.), although Harvey's syntax is perhaps a little strange.
- p. 107.12 *bravure*] Brydges reads 'bravery' (1815: pt. 8.145). *OED* gives no instances of the word, which is perhaps a coinage from the Italian *bravura* (of which *OED* gives no examples as an English word before 1788).
- p. 107.14 *refuse...boote*] This is echoed in *IParnassus* 1380, where Gullio announces that when he meets his love-rival, 'I woulde make him not refuse the humblest vassalage to the soale of my booties' (Leishman 1949: 200).
- p. 107.15-16 *Monsieur...French*] COPAC lists a book, *Contredictz de Sôgecreux*, by Jean de l'Espine du Pontalais, printed in Paris in 1530, but I can find no further information about it.
- p. 107.16 *Messer Unico*] Aretino: see p. 4.43 *n*.
- p. 107.17 *some...Art*] 'Crossbite' could mean 'to cheat by outwitting; to "take in", gull, deceive' (*OED* 1). *OED*'s only Elizabethan example is from Greene's *Notable Discouery of Coosenage*: see p. 64.37 *n*. 'Leaguer', when applied to a person, literally meant 'A member of a league' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1a). Harvey's sense is clearly figurative, and perhaps means 'conspirator' (see *OED* league *v.*<sup>1</sup> 1: 'to confederate'). *OED* gives one example, from Chapman's *Homer's Odysseys* (1615), the meaning of which is unclear, but which it suggests is 'A term of reproach' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> †2).
- p. 107.18 *Bearwardes*] *OED*'s only figurative instance, meaning someone who leads something, is from 1826. Perhaps the pejorative force with which Harvey uses the word comes from the status of bearwards: in the 1572 anti-vagrancy statute, unauthorised 'Fencers Bearewardes Common Players in Enterludes & Minstrels' were classified with beggars (quoted Gurr 1980: 28). In a seventeenth-century broadsheet, *The Town Crier*, a man leading a bear around the streets to advertise a baiting is placed among itinerant street-vendors (Shesgreen 1990: 15); in Lupton's description of bear-baiting at Paris Garden, disdain for the bearwards is vividly expressed (1632: 66-69). Cf. 2 *Henry IV* 1.2.168 ('true valour is turned bearherd'), *IParnassus* 1420-21 (Leishman 1949: 203).
- p. 107.18-19 *have heard...Apes*] Apes were a feature of beargardens. A Jacobean advertisement for one promises 'plasant [*sic*] sport with the horse and ape' (quoted Gurr 1980: 11); a 1544 account of Paris Garden describes how 'a poney is baited, with a monkey on its back, defending itself against the dogs by kicking them; and the shrieks of the monkey, when he sees the dogs hanging from the ears and neck of the pony, render the scene very laughable' (quoted Lyly 1902: 3.583).
- p. 107.20-21 *the furious...Guy*] Killing the cow is one of the legendary feats of Guy of Warwick, hero of ballads and chapbooks (see Crane 1915: 151-52).

- p. 107.21 *Aesops...workeman*] See p. 14.18-19 *n.* Oxen feature in another fable, about a hart who hides in an ox's stall, as well as the story of the dog in the manger (Aesop 1585: fols 60<sup>r-v</sup>, 82<sup>r-v</sup>). However, there would seem to be no specific reference here to any of these. Cf. Tilley O108, 'The ox when he is weary treads surest': in 1678 John Ray glossed this 'Those that are slow are sure'.
- p. 107.23-25 *Yet...nutt*] Harvey seems to refer to Lyly. See p. 77.38-45 & *n.*
- p. 107.25 *something...Apes-face*] Harvey seems to be echoing *PWH*, which mentions a satirical play in which Marprelate was represented 'with a cocks combe, an apes face, a wolfes bellie, cats clawes, &c.' (Lyly 1902: 3.408.21).
- p. 107.26 *as...since*] Perhaps another echo of *PWH*: see p. 78.14-15 *n.*
- p. 107.27-28 *Silence...world*] Cf. p. 9.8. Harvey's sense, once again, is that he has been made to suffer for being silent.
- p. 107.28 *this...Apesclogg*] See p. 79.28 *n.* Harvey means Nashe.
- p. 107.29 *gnash with his teeth*] A favourite pun of Harvey's: see p. 14.5 *n.*
- p. 107.29 *ten bones*] The 'ten fingers' (*OED* ten A *adj.* 1e).
- p. 107.30 *goose-quill*] See p. 50.30-31 & *n.*
- p. 107.30-33 *as if...old world*] Perhaps the examples are conventional: Drayton in *Nimphidia* 194-97, describing the destructive rage of the jealous Oberon, compares him to 'The franticke *Paladine* of France', '*Alcides* in his fury' and '*Ajax Telamon*' (1961: 3.131).
- p. 107.31 *Orlando Furioso*] Ariosto's hero is driven mad by the discovery that his beloved Angelica loves another, and when he wanders through a wood full of trees on which she and her lover Medoro have carved their names, 'he draweth forth his fatall blade, / And hews the stones [ . . . ] The arbor, and the floures, and ev'rie tree; / *Orlando* of all places havocke made' (Harington 1591: 184).
- p. 107.31-32 *the clubb of Gargantua*] In Chapter 36 of Rabelais's work, Gargantua pulls a tree out of the ground to use as a weapon (1955: 117).
- p. 107.32 *Ajax distraught*] 'Ajax contending with Ulisses for Achilles armour, and Ulisses by force of eloquence, obteyninge sentence on his parte, became madde. And in his fury slewe many beastes, supposing them to be Ulisses and his company' (Cooper).
- p. 107.32-33 *the clubb of Hercules enraged*] See p. 26.4 *n.*
- p. 107.33 *hedge-stakes*] The word appears in *2Parnassus* 320, where Iudicio calls several contemporary writers 'the old hedgstakes of the presse'. Leishman glosses 'Presumably = stakes for mending hedges' (1949: 246).
- p. 107.36 *squised*] Brydges reads 'squeezed' (1815: pt. 8.146).
- p. 107.37 *such a Gargantuist...sallat*] The allusion is to Chapter 38 of Rabelais's work: six pilgrims take shelter for the night among the cabbages and lettuces in Grandgousier's garden, and Gargantua, making himself a salad, inadvertently plucks them up and swallows them alive (1955: 120-21).
- p. 107.38-39 *then huge...him*] See Homer, *Odyssey*, 9.371-402.
- p. 107.39-40 *or banning...him*] I cannot explain this.
- p. 107.40 *Genus irritabile vatum*] Horace, *Epistles* II.ii.102: Fairclough translates this as 'the fretful tribe of bards' (1929: 433). 'Irritabilis' might also be rendered 'easily provoked (or angered), irritable, sensitive'.

- p. 107.41 *the furie of a Waspe*] Cf. Tilley W76 ('As angry as a wasp').
- p. 107.43-44 *Take heed...gagpenne*] See p. 42.29; cf. also Tilley G177 ('Beware of him whom God hath marked'). This passage seems to be echoed in *2Parnassus* 311-12, where Ingenioso calls Nashe 'a fellow [. . .] whose muse was armed with a gagtooth' (Leishman 1949: 245).
- p. 107.45 *who hath time, hath life*] Proverbial (see Tilley T293).
- p. 107.46 *a cowardly...warning*] Puttenham defines '*Skarborow warning*' as 'a sodaine commandement, allowing no respect or delay to bethink a man of his busines' (1936: 189). See Tilley S128 for other examples.
- p. 107.47 *the Cart before the horse*] 'To set the cart before the horse' is proverbial (see Tilley C103).
- p. 107.47-48 *with a resolution*] 'Resolutely': see p. 55.41 *n.*, p. 83.8 *n.*
- p. 107.49-50 *they shall...towne*] This is echoed in *2Parnassus* 279-82: 'I, there is one that backes a paper steed [. . .] Brings the great battering ram of tearms to towne' (Leishman 1949: 242). There the subject is John Marston rather than Nashe, but there are other quotations from *PS* in the same passage: see p. 146.47 *n.*
- p. 107.51 – p. 108.1 *he taketh-on...needles*] Nashe seems (judging by a passage in *HWY*) to have lodged with John Danter and his wife (1958: 3.114.32-115.3), but this phrase is probably not to be interpreted too literally (cf. p. 79.4 & *n.*). A needle is a specifically female weapon, as in the episode in Sidney's *Arcadia*, where the serial heartbreaker Pamphilus is tormented by the women he has trifled with, who have 'bodkins in their hands wherewith they continually pricked him' (1987: 236.30).
- p. 108.1 *a marvelous hart*] 'Heart' seems to have related to martial valour in the period. See p. 98.41 *n.*
- p. 108.3 *Rodomont*] This is the name of a character in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. The King of Algiers, we are told of him 'In all the campe was not a man more stout [. . .] / The greatest enemie to our beliefe' (Harington 1591: 105). As well as signifying a fearsome warrior, the name also means a 'great bragger or boaster' (*OED* *rodomont*).
- p. 108.4 *a peece...Song*] See *OED* *piece sb.* †2e, although 'piece' seems to be used as an intensive rather than a diminutive here, as in several of the examples cited. Cf. p. 154.7. Cf. *HWY*: 'A smudge peice [*sic*] of a handsome fellow it hath beene in his dayes' (Nashe 1958: 3.94.13).
- p. 108.5 *Syr Bevis*] See p. 42.22 *n.*
- p. 108.6-7 *Dubba-dubba-dubb...flye*] The refrain of a ballad of Deloney's on the taking of Cadiz begins 'Dub, a dub, dub, / thus strikes their Drummes' (1912: 367). This was perhaps a stock phrase in ballads.
- p. 108.9-10 *never...penneknifes*] In *2Parnassus* 280, Iudicio says that, as a satirist, Marston 'manageth a pen-knife gallantly' (Leishman 1949: 242); there are other, closer quotations from *PS* in the same scene (see p. 107.49-50 *n.*, p. 146.47 *n.*).
- p. 108.12-13 *An Ape...matter*] See p. 107.25 *n.* *OED* defines 'to set a good face on the matter' as 'to assume or maintain a bold bearing' (*face sb.* III 10a).
- p. 108.14 *in...livery*] See p. 49.33 & *n.*
- p. 108.14-15 *miserable...earth*] See p. 28.29.

- p. 108.16 *every birde...taile*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.622-723. After Mercury beheads the hundred-eyed Argus, Juno places his eyes on the peacock's tail.
- p. 108.21 *Diomedes...birdes*] Lemprière says of Diomedes, 'His death was greatly lamented by his companions, who, in the excess of their grief were, as mythologists report, changed into birds resembling swans'.
- p. 108.22 *Pleasure...Proffit*] See p. 61.37 n.
- p. 108.25 *with...suer*] See p. 108.12-13 n.
- p. 108.29-31 *I loove...flowers*] Cf. *The Retvrne of Pasquill*, where Puritan critics of the Church are compared to spiders, 'because they sucke out theyr mallice from very good hearbes'; McKerrow gives other instances of this belief (Nashe 1958: 1.93.28, 4.61).
- p. 108.32 *purser Euphuisme*] Harvey is aware of the word's etymological roots, pre-dating Lyly (see p. 77.5-6 n.).
- p. 108.32 *to winne...thistle*] Tilley's closest proverb is 'It is dear-bought honey that is licked off a thorn' (H554).
- p. 108.34 *the juice of the lilly*] For the medicinal uses of 'juyce of Lilyes', see Batman 1582: fol. 300<sup>r</sup>.
- p. 108.34 *Tush...world*] Harold S. Wilson sees unintentional irony here: Harvey's humanism, he argues, is a secular humanism sharply different from that of the older generation of More, Colet and Erasmus (1948: 709).
- p. 108.35-37 *that was...flowers*] The idea of universal degeneration from a more noble former age has both scriptural and pagan authority (see II Esdras 14.9-18, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.89-112). In *FQ* I.xii.14.8, Spenser emphasizes the frugality of this era: 'th'antique world excesse and pryde did hate; / Such proud luxurious pompe is swollen up but late').
- p. 108.39 *at the Scriveners Pistoll*] Harvey seems broadly to mean 'at writing', but *OED* gives no other uses of 'pistol' in a similar sense. Possibly he means 'pistole', a kind of coin, which seems to have been pronounced as two syllables and often written with no final 'e' (*OED*). *OED* only gives one instance, from 1660, of 'scrivener' used in the sense of 'author' (1 †c): for Harvey's similar, contemptuous use of 'secretary', see p. 105.2 n. (and Appendix A for other instances).
- p. 108.39-41 *so...an old Urinall case*] Quoting *SN*: 'the Civilian and the Devine [. . .] I will so uncessantly haunt, that to avoid the hot chase of my fierie quill, they shalbe constrained to ensconse themselves in an olde Urinall case that their brother left behind him' (Nashe 1958: 1.301.11-15). Harvey's omission of the mention of John is significant, although by curtailing the phrase he may only be trying to make it seem more absurd. A urinal, or vessel for taking urine samples (see *OED* urinal sb. †1) is used in several texts of the period as an emblem of the medical profession: see *Merry Wives of Windsor* II.3.31, III.1.14, *Virgidemiarum* II.iv.11 (Hall 1949: 27), *2Parnassus* 442-43 (Leishman 1949: 254).
- p. 108.41 *a Bonifacius*] i.e. 'a good face': see p. 131.8-9 & n.
- p. 108.41 *wellworth...pinch*] See p. 17.42-44 n.
- p. 108.43 *felt his pulse*] i.e. 'sounded' him, seen through him (see *OED* pulse sb.<sup>1</sup> 2b, Tilley P240).
- p. 108.43 *cast his water*] See p. 16.34 n.

- p. 108.45 *the Capcase of Straunge Newes*] ‘Cap-case’ might mean ‘travelling-case, bag, or wallet’ (*OED* †1). See p. 56.29 n.
- p. 108.47 *accidents*] See p. 110.36-38 n.
- p. 108.50 *Calves-head*] The sense of ‘calf’ as ‘A stupid fellow, a dolt’ (*OED* calf<sup>d</sup> 1c) is in play.
- p. 108.51 – p. 109.1 *teach...Tale*] A ‘Canterbury tale’ could mean ‘a long tedious story, [. . .] a fable, a cock-and-bull story’ (*OED* Canterbury sb. A1).
- p. 109.2 *her powting Cros cloth*] *OED* defines ‘cross-cloth’ as ‘A linen cloth worn across the forehead’ (†2); the example cited from Fynes Moryson mentions ‘such crosse-clothes or forehead clothes as our women use when they are sicke’. The same phrase appears in *PWH*: ‘Ile make him pull his powting cros cloath over his beetle browes for melancholie’. Bond compares *Euphues*, where Iffida is described wearing ‘hir frowning cloth, as sick lately of the solens’ (Lyly 1902: 3.410.17, 586).
- p. 109.3 *ducking-chariot*] Harvey seems to be playing on ‘ducking-stool’, ‘A sort of chair at the end of an oscillating plank, in which disorderly women, scolds, or dishonest tradesmen, were tied and ducked or plunged in water, as a punishment’ (*OED*, citing no instances before 1597).
- p. 109.4 *milt*] Literally this meant ‘spleen’ (*OED* sb. I 1): here as on p. 79.35 this is the seat of laughter.
- p. 109.5 *long Megg of Westminster*] In *SN*, Nashe responds to Harvey’s verses in the Third Letter (p. 19.50 ff.), ‘thy Muses foot of the twelves; old long Meg of Westminster?’ (1958: 1.288.30). Harvey does not necessarily have this specific passage in mind, as Long Meg (a recent but semi-mythical figure) is mentioned in many other texts of the period. Sugden calls her ‘a “roaring girl” who wore men’s clothes’ (art. Westminster). She is referred to in *Theses Martinianae*, where Marprelate states ‘Mar-martin [. . .] had no other bringing uppe, then in a brothel-house [. . .] I can not bee induced to thinke, that hee hath had his bringing up at any other trade, then in carryeng long Meg of Westminsters hand-basket’ (sig. Dij<sup>r</sup>). Pierce concludes from this that she was a bawd (1911: 329 n.). She appears as a character in Deloney’s *The Gentle Craft* (c. 1597): F.O. Mann lists other references to her in contemporary literature, commenting that Harvey here ‘mentions her in terms of dubious praise’ (Deloney 1912: 531-32). *The Life and Pranks of Long Meg of Westminster*, described by Mann as ‘a jest-book of the ordinary Elizabethan kind; a collection of crude physical jokes attributed to an Amazonian maiden of Lancashire in service at a London tavern’ (Deloney 1912: 531), has 1582 on the title-page, but according to *STC* this is forged and dates from c. 1650 (*STC* 17782). A ballad about her was entered in the Stationers’ Register in 1590 (Arber 1875-94: 2.561). For other references, see Tilley M865.
- p. 109.6-7 *to disgrace...witt*] Moore Smith compares some marginalia in Harvey’s copy of Foorth’s *Synopsis Politica*: ‘Sunday wordes: & Satterday cheare’ (1913: 288, 188.22).
- p. 109.8 *Galle mella*] My only guess is that Harvey means Gargamelle, the mother of Gargantua, who would bring the sort of associations of monstrous physicality which Harvey’s context seems to require. Rabelais describes her ravenous eating of tripe during her pregnancy and subsequent copious defecation (1955: 46-48).
- p. 109.8 *maide Marian*] Glossing *1 Henry IV* III.3.112 (‘for womanhood, Maid Marian may be the deputy’s wife of the ward to thee’), A.R. Humphreys calls Marian ‘a May-game and morris-dance character, often played by a man, attacked by Puritans for impropriety, and a by-word for grotesque

attire and impudence' (Shakespeare 1960: 115). According to Stephen Knight, most early (pre-1600) references to Robin Hood and associated characters like Marian and the Friar relate to May-games (see Knight 1994: 98-100, 262-88 *passim*).

p. 109.9 *gillian-flurtes*] *OED* cites instances of 'flirt-gill' ('A woman of light or loose behaviour') from 1592, and of 'gill-flirt' ('A young woman or girl of a wanton or giddy character') from 1632. Skeat defines 'gill' as 'wench, servant-maid', and 'Gillian' is one of the stereotypical serving-wench names which Ephesian Dromio uses in *Comedy of Errors* III.1.31.

p. 109.9 *wainscot-faced*] See p. 74.5 *n*.

p. 109.9 *Tomboy*] This could mean both 'A bold or immodest woman' and 'a wild romping girl; a hoyden' (*OED* †2, 3), although perhaps most important is the pun on Nashe's given name (cf. p. 112.15, p. 113.2, p. 124.47-48).

P. 109.10 *Danthers*] See p. 42.12 *n*.

p. 109.10 *Maulkin*] This was 'a female personal name', and also meant 'An untidy female, esp. a servant or country wench; a slut, slattern, drab' (*OED* †1, 2).

p. 109.11-12 *terming...art*] See p. 10.47-49.

p. 109.12-13 *the mocker...world*] See p. 13.6.

p. 109.13-14 *see, how...dunghill*] See p. 50.47 *n*.

p. 109.16-19 *Why...wrangler*] Nashe 1958: 1.299.31. Nashe's text reads 'arrant', but the two forms seem to have been used interchangeably (see p. 62.25 *n*). Sugden calls Ram Alley 'A narrow court on the S. side of Fleet St., Lond., opposite to Fetter Lane [. . .] It was a place of evil reputation, inhabited chiefly by cooks, bawds, tobacco-sellers, and ale-house-keepers'. McKerrow notes the association of it here with 'coarse language' (Nashe 1958: 4.180). 'Kitchen-stuff', or dripping, was bought and sold on the street, to be re-used in the making of candles (see Shesgreen 1990: 154). For the conventional association of female street-vendors with abuse, see Taylor 1981; for Nashe's feminization of Harvey, and Harvey's of Nashe, cf. p. 50.46 *n*. McKerrow calls 'rip' a 'frequently occurring exclamation, of perhaps little meaning', citing Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*: 'avaunt Kitchin-stuffe, rippe you browne bread tannikin' (Nashe 1958: 4.180). He confesses ignorance as to the meaning of 'a wisp', but this seems to have been an emblem of the scold (see *OED* wisp *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2 †b).

p. 109.20 *these...acquaintance*] See p. 17.42-44 *n*.

p. 109.23-24 *and yet...tongue*] 'He' is Summers and 'Maulkin' Nashe: see p. 109.10 above.

p. 109.28 *will...word*] The use of italics when Harvey repeats this phrase below (p. 137.40, p. 137.47, p. 138.1) gives the impression that he is quoting *SN*, but I cannot find the exact phrase. Perhaps he is paraphrasing the closing sonnet, where Nashe declares 'Uncessant warres' and threatens 'Write hee againe, Ile write eternally' (1958: 1.333.25, 30).

p. 109.28 *Sweet Gossip*] In the sense of a 'familiar acquaintance, friend, chum' this was 'Formerly applied to both sexes, now only (somewhat *arch.*) to women' (*OED sb.* 2b). In Shakespeare, only women are addressed as 'gossip' (2 *Henry IV* II.1.92, *Merchant of Venice* III.1.6, *Merry Wives of Windsor* IV.2.9, *Romeo and Juliet* II.1.11) and this would fit Harvey's context.

p. 109.29 *the dunghill is your freehold*] See p. 50.47 *n*.



- p. 109.32 *Hecuba....raving*] See p. 15.43 n.
- p. 109.33 *Tisiphone*] ‘One of the furies of hell, which was supposed to torment homicides, or slears of men’ (Cooper). See p. 75.3 n.
- p. 109.33 *gnashing language*] A favourite pun of Harvey’s: see p. 14.5 n.
- p. 109.33 *He-or She-drabs*] See p. 50.46 & n. A ‘drab’ is a prostitute (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2), proverbial for scurrility: cf. *Hamlet* II.2.582 (‘And fall a-cursing like a very drab’).
- p. 109.34-35 *not such....Selfe*] Perhaps this is an allusion to *Batrachomyomachia* (see p. 113.8-10 n.), or Aristophanes’ play.
- p. 109.36-37 *Even....Colt*] For the pun on ‘unbridled’, see p. 23.30 n. ‘Curtailed’ can mean both ‘having the tail docked or cut off’ and ‘diminished in [. . .] extent’ (*OED* 1, 2).
- p. 109.38 *an arrant Knight*] See p. 62.25 n.
- p. 109.39 *pay thee home*] See p. 79.36 n.
- p. 109.40 *Schoolebutter*] *OED* cites six examples 1584-1935, including this. It comments ‘sense obscure’ on this and the first quotation, although latterly the word meant ‘a whipping’ (*OED school sb.*<sup>1</sup> VI 19).
- p. 109.40 *thy Oven-mouth*] See p. 58.28-29 n.
- p. 109.41-42 *that hast....lyes*] See p. 65.20-23.
- p. 109.43 *the Mallet of Witches*] Harvey means *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486), a digest of information about witchcraft compiled by two Dominicans (see Hamilton 1986: 166); this is much quoted from (critically) in Scot’s *Discoverie*.
- p. 109.44 *a Lazarello*] See p. 18.17 n. The ‘Hungry Courtier’ in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *The Woman Hater* is called ‘Lazarello’ (1966-96: 1.156), so perhaps this was a conventional way to describe a starving person.
- p. 109.44 *a Woolner*] A glutton. Cf. Middleton’s *The Black Book*: ‘deceit and luxury [. . .] swallow up more mortals than Scylla and Charybdis, those two cormorants and Woolners of the sea’; Bullen glosses, ‘Richard Woolner, of Windsor, was a notorious glutton, who, after safely digesting iron, glass, and oyster-shells, at length “by eating a raw eel was overmastered”’ (1885-86: 8.5-6). In 1567-68, ‘a booke intituled *pleasaunte tayles of the lyf of RYCHARD WOLNER*’ was licensed to Henry Denham (Arber 1875-94: 1.364).
- p. 109.45-46 *thy bondmaide....keyes*] Cf. p. 107.13.
- p. 109.46-47 *her bondman....logges*] The meaning of this is obscure, but conceivably part of a slave’s work might be to fetch logs for fuel (cf. *The Tempest* III.1.9-11, I.2.368).
- p. 109.51 – p. 110.1 *Onely....Gunpowder*] See p. 17.42-44 n.
- p. 110.4 *a terme ad deliberandum*] Time to consider.
- p. 110.5-6 *to chopp upon maine-chaunces*] Harvey’s meaning seems broadly to be ‘to take great risks’. ‘To chop upon’ could mean ‘to seize upon’ (*OED chop v.*<sup>2</sup> †8b): ‘main chance’ was originally a term from gambling (see *OED main sb.*<sup>3</sup>, main chance †1). Nashe also hyphenates the two words (‘Have an eie to the maine-chaunce’) (1958: 1.330.32), although the linking of adjectives to the nouns they modify with hyphens often seems arbitrary in Harvey’s text.

- p. 110.6 *Nothing Venture, nothing loose*] Tilley cites examples of 'Nothing venture nothing win' from 1481 (N320).
- p. 110.7 *Storyes of hap-hazard*] See p. 77.22-23 n.
- p. 110.10-11 *but if...Dromedarie*] In this unfortunately-phrased passage, Harvey perhaps means that although he is not eager to enter a quarrel, once in he is prepared to defend himself. Batman calls the dromedary 'lesse in stature than a camell, and [. . .] swifter of course and running' (1582: fol. 360<sup>r</sup>). The only mention of one in the Bible is as the epitome of speed (Jeremiah 2.23).
- p. 110.12-13 *I cannot...horse*] See Plutarch, *Lives of Agis and Cleomenes*, XXXIX.
- p. 110.15 *other*] i.e. 'others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 110.23 *the privyest privie*] The same pun is made in *FQ* II.ix.32.9, *SN* and *UT* (Nashe 1958: 1.281.1-3, 2.207.6-10).
- p. 110.25 *soile*] All the copies I have examined read 'foile', and 'foil' is Brydges's reading (1815: 8.152). I have adopted the reading of Collier (1870b: 152) and Grosart (Harvey 1884-85: 2.233).
- p. 110.27 *a fowle lyer in thy throate*] See p. 60.20-21 n.
- p. 110.34-35 *no...Euphuisme*] See p. 17.2-3 & n.
- p. 110.35 *Scogginisme*] *OED* cites this as the first instance of a word meaning 'scurrilous jesting' (*OED* † *scoggin*). See p. 4.51 n.
- p. 110.35-36 *no Religion, but precise Marlowisme*] Hale Moore defines Harvey's attitude to Marlowe here as 'abhorrence of the atheist'; he notes that Richard Harvey was rector of Scadbury, home of Marlowe's patrons, and suggests that Gabriel had heard stories of Marlowe as 'an enemy of religion and a blasphemer' from him (1926: 342). Nashe in *HWY* reports Marlowe's equally unflattering verdict on Richard Harvey (1958: 3.85.16-18). In addition to the stories of his atheism circulating around London, crystallised in the 'Baines document' (reproduced Kocher 1964), Marlowe had been associated with atheism in print as early as 1588, when Greene in the preface to *Perimedes* alluded to blank-verse playwrights 'daring God out of heaven with that Atheist *Tamburlan*', and 'such impious instances of intollerable poetrie, such mad and scoffing poets, that have propheticall spirits as bred of *Merlins* race' (1588: sig. A3<sup>r</sup>). In the latter phrase, according to Charles Nicholl, 'a pun on Marlowe or Marlin is certainly intended' (*ODNB*).
- p. 110.36-38 *no substance...phantasies*] In scholastic theology, an 'accident' is a 'property or quality not essential to our conception of a substance' and is particularly applied 'to the material qualities remaining in the sacramental bread and wine after transubstantiation' (*OED* *accident* *sb.* II 6a). 'Transcendent' is another term used by the scholastics, meaning 'A predicate that transcends, or cannot be classed under, any of the Aristotelian categories or predicaments' (*OED* B 1 †a).
- p. 110.38-39 *to have...Moone*] 'To have a saying to' seems to have meant something like 'to quarrel with', although it is often used figuratively (see *OED* *saying* *vbl. sb.* †4, Nashe 1958: 4.185).
- p. 110.41-42 *S. Blase...Zeale*] 'Blaze' could mean 'Glory, splendour' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 5b). The saint's life appears in *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 3.27-32).
- p. 110.42 *S. Awdry*] *OED* cites no instances of 'tawdry' (nominal or adjectival) earlier than 1612, but 'tawdry lace' appears as early as 1548. Etymologically, this comes from 'St. Audrey [. . .] (daughter of Anna king of East Anglia, and patron saint of Ely)', who 'died of a tumour in her throat, which

she considered to be a just retribution, because in her youth she had for vain show adorned her neck with manifold splendid necklaces'. 'Tawdry lace' appears originally to have had associations of splendour, and later, due to the sale of necklaces at the fair held in her honour, with 'the production of cheap and showy forms for the "country wenches" [. . .] which at length gave to *tawdry* its later connotation' (*OED*). Cf. *SC* April 127-35 (Spenser 1995: 71), *Winter's Tale* IV.4.251. Harvey's context would support either sense.

- p. 110.42 *the young...Fooles*] When the phrase 'vicar of S. Fooles' appears in *The Anatomie of Absvrditie*, McKerrow gives other examples, suggesting that this was a name given to 'the *episcopus stultorum*, "abbot of misrule," or other leader of the sports at the Feast of Fools' (Nashe 1958: 1.10.15, 4.10).
- p. 110.42-43 *ghostly Father*] Confessor: see p. 12.45-46 n.
- p. 110.45-46 *the very...Ship*] See p. 77.23 n.
- p. 110.51 *other*] i.e. 'others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 111.6-7 *the very...Impudency*] See p. 72.21 n.
- p. 111.7 *the iron...Malediction*] This appears not to be conventional, although one of the four beasts in Daniel's vision 'had great iron teeth, it devoured and destroyed' (Daniel 7.7). Perhaps Harvey is merely creating a contrast, as on p. 138.20-21.
- p. 111.10 *topp-gallant*] A 'topgallant' is literally a platform 'at the head of the topmast', or the sails above this, and figuratively 'The highest point or pitch' (*OED* topgallant A sb. †1, 2, 3b). Because of their associations with display, sails suggest arrogance here, as they suggest splendour in *Henry V* I.2.275 (where the king promises to 'show my sail of greatness') and in Sonnet 86, where the speaker is daunted by 'the proud full sail' of the rival poet's verse.
- p. 111.11 *bravure*] See p. 107.12: the meaning here is perhaps 'A fine thing, a matter to boast or be proud of' (*OED* bravery 3 †e).
- p. 111.11 *a Creator of Asses*] See p. 49.41-42 n.
- p. 111.13 *hagard...clipped*] 'Haggard' could mean literally 'Of a hawk: Caught after having assumed the adult plumage; hence, wild, untamed', and as a result 'Wild, unreclaimed, untrained' (*OED* a. 1, 2a). Nashe refers to the same practice when he declares 'what a prejudice it is [. . .] to clippe the winges of a high towring Faulcon', in reference to the Danes' supposed denying of education to their young noblemen (1958: 1.179.18-21).
- p. 111.14-15 *Wordes...smoke*] Cf. Tilley W833 ('Words are but wind'). 'Pillar' could be applied to an 'upright pillar-like mass or "column" of [. . .] vapour' (*OED* sb. 4a). Cf. Joel 2.30: 'I wil shew woonders in heaven, and in earth, blood, and fire, and pillers of smoke'.
- p. 111.16 *soking*] Figuratively, 'absorbent' (*OED* ppl. a. †1). Cf. *Winter's Tale* I.2.224 ('thy conceit is soaking'), which J.H.P. Pafford interprets as 'Your intelligence is quick' (Shakespeare 1963: 18).
- p. 111.16 *Register*] Applying this word to a person, Barnes seems to use it to mean 'chronicler' (p. 45.15), and Harvey himself seems to use it in the sense of 'author' on p. 134.18. The word could literally mean a record of events or the person who keeps this (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> I, sb.<sup>2</sup>).
- p. 111.16 *Remembrancer*] Like 'register', the word could apply equally to people or things (see *OED* 1-3).

- p. 111.16 *That would*] ‘That which would’: see Abbott 1870: 164-67.
- p. 111.16-17 *written...wine*] This seems to mean ‘forgiven and forgotten’. Cf. Tilley W114 (‘To write in water’) and p. 21.13, where Harvey proposes reconciliation over ‘a cup of white wine’.
- p. 111.17 *tables of marble*] Marble here is ‘a type of something [. . .] durable’ (*OED sb.* I 1d). Cf. *3PL*, where Harvey mentions ‘my good friend *M. Daniel Rogers*, whose curtesies are [. . .] registred in my Marble booke’ (Spenser 1912: 632).
- p. 111.17 *wainescot*] See p. 74.5 n.
- p. 111.18 *The Oeſtridge...Iron*] Cf. Tilley I97, ‘To digest iron (To have a stomach), like an ostrich’. This allegorises the patient suffering of abuse: Harvey wrote in his copy of Howard’s *Defensive*, apropos the book’s attack on Richard Harvey, ‘An Ostridges stomach can digest harder iron, then this’ (quoted Stern 1979: 72).
- p. 111.19 *brucked*] Brydges retains this, although on p. 49.32 he modernises ‘brucke’ to ‘brook’ (1815: pt. 8.25, 154).
- p. 111.19 *the note-booke...Tuchstone*] I cannot explain this metaphor: the touchstone or ‘basanite’ was used for testing the quality of gold and silver by being rubbed against them (see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXIII.126), and possibly here relates to detraction or criticism.
- p. 111.19-20 *the memoriall...Adamant*] I can only assume that Harvey is alluding to the ability of the ‘adamas’ to cut anything (see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVII.61). Cf. p. 125.48.
- p. 111.22 *no such...deske*] This is one of Harvey’s more strained metaphors, although in context it seems to relate to the retentive memory of the malicious. Crab-apple wood was used to make cudgels – see *Henry VIII* V.3.6, where the Porter calls for ‘a dozen crab-tree staves’ to disperse the crowd, and cf. p. 77.44 – and the proverbial phrase ‘To be basted with a crabstick’ means ‘to be beaten’ (Tilley C787). Books on the art of memory formed a whole sub-genre (attacked by Agrippa 1569: fols 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>). Harvey similarly plays on the phrase ‘art memorative’ in *3PL* (see Spenser 1912: 628, 640).
- p. 111.28 *I will...courage*] Cf. *1Parnassus* 1430, where Gullio, threatening Ingenioso, says ‘I woulde prove it upon that carrion of thy witt, that my Lattin was pure Lattin’ (Leishman 1949: 203).
- p. 111.29 *of Prooffe*] See p. 87.18-19 n.
- p. 111.30 *other*] i.e. ‘others’: see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 111.30-31 *thou...Fencer*] Nashe 1958: 1.262.30.
- p. 111.31 *indeede...Schollar*] When Nashe replies to this in *HWY* (1958: 3.134.7-8), the fencer is called ‘Tom Burwell’, but neither name is in *ODNB* or *CSP*, and McKerrow does not identify him.
- p. 111.35 *Kyrieeleson*] Literally this meant ‘The words of a short petition used in various offices of the Eastern and Roman Churches [. . .] represented in the Anglican service by the words, “Lord, have mercy upon us”’, and could figuratively be used to mean ‘a scolding’ (*OED* Kyrie eleison 1, †2).
- p. 111.36 *Syr Gawins scull*] See p. 78.30-33 n.
- p. 111.36 *bibber of Helicon*] See p. 105.42 n.
- p. 111.38 *I will...camst*] Perhaps there is an echo of Genesis 3.19.
- p. 111.38 *squise*] Brydges modernises this to ‘squeeze’ (1815: pt. 8.155).

- p. 111.43 *maketh buttons*] ‘Buttons’ could mean ‘the dung of sheep, etc.’; ‘to make buttons’ therefore meant ‘to be in great terror’ (*OED* button *sb.* 10).
- p. 111.43 *blacke Sanctus*] This meant ‘a kind of burlesque hymn; a discord of harsh sounds expressive of contempt or dislike’ (*OED* sanctus †3).
- p. 111.47 *upward, and downeward*] The allusion is to vomiting and diarrhoea. In *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe*, Lichfield says of *HWY* ‘had I read it through, it so loathsome would have wrought more on mee both upward & downward, then 3. drams of pilles’ (1597: sig. [A3]<sup>v</sup>); according to Holinshed, Edward II in his captivity ‘by purging either up or downe avoided the force of such poison as had been ministred to him’ (1807-08: 2.587).
- p. 111.49 *Suada*] See p. 30.41 *n.*
- p. 111.49-50 *the mouth...lettice*] Cf. ‘Like (such) lips like (such) lettuce’; Thomas Cooper called this ‘a proverbe applied to theym that being of lyke yll condicions, bee matched together’ (Tilley L326).
- p. 112.6 *the darting of Urchins*] ‘Dart’ could mean not only ‘to spring or start with a sudden rapid motion’ but ‘To send forth, or emit, suddenly and sharply’ (*OED* v. 5, 3), as Pliny describes the porcupine doing with its spines (*Natural History* VIII.125).
- p. 112.10-11 *I have...vertue*] *OED* explains the Latin phrase as “‘it has been proved or tested”, a phrase used in recipes or prescriptions’ (probatum †2). Since ‘virtue’ might mean ‘strengthening, sustaining, or healing properties’ (*OED* *sb.* 9b), perhaps Harvey means the prescription itself.
- p. 112.12 *slashingest*] *OED*’s earliest sense of ‘slashing’ as ‘cuttingly sarcastic’ is from 1735 (*ppl. a.* 1). Cf. p. 78.32.
- p. 112.13 *clawbacke*] ‘Flatter’. *OED* defines the noun as ‘a flatterer, sycophant, parasite, “toady”’ (*sb.* 1a), and states that the word has only ever been used as a verb in misquotations of William Warner.
- p. 112.14 *He brayeth open warre*] At one point in *SN*, Nashe literally does: ‘*Gabriell & Richard*, I proclaime open warres with you’ (1958: 1.298.19).
- p. 112.14-15 *bray...mortar*] Cf. Proverbs 27.22: ‘Though thou shouldest bray a foole with a pestel in a mortar [. . .] yet wyl not his foolishnesse goe from hym’. See Tilley F447 for variations.
- p. 112.15 *Tom Drumme*] ‘Jack Drum’s entertainment’ means ‘A rough reception’; from the examples given by Tilley, this seems occasionally to have taken the form ‘Tom Drum’ (J12), and in *All’s Well That Ends Well*, this is a nickname that Lafeu gives Parolles (V.3.315).
- p. 112.18-20 *the cleanelly...after*] This allusion appears not to be to Rabelais’s work (in which Charlemagne does not feature) but to the medieval romance in which the giant appears. McKillop suggests that several early references in English to ‘Gargantua’ are to this, and that in the interlude *Lingua*, the two are distinguished (1921: 470-71).
- p. 112.23 *arrant knight*] See p. 62.25 *n.*
- p. 112.23 *ganging week*] One of the abuses decried in Gilby’s *A Pleasaunte Dialogue* (1581) is the giving of licenses to marry in forbidden times, such as ‘Gange weeke’, which Arber explains as ‘Rogation week’ (1895: 29) – the week in which Ascension Day falls (*OED* rogation 1b).
- p. 112.26-27 *the wispe go with it*] The meaning of this is obscure. Possibly Harvey is referring to p. 109.18 (see note). A kind of disease would make sense, but *OED*’s closest senses only relate to cattle or appear in the eighteenth century at the earliest (*wisp sb.*<sup>2</sup>).

- p. 112.30 *other*] i.e. ‘others’: see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 112.31 *paddes*] See p. 23.29 *n*.
- p. 112.32 *a Turke...shoote-at*] The allusion is to *Toxophilus*: see p. 67.24-25 *n*. Venetia Newall suggests that the use of imitation Turks’ heads as archery butts ‘developed as a popular version of courtly tournaments and tilting’ (1981: 199). Turks were associated with martial hard-heartedness: see *Merchant of Venice* IV.1.31-33, *Defence of Poetry* (Sidney 1966: 56.23-28).
- p. 112.32-33 *a Jewes eye*] See p. 83.45 *n*. The supposed hard-heartedness of Jews was proverbial: see *Merchant of Venice* IV.1.70-80, *Two Gentlemen of Verona* II.3.9-12.
- p. 112.49-50 *the Champion...courage*] For similar syntax, see p. 55.30-32 & *n*.
- p. 112.50 *Düellist*] On all the copies of *PS* I have examined, there appears to be a diacritic over the ‘u’ here, and I can only assume that this indicates syllabic value (see p. 132.14 *n*).
- p. 113.1 *To spoile...booty*] Harvey seems to be punning, as the verb ‘spoil’ could mean ‘destroy, bring to an end’ as well as relating to the taking of spoils (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> I, II 8a).
- p. 113.2 *kisse the rod*] *OED* defines this as ‘accept chastisement or correction submissively’ (*OED* kiss v. 6i).
- p. 113.2 *Sultan Tomumboius*] The original reading is ‘Tomüboius’. Collier, in reading ‘Temunboius’ (1870b: 159), misses such point as there is to this pun on Nashe’s given name (cf. p. 109.9). I have followed Brydges in expanding the tilde to an ‘m’ (1815: pt. 8.157), although an ‘n’ would make just as much sense. ‘*Tomumbeius* (of the Turkes called *Tuman-bai*)’ was made Sultan of Egypt in 1516 (Knolles 1603: 533).
- p. 113.3 *Almannus Hercules*] Early in the sixteenth century, a statue variously described as gold or bronze was supposedly discovered near Lake Constance; this was identified as Hercules. An inscription gave the idol’s name as ‘Allman’ and stated that the Germans took their name from it, giving birth to claims that the Habsburgs were descended from Hercules (see Wood 2005: 1132-33).
- p. 113.3 *the great Captaine of the Boyes*] See p. 60.45-46 *n*.
- p. 113.4 *bello Euboico*] Cooper calls Euboea ‘An yle in the Greeke sea, and the name of the citie situated in the same’. I cannot identify the war that Harvey means, although Euboean contingents were among the Greeks fighting the Persians at Salamis and Plataea (*OCD*).
- p. 113.6-8 *better...mischief*] For the sense of ‘mischief’ and ‘inconvenience’ here, see p. 26.36-37 *n*.
- p. 113.8-10 *Hector...battaile*] The allusion is to *The Battle of Frogs and Mice* or *Batrachomyomachia*, once attributed to Homer but now considered apocryphal (see West 2003: 229).
- p. 113.16 *the fiercest...Bellerophon*] Cooper calls Bellerophon ‘The sonne of Glaucus kyng of Ephyra, a man of muche beautie & prowess’; he was sent by the king of Lycia ‘to destroy the two monsters, *Solymos* and *Chymæra*, that he mought be slayne under the colour of a valiaunt enterprise. But he, atchieving it nobly, retourned with honour’. In some versions of the myth (although not in Homer), Bellerophon catches Pegasus to help him accomplish his tasks (*OCD*): see p. 132.50-51.
- p. 113.16 *Don Alonso d’Avalos*] Count Alonso de Valdez, or Alfonso d’Avalos, brother of Parma’s lieutenant in the Low Countries and one of his personal guard (*LASP Foreign Elizabeth*).

- p. 113.16-19 *Nothing...worthinesse*] In *SN*, Nashe defends the writing of *PP*: ‘only the discontented meditation of learning, generally now a dayes little valued, and her professors set at naught & dishartened, caused mee to handle that plaintife subject more seriously’ (1958: 1.303.16).
- p. 113.19-23 *Might Penniles...shifts of apparell*] These lines are parodied in *IParnassus* 150-54, when Ingenioso (asked by Philomusus ‘how hath thy pocket fared since our laste partinge?’) says ‘I am not put to my shiftes; for I wante shiftes of shirtes, bandes, and all thinges els, yet I remaine thrise humblie & most affectionatlie bounde to the right honourable printing house for my poore shiftes of apparell’ (Leishman 1949: 143).
- p. 113.20-21 *a Velvet...wearing*] See p. 96.16-19 *n*.
- p. 113.23 *cap of maintenance*] For the literal meaning, see p. 54.29 *n*. Here this means ‘source of income’: the same joke is made in *IParnassus* 377, where Studioso, told by Ingenioso ‘To London Ile goe, Ile live by the printing house’, begs ‘take us with thee, for wee muste provide us a poore capp of maintenance’ (Leishman 1949: 154). *OED* (maintenance 9 †b) cites the latter as the only example of this pun: since the phrase of Harvey’s directly before this is quoted in the same scene (see above), perhaps the play’s echo of Harvey is not coincidental.
- p. 113.23-24 *An Anatome...Body*] ‘Anatomy’ (abstractly or concretely) could mean ‘dissection’, and concretely ‘A body (or part of one) anatomized or dissected, so as to show the position and structure of the organs’ (*OED* I 1, †2a). Brydges, who often italicizes words which he thinks of as titles (see p. 73.29 *n*.), reads ‘*Anatomy*’ the first time the word appears, but not the second (1815: pt. 8.158). Possibly he sees here an allusion to Nashe’s *The Anatomie of Absvrditie* (1589), as earlier he saw an (impossible) allusion to *LS*: McKerrow notes that, in the late sixteenth century, texts whose titles began with ‘An/The Anatomy of [ . . . ]’ were very frequent, giving examples (Nashe 1958: 4.3).
- p. 113.25 *like...livery*] See p. 50.31 *n*.
- p. 113.26 *other*] i.e. ‘others’: see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 113.28 *his Chopping Logique*] To ‘chop logic’ could mean to bandy words (*OED* chop v.<sup>2</sup> II 8).
- p. 113.29-32 *Straunge...raigne*] The plentiful supply of news-letters about Henri’s activities could have informed contemporary Londoners about this (see p. 8.5 *n*.); for the texts about Henri and current affairs in France printed by John Wolfe, see Huffman 1988: 141-54 *passim*.
- p. 113.32-34 *The Ironyes...Clarke*] Nashe says of Harvey’s ironic response to *PP* in the Third Letter (see esp. p. 15.18 – p. 16.1), ‘Not the most exquisite thing that is, but the Counsel Table Asse, Richard Clarke, may so Carterly deride’ (1958: 1.307.6). McKerrow was unable to identify Clarke (Nashe 1958: 4.183).
- p. 113.32 *Epicharmus*] Epicharmus was a Sicilian writer of comedies, *fl.* 5th century B.C. (*OCD*).
- p. 113.33 *Quintilian*] Cooper calls him ‘a notable Rhetorician’.
- p. 113.33 *Pontane*] See p. 58.7-8 *n*.
- p. 113.34 *Sanazarius*] Jacopo Sannazaro, Neapolitan poet: for the influence of his *Arcadia* (first printed 1559) on Sidney’s *Arcadia* and *SC* August, see Heninger 1988. Harvey in some marginalia quotes Pontano calling Sannazaro a great ironist (‘magnus Iron’), praising those who should be blamed and vice versa (1913: 143.21-23).

- p. 113.35 *king Alphonsus*] McKerrow conjectures that this is Alfonso X of Castille, d. 1284 (Nashe 1958: 5.214). Nicknamed 'el Sabio', or 'the Learned', he organised the writing of the *Crónica general* (EB). The astronomical tables which became popularized in the fourteenth century were named after him (Grafton 1999: 38-40). Puttenham names him among 'Kinges & Princes' who have published literary works (1936: 21-22).
- p. 113.36 *Cardan...Nero*] This is the *Encomium of Nero* in which Cardano attempts to challenge the Emperor's reputation; in the words of Nancy G. Siraishi, it 'is doubtless ironic' and 'may show signs of the influence of Machiavelli in its love of paradox' (1991: 583).
- p. 113.36 *Isocrates...Busiris*] Isocrates' *Busiris* is an oration in praise of the mythical Egyptian king, supposed to have sacrificed strangers to Zeus. Isocrates explicitly undertakes it as a stylistic exercise about an unworthy subject (see *Busiris* 9).
- p. 113.36-37 *Lucians...Tyrant*] Cooper calls Phalaris 'A cruell tyranne of Agrigentine, who mervaylously delighted in the devise of new and strange punishementes. Wherefore one *Perillus* a cunningge woorkeman [. . .] invented a bull of brasse, into the whiche if one weare put, & a fyre made underneath, the voyce of his crying should be like the belowyng of a bull'. Lucian wrote an oration in the persona of Phalaris, delivering the bull to Delphi to be consecrated to Apollo, and justifying all his actions to the Delphians.
- p. 113.37 *Good Beare bite not*] Nashe 1958: 1.307.9. McKerrow calls this 'An ironical phrase to soothe a person who is angry', giving similar examples (Nashe 1958: 4.183).
- p. 113.37-38 *the Ironyes...Utopia*] The irony of *Utopia* seems to have been lost on many early readers: see Guy 2000: 91-92 for literalist sixteenth-century responses. Harvey's admiration for More's vernacular verse is suggested by his poem 'The Schollars Looove', which he seems to have considered publishing as some of More's juvenilia (see Bennett 1931: 169).
- p. 113.38 *any their Imitatours*] i.e. 'any of their imitators'. See Abbott 1870: 23 for similar syntax.
- p. 113.39 *girdes of every milkmaide*] Again, Harvey is quoting *SN*, where Nashe comments on the cheapness of Harvey's sarcasm: 'Everie Milke-maide can gird with, Ist true? How saie you, lo? who would have thought it?' (1958: 1.307.8). Gary Taylor links milkmaids with butterwomen as proverbial for sarcasm (1981: 188-89).
- p. 113.39 *silly*] Included in the range of meanings are 'innocent' and 'foolish', and as Leishman comments, 'During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries [. . .] it is often difficult to decide exactly what shade of meaning was intended' (1949: 201 n.).
- p. 113.39-42 *They were...madnesse itselpe*] Harvey's list of literary paradoxes is very similar to Nashe's in *LS* and *SLW* 1394-1416 (1958: 3.176-77, 277-78).
- p. 113.39-40 *the Bald pate*] This presumably refers to the text translated by Abraham Fleming as *A Paradoxe, Prouing by reason and example, that Baldnesse is much better than bushie haire, &c. Written by that excellent Philosopher Synesius, Bishop of Thebes, or (as some say) Cyren*. This was printed by Henry Denham in 1579 (*STC* 23603).
- p. 113.40 *the Feaver quartane*] See Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorike*: 'thei which speake otherwise then truthe is, minde not the commendation of the person, but the setting forth of their owne



- learning. As *Gorgias* in *Plato*, praying unrighteousnesse [. . .] *Phaphorius* the Philosopher, extolling the Fever quartain' (1584: 14).
- p. 113.40 *the fly*] I cannot identify this, but 'a booke in the praise of a flie' is one of the literary paradoxes mentioned by Lady Emilia in Book II of Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1974: 105).
- p. 113.40 *the flea, the gnat*] McKerrow glosses Nashe's reference to 'oaten pipers [. . .] in praise of the Gnat, the Flea' as 'These, of course, are [. . .] the *Culex*; and the *De Pulice*, attributed to Ovid. The *Encomium Pulicis* of Celio Calcagnini (1479-1541) is in prose' (1958: 3.176.20-21, 4.389).
- p. 113.40 *the sparrow*] The reference in *LS* to '*Phillip Sparrow*' McKerrow glosses, 'Probably the well-known poem of Catullus is referred to, but there may be a side allusion to Skelton's *Phyllyp Sparowe* or Gascoigne's *Praise of Phillip Sparrowe*' (Nashe 1958: 3.176.23, 4.390).
- p. 113.40 *the wren*] I cannot identify the text that Harvey means.
- p. 113.40-41 *the goose*] I cannot identify this, although in the preface to *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, Harington lists, among texts celebrating grotesque or obscene things, 'a beastly treatise onely to examine what is the fittest thing to wipe withall [. . .] he concludes, that a goose necke to be drawne betweene the legs against the fethers, is the most delicate and cleanly thing that may be' (1596: sig. [A7]<sup>r</sup>). Harington appears to mean the conversation between Gargantua and Grandgousier in Chapter 13 of *Gargantua* (Rabelais 1955: 69), which given Harvey's evident knowledge of Rabelais is a possible candidate, although perhaps not a likely one. The goose is a symbol of idiocy (see *OED sb.* 1e, f).
- p. 113.41 *the asse*] When this appears in the list in *LS*, McKerrow calls it a 'common subject of encomium', giving instances (Nashe 1958: 3.176.31, 4.391). See p. 59.17-20 *n*.
- p. 113.41 *flattery, hypocrisie, coosinage*] I cannot identify these.
- p. 113.41 *bawdery, leachery*] In the list of paradoxes in *SLW*, Winter states 'Whoredome hath Ovid to uphold her throne; / And Aretine of late in Italie, / Whose *Cortigiana* toucheth bawdes their trade' (Nashe 1958: 3.277.1398). (William Carew Hazlitt conjectures 'teacheth'.) For Ovid's reputation as an indecent writer, see p. 13.43-44 *n*. (Nashe is perhaps specifically thinking of *Ars Amatoria*); for Aretino, see p. 62.4-5 *n*. In the same passage in *The Arte of Rhetorike* cited above, Wilson mentions '*Heliogabalus* Orations commendynge whoredome' (1584: 14).
- p. 113.41 *buggery*] When Nashe in *LS* alludes to a contemporary text praising 'unnaturall sodomitrie', McKerrow identifies this as 'The work of Giovanni della Casa (1503-56), Archbishop of Benevento from 1544, entitled *Il Capitolo del Forno*' (1958: 3.177.2, 4.392). Winter in *SLW* 1415 says 'Sodomitrie a Cardinall commends, / And Aristotle necessarie deemes' (Nashe 1958: 3.278). Sidney in *Defence of Poetry* states that Plato in *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* authorizes 'abominable filthiness', which Van Dorsten sees as an allusion to Plato's supposed 'homosexual tendencies' (1966: 58.29-32, 98).
- p. 113.41 *madnesse*] This is either Erasmus's *Encomium Moriae* or *The Mirrour of Madnes* (see p. 77.33 & *n*.).
- p. 113.42 *What Dunse...Paradoxe?*] See p. 91.1 *n*.
- p. 113.42-44 *What Pesant...elegantem narras*] The Latin phrases are from a scene in Terence's *The Eunuch* (416, 427, 408), in which the flatterer Gnatho is praising (ironically) the boasting soldier

- Thraso. Sargeaunt translates, 'Finely said, by Jove, and shrewdly'; 'witty, neat, incomparable!'; 'a king of real taste' (Terence 1912: 1.277-79).
- p. 113.44 *a man...head*] See p. 15.31 n.
- p. 113.45 *No...hand*] Quoting *SN*: 'No such light payment, *Gabriel*, hast thou at my hands' (Nashe 1958: 1.307.11).
- p. 113.48-49 *meaneth...Folly*] See p. 113.23-24 n.
- p. 113.49 *Aqua fortis*] See p. 17.42-44 n.
- p. 113.50 *my Milkemaides Irony*] See p. 113.39 n.
- p. 113.51 *de Umbra Asini*] Literally 'about the shadow of an ass'. When Apuleius uses this phrase in *Golden Ass* IX.42, S. Gaselee notes that it describes 'a dispute about a wholly trivial matter' (1915: 471 n.).
- p. 113.51 *proved the Fox, the finder*] Since 'finder' could mean 'dog trained to find and bring game that has been shot' (*OED* 2 †), perhaps this means 'defended paradoxes'. Tilley gives one example of 'The fox is the finder', but from 1738, and the sense is ambiguous (F634a).
- p. 113.51 – p. 114.1 *as wily...himselfe*] Harvey seems to be making a specific allusion which I cannot identify. However, goldsmiths appear to have been thought of as dishonest. Greene in *QUC* has 'Velvet-breeches' list the various supposed abuses of the trade (1592a: sig. G<sup>r-v</sup>). In *The Alchemist* I.3.32, Face explains that Druggier is an honest man 'and no gold-smith': Herford and the Simpsons explain that in the period goldsmiths were often usurers as well (Jonson 1925-52: 5.310, 10.65).
- p. 114.2 *A melancholy...minde*] The pernicious effect of melancholy on body and mind is something to which Harvey repeatedly returns in his marginalia, e.g. 'He is A very swadd, & sott, that, dullith, or bluntith either witt or boddy with any lumpish, or Melancholy buzzing' (1913: 87.5).
- p. 114.6-8 *I could...surlly*] 'Frise' is 'a kind of coarse woollen cloth' (*OED* frieze sb.<sup>1</sup> 1). In Fraunce's *Third Part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch*, the character corresponding to John Harvey the younger wears a 'fryse bonnet', which Stern sees as 'coarse cloth head-gear characteristic of the physician' (Stern 1979: 90). Here it is used for a contrast with 'fustian' in the literal sense of 'kind of coarse cloth made of cotton and flax'; *OED* cites this as an instance of 'Made of fustian' in a figurative sense (*OED* A sb. 1, B adj. 1).
- p. 114.8 *as pleasant as a cricket*] Cf. Tilley C825, 'As merry as a cricket'.
- p. 114.8-9 *by Cattes panges*] Grosart glosses, 'query p[h]anges = fangs? by = beside or near to' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.122). The only other possibility I can suggest is that 'pang' is here an access of painful emotion (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 2), the cat epitomising melancholy (see Tilley C84, 'Care will kill a cat', C129, 'As melancholy as a gibbed cat').
- p. 114.9 *Turlery-ginkes*] Nashe in *SN* mentions Harvey writing 'in prayse of *Peter Scurfe* the penne-man, and *Turlery ginkes*, in a light foote Jigge'; McKerrow glosses, 'The precise meaning of the word is unknown to me' (1958: 1.296.13-14, 4.178).
- p. 114.9 *gibbihorse*] Not in *OED*, possibly this meant the same as 'hobbyhorse'. *OED* derives the prefix 'hobby-' from 'the by-name *Hobin*, *Hobby*, var. of *Robin*, *Robbie*' (*OED* hobby sb.<sup>1</sup>), and 'gib' could be a 'familiar abbreviation of *Gilbert*' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup>).
- p. 114.11 *Ramme-ally*] See p. 109.16-19 n.

- p. 114.11 *Smithfield*] ‘An open space between 5 and 6 acres in extent, lying in the triangle formed by Holborn, Aldersgate St., and Charterhouse St., in Lond.’, Smithfield ‘was the market for horses, cattle, sheep, and hay, from very early times until 1855’ (Sugden).
- p. 114.11-12 *worse then a Cumane Asse*] Nashe 1958: 1.328.31. McKerrow glosses, ‘i.e. the ass in the lion’s skin; see Lucian, *Piscator* 32, and Camerarius, *Fab. Aesopicae*, ed. 1571, pp. 574-5’ (Nashe 1958: 4.194).
- p. 114.12 *foole...Dunse*] See p. 60.5-6 & n.
- p. 114.12 *Dorbell*] See p. 73.9 n.
- p. 114.12 *dodipoul*] Nashe 1958: 1.256.36.
- p. 114.12 *Gibaltar*] *OED* cites this as one of only two examples between 1592 [*sic*] and 1608 of ‘Gibaltar’ in the sense of ‘A Gibraltar-monkey’, specifying ‘In corrupted forms *gibaltar*, *giberaltar*’ (†2). When Nashe in *SN* applies the name to Harvey, the first ‘r’ is used (1958: 1.300.24). The form in which Harvey repeats the word strengthens the argument of Matthew Steggle that Nashe’s nicknames ‘preserve Harvey’s initials while turning the contents to nonsense’ (2005: 185).
- p. 114.13 *Gamaliell Hobgoblin*] Nashe 1958: 1.289.24.
- p. 114.13 *Gilgilis Hoberdehoy*] Nashe 1958: 1.299.14.
- p. 114.13 *in a country*] See p. 49.38 n.
- p. 114.14 *ab Equis ad Asinos*] From better to worse: literally, ‘From the horses to the asses’ (Tilley H713: Erasmus cites the proverb in the Latin form used by Harvey).
- p. 114.15 *Hob-all-as...Saracens*] I have not been able to trace this. It is worth remembering that several Hebrew names which, in modern spelling, would be Anglicized with ‘-ah’ endings are spelt in Harvey’s text and the Bishops’ Bible with ‘-as’ endings: see p. 58.13 (‘Messias’), p. 90.26 (‘Zedechias’), p. 90.27 (‘Nehemias’). Possibly, as on p. 119.18-19, Harvey is punning, since ‘hoball’ seems to have meant a fool (see Nashe 1958: 4.74).
- p. 114.17 *conster*] A frequent early-modern form of ‘construe’. Cf. *HWY*: ‘His Schoole-master never heard him peirse or conster but he [. . .] swore [. . .] that he would prove another *Philo Judæus* for knowledge’ (1958: 3.64.8-12). Nashe is possibly echoing this particular passage.
- p. 114.18-19 *M. Aschams double translation*] Ascham in the second book of *The Scholemaster* instructs his reader, ‘chose out, some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable common place out of his Orations, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to finde: and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall English, and than give it him to translate into Latin againe’ (1904: 239).
- p. 114.19 *upp to the beardlesse chinne*] See p. 60.45-46 n.
- p. 114.20-21 *plunged...desperation*] Harvey is alluding to *PP*: see p. 15.19-20.
- p. 114.22 *It...wise*] Proverbial (Tilley G324).
- p. 114.23 *Panormitan*] Antonio Beccadelli (1394-1471), poet and scholar, whose *cognome* (‘Il Panormita’) came from his birthplace of Palermo: like Poggio, he had a reputation for obscenity (*OCIL*).
- p. 114.23 *Marot*] Clément Marot (1496?-1544), French court-poet, *valet de chambre* to François I. His metrical psalms were adopted by Calvin as the hymnbook of his Strasbourg congregation: he paid for

his evangelical sympathies with several spells of exile and one of imprisonment (*OER*). A Protestant poet using the pastoral mode for the purposes of political allegory, Marot is appropriated as a model by Spenser in *SC*: see Patterson 1986. However, Harvey's reference to him here seems hostile. E.K., in identifying Spenser's model for naming his substitute Colin as 'the French poet, Marot', adds 'if he be worthy of the name of a poet' and states that *SC* November 'is made in imitation of Marot his song which he made upon the death of Louise, the French Queen – but far passing his reach' (Spenser 1995: 35, 173). Perhaps Patterson is right in suggesting that this is representative of Marot's English reputation (1986: 45).

- p. 114.23 *Bellay*] Joachim du Bellay (1522-60), French poet, member of the Parisian circle of humanists known as the Pléiade. For his influence on Spenser and Richard Mulcaster, see Hamilton 1990: 83-85.
- p. 114.24 *the Lord Cromwell*] Thomas Cromwell was made Earl of Essex and Lord Great Chamberlain by Henry VIII in April 1540 (*ODNB*). A key figure in the Henrician Reformation, Foxe states that he rose to high office 'although born of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellency of wisdom, and dexterity of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industry of mind' (1837-41: 5.362). Harvey seems to have greatly admired him (see Stern 1979: 153-55).
- p. 114.24-25 *Sir Christopher Hatton*] See p. 33.7 n.
- p. 114.27 *a new Attractive*] I can only assume that the 'new' indicates some kind of allusion to Robert Norman's work (see p. 67.41-42 n.).
- p. 114.30 *Balaams...sword*] See Numbers 22.23.
- p. 114.31 *Aesops...Dogge*] Of all the fables of Aesop's in which asses feature, Harvey is most likely to mean one in the first book: an ass, wanting to be treated as affectionately by its master as his dog is, attempts to jump up and lick him, but hurts him in the process and is beaten (1585: fols 40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 114.31-36 *Lucians Asse...thistles*] See p. 15.45-46 n., p. 16.27-28 n. Lucian's narrative, here summarized by Harvey, is very similar to Apuleius', except that it is made clear that the maid (called Palaestra) has made a mistake rather than deceived Lucius (*Lucius*, 14).
- p. 114.36-37 *Apulius...golden Asse*] By calling Apuleius' protagonist a 'pregnant Lucianist', Harvey may mean that beneath the surface of an apparently foolish story much is concealed: as with the other phrases, there seems to be a deliberate contrast between adjective and noun (for more examples of 'loving worm' see *OED* worm *sb.* II 10 †c). Apuleius shares Lucian's hostility to Christianity (see *The Golden Ass* VI.28-29 and especially IX.14).
- p. 114.37 *Machiavels...mettall*] Harvey means *L'asino d'oro*, one of the texts by Machiavelli printed by John Wolfe with a fake colophon (*STC* 17158).
- p. 114.38 *better then the Sparrow, or the Lilly*] The allusion is Biblical. Christ preaches of divine Providence: 'Are not two litle sparowes solde for a farthing? And one of them shal not light on the ground without your father' (Matthew 10.29); and, earlier, 'Learne of the Lylies of the field, how they grow: they weery not [them selves] with labour: neyther [doo they] spinne. And yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in al his royaltie, was not arayed lyke one of these' (Matthew 6.28-29).
- p. 114.39 *Agrippas Asse*] See p. 59.17-20 n.

- p. 114.39 *a woonderfull compound*] Possibly Harvey's use of 'compound' is unique to him: cf. however p. 72.27 n.
- p. 114.43 *Amalthea*] 'Amalthæa [. . .] A sybil of Cumæ [. . .] supposed to have been the same who brought nine books of prophecies to Tarquin, king of Rome' (Lemprière).
- p. 114.44 *the Cumane Asse*] See p. 114.11-12 n.
- p. 114.45 *esteemed...Country*] Cooper calls Varro a 'noble Romaine, of al other moste excellently learned'; Harvey is perhaps thinking of his *De re rustica* (OCD).
- p. 114.45-46 *by Columella...Countryes*] See Columella, *On Agriculture*, VII.1.3.
- p. 114.47 *as...written*] Possibly Harvey is alluding to what Alexander H. Krappe calls 'the age-old fable, the darling of the anti-Semites of antiquity, to the effect that the Jews worshiped a donkey in the Temple of Jerusalem' (1947: 232).
- p. 114.49 *the Countryman...Apollo*] See p. 116.21-23.
- p. 114.50 *the seven wise masters*] See p. 60.4-5 n.
- p. 115.1-8 *Venerat...enterprise?*] Silenus is 'a demi-god, who became the nurse, the preceptor, and the attendant of the god Bacchus [. . .] generally represented as a fat jolly old man, riding on an ass, crowned with flowers, and always intoxicated' (Lemprière). The Latin comes from Ovid, *Fasti*, I.399: Frazer translates, 'Thither [to Greece], too, came old Silenus on an ass with hollow back' (Ovid 1931: 81). The events described by Harvey in this passage also come from this part of *Fasti*: Silenus and Priapus attend the biennial festival of Bacchus, where Priapus attempts to rape, not Vesta, but the nymph Lotis, and is prevented by Silenus' ass, subsequently sacrificed (I.391-440). There is a pun on the literal and figurative meanings of 'fruitful', both 'Fertile' and 'beneficial, profitable' (OED 1, 5); similarly, 'Oriental' refers both to Bacchus' worth (see OED Orient B 2b) and the site of his conquests (see p. 56.24 n.). Priapus, 'god of orchards and gardens' and 'patron of licentiousness', was born at Lampsacus, of which he was chief deity (Lemprière).
- p. 115.8-11 *what treason...David?*] See II Samuel 15-18 *passim*. 'Plausible' here is either 'winning popular approval' or 'ingratiating' (OED A *adj.* †2 a, b). We are told 'in al Israel there was none to be so muche prayseed as Absalom for beautie' (14.25) and that he 'stale the hartes of the menne of Israel' (15.6). Ahithophel is Absalom's adviser, whose counsel 'was as a man had asked counsel at the oracle of God' (16.23). Harvey uses his name as the archetype of the schemer when describing Stephen Gardiner's attempts to have Elizabeth executed (Stern 1979: 155).
- p. 115.12-13 *who carried...Asse?*] For Ahithophel's suicide, see II Samuel 17.23.
- p. 115.13 *who carried...mule?*] For Absalom's death, see II Samuel 18.9-15.
- p. 115.16 *the Cumane Asse*] See p. 114.11-12 n.
- p. 115.16 *the Rabbines Asse*] See p. 114.47 n.
- p. 115.16-17 *the seven Sages Asse*] See p. 60.4-5 n. Harvey seems to be alluding to the area from which they came.
- p. 115.18-21 *the singular...Opifex*] I cannot identify this quotation. A translation might be 'He shows [or 'showed'] the way, by which the Lord was conveyed on a lowly ass'. ('Rerum opifex' is literally 'the maker of all things': cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.79.)

- p. 115.21 *Trithemius*] Johann Zeller (1462-1516), German humanist and Benedictine monk, who took his Latin name from his birthplace of Tritheim. Karin Brinkmann Brown notes 'the wide-ranging knowledge and scholarly diligence' displayed in his works (*OER*).
- p. 115.24-25 *enough...feast*] Tilley gives examples of 'Enough is as good as a feast' from 1546 (E158).
- p. 115.25 *Sweet Apuleius*] See p. 49.41-42 n.
- p. 115.25 *when thou...Asse-dung*] In this arresting phrase, Harvey possibly means 'incriminated yourself by your scurrility'. *OED* gives examples of 'to wipe the mouth of: to exonerate, prove or assert the innocence of' (wipe v. 10 †b). The earliest instance is from 1687, but *OED* suggests an echo of Proverbs 30.20: 'a wife that breaketh wedlocke, whiche wypeth her mouth [lyke as] when she hath eaten, and sayth, as for me I have donne no wickednesse'.
- p. 115.27-28 *the Comedie...Asses*] 'Adelphi' literally means 'Brothers'. Plautus did in fact write a comedy called *Asinaria*, but it seems unlikely that, if he had read it, Harvey would be alluding to this, as there are no brothers in it.
- p. 115.28-29 *the Interlude...Menaechmi*] Plautus' comedies, *Amphitruo* and *Menaechmi*, both involve mistaken identities, and have been identified as Shakespeare's sources for *The Comedy of Errors*. *Menaechmi*, like Shakespeare's play, concerns twin brothers, whereas *Amphitruo* has Jupiter taking the form of the mortal Amphitruo, and Mercury that of his slave Sosia. See Bullough 1957-75: 1.3-8.
- p. 115.29 *the two Martin Guerras*] A sixteenth-century Frenchman called Martin Guerre left his wife to fight in Spain; several years later a man claiming to be Guerre was accepted as him by Guerre's wife (by whom he had a child) and friends. Subsequently the real Guerre returned and his impersonator, Arnaud de Tilh, was hanged in 1560 (Nashe 1958: 4.326).
- p. 115.30 *Asses carry mysteries*] Cf. the motif *asinus portans mysteria*, described by Ormerod 1978: 45. This is exemplified by the episode in Apuleius' *Golden Ass* in which the goddess Isis appears to the ass Lucius prior to his transformation back to human shape (XI). Ormerod also cites the Aesopic fable of the ass carrying a statue of Isis which believes itself, not its cargo, to be the subject of veneration: originally printed as an emblem by Alciati, this was reprinted with accompanying English text by Whitney (1586: 8). At the Renaissance, this tradition becomes fused with the Christian associations brought by asses, due to Christ's entrance to Jerusalem riding one (Matthew 21.1-7), and the ass (for its patient suffering) being a type of Christ (see Wyrick 1982: 433). This motif enables the ass simultaneously to represent stupidity and (in the Christian tradition) humility and piety.
- p. 115.33 *Asses milke is restorative*] 'Asses milke is temperate and nourishing, and restoreth' (Batman 1582: fol. 405<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 115.33 *good for the gowte*] See Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.125.
- p. 115.33 *for the blouddie flixe*] See Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.204-05.
- p. 115.33-34 *for the clearenesse of the skinne*] Cf. *CT*, where Nashe imagines a woman forsaken by God on Judgement Day because 'she was wont in Asses mylke to bathe her, to engraine her skyn more gentle, plyant, delicate, and supple'. McKerrow claims not to have come across any other references to this practice in England, although the Empress Poppaea is described as using it (Nashe 1958: 2.139.33, 4.241). See Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.183.

- p. 115.34 *Asses bloud...lurdane*] Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.228.
- p. 115.34-35 *Asses flesh...Leprosie*] I cannot find Harvey's authority for this. Batman says the opposite – that ass's flesh is among the 'melancholyke meate' which might cause leprosy (1582: fol. 113<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 115.35 *Asses liver...sicknesse*] Batman says of the ass that 'his lyver helpeth against the falling evill of children' (1582: fol. 336<sup>v</sup>). His authority seems to be Pliny, 'Libro. 18. cap. ult.', but I cannot find the statement there.
- p. 115.35-37 *Asses hooves...burthen*] For this as a cure for scrofula, see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.190-91; as a cure for epilepsy, XXVIII.224-25. Batman states, 'Libro. 18. cap. ult. *Plinius* speaketh of the Asse & sayth, that the smoak of the Asses hoofe helpeth the birthe of a childe, insomuch that it bringeth out a dead childe' (1582: fol. 336<sup>v</sup>). I cannot find this statement in the place given.
- p. 115.37-38 *Asses bones...sea-hare*] Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.158.
- p. 115.38-39 *Asses stale...blemishes*] For the cure of facial blemishes see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.186. Pliny states that the kidneys of an ass can be used for complaints of the bladder (*Natural History*, XXVIII.213): perhaps Harvey misremembered this.
- p. 115.39-40 *Asses dung...bloud*] Batman says of the ass, 'new dirt of the same beast stauncheth bloud wonderfullye' (1582: fol. 336<sup>v</sup>). A passage in Pliny gives the impression that menses is meant (*Natural History*, XXVIII.252).
- p. 115.40-41 *a sovereign...woombe*] Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.252.
- p. 115.42 *Machaon*] 'The sonne of Aesculapius, an excellent surgion' (Cooper). In Homer's *Iliad*, he accompanies the Greeks to Troy and tends their wounds (IV.192-207).
- p. 115.42 *Podalirius*] Machaon's brother, who accompanies him to Troy, 'a great surgeon' (Cooper).
- p. 115.44 *Cabalists*] *OED*'s only sense is 'secret intriguer or plotter' (†), but here and on p. 135.9 Harvey is clearly thinking of a practitioner of ritual magic (see p. 94.8 *n.*).
- p. 115.47-48 *Even...Ægle*] For the generation of beetles from the corpses of asses, see Pliny, *Natural History*, XI.70. I cannot find anything about enmity between eagles and beetles in Pliny or Batman, but in *Endimion* V.1.129-34, Endimion sees beetles attempting to suck the blood of the eagle in his (presumably allegorical) dream, commenting 'I mused that thinges so base, shoulde attempte a facte so barbarous' (Lyly 1902: 3.67). Hunter sees this as an allegory of attacks on Elizabeth I (1962: 185-86), as Harvey seems to mean attacks of the envious or mediocre on the great. Lyly uses the same image twice in *Euphues and his England* (Lyly 1902: 2.4.9-10, 215.19-21).
- p. 115.49-p. 116.2 *my brave adversary...excepted*] McKerrow notes that, in *HWY*, 'Nashe seems to accept the charge, but there is, I believe, nothing whatever against Beza in his known writings' (1958: 3.138.21-23, 4.371). See p. 121.39-40, which gives the impression that this is some table-talk of Nashe's which has reached Harvey.
- p. 115.49 *the famousest dor-beetle of the age*] Cf. Marprelate's reference to 'beetleheaded ignorance', *Epitome* sig. G<sup>v</sup>. In Lyly's *Midas*, I.1.66, Licio tells Petulus (who has misunderstood him) 'Thou hast a beetle head!' (1902: 3.121). *OED* insists that the association of the 'beetle' with 'heavy dullness and stupidity' derives from a kind of weight used for driving in wedges, crushing, flattening, etc., and not from the insect (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1, 2).

- p. 116.2-4 *no thunderblasing...birdes*] See Pliny, *Natural History*, X.15.
- p. 116.8 *I...taske*] 'Spin' here is 'To finish or clear [. . .] (a distaff, etc.) by spinning' (*OED* v. 2b, citing this as its only instance with 'up').
- p. 116.8-10 *And because...haire*] For the allusion to Nashe's beardlessness, see p. 60.45-46 & n. For the belief that asses' urine mixed with spikenard cures baldness, see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXVIII.164. (Pliny says that it should be 'applied', not drunk.)
- p. 116.9 *carouseth Helicon*] See p. 105.42 n.
- p. 116.10 *Vitalis de Furno*] This seems to be an individual, but I cannot identify them.
- p. 116.11 *the Artificiall...Beard*] For a list of Lemnius' medical works which had been translated into English, see *STC* 15454-15457.
- p. 116.12 *Greenes sluttish disease*] To be afflicted by lice: see p. 6.43.
- p. 116.13 *Gesner*] Conrad Gessner (1516-65), Swiss humanist whose *Historia animalium* appeared in five volumes 1551-87 (*OER*).
- p. 116.17-18 *for alas...shooes*] Harvey seems to have in mind a passage from *SN*, where Nashe responds to Harvey's statement that he has been incarcerated for debt (p. 16.14), 'art thou so innocent [. . .] that thou shouldst ere hope to dash mee quite out of request by telling mee *of the Counter* [. . .]? I yeeld that [. . .] I have sung *George Gascoignes Counter-tenor*; what then? Wilt thou peremptorily define that it is a place where no honest man or Gentleman of credit ever came? Heare what I say; a Gentleman is never throughly entred into credit till he hath beene there [. . .]' (1958: 1.309.33-310.7). Boots in the contemporary theatre signify that a character has been riding (see Dessen, Thompson). Cf. p. 137.31. Riding, as opposed to travelling on foot, brings associations with elite status (cf. p. 54.12 n., p. 147.3): hence Elizabeth on her arrival at Kenilworth in 1575 'was saluted in Latin verse by a poet [. . .] bootied to betoken that he "was not a loose or low creeping prophet"' (quoted Neale 1932: 213). The reference to boots here is part of Harvey's response to Nashe's claims of gentry status.
- p. 116.18-20 *Albertus...leather*] The two are perhaps cited because of their associations with 'natural magic' and alchemy (see p. 77.25 & n., p. 58.14 n.). Bacon in *Advancement of Learning* also connects them when he states that 'the writings of Plinius, Cardanus, Albertus' are 'fraught with much fabulous matter' (1915: 29).
- p. 116.20-21 *are...bones?*] Harvey's source for this is perhaps Pliny, who says that flutes are made from ass-bone (*Natural History* XI.215).
- p. 116.21-23 *do not...Land of Asses?*] I cannot find this exact statement in Strabo or Pliny, although Strabo says that Arcadia has ample pasture for asses (8.8.1), and Plautus' *Asinaria* 333 suggests that they were exported from Arcadia to other countries. Whatever its source, this is the basis for Harvey's digressions below (p. 116.23-37, p. 117.49-p. 118.25) to the effect that many figures from Graeco-Roman mythology are asses.
- p. 116.23-24 *the renowned...Bacchus*] I cannot explain what Harvey means by calling Pan Bacchus' captain. Cf. the reference to their 'stratagems' (p. 56.24).



- p. 116.24-27 *Was not Prince...Asse?*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II.401-507. Jove rapes the Arcadian nymph Calisto, who gives birth to Arcas. Juno turns Calisto into a bear, and Jove (to prevent Arcas, as an adult, from killing his mother) makes Arcas and Calisto constellations.
- p. 116.27-28 *Was not her...Asse?*] Calisto's father was the tyrannical Arcadian king Lycaon, turned into a wolf for serving human flesh to Jupiter (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.163-243, II.494-95).
- p. 116.28-29 *Was...Asse?*] Cooper and Lemprière both distinguish Atlas, the Titan who held up the sky, from the king of Arcadia of the same name, who is the father of Maia and grandfather of Mercury: Ovid does not (see *Metamorphoses*, I.682, VI.172-75).
- p. 116.29-30 *Was not...Asse?*] At several points in *Metamorphoses*, Mercury is called 'Cyllenius', after 'Cyllene, An hyll of Archadie, where they say Mercurius was nourished' (Cooper).
- p. 116.31-32 *how delitious...harmony*] The idea of the 'music of the spheres', described by Lorenzo in *Merchant of Venice* V.1.60-65, has its roots in Plato (see Tillyard 1943: 50).
- p. 116.34 *employable Mercury*] The sense in which Harvey uses 'employable' seems not to be covered by *OED*, whose earliest instance is from 1690, and whose sole definition is the laconic 'That can be employed'. It seems to mean something like 'capable of being put to practical use'. Cf. Harvey's 1598 letter to Robert Cecil: he claims to have spent the time since the lapsing of his Trinity Hall fellowship 'in reading the best Autors extant, aswell in Lawe, as in other emploiable faculties' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.xxvi). Cf. also *Marginalia*: 'It [. . .] importith ye lernid [. . .] actually to insinuate, & enforce themselves, by very special, & singular propertyes of emploiable, & necessary use' (1913: 151.17-20). For Harvey's application of 'Mercury' to arts and sciences, see p. 57.22, p. 71.21.
- p. 116.37-39 *What generous...priors*] See Statius, *Thebaid* 4.275: the Arcadians are called 'an old race earlier than stars and moon' (2003: 227).
- p. 116.41 *the delicate bagpipe*] Cooper says of Arcadia, 'There was the bagpipe fyrst invented'. A bagpipe lies at the feet of Colin Clout in the 1579 illustration to *SC* January, and Brooks-Davies comments that the instrument was 'common to both English and French pastoral traditions' (Spenser 1995: 409, 30). Similarly, Tityrus has a bagpipe in the illustration to Virgil's first eclogue in Brant's 1502 Strasbourg edition (reproduced Patterson 1986: 65). Cf. also *SC* April 3: 'Or is thy bagpipe broke, that sounds so sweet?' (Spenser 1995: 65).
- p. 116.42 *Asinus ad lyram*] Cf. Tilley A366, 'To see an ass play the harp' (the proverb is cited by Erasmus in the Latin form used by Harvey).
- p. 116.43 *the famous...Ammonius*] Ammonius was a Christian Platonist, fl. 235 A.D. Lemprière lists among his pupils Origen and Plotinus; perhaps Harvey is more likely to mean the former (see p. 157.23-24).
- p. 116.43-44 *Greenes...Pembrookes Arcadia*] See p. 13.34-36 n.
- p. 116.47 *simply*] Perhaps Harvey means 'by virtue of its stupidity' (see *OED* simply *adv.* 5).
- p. 116.48 – p. 117.4 *It was...Victorious*] I cannot find the story in Plutarch's life of Alexander or Arrian or Quintus Curtius' *History of Alexander*, although in these narratives Alexander sacrificing to ensure victory or as thanksgiving occurs very frequently.

- p. 117.4-16 *Lesse marvell...goodly and pompous foles*] McKerrow glosses, 'See *Mensa Phil.*, ed. 1508, fol. 41, or T. Twyne's *Schoolmaster*, ed. 1583, Q1 (bk. iv, ch. 26), but in both these the tale is in a shorter form than that given by Harvey. I have not succeeded in finding it in Pontanus' (Nashe 1958: 4.371). For Harvey's pun cf. p. 12.45.
- p. 117.16-19 *He...coates*] I cannot explain this story, which might either come from a literary source or be an allusion to a contemporary nobleman or gentleman. Edith Rickert, discussing *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1929: 77-78), and R. Warwick Bond, discussing Lyly's *Midas* (Lyly 1902: 3.108-12), both find satire on court figures in the ass-heads which feature in these plays, but say nothing about their appearance in the liveries of any servants.
- p. 117.20 *cloakbagge*] This seems to have been something a servant would carry. In *Epistle*, Marprelate claims that Whitgift 'was sometime doctor Pernes boy / and carried his cloak-bagge after him' (p. 32). In *2Parnassus* 1657, Furor Poeticus calls the Recorder 'a plagie stuffed Cloake-bagge of all iniquitie, which the grand Serving-man of Hell will one day trusse up behind him, and carry to his smokie Warde-robe' (Leishman 1949: 328). This association may perhaps be in play in *Schoole of Abuse*, where Gosson says 'Pythagoras bequeathes them a clookebagge, and condemnes them for fooles, that judge Musicke by sounde and eare. If you will bee good Scholers, [. . .] looke up to Heaven [. . .]' (1579: fol. 8').
- p. 117.20-21 *bagge and baggage*] The phrase refers to the whole of a person's belongings. Originally it denoted 'all the property of an army collectively', hence 'to march out (with) bag and baggage' meant to make an honourable retreat: latterly it was 'used depreciatively to express the absolute character of any one's departure: to clear out completely, 'and a good riddance too!' (*OED* bag *sb.* IV 20).
- p. 117.25-27 *The wisest...backe*] This is not in Tilley, *ODEP*, Dent<sup>2</sup> or Smith. Cf. *Euphues and his England*: 'thou must have the back of an Asse to beare all, and the snowt of a swine to say nothing' (Lyly 1902: 2.25.18). Nashe in *UT* varies this: 'He that is a traveller must have the backe of an asse to beare all, [. . .] the mouth of a hogge to eate what is set before him, the eare of a merchant to heare all and say nothing' (1958: 2.297.28).
- p. 117.27 *worth...husbandry*] Thomas Tusser (1524?-1580) wrote a book in verse about agriculture, *A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie* (1557). Expanded, eventually, to *Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry*, it went through eighteen editions by 1599 (*ODNB*). The work of Cato's alluded to is *De agri cultura*, concerned 'principally with giving advice to the owner of a middle-sized estate, based on slave labour' (*OCD*).
- p. 117.35 *Commenters*] *OED* notes that 'commenter' is '*Obs.* in specific sense; frequent in 17th c.', and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century examples it cites suggest someone who provides a commentary or interpretation of scripture (1).
- p. 117.39 *Epictetus*] Cooper calls him 'a Stoike philosopher'.
- p. 117.39 *Boëtius*] Cooper calls Boethius a 'learned man and Senatour of Rome, in the tyme of Theodoricus'; he was a Stoic (*OCD*).
- p. 117.40 *Sustine, et Abstine*] An abstemious, disciplined life. The motto might be rendered 'undergo and abstain'. In some marginalia, Harvey illustrates it by adding 'sustine viriles labores: abstine ab

- effæminatis voluptatibus' ('withstand manly labour, refrain from effeminate pleasure'). It appears in Erasmus' *Adagia* (Harvey 1913: 106.31, 249).
- p. 117.44-45 *the Prudent Augustus*] For Augustus' reforms, see Suetonius, *Augustus* XXVIII-XLIX.
- p. 117.45 *the good Trajan*] Lyly, writing to William Cecil in 1574, compares Cecil to Trajan in humanity, Solomon in wisdom and David in piety (1902: 1.14). Cooper calls the Emperor 'in civile government politike, in easynge his subjectes of immoderate charges lyberall, a great observer of justice' while acknowledging his persecution of Christians.
- p. 117.45 *Marcus Antoninus*] Marcus Aurelius: see p. 55.40-41.
- p. 117.45-46 *the vertuous Alexander Severus*] Heliogabalus' successor, who died in 235 A.D.: Lemprière calls him 'admired for his many virtues', describing his reforms of various abuses.
- p. 117.46 *the drad Septimius Severus*] Roman emperor who died in 211 A.D. Lemprière states that 'he never did an act of humanity or forgave a fault', while admitting that in his reign 'there was need of severity in an empire the morals of which were so corrupted'.
- p. 118.1 *Rodolphes*] Harvey seems to mean Agricola (see p. 25.3 *n.*). Stern infers his ownership of Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* from some marginalia in his copy of Quintilian mentioning 'Rodolphus de inventione dialectica' (1979: 198).
- p. 118.1-3 *the fire-breathing...Colchos*] See Strabo, 11.2.17-19.
- p. 118.3-5 *that... West-Indian Asse*] Lemprière says of the Hesperides, 'the place of their residence, placed beyond the ocean by Hesiod, is more universally believed to be near mount Atlas in Africa, according to Apollodorus'. Strabo places it in Libya (17.3.20). Ovid tells the myth of the dragon guarding the apples in *Metamorphoses*, IV.625-62, in which Atlas is the owner (see p. 116.28-29 *n.*).
- p. 118.9 *Maenalus...Arcadia*] See Strabo, 8.8.3, 8.3.32.
- p. 118.9 *Stymphalus...Arcadia*] See Strabo, 8.6.8.
- p. 118.9-10 *Nemaea...Argolis*] See Strabo, 8.6.19.
- p. 118.10 *Lerna...Morea*] See Strabo, 8.6.2.
- p. 118.10-13 *the Serpent...bove*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, III.1-94 for the story and the etymology. Cadmus is told that he will meet a heifer in the wilderness, must follow where it leads, and build a city there called 'Boeotia'; Miller explains that this means 'the land of the heifer' (Ovid 1916: 125 *n.*).
- p. 118.12-13 *where...Oracles*] See Strabo 9.1.22.
- p. 118.13-15 *the huge Serpent...mountaines*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.438-47. The god who kills Python is Apollo.
- p. 118.15-17 *the mounting...cupbearer*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X.155-161.
- p. 118.17-18 *a faithfull...Asse*] Proverbial: when Richard Mulcaster left Merchant Taylors' School in 1586, in a dispute over pay, 'his parting shot was the bitter "Fidelis servus perpetuus asinus"', or 'a faithful servant is continually a beast of burden' (*ODNB*).
- p. 118.18-21 *the hondred-eyed...Arcadia*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.588-721. Jupiter, having raped Io, transforms her into a white heifer to evade the suspicions of Juno. (Ovid says that 'Even in this form she was still beautiful' (I.611).) His wife, having asked for the animal as a gift, places Argus in

watch over her, but Mercury lulls him asleep by telling him the story of Syrinx, the Arcadian nymph pursued by Pan, transformed into the reeds from which he fashioned his pipe.

- p. 118.27 *aswell...Potentia*] Perhaps the distinction is the same as the one between ‘in esse’ and ‘in posse’: ‘in actual existence’ as opposed to ‘in potentiality’ (see *OED* *esse* 1).
- p. 118.28 *aswell...affectione*] Perhaps ‘both externally and internally’.
- p. 118.28-29 *aswell...nomine*] ‘In fact as well as in name.’
- p. 118.29-30 *The Philosopher...market*] Harvey means Diogenes the Cynic. See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI.41.
- p. 118.32-34 *the wise-man...Asinorum plena sunt omnia*] The Latin tag comes from Cicero, *Letters to his Friends* IX.XXII.4, and might be translated ‘all things are full of fools’. ‘Asinorum’ means ‘of asses’.
- p. 118.34-39 *The thundring...Eloquence*] See Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes*, XXVI.5-6. For ‘thundering orator’ see p. 57.11 *n*.
- p. 118.41-42 *if...called it*] See Horace, *Epistles* I.1.76.
- p. 118.42 *Tully proved it*] Possibly Harvey is thinking of Cicero’s banishment, which Clodius effected by stirring up the people against him (see Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, XXX-XXXIII).
- p. 118.43 *Scipio fealt it*] Harvey perhaps means Scipio’s arraignment by the Tribunes (see p. 11.40 *n*). Livy quotes some of Scipio’s contemporaries as saying that the whole state was to blame for its ingratitude to one of its greatest citizens (XXXVIII.L.7).
- p. 118.43 *Caesar himselfe rued it*] Caesar’s self-aggrandisement after defeating Pompey and his sons, and evident desire for royal power, angered many of the plebeians, several of whom incited Brutus to act against him (Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, LVI-LXII).
- p. 118.43-44 *Floorishing...speciall note*] See p. 60.4-5 *n*.
- p. 118.46-47 *Callimachus...Paradoxes*] Callimachus was ‘a poete of Cyrene, the sonne of Battus, one of the overseers of Ptolomeus librarie’ (Cooper); I cannot find the passage which Harvey means.
- p. 118.48 *two Catos*] See p. 5.28 *n*., p. 60.4 *n*.
- p. 118.48 *One Regulus*] In fact there were several, but Harvey presumably means the consul during the first Punic war captured and tortured by the Carthaginians (Lemprière): Horace cites him as the archetype of martial courage (*Odes* III.v).
- p. 118.48 *Sylvios*] *Silva* can mean ‘forest creatures’ and *silvestris* ‘wild, savage’: Silvius is the name of Aeneas’ son by Lavinia, born in the woods (*OCD*).
- p. 118.48 *Porcios*] The family name of the Catos, introduced only for the pun.
- p. 118.49 *Brutos*] Lucius Junius Brutus, expeller of the Tarquins, is said to have feigned idiocy to survive under Superbus, hence his cognomen (*OCD*).
- p. 118.49 *Bestias*] Perhaps Harvey means the Roman elected tribune in 63 B.C., who was one of Catiline’s conspirators (see Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, XXIII).
- p. 118.49 *Tauros*] A Taurus was officer of Minos king of Crete and lover of his queen Pasiphæe, hence one explanation of the myth of the minotaur (Lemprière). See p. 130.36-37 *n*.
- p. 118.49 *Vitellios*] Vitellius was the courtier who succeeded Otho as Emperor, notable for his cruelty and debauchery: his life is written by Suetonius. *Vitellus* is Latin for ‘little calf’.

- p. 118.49 *Capras*] The only likely candidate is Caprius, an informer in Horace's age (Lemprière). See p. 53.40, p. 66.7 & *nn*.
- p. 118.49 *Capellas*] The name of several poets (Lemprière), 'Capella' also means 'she-goat'.
- p. 118.49 *Asinios*] None of the Asinii in *OCD* or Lemprière seem to have been particularly evil, although a consul of this name was imprisoned in Tiberius' reign after alleged adultery (*OCD*).
- p. 118.50 *Tullyes Paradoxes*] The allusion seems to be to *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, one of Cicero's philosophical works (*OCD*).
- p. 119.2 *The Oxe...fellowes*] The two are presumably paired as types of slowness and stupidity. In some marginalia summarized by Moore Smith as 'Have joy in your work', Harvey writes 'Bos, et Asinus, Laborant tristes' (1913: 149.30). See p. 50.38 *n*.
- p. 119.2 *the Libbard*] See p. 103.43 *n*.
- p. 119.5 *Apothegs*] Brydges retains this, but on p. 133.28 reads 'apophthegms' (1815: pt. 8.170, 200).
- p. 119.5 *Saturnistes*] See p. 10.33 *n*.
- p. 119.7 *were not...Oxe*] 'Universal' could mean 'entire, whole': *OED* gives examples of the phrase 'the universal world' (universal A *adj.* 8a).
- p. 119.13-14 *It is...the world*] 'It is a world to see/hear' is a stock phrase, with 'a world' meaning 'a marvel' (see *OED* world *sb.* IV 19 †c).
- p. 119.18-19 *the mighty...Bullochus*] Perhaps this is 'Phul the kyng of Assyria', whose invasion of Israel is mentioned in II Kings 15.19. 'Phul Bullochus' also contains a pun, the ox (*OED* 4a) and calf (*OED* calf<sup>1</sup> 1c) both being euphemisms for 'fool'. According to Thomas Bell, 'Phul Belochus [. . .] a magnificall and fortunate Prince' succeeded Sardanapalus as king (1596: 78).
- p. 119.25-29 *Kindhart...advancements*] Brydges renders 'Kindhart' 'Kind-heart', and comments, 'Does this relate to Henry Chettle's *Kind Hart's Dream*?' (1815: pt. 8.171, 231). Harvey was probably aware of Chettle's text: see p. 137.35 *n*. However, a 'kind-heart' meant a drawer of teeth. See *Bartholmew Fayre* Induction 121, where 'Kinde-heart, the Tooth-drawer' is one of the figures described as characteristically haunting fairs (Jonson 1925-52: 6.16). Cf. also *Plaine Percevall* ('let me be thy tooth drawer, I have a kind hart of mine owne') (Harvey 1590a: 4) and *The Letting of Hymovrs Blood* ('as kinde forsooth [. . .] as *Kind-hart*, in drawing out a tooth') (Rowlands 1600: sigs D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>). Chettle's narrator is clearly intended to be understood as one of these, calling himself 'famous for drawing teeth', and decrying 'cousoning toothe Drawers, that from place to place wander [. . .] to the imparing of Kindharts occupation' (1593: sigs B<sup>r</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>). Itinerant tooth-drawers seem to have had their own 'cry' (Bridge 1921: 50-51), like other street-vendors (see p. 12.20-21 *n*, p. 130.14), and this seems to be the sort of figure that Harvey has in mind. 'Forestall' could mean 'To buy up (market commodities, esp. victuals) in order to sell again at a profit' (*OED* v. 2), while 'engross' here is 'To buy up wholesale' (*OED* II †3) and 'regrate' to sell again articles bought in this manner (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 1).
- p. 119.28 *it...but*] See p. 100.8-9 *n*.
- p. 119.29 *advancements*] The only possible sense is 'compliments' (cf. *OED* †3: 'Extolment, lauding; vaunting').

- p. 119.33 *as may...conveiances*] ‘Conveyance’ could mean a carriage, or any other means of transport, but Harvey is probably punning on ‘secret or cunning device’ (see *OED sb.* II 13, I †11c).
- p. 119.36-37 *Had I...Gentlewooman*] Harvey seems to envisage the kind of communal reading which in the marginalia in his copy of Livy he describes undertaking with Sidney, Thomas Smith Jr and Thomas Preston (see Jardine, Grafton 1990 *passim*). Jardine and Grafton state that ‘scholarly reading [. . .] was normally carried out in the company of a colleague or student’, citing the place of Henry Cuffe in Essex’s retinue as an instance of ‘the scholar, retained to “read” with his employer and his employer’s associates’ (1990: 30-31, 34).
- p. 119.40 *beau-desert*] Grosart glosses this as ‘good desert’ (Harvey 1884-85: 3.115); Nashe mocks it as a coinage of Harvey’s (1958: 3.45.21). Cf. *OED* †beaupere 2 (‘Good fellow’), †beausire (‘Fair sir’).
- p. 119.41-42 *A short...himselfe*] Possibly Harvey is alluding to Plato’s *Crito*, a dialogue between the imprisoned Socrates and his friend Crito, whose encouragement to escape Socrates resists, saying that one cannot repay injustice with injustice.
- p. 119.42 *A roach not sounder*] ‘As sound as a roach’ was proverbial, but neither Tilley (R143) nor *OED* (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1b) give instances before 1655.
- p. 119.43 *the stockfish...Asellus*] See Pliny, *Natural History*, IX.61.
- p. 119.43-45 *nothing so unkindly...Scythia*] See Pliny, *Natural History*, VIII.167, although he says nothing about sleeping sickness.
- p. 119.47 *The...confuting*] Nashe 1958: 1.320.21.
- p. 119.48-49 *Had I...Doctour*] Nashe 1958: 1.326.26. See p. 43.30-31 *n*.
- p. 119.49-50 *wilt...washing*] See p. 120.9 *n*.
- p. 120.1 *with...Asse-bone*] See p. 116.20-21.
- p. 120.1-3 *onely I barre...Ypocrase*] See Judges 15.15-19. After Samson kills five thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass, he is ‘sore a thyrst’: ‘God brake a great tooth that was in the jawe, & there came water thereout, and when he had drunke, his spirit came againe, and he was refreashed’.
- p. 120.4-5 *he entreth...Hercules*] Cf. the anecdote from Plutarch told by Harington ‘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*?’ (1591: sig. ¶ij<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 120.6 *surmounteth...Olympus*] Cooper calls Olympus ‘A mountaine or hylle in Greece, betweene *Thessalia*, and *Macedonia*, above the whiche appeereth no cloude, and therefore amonge the poetes it is usurped for heaven’.
- p. 120.7 *the Autor of Asses*] See p. 49.41-42 *n*.
- p. 120.9 *to fullfill...headd*] See Tilley A370: ‘He that washes an ass’s head loses both his soap and labor’.
- p. 120.10 *young Apuleius*] See p. 49.41-42 *n*.
- p. 120.12-13 *I have...England*] Nashe 1958: 1.320.18.
- p. 120.13-15 *the golden...silver*] I cannot explain this, although Harvey’s meaning is probably (as so often) the shortfall between Nashe’s boasting and his actual ability (for a similar use of ‘mountains’,

see p. 15.21-22 *n.*). Cf. Nashe's use of the phrase 'heart and good will, but never a ragge of money' (Nashe 1958: 1.301.28), which seems to have been proverbial: when, in *Comedy of Errors* IV.4.83, Ephesian Dromio, told that he has been given money to redeem Antipholus from jail, says 'Heart and good will you might, / But surely, master, not a rag of money', Baldwin compares Lodge's *Deaf Man's Dialogue*, 'oh it is a proper man: but never a rag of money' (quoted Shakespeare 1962a: 83 *n.*).

p. 120.15-16 *Had...prodigall*] Plutus is 'God of riches' (Cooper), and associated with generosity (see *Timon of Athens* I.1.275-76). In Aristophanes' play, he appears 'in the form of a blind old man' (OCD).

p. 120.16 *Greenes Mercury*] I cannot explain this reference to Nashe: cf. p. 60.46-47.

p. 120.16-17 *the onely...Language*] See p. 77.47 & *n.*

p. 120.17-18 *all other...Starres*] OED's earliest instance of 'occidental' in the sense of 'of inferior value and brilliancy, as opposed to ORIENTAL *a.* 4' is from 1747, and applied only to jewels (A *adj.* 3).

p. 120.18-19 *Onely...dish*] Nashe 1958: 1.307.14.

p. 120.20 *who but he?*] See p. 92.12 *n.*

p. 120.21 *Chawcer, and Spencer*] See p. 4.50 & *n.* The influence of Chaucer on *SC* is signposted in several places, e.g. the echo of *Troilus and Criseyde* in the dedicatory verse and the celebration of Chaucer as 'Tityrus' in July 81-96 (Spenser 1995: 16, 107).

p. 120.22 *Ascham*] See p. 30.22 *n.*

p. 120.22 *Astely*] See p. 68.22-24 *n.*

p. 120.22 *Dier*] Sir Edward Dyer (1543-1607), courtier and poet, like Sidney a member of Leicester's retinue (ODNB). In *3PL*, Harvey and Spenser both flaunt their connections with the pair repeatedly. Harvey aspires to the level of 'some delicate, and choice elegant Poesie of good *M. Sidneys*, or *M. Dyers*, (ouer very *Castor*, and *Pollux* for such and many greater matters)'; Spenser promises to pass Harvey's verses on 'to Maister *Sidney*, and Maister *Dyer*, at my nexte going to the Courte', etc. (Spenser 1912: 626, 636). Harvey had evidently seen some of Dyer's unpublished verse (1913: 232.31-233.2, 309).

p. 120.22-23 *the dearest...Muses*] See p. 22.10-11 *n.*

p. 120.23-25 *onely One excepted*] Plausibly, given the evidently female gender of this exceptional person, Grosart identifies this as 'Elizabeth, who even in her proud old age would allow herself to be placed second to none' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.xxiv).

p. 120.26 *the Madame of immortal Honour*] McKerrow suggests that by 'Madame' Harvey means 'Queen', comparing p. 120.44 below (Nashe 1958: 5.89). Harvey would here be employing a *gradatio*: see p. 85.46-49 *n.*

p. 120.27 *Vertical Starre*] 'Vertical' might mean 'placed or situated at, passing through, the vertex or zenith'; OED gives instances relating to 'the sun, stars, etc.', citing this as the first figurative instance (A *adj.* 1c).

p. 120.32 *my poore milkemaide*] See p. 113.39 *n.*

- p. 120.33 *Curtesan*] Perhaps ‘courtly’ (Harvey is presumably being ironic). *OED*’s only adjectival instances of the word are substantive, meaning ‘The court language (of Italy)’ (courtesan, -zan *sb.*<sup>1</sup>, *a.* B).
- p. 120.36-37 *Be...as me*] See p. 54.24-28 & *n.*
- p. 120.39-41 *Tell me...true Diana*] From *PP* (Nashe 1958: 1.216.17-23). The quote is slightly edited. McKerrow calls ‘Diana’ ‘i.e. the moon, and, as usual, Queen Elizabeth’ (Nashe 1958: 4.137).
- p. 120.43-44 *London, the Staple of Wealth, & Madame-towne of the Realme*] Nashe retorted, ‘He might as well have cald it the Countesse or Duches Towne’ (1958: 3.130.11), and *OED* cites only this instance of the phrase (*madam sb.* †4a). Cf. *Henry V*, II.4.133, where Exeter calls Paris ‘the mistress-court of mighty Europe’: Craik glosses ‘mistress’ as ‘principal’ (Shakespeare 1995: 197).
- p. 120.45 *Pallace of Honour*] Since G. Gregory Smith sees p. 68.30-31 as an allusion to Painter’s *Palace of Pleasure* and Castiglione’s *Courtier* (1904: 2.437), perhaps here Harvey is playing on the title of Gavin Douglas’s *The Palice of Honour* (c. 1501), an allegorical dream-poem in the tradition of Chaucer’s *House of Fame* (see *ODNB* art. Douglas).
- p. 120.45-46 *Is it...prettily?*] See p. 73.7 & *n.*
- p. 120.46-47 *Was he...Moone?*] I have not been able to trace the allusion here, although Diana is ‘taken for the moone’ (Cooper), and ‘studying by the moon’ seems here to mean praising Elizabeth. Sugden notes that ‘Cappadochio, and its corrupted form, Caperdewsie, is used in the sense of a prison’ in plays of the period, giving examples.
- p. 121.1-2 *a rarer beast...Woolfe*] For the tradition that the Saxon King Edgar destroyed all English wolves, see *SC* September 150-55, and E.K.’s gloss (Spenser 1995: 149, 155). For the English wolf as a type of rarity see *The Triumphes of Trophe*s (Lyly 1902: 3.431), *Virgidemiarum* IV.iii.78-79 (Hall 1949: 61), etc.
- p. 121.2-3 *the divine...Principum*] Harvey means Pietro Aretino, whose nickname was ‘the Scourge of Princes’ (McPherson 1969: 1551).
- p. 121.3 *Pestis Rerumpublicarum*] ‘The plague of commonwealths.’
- p. 121.17 *other*] i.e. ‘others’: see p. 2.22 *n.*
- p. 121.20-21 *his defence...reprooffe*] Nashe’s references to Greene in *SN* are ambivalent in places: he denies that he was ‘Greenes companion any more than for a carowse or two [. . .] A thousande there bee that have more reason to speake in his behalfe than I, who, since I first knew him about town, have beene two yeares together and not seene him’ (1958: 1.303.12, 330.16). Edwin Haviland Miller comments: ‘Nashe was not anxious to identify himself closely with Greene’ (1954: 353). At one point Nashe concedes, ‘Something there was which I have heard, not seene, that hee had not that regarde to his credite in, which had beene requisite he should’, and McKerrow suggests that this alludes to Greene’s selling of *Orlando Furioso* to two separate companies (1958: 1.330.11, 4.194).
- p. 121.21 *no reverence...patrons*] Harvey had made a similar charge against his enemies generally in *FL* (p. 23.38) and makes this specific one against Nashe again later (p. 137.33-34). Nashe’s only two known patrons were Archbishop Whitgift, at whose residence in Croydon *SLW* seems to have been staged, and Sir George Carey, to whose daughter he dedicated *The Terrors of the Night* and at whose house he wrote *SN* (see Nashe 1958: 5.20-23). Nashe had dedicated *The Anatomie of Absurditie*



(1589) to Sir Charles Blount, but McKerrow suggests that ‘the dedication of this work to him was not fruitful in results, for Nashe nowhere else mentions his name’ (Nashe 1958: 4.4). It seems impossible to trace Harvey’s allusion, unless it is to the passages in *PP* in which Pierce complains of the parsimony of patrons (Nashe 1958: 1.159.20 *ff.*, 241.11 *ff.*). Sherri Geller’s reading of *SLW* finds covert satire on Whitgift (1995: 173-76).

p. 121.23-24 *not...acquaintance*] See p. 137.32-35 & *n.*

p. 121.25 *a drunken head*] See p. 106.23 *n.*

p. 121.26 *broking*] *OED* gives this (dated 1592) as the first instance of ‘That acts as a broker’: the other senses, ‘? That acts as a procurer’ and ‘Base-dealing; peddling; contemptible’ should also be borne in mind (*ppl. a.* 2, 3). Harvey habitually uses mercantile language to suggest something meretricious about his enemies (see p. 12.20-21, p. 56.29, p. 130.14, etc.).

p. 121.29-30 *the sharpest invention*] See p. 48.42 *n.*

p. 121.30 *Gibridge*] ‘Gibberish’: *OED* gives an instance of this spelling from 1603 (*A sb.*).

p. 121.31 *a Jewish Rabbin*] This seems to be the type of incomprehensibility or esoteric learning. Cf. *The Alchemist* IV.5.1-32, where Dol-Common’s babbling echoes *A Concoct of Scripture* (1590), by the English rabbinical scholar Hugh Broughton (Jonson 1925-52: 5.375-77, 10.105-06). Shapiro notes that ‘Jonson makes her lines even more incomprehensible by having two other characters continue speaking’ across her, as also that the joke itself would have been comprehensible only to a minority of Jonson’s audience. He compares *Volpone* II.2.119, where Peregrine compares ‘the dizzying rhetoric’ of Volpone’s mountebank speech to ‘Broughton’s books’ (1996: 148, 137).

p. 121.31 *a Latin Dunse*] Here not the type of stupidity but of abstruse learning: see p. 91.1 *n.*

p. 121.33 *ceremonious*] Harvey’s meaning seems to be something like ‘courteous’. *OED*’s closest definition is ‘According to prescribed or customary formalities’ (3): not until the eighteenth century does it seem to have had a definitely pejorative sense.

p. 121.34 *Goodman Sathan*] *OED* calls ‘Goodman’ a ‘vague title of dignity or a respectful form of address’; it cites one instance as a euphemism for the Devil, from 1779, insisting that this is Scots (*OED* †1). Cf. *Twelfth Night* IV.2.132, where Feste’s song ends ‘Adieu, goodman devil!’

p. 121.34-35 *Sir Reverence*] See p. 3.40 *n.* for the pun involved.

p. 121.37 *a note above Goddes-forbid*] *OED*’s first instance of ‘forbid’ in the nominal sense of ‘forbidding’ takes the form ‘beyond all gods forbid’ († *sb.*).

p. 121.37-38 *Whom...mundi*] See p. 21.36-39 *n.*

p. 121.39-42 *and whom...Hell-fier*] See p. 115.49-p. 116.2 *n.*

p. 121.42-46 *Perionius...Sodomies*] ‘See Joachaimus Perionius, *Ad Henricum Galliae regem...J. Perionii...in Petrum Aretinum oratio* (Paris, 1551) and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* (Coloniae, 1568), sig. R6<sup>v</sup>. See also the translation by James Sandford (1569; 2nd ed., 1575), sig. Bb3’ (McPherson 1969: 1554 *n.*).

p. 121.47-48 *Manutius...Italy*] The Manutius (Manuzio) family were a dynasty of Venetian scholar-printers: the ones who seem to have been most coeval with Aretino were Aldo (d. 1515) and Paolo (d. 1574). See McKerrow 1928: 274-76. Aretino mentions Aldo in a 1549 letter to Tasso (1967: 283,

- 346), but Moore Smith identifies the ‘Manutius’ mentioned by Harvey in his marginalia as Paolo (1913: 116.18, 218.7, 322).
- p. 121.48-49 *His...needeth*] Aretino’s friend, the artist Jacopo Sansovino, held an architectural post in Venice (Aretino 1976: 26, 239).
- p. 121.49-50 *Tasso...singularitie*] This is perhaps not Torquato (see p. 58.3 *n.*) but his father Bernardo (1493-1567), also an author. He and Aretino had been friends, but fell out after his printed criticisms of Aretino’s style (see Aretino 1967: 358, 280-84).
- p. 121.50 *Jovius...naming*] See p. 64.11 *n.*
- p. 122.1-3 *Castilios...aspired*] Aretino appears as a character in *The Courtier*: his most substantial contributions to the conversation at the court of Urbino are about love and female ingratitude (Castiglione 1974: 25-26, 243-45).
- p. 122.2 *Idees*] See p. 32.27 *n.*
- p. 122.4 *such crowes, such egges*] Cf. Tilley B376: ‘An ill (evil) bird (crow) lays an ill egg’.
- p. 122.5 *monstrously...absurdly*] ‘Absurdly’ seems to have had more force in the 16th-18th centuries. See *OED*; cf. also p. 16.47-48.
- p. 122.9-10 *the heaven-surmounting Babell of ryme*] See Genesis 11.4.
- p. 122.12-13 *the second...ryme*] See p. 72.30-21 *n.*
- p. 122.14-16 *he will haunt...Devine*] See p. 108.39-41 *n.*
- p. 122.18 *kittish*] *OED*’s closest sense is ‘of the nature of a kite’ (*OED* *kitish*), the kite being a bird of prey without having (like the eagle) associations of nobility. Batman calls it ‘a ravishing foule, and hardy among small birds, & a coward & fearefull among great birdes [. . .] he eateth carrions and uncleane things’ (1582: fol. 186’).
- p. 122.18 *dor-bettle*] See p. 115.49 *n.*
- p. 122.21 *Astraea*] ‘The daughter of Astræus and Aurora, or after some, of Jupiter and Themis. It is taken for justice, as the woorde doth signifie’ (Cooper).
- p. 122.22 *Bawewawe*] Perhaps Harvey means ‘object of derision’: see p. 26.36 *n.*
- p. 122.22 *the Tee-heegh of Gentlewomen*] The laughing-stock. In *3PL*, after ‘Master H.’ gives his parodic ‘Judgement of Earthquakes’, Harvey describes ‘the Gentlewoomen [. . .] pleasauntly tyhyng betweene them selves’ (Spenser 1912: 618).
- p. 122.24 *the whoop-hooe...streetes*] In *SN*, Nashe imagines Harvey being followed by ‘a whole army of boies [. . .] as thou goest in the street [. . .] with whup hoo’ (1958: 1.290.32-34).
- p. 122.27 *the shambles of beastlines*] ‘Shambles’ could mean both ‘flesh- or meat-market’ and ‘slaughter-house’; *OED* cites instances in both senses epitomising stench (*OED* *shamble sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3a, 4a).
- p. 122.28 *poulkat*] See p. 60.22-23 *n.*
- p. 122.28 *the shrichowle...Realme*] The screech-owl is a bird of ill omen (see Smith 592, and cf. p. 43.20-23 *n.*) and the toadstool poisonous. The ‘grisly toadstool’ and ‘ghastly owl’ are paired in *SC* December 69-72, both disfiguring the pastoral landscape (Spenser 1995: 192).
- p. 122.29 *the horrible...Letters*] See p. 66.1 *n.*
- p. 122.31 *the old...prayse*] An ass: see p. 47.3-4.
- p. 122.38 *Inkhornisme*] Harvey is quoting Nashe: see p. 123.9.

- p. 122.40 *Pythagoras Silence*] See p. 31.27-30 n.
- p. 122.45 *negotations...wordes*] See p. 24.11, and *SN* for Nashe's objection (1958: 1.316.19).
- p. 122.48-49 *na, it is...Proclamation*] Nashe 1958: 1.293.8.
- p. 122.49-50 *few...Proclamations*] Any contemporary allusion here is probably unrecoverable.  
However, among the anonymous books owned by Harvey is *An Abstract, of... certaine her Majesties Injunctions* (printed c. 1583) (Stern 1979: 241). This is bound with two texts by Richard Cosin (see p. 128.3-5).
- p. 123.7 *in a phantasticall emulation*] Perhaps 'vaingloriously' (see *OED* emulation 1, †2); for similar syntax see p. 83.8 n.
- p. 123.9-24 This list of Nashe's supposed neologisms is Harvey's answer to a very similar passage in *SN* (Nashe 1958: 1.316.3-19). Generally I have given the reference only, except when the form in which Harvey quotes Nashe is distinctly different, or the context seemed otherwise necessary.
- p. 123.9 *Inkhornisme*] Nashe 1958: 1.272.24, 316.2, 316.2, 317.20.
- p. 123.9 *Absonisme*] Nashe 1958: 1.316.20.
- p. 123.9 *the most copious Carminist*] Nashe 1958: 1.255.1.
- p. 123.9-10 *thy Carminicall art*] Nashe 1958: 1.258.23.
- p. 123.10 *a Providitore of young Schollars*] In the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of *SN*, Nashe tells Beeston, 'all poore Schollers acknowledge you as their patron, providitore, and supporter' (Nashe 1958: 1.255 n.). Evidently Harvey had read the second edition, where this passage appears, and not the first.
- p. 123.10 *a Corrigidore of incongruitie*] Nashe 1958: 1.290.20.
- p. 123.10 *a quest of Cavalieros*] Nashe 1958: 1.263.3. Nashe's text has 'Cavaliers'.
- p. 123.10-11 *Inamoratos...workes*] Nashe 1958: 1.274.23.
- p. 123.11 *a Theologicall Gimpanado*] Nashe applies this phrase to Richard Harvey (1958: 1.262.3-4).
- p. 123.11 *Dromidote Ergonist*] Nashe 1958: 1.285.21. McKerrow notes that 'Dromidotus [. . .] is the name of the pedant in *Pedantius*' and defines 'Ergonist' as 'wrangling logician' (Nashe 1958: 4.172).
- p. 123.11 *sacrilegiously contaminated*] Nashe 1958: 1.280.17-18.
- p. 123.11-12 *decrepite capacitie*] Nashe 1958: 1.283.27.
- p. 123.12 *fiactionate person*] Nashe calls Hermaphroditus, as described by Ovid, a 'fictionate person' (1958: 1.286.22).
- p. 123.12 *humour unconvertible*] Nashe in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' praises Beeston's 'pleasant wittie humor, which no care or crosse can make unconvertible' (1958: 1.258.30).
- p. 123.12 *merriments unexilable*] Nashe calls Ovid's writings before his banishment 'unexileable overthrow merrimentes' (1958: 1.286.23).
- p. 123.12-13 *the horrissonant...antiquitie*] Nashe 1958: 1.317.17.
- p. 123.14-15 *For...intelligence*] Cf. John Harvey's *Discovrsive Probleme*: 'I understand not your meaning, or as we commonly say: Your eloquence passeth my intelligence' (1588: 66); 'Mistresse Inquisitiva' uses the same phrase in *3PL* (Spenser 1912: 615).
- p. 123.15-16 *cleapeth...Apology*] 'What a *Calimunco* am I to plead for him [Greene], as though I were as neere him as his owne skinne' (Nashe 1958: 1.330.15). The word is not in *OED*: McKerrow traces it to 'calamanco, a woollen stuff made in Flanders' (Nashe 1958: 4.195).

- p. 123.16 *Pistlepragmos*] Nashe 1958: 1.294.23.
- p. 123.17 *interfuseth Finicallitie*] Nashe 1958: 1.272.19. 'Interfuseth' is Harvey's word here rather than Nashe's, and should perhaps be in Roman.
- p. 123.17 *sillogistrie*] Nashe 1958: 1.270.15.
- p. 123.17 *disputative right*] Nashe 1958: 1.278.15.
- p. 123.17-18 *hermaphrodite phrases*] Nashe applies this to Harvey's own neologisms (1958: 1.265.22).
- p. 123.18 *declamatorie stiles*] Nashe 1958: 1.283.23.
- p. 123.18 *censoriall moralizers*] This seems to be an echo of a passage in *SN* where Nashe responds to Harvey's mention of the controversy caused by 'Mother Hvbberds Tale' (p. 4.49-50). Nashe states that Harvey, 'in vaine-glory to have *Spencer* known for thy friend, [. . .] censerest him worse than his deadliest enemie would do', adding that he had previously thought the business only 'a made matter of some malitious moralizers' (1958: 1.281.33-282.5).
- p. 123.18 *unlineall...judgement*] Nashe 1958: 1.308.10-11.
- p. 123.18 *infamizers of vice*] Nashe says that 'there is no unlaschivious use or end of poetry, but to infamize vice, and magnifie vertue' (1958: 1.285.22).
- p. 123.18-19 *new...inditement*] Nashe 1958: 1.293.24-25.
- p. 123.19 *deriding dunstically*] Nashe 1958: 1.289.6.
- p. 123.19 *banging abominationly*] Nashe promises Harvey that Greene's landlady 'will bang thee abhominatiously' (1958: 1.289.8).
- p. 123.19-20 *unhandsoming of divinityship*] Nashe describes his attack on the Rev. Richard Harvey in *PP* as 'the unhandsoming of his divinitiship' (1958: 1.311.5).
- p. 123.20 *absurdifying of phrases*] Harvey seems to mean the passage in *SN* in which Nashe repeats some phrases from his attack on Richard Harvey in *PP* which Gabriel quotes in the Third Letter (p. 16.33-47), which he prefaces by challenging Gabriel 'see if thou, or anie man, can absurdifie the worst of them' (1958: 1.311.8).
- p. 123.20 *ratifying...English*] Nashe 1958: 1.311.18. Nashe's text has 'legible'.
- p. 123.20-21 *a calme...irefulnesse*] Nashe 1958: 1.325.19-21. Nashe seems to mean Harvey's offers of peace towards the end of the Third Letter of *FL*: see p. 20.21 *ff*.
- p. 123.22-23 *him, that...triparum*] McKerrow identifies this as 'One of the books that Pantagruel found in the Library of Saint Victor', adding 'Harvey is one of the few Elizabethans who seem really to have known something of Rabelais' (Nashe 1958: 5.94 *n*). This is in Book II Chapter 7 of Rabelais's work: Cohen translates the title as 'on the Excellence of the Belly' (1955: 188).
- p. 123.24 *a Porch...Prayses*] Nashe 1958: 1.296.10-12.
- p. 123.25 *hunt the letter*] This meant 'to practise, or study alliteration' (*OED* letter *sb*.<sup>1</sup> I 1c).
- p. 123.25 *Tite-tute-tate*] McKerrow identifies this as a reference 'to a line of Ennius cited by Priscian, p. 947, "o Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti"' (Nashe 1958: 5.94 *n*).
- p. 123.28 *Suada*] See p. 30.41 *n*.
- p. 123.28 *Isocrates*] See p. 13.34 *n*.
- p. 123.28 *the voyce...Eccho*] See p. 88.27 *n*.
- p. 123.29 *Secretary*] See p. 105.2 *n*.

- p. 123.30 *Guevara in Spanish*] For the books of Antonio de Guevara which would have been familiar to Harvey's readers, see *STC* 12425-12451. Sir Thomas North's 1557 translation of *The Dial of Princes* was an influence on Euphuism and Elizabethan prose generally (see McCarthy 2007: 322).
- p. 123.30 *Amiot in French*] Jacques Amyot (1513-93), Bishop of Auxerre and tutor to Charles IX and Henri III. He translated Plutarch's complete works into French: Thomas North used his version of the *Lives* as the basis for his own (*DBF*).
- p. 123.30 *with a confidence*] 'Confidently': for similar syntax, cf. p. 55.41, p. 127.2.
- p. 123.33 *an apprenticeship...yeares*] This would be an especially long time, since apprenticeships generally lasted seven years. For allusions, see *IParnassus* 417 (Leishman 1949: 156), Heywood 1635: 206.
- p. 123.37 *the fury of Tasso*] See p. 58.3 & n.
- p. 123.41 *slaumpaump*] *OED*'s only examples are this, p. 155.2 and *HWY*, where Nashe nicknames Harvey 'Himpenhempen Slampamp' (1958: 3.54.23): there is no definition. McKerrow, citing an instance of the word 'slampan' in Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, states that it means 'beating' (Nashe 1958: 4.329); Smith similarly cites an instance of 'slampam' in Stanihurst's *Aeneid*, either in this sense or meaning 'rebuke, insult' (1904: 2.440). These seem not relevant to Harvey's context, which would require a sense like 'hotch-potch'.
- p. 123.43 *the directions...Secretary*] In 1586 Angel Day published *The English Secreterie*, which S.P. Cerasano calls 'a handbook for epistle writing' (*ODNB*).
- p. 123.43-45 *Which may...Pamflet*] When McKerrow says that, in this section of *PS*, Harvey claims 'that when one comes across any good thing in his [*sc.* Nashe's] writings one may know that it is borrowed from elsewhere', he seems to have this passage in mind (Nashe 1958: 5.94).
- p. 123.46 *period*] As Harvey contrasts this with 'sentence', he is perhaps using it to mean 'a sentence consisting of several clauses, grammatically connected, and rhetorically constructed' (*OED sb.* III 10a).
- p. 123.47 *the very bird of Arabia*] The phoenix: see p. 58.1-2 & n.
- p. 123.48 *Hermogenes*] Hermogenes of Tarsus (*fl.* 2 c. A.D.) wrote textbooks on rhetoric (*OCD*).
- p. 123.49 *painting*] Here as on p. 154.51, 'paint' seems to relate to a kind of fine writing: cf. 'To depict or describe in words', 'to deck, beautify, decorate, ornament' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 2b, 3c).
- p. 123.49 *carving Caesar*] In some marginalia in his copy of Livy, Harvey notes that Sidney 'of none makes so high reckoning as of Cesars owne Commentaries, peerles & invaluable works' (quoted Jardine, Grafton 1990: 55).
- p. 123.49 *purple-dying*] The colour is here understood as 'brilliant or ornate', as in the phrase 'purple patch': *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1598, but it notes that this stems from Horace (*a., sb.* A 3a).
- p. 123.50-51 *It is...spigot*] This is echoed in *IParnassus* 423, where Luxurio, preparing to leave Parnassus (i.e. Cambridge), declares 'Here is nothing but levelinge of colons, squaring of periods, by the monthe. My sanguin scorns all such base premeditation. Ile have my pen run like a spigot' (Leishman 1949: 156). Travis L. Summersgill, who first noticed this, comments that Harvey's comments are made 'in a spirit of heavy irony' (1952: 94).

- p. 124.1-21 *There is...quaiame*] In the words of Summersgill, this passage refers ironically to 'Nashe's elevation of wit to a position of dominance over scholarship' (1952: 95).
- p. 124.4 *Modernist*] See p. 57.24 n.
- p. 124.7-8 *so...Aela*] Cf. *UT*: 'he burst out into laughter above Ela'; McKerrow glosses, 'The note called *e-la* was the highest [. . .] in Guido d'Arezzo's musical scale. The expression is of very frequent occurrence' (Nashe 1958: 1958: 2.268.7, 4.280). See *Greenes Never Too Late* (Greene 1881-86: 8.74), Lyly's *Midas* (1902: 3.115.7-8).
- p. 124.9-12 *Desolate...Singularity*] This is echoed in *IParnassus* 300, where a dedicatory epistle of Ingenioso's begins: 'Desolate eloquence & forlorne poetrie, youre most humble suppliant[s] in *forma pauperum*, laye prostrate at youre daintie feete, and adore youre excellencie' (Leishman 1949: 149-50).
- p. 124.10 *in forma pauperum*] A legal term. *OED* defines '*in forma pauperis*' as 'in the form or guise of a poor person (exempted from liability to pay the costs of an action [. . .]); hence, in a humble or abject manner' (|| in *prep.* 10).
- p. 124.13 *streameth like Nilus*] The Nile symbolises uncontainability in *Titus Andronicus* III.1.71-72, and fertility in *Antony and Cleopatra* II.7.17-27. 'Nilus was famous for the vertue of the water thereof, whiche overflowynge the cuntrye of Aegypte, made the grounde woonderfull fertyle many yeres after, so that without labourynge, the earth brought foorth abundance of sundry graynes and plantes, delectable and profitable. Also beastes of sundry kyndes, without other fourme of generation' (Cooper).
- p. 124.14 *rageth like Sirius*] See p. 37.3-8 n.
- p. 124.15 *blustereth like Boreas*] See p. 79.1 n.
- p. 124.15 *whose reason...Zephyrus*] The west wind is understood as not only gentle but fragrant in *FQ* II.v.29.8: the bower in which Cymochles dallies is filled with flowers, 'That when myld *Zephyrus* amongst them blew, / Did breath out bounteous smels'.
- p. 124.15-16 *savoreth like Tempe*] 'Savour' here is either 'To give forth a (specified) scent or odour' or 'To be agreeable or pleasing' (*OED* v. I 2, 3†a). Cooper calls Tempe a 'place in Thessalia wonderfull pleasant, havynge trees and medowes mervaylous delectable [. . .] thereof all pleasant wooddes have the name of Tempe'.
- p. 124.18 *shrillest*] In the *Parnassus* plays, 'shrill' seems to be used in a positive sense such as 'melodious'. See *Parnassus* 294 ('Harke shrill Don Cicero how sweete he sings, / See how the groves wonder at his sweet note'), *2Parnassus* 210 ('A sweeter Swan then ever song in Poe, / A shriller Nightingale then ever blest / The prouder groves of selfe admiring Rome' (Leishman 1949: 111, 236). See also *Campaspe* V.1.37 ('the Larke so shrill and cleare') (Lyly 1902: 2.351).
- p. 124.18 *ô...Valour*] See p. 57.11 n.
- p. 124.19 *Sympathy*] None of *OED*'s definitions seem relevant. Cf. *OED* sympathetic A 1a ('Pertaining to, involving, depending on, acting or effected by [. . .] occult influence'); 'divine' would seem closer to Harvey's sense than 'occult'.
- p. 124.20-21 *mealt the bowels*] See p. 20.22.

- p. 124.21 *quaime*] *OED* cites this form as a variant spelling of ‘qualm’, perhaps in this case ‘A fit or sudden access’ (*sb.*<sup>3</sup> 2c).
- p. 124.22 *But peace milkemaide*] See p. 113.39 *n*.
- p. 124.25 *the coursest branne*] For this spelling of ‘coarse’, see *Euphves* (‘in steede of course sackecloth fine silke’) (Lyly 1902: 1.274.10), Webbe’s *Discourse* (‘his [Chaucer’s] stile may seeme blunte and course’) (1870: 32), etc.
- p. 124.30-31 *a Golden Calfe*] See Exodus 32.1-6.
- p. 124.36 *Hermes Trismegist*] See p. 55.12-14 *n*.
- p. 124.38 *grossest hammer-drudge*] If Harvey is using ‘gross’ in the same sense as ‘stark’, this would mean ‘plain, evident, obvious’: other senses involve stupidity or clumsy workmanship (*OED a., sb.*<sup>4</sup> †3, 13a, †b, 14a). *OED* cites this as its only instance of ‘hammer-drudge’ (hammer *sb.* 7); cf. ‘carterly’ and ‘tinkerly’ as terms of abuse (Appendix A).
- p. 124.39 *in a country*] See p. 49.38 *n*.
- p. 124.39-40 *He disdaineth...London*] Wilfully or not, Harvey has misinterpreted a passage in *SN*. Responding to Harvey’s contemptuous references to the ballad-writer in *FL*, Nashe exclaims ‘Hough Thomas Delone, Phillip Stubbs, Robert Armin, &c. Your father Elderton is abus’d. Revenge, revenge on course paper and want of matter, that hath most sacriliginously contaminated the divine spirit & quintessence of a penny a quart’ (1958: 1.280.15). Edwin Haviland Miller’s reading is similar to Harvey’s: he glosses the passage, ‘he damns Deloney as an abuser of the memory of Elderton’ and sees the pamphleteers named by Nashe as the source of contamination (1954: 360-61). It seems to me that Harvey is the abuser of Elderton, and that Deloney, Stubbes and Armin are cited as ‘sons’ of his whom Nashe exhorts to revenge.
- p. 124.39 *Thomas Delone*] Deloney (d. 1600?) published ballads from the early 1580s: his longer works of prose fiction belong to the late 1590s (*ODNB*).
- p. 124.39 *Philip Stubbs*] Stubbes (1555?-1610?) was a pamphleteer and ballad-writer whose output, like Deloney’s, had a distinctly Protestant character. He is best-known for the two-part *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), a diatribe against various social, cultural and religious iniquities (*ODNB*).
- p. 124.39 *Robert Armin*] Actor and writer (1563-1615). By the mid-1590s, he had joined Lord Chandos’s Men, a provincial company of players; later, as a member of the Lord Chamberlain’s Men, he is associated with many of the ‘fool’ parts in Shakespeare’s comedies (*ODNB*). His only extant work printed before 1600 is the preface to *A Brief Resolution of the Right Religion* (1590), although Nashe, by classing him with Deloney and Elderton, associates him with ballads, a particularly ephemeral kind of early-modern literature, and one of these, *The Italian Tailor and his Boy*, was printed with his name on the title-page in 1609 (*ODNB*).
- p. 124.40 *even...tooe*] Possibly Harvey is alluding to the following diatribe in *PP*: ‘Gentles, it is not your lay Chronigraphers, that write of nothing but of Mayors and Sherieifs, and the deare yeere, and the great Frost, that can endowe your names with never dated glory: for they want the wings of choise words to fly to heaven, which we [poets] have’ (1958: 1.194.8). (‘Lay’ is perhaps to be understood as ‘secular’ (or possibly ‘vernacular’): uses of it in the sense of ‘unlearned’ are rare (*OED a., sb.*<sup>9</sup> A 3 †a, citing none after 1535).) Gordon McMullan compares this to the reference in

Fletcher's *The Elder Brother* to 'Dunce Hollingshead / The Englishman, that writes of snowes and Sheriffes' (Shakespeare, Fletcher 2000: 165-66). However, Nashe's attack is considerably shorter and more moderately-worded than Sidney's similar comparison of poets and historians in *Defence of Poetry* (1966: 30-32).

Another candidate appears later in *PP*, in the much-quoted passage in defence of plays: 'for the subject of them (for the most part) it is borrowed out of our English Chronicles, wherein our forefathers valiant acts (that have line long buried in rustie brasse and worme-eaten bookes) are revived, and they themselves raised from the Grave of Oblivion' (1958: 1.212.14). Nashe's syntax and context seem to allow for the act of revival to be performed by plays rather than chronicles. This appears just before the sentence about 'brave Talbot' and the tragedian who plays him which has been taken as an allusion to *1 Henry VI* and Alleyn (Duncan-Jones 2001: 56-57). Bullough identifies the play's chief sources as the chronicles of Hall, Grafton, Holinshed and Fabyan (1957-75: 3.25).

p. 124.46 *honest*] 'Honest' is a word of very wide application in this period, but n.b. 'respectable' and 'a vague epithet of appreciation or praise, esp. as used in a patronizing way to an inferior' (*OED* a. †1a, c).

p. 124.49-50 *thy memory infinite*] Harvey's praise of Nashe's memory, however ironic, seems out of place in what is essentially a response to one of Nashe's texts. Memory was a faculty which early-modern educators sought to develop, hence Ralph Morice's attack on Cranmer's tutor for impairing, by his brutal treatment, 'that benefitt of memorey [*sic*] and audacitie in his youthe that by nature was given unto hym' (quoted Mayor 1863: 205), and the Oxford scholar William Gager's defence of the parts taken by students in college plays on the grounds that it was done 'to trye their voyces and confirme their memories' (quoted Leishman 1949: 34), as also the various books on the art of memory – see Agrippa 1569: fols 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>r</sup>, *UT* (Nashe 1958: 2.299.15-16).

p. 124.50 *force*] For the possible senses in play, see *OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 7. Perhaps the likeliest is 'Power to convince or persuade' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 7c): see p. 138.23 *n.*, p. 145.49 *n.*

p. 125.1 *the Great Turke of Secretaries*] Elsewhere, Harvey uses 'secretary' to mean writer of literature generally (see p. 105.2 *n.*). 'Great Turk' perhaps means 'most powerful' or 'most splendid'. Describing the then Sultan – in a text owned by Harvey (Stern 1979: 202) – Franciscus de Billerbeg called him 'worshipped and feared of the most part of the Monarches of the world, who most presumptuously gloryeth in his letters, that he is the only governor of the world' (1584: sig. Ai<sup>v</sup>); the English commentary to the 1603 edition of Ortelius' *Theater of the worlde* states that the Ottoman Empire 'occupyeth a greate parte of the worlde' (1603: fol. 102<sup>v</sup>). The Sultan was associated with pomp and vainglory (see *3 Henry VI* IV.4.185-86).

p. 125.3 *a railing Gall...Bladder*] 'Gall' and 'bladder' could both mean kinds of pustules or blisters (*OED gall sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1, *bladder sb.* †2a). 'Bladder' could also mean someone or something inflated or empty (*OED sb.* 6), and the possibility of a reference to drinking should not be ruled out.

p. 125.5 *not a...choice*] 'Neck-verse' was literally a 'Latin verse printed in black-letter (usually the beginning of the fifty-first psalm) formerly set before one claiming benefit of clergy [. . .], by reading which he might save his neck' (*OED*). Harvey seems to use it here to mean a commonplace quotation: see p. 14.47-48 *n.*



- p. 125.8 *I longed...amendement*] See p. 128.20-21 n.
- p. 125.10 *silly*] See p. 113.39 n.
- p. 125.11 *the Supposes of Ariosto*] Ariosto's *I Suppositi*, translated into English by George Gascoigne as *The Supposes* (1566), is a comedy involving disguise which Shakespeare uses as source-material for the sub-plot of *The Taming of the Shrew* (Seronsy 1963: 16).
- p. 125.12-14 *my Prognostication...Contingents*] Brydges italicizes 'Prognostication' (1815: pt. 8.183), as if this were a separate publication of Harvey's. My only explanation is that Harvey here means *FL*, with references to such passages as p. 21.21-25, where he predicts that Nashe will continue the quarrel.
- p. 125.16-17 *the brasen...beame*] See I Samuel 17.6-7.
- p. 125.18 *thy fell...winde*] See p. 79.1 n.
- p. 125.19-20 *thy...forehead*] See p. 72.21 & n.
- p. 125.22 *Gorgons head*] The head of the Gorgon Medusa retained the power to kill or turn to stone anyone who looked at it, even after Perseus had cut it off (Lemprière).
- p. 125.22-23 *what... Sampsons lockes?*] See Judges 16.17-19.
- p. 125.28 *a cowe in a cage*] Cf. Tilley C747, 'As nimble (comely) as a cow in a cage'.
- p. 125.28-29 *Mercurie...cheese*] Cf. Tilley M1224, 'As still (mute, silent) as a mouse in a cheese'.
- p. 125.29 *a dogge in a doublet*] Cf. Tilley D452: the first instance of the phrase, from 1577, takes the form 'As seemely as [. . .] a dogge in a dublet'.
- p. 125.29 *legierdemaine*] If Harvey is using 'legerdemain' in a positive sense such as 'skill', this would appear to be unique to him (see *OED*).
- p. 125.30 *Entelechy*] See p. 33.32 n.
- p. 125.35 *a tumbler*] The pejorative force with which Harvey uses the word comes from its associations with itinerant street-performers. A.L. Beier cites a man arrested for vagrancy in Leicester in 1599 who 'uses the art (as he says) of a tumbler' as an instance of 'wandering jugglers' who 'lived on the edge of poverty' (1985: 99). Cf. also Jonson's *The New Inn* V.5.97: 'Juglers, and Gipseys, all the sorts of Canters, / And Colonies of beggars, Tumblers, Ape-Carriers' (1925-52: 6.487).
- p. 125.35 *bankrowt*] 'Bankrupt': McKerrow calls this 'a distinct Elizabethan form' (Nashe 1958: 5.210). Cf. *LG*: 'decayed and bankrout spendthrifts' (Harvey 1590b: 162).
- p. 125.35 *broker*] This could mean 'A retailer; contemptuously, Pedlar, petty dealer, monger', as well as a pimp (*OED* I †1, II †4).
- p. 125.36 *Mermaids*] Possibly Harvey means the Sirens, whom Spenser calls 'Mermayds' in *FQ* II.xii.30.2 (2001: 275).
- p. 125.37 *galiardest*] *OED*'s closest sense is 'Having a gay appearance, spruce', although all its examples are Scottish (*a., sb.*<sup>1</sup> †3). See p. 53.24-26 n.
- p. 125.42 *cowll*] See p. 75.21-22 n.
- p. 125.43 *his...vital*] *OED* defines 'the *animal* functions' as 'those of the brain and nervous system; the *vital* of the heart, lungs, etc.; and the *natural* those of nutrition and assimilation' (animal B †1).

- p. 125.44 *his alabaster necke*] Alabaster can be used as the type of pallor: hence, in *Venus and Adonis* 363, Adonis' hand, held in Venus', is compared to 'ivory in an alabaster band': in *Lucrece* 419, Tarquin, gazing on the sleeping Lucrece, admires 'Her azure veins, her alabaster skin, / Her coral lips, her snow-white dimpled chin'. See also *Richard III* IV.3.10, *Othello* V.2.4, *FQ* II.xii.77.5.
- p. 125.44-46 *whose inventive...gemme*] I cannot explain the allusion. If Harvey means that etymologically, 'sapphire' derives from 'Sappho', he appears to be wrong (*OED* suggests that the word is Hebrew or Sanskrit in origin). Batman calls the sapphire 'in colour, most like to heaven in faire wether and cleere, and is best among precious stones [. . .] called *Gemma Gemmarum* [. . .] this stone was of so great authoritie in olde time, that men held that it was most worthy stone to their God, & so it was singularly hallowed to *Apollo*' (1582: fol. 266<sup>r-v</sup>). Elsewhere, Harvey uses 'azure' and 'sky-coloured' in relation to poetry (p. 32.4, p. 150.20), but there the allusion is specific.
- p. 125.47-48 *the flamy...Sun*] 'Pyrops', not in *OED*, seems to be a coinage of Harvey's. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II.1-2, where the palace of the Sun is described as 'bright with glittering gold and bronze that shone like fire' ('clara micante auro flammasque imitante pyropo').
- p. 125.48 *whose...adamants*] See p. 111.19-20 n.
- p. 125.50 *the renowned...Pyrrhus*] As described by Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVII.5.
- p. 125.51 – p. 126.1 *playing...enchautingly*] This is echoed in *I Parnassus* 1370, where Gullio describes himself under his mistress's window, 'playinge upon my Ivorie lute most enchantinglie' (Leishman 1949: 200).
- p. 126.5-6 *What...likenes*] The metal was named by alchemists after the god because its fluidity resembled his swift movement (see *The Alchemist* II.5.31-32). In *HWY*, Nashe closes the epistle 'To all Christian Readers' by commending himself to 'come aloft sprightly *Mercury*, that hath [. . .] wings at his heeles [. . .] since now I have more use of him than Alchumists' (1958: 3.23.33-24.4).
- p. 126.7 *iron Vulcan*] So called because he was 'Jupiters smith' (Cooper).
- p. 126.7 *Daedalus*] Here as below (p. 127.33, p. 150.45), he seems to be the archetypal fine workman, Daedalus having 'made the place in Crete, called *Labyrinthus*' (Cooper). *OED*'s one instance of the word (meaning someone who attempts flight) is from 1713, but Spenser uses 'dædale' to mean 'skilful' in *FQ* III Proem 2.4.
- p. 126.9-10 *the worthiest...heroicall*] *OED* defines the 'heroic age' as 'that during which the ancient heroes existed; the period of Grecian history preceding the return from Troy' (heroic A 2).
- p. 126.11 *arreared*] See p. 74.6 n.
- p. 126.12 *Idees*] See p. 32.27 n.
- p. 126.13 *the parturient mountaine*] See p. 16.8 n.
- p. 126.16 *Constantinople...Turke*] Describing the invasion of Constantinople in 1453, Commynes says 'It was a shame for all Christendome to suffer the towne so to be lost' (1596: 242). When, in *Henry V* V.2.205-07, the King proposes to Princess Katherine that they beget 'a boy [. . .] that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard', John Dover Wilson comments, 'To drive the Turk from Constantinople was, professedly, the dearest wish of all sixteenth-century Christian princes' (quoted Shakespeare 1995a: 359 n.).

- p. 126.16 *Babylon...Sophi*] The site of the ancient city was on the Euphrates, about two hundred and fifty miles from its mouth; the Medo-Persian Empire was founded there in 586 B.C. (Sugden).
- p. 126.21-22 *I perceive...land of Promise*] The slightly blasphemous nature of Harvey's pun was not lost on Nashe (1958: 3.126.21-25).
- p. 126.23-24 *lesse...obscurity*] Cf. Isaiah 40.4: 'All valleyes shalbe exalted, and every mountayne and hyl layde lowe'.
- p. 126.26 *S. Fame...Dragon*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 3.126-27).
- p. 126.27 *the weather was cold*] See p. 119.47 *n*.
- p. 126.29 *galiarde*] See p. 53.24-26 *n*.
- p. 126.29-31 *that flowteth...Letters*] See p. 19.20 *n*.
- p. 126.31-32 *as he...Sonnets*] See p. 33.32 & *n*. In French, Harvey might have come across the word in Rabelais. It appears as the name of the 'Kingdom of the Quintessence' which Pantagruel and his companions find in Book V Chapter 19, where the men-at-arms who encounter them tell them the name 'means perfection, of course' (Rabelais 1955: 645).
- p. 126.32-33 *The wise Priest...divell it was*] I cannot trace the allusion, but stories about the ignorance of the pre-Reformation clergy are common in the Elizabethan era, as in the priest who obstinately stuck to reading 'quod in ore mumpsimus' in the Mass (see Tilley M1314).
- p. 126.37 *quicker then quicksilver*] See p. 50.20 *n*.
- p. 126.37 *the lively spring*] See p. 100.16 *n*.
- p. 126.37 *Vestall fier*] i.e. eternal fire. In *Comedy of Errors* IV.4.72, Ephesian Dromio calls Luce 'the kitchen-vestal'; Johnson interpreted this 'her charge being, like that of the vestal virgins, to keep the fire burning' (Shakespeare 1962a: 83).
- p. 126.37-38 *that...loco*] See Lucan, *The Civil War* I.144-45: Caesar's 'energy could never rest' (1928: 13).
- p. 126.41 *a feather*] Something slight: cf. Tilley F150, F158, F160.
- p. 126.42 *it is...liking*] This is not in Tilley or Smith, although Henry Peacham in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622) comments on *LS*, 'there is no booke so bad, even [. . .] *Nashes* herring, but some commoditie may be gotten by it' (quoted Nashe 1958: 5.154).
- p. 126.44-45 *a Royall...tounes*] The large number of foreign merchants meeting there is described by Dekker in *Nevves from Hell*: 'the *Exchaunge*, where at every step a man is put in minde of Babell, there is such a confusion of languages' (1606: sig. B3<sup>r</sup>). See also *The Blacke Rod: and the VVhite Rod* (Dekker 1630: sig. A2<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 126.46 *Iarchas*] The Indian sage encountered by Apollonius of Tyana, who claimed omniscience (Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* III.XVIII).
- p. 126.46 *Sysarion*] The only similar name in *OCD* or Lemprière is 'Susarion', a Greek poet reputed to be the founder of comedy, but this would not fit Harvey's context.
- p. 126.46-47 *Adam...Omniscians*] Exegetical tradition held that Adam was not less but more knowledgeable before eating the apple. Created in innocence, his superhuman prelapsarian knowledge was thought by some commentators to include natural history (illustrated by his naming of the animals according to their kinds), astronomy, and knowledge of the Trinity and the angels (see

- Williams 1948: 81-84). For the association of Solomon with astrology, 'natural magic' and cabbala, see p. 94.8-9 n. In *The Alchemist* II.1.81-83, Mammon mentions alchemical works attributed to Adam and Solomon (Jonson 1925-52: 5.316).
- p. 127.1-2 *for the...stile*] 'Simply for the exercise of my style'. See p. 11.15 n.
- p. 127.2 *with a facility*] 'Easily': cf. p. 55.41 n., p. 83.8 n.
- p. 127.3 *that may*] 'That which may': see Abbott 1870: 164-67.
- p. 127.4 *the workes...finger*] *OED* gives examples of 'finger' 'Viewed as "the instrument of work" (J.); esp. (after Heb. use) as attributed to God' (*sb.* I 2b).
- p. 127.8 *what...weedes?*] Cf. Tilley G37: 'Every garden has its weeds'.
- p. 127.9 *what field...cockle?*] See p. 40.12-13 n.
- p. 127.9 *what ponde...frogges?*] Nashe states that those who look for satire in his work which is not there 'angle for frogs in a cleare fountaine' (1958: 1.261.9). Cf. Tilley F767 ('You fish fair and catch a frog').
- p. 127.14 *accleere*] See p. 74.1 n.
- p. 127.16-17 *Virgill...Ennius*] Cooper calls Ennius 'An olde Latine poet [. . .] the style that he used was veray auncient and homely'. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil borrows and adapts many phrases from Ennius: see Bowra 1929. Cf. Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*: 'The comment Virgil made when he was reading Ennius is applicable also to Origen. When asked by someone what he was doing, Virgil replied, "I am looking for gold in a dung-heap"' (2004: 114).
- p. 127.18-19 *Tully...canvas*] For the rhetorical antecedents whom Cicero took as his models, see Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, XXIV.
- p. 127.19 *as course, as canvas*] See p. 124.25 n.
- p. 127.21 *precious...Esop*] Harvey is alluding to the first of Aesop's fables, in which a cockerel, finding a jewel on a dunghill, declares 'ne good I may doo thee ne thou to me'; this is expounded, 'by the Cock is understand the foole, which careth not for sapience ne wisdom. Like as the Cocke by the precious stone, and by this stone is understand this present booke' (1585: fol. 35<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 127.22 *Humfrey Cole*] Harvey in his marginalia praises 'old Humfrie Cole' as one of 'mie mechanical mathematicians'; Moore Smith cites the 'aduertisement to the Reader' in E. Worsop's *Discoverie of...errours* (1582): 'Scales, compasses, and sundry sorts of Geometricall instruments in mettall, are to be had in the house of Humfrey Cole, neere unto the North dore of Paules' (1913: 212.1-2, 298).
- p. 127.22-23 *Matthew...wright*] Baker (1529/30-1613), described by James McDermott as 'probably the most gifted English shipwright of his age', built Martin Frobisher's flagship for his transatlantic voyages (*ODNB*).
- p. 127.23 *John Shute*] Shute (d. 1563) was the author of *The first and chief groundes of architecture used in all the auncient and famous monymentes* (1563); little is known about his life (*ODNB*).
- p. 127.23 *Robert Norman a Navigatour*] See p. 67.41-42 n.
- p. 127.23-24 *William Bourne a Gunner*] See p. 104.48 n.
- p. 127.24 *John...Chimist*] See p. 62.20-22 & n.

- p. 127.28-30 *Even...wife*] Lemprière says of Vulcan, 'He demanded Minerva from Jupiter, who had promised him in marriage whatever goddess he should choose, and when she refused his addresses, he offered her violence'.
- p. 127.31 *Digges*] See p. 68.19 *n*.
- p. 127.31 *Harriot*] Thomas Harriot (1560?-1621). None of his mathematical works were published in his lifetime, although he created astronomical instruments and navigational tables, the latter for Raleigh, whose expedition to Virginia (see p. 67.30-31 *n*.) he accompanied (*ODNB*). He was perhaps best known to his contemporaries for *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), which by 1593 had gone through two editions in English, as well as French, Latin and German editions (*STC* 12785-86).
- p. 127.31 *Dee*] R. Julian Roberts calls mathematics John Dee's 'most visible interest', and his 'Mathematicall praeface' to Henry Billingsley's *Elements of Geometrie* (1570) the 'most influential' of all his printed works. He lectured on Euclid at Rheims, and rejected offers to teach mathematics at Paris and Oxford, although he taught private pupils including Digges (*ODNB*).
- p. 127.33 *engineer*] Brydges reads 'engineer' (1815: pt. 8.188). See p. 50.26 *n*.
- p. 127.33 *Daedalist*] See p. 126.7 & *n*.
- p. 127.33 *Vulcanist*] Possibly Harvey means a craftsman of some kind (see p. 93.20 *n*.).
- p. 127.39 *Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe*] Here as on p. 99.2, Harvey groups the three historians together, although Rosenberg in her account of Grafton and Stow's bitter rivalry distinguishes between Stow's antiquarian research and Grafton's uncritical compilation of others' materials (1955: 66-80). Privately, Harvey seems to have had an equally low opinion of all three: see p. 55.29-30 *n*.
- p. 127.39 *Heywood*] Harvey must mean John Heywood (see p. 134.10 *n*.); Thomas Heywood's first work was not published until 1594 (*ODNB*). John's son, Jasper (1535-98), published translations of Seneca 1559-61, but by 1562 had left England for Rome to become a Jesuit, devoting the rest of his life to missionary work (*ODNB*).
- p. 127.39 *Tusser*] See p. 117.27 *n*.
- p. 127.39 *Gowge*] Brydges (1815: pt. 8.232) identifies this as Barnabe Googe (1540-94), translator of Marcellus Palingenius' *Zodiacus vitae* (1560) and Conrad Heresbach's *Four Bookes of Husbandry* (1577) (*ODNB*); Harvey in some marginalia praises the man who has translated 'learned Palingenius' into English (1913: 231.32).
- p. 127.39 *Gascoigne*] See p. 6.38 *n*.
- p. 127.40 *Churchyard*] See p. 16.13 *n*.
- p. 127.40 *Floide*] Brydges identifies this as 'Lodovick Lloyd, Serjeant at Arms to Queen Elizabeth' (1815: pt. 8.232); Harvey's context seems to require a writer. In his copy of Humfrey Lluyd's *Breuiary of Britayne* (1573), Harvey calls the author 'M<sup>r</sup> Floyd, a rare antiquarie' (1913: 164.21).
- p. 127.40 *Ritch*] Barnaby Rich (1542-1617) saw military service in Ireland under both Earls of Essex, which he mined for his written works. Willy Maley describes his reputation as that of 'a prolific and popular writer [. . .] who wrote for a rude and untutored readership' (*ODNB*).
- p. 127.40 *Whetstone*] George Whetstone (d. 1587) is best remembered for *Promos and Cassandra*, used by Shakespeare as the source material for *Measure for Measure*. This appeared first as a two-

part play in 1578 and then, as a prose narrative, in *An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses* (1582) (ODNB).

p. 127.40 *Munday*] Anthony Munday (1560?-1633), prolific pamphleteer, translator and playwright (ODNB).

p. 127.40 *Stanyhurst*] See p. 10.45 n.

p. 127.40 *Fraunce*] See p. 22.7 n.

p. 127.41 *Watson*] See p. 22.7 n. Harvey's grouping of him with Stanyhurst and Fraunce suggests that this is the younger Watson.

p. 127.41 *Kiffin*] Maurice Kyffin (1555?-1598) wrote a poem, *The Blessednes of Brytaine* (1587) and a translation of Terence's *Andria* (1588), as well as several works in Welsh. He seems to have been a friend of Spenser's (ODNB).

p. 127.41 *Warner*] Brydges identifies this as 'WILLIAM WARNER, author of *Albion's England*, 1586' (1815: pt. 8.232); *Albion's England*, a verse chronicle beginning with Noah's flood, had gone through three editions by 1593, and expanded to reach the reign of Elizabeth (ODNB). In some marginalia in his copy of Chaucer, Harvey writes 'The Earle of Essex much commendes Albions England: and not unworthily' (1913: 232.18).

p. 127.41 *Daniell*] See p. 22.7-8 n.

p. 127.44-45 *For...Confuters*] The chiefest of Cartwright's confuters was Whitgift. Nashe, responding in *HWY*, amputates the quotation after 'Cartwright' (1958: 3.138.20-21), and Brydges reads a semi-colon after 'Cartwright' (1815: pt. 8.188), whereas Harvey is perhaps trying to emphasize that he gives them equal credit (see p. 26.18 & n.). Brydges' punctuation would make Cartwright's chief confuter plural, but this does not have to be the case (see p. 123.49 n. for similar syntax).

p. 127.46 *Reinolds*] Perhaps the most likely candidate is John Rainolds (1549-1607), who held a specially-created lectureship in controversial theology at Oxford (ODNB). His only English work to have been published by 1593 was *Symme of the conference betwene Iohn Rainoldes and Iohn Hart* (1584), a transcript of his debates with an English Catholic (see Rosenberg 1955: 139-41 for a summary). See Ringler 1938 for his influence on vernacular prose. Rather less likely is his brother William (1544?-1594), a Jesuit controversialist. As Brydges says (1815: pt. 8.233), it is probably too early for Harvey to mean John Reinolds (1584?-1614), the Latin epigrammatist, although his exact birthdate is unknown. Richard Reynolds (1530?-1606), physician and clergyman, printed a pedagogical work, *A booke called the foundation of rhetorike* (1563) and a historical, *A Chronicle of all the noble emperours of the Romaines* (1571), but he appears not to have been a major figure (ODNB). None of these can be the 'Dr. Reynolds, of Christ's College, Cambridge', whom Brydges tentatively proposes.

p. 127.46 *Stubbes*] See p. 124.39 n. Brydges hedges his bets between this being Philip or John Stubbes, Puritan author of *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (1815: pt. 8.232), although public praise of the latter's writings would have been very bold indeed.

p. 127.46 *Mulcaster*] Richard Mulcaster (1531/2-1611), educator, author and minister. He was headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School in London from 1561 to 1586, where one of his famous pupils was Spenser. He wrote two educational treatises, *Positions Concerning the Training up of*

*Children* and *The First Part of the Elementarie*: in the latter he defends his use of the vernacular as a literary language (ODNB). Harvey appears to have studied *Positions*, which he quotes in his marginalia several times (1913: 147.10-12, 182.5-7, 185.2-3, 187.22).

- p. 127.46 Norton] Brydges comments, 'Thomas Norton was the celebrated coadjutor of Lord Buckhurst, author of *Gorboduc*, &c.' (1815: pt. 8.233). In addition to the play, Norton (1530/32-1584) also produced several translations (including the Psalms and Calvin's *Institutiones*) and pamphlets of a distinctly if moderately Protestant nature (ODNB).
- p. 127.47 Lambert] Brydges suggests that this is 'William Lambert, the Kentish antiquary and topographer' (1815: pt. 8.233). Lambarde (as his name is also spelt) (1536-1601) was a member of Archbishop Parker's antiquarian circle. His *Archaeionomia* (1568) was one of the first books to print Old English: J.D. Alsop calls it 'a pioneering collection and paraphrase in Latin of Anglo-Saxon laws and treaties, together with laws of Edward the Confessor and William I' (ODNB).
- p. 127.47 the Lord Henry Howarde] Brydges (1815: pt. 8.233) identifies this as the Earl of Northampton (1540-1614): Pauline Croft states that his writings of the 1580s 'marked him out as a nobleman of extensive learning and high culture' (ODNB), and Nashe cites his 'famous *defensive against supposed Prophecies*' in defence of his having written of the occult in *PP* (1958: 1.308.34). Harvey's annotations in his own copy of Howard's 1583 text suggest enmity between himself and the Earl, perhaps because the *Defensive* was, or was thought to be, an attack on Richard Harvey's *Astrological Discourse*, printed earlier that year (Stern 1979: 71-73). Alternatively, Harvey might mean the Earl of Surrey (1516/17-1547), the poet and soldier (ODNB).
- p. 127.49 the Resolution] Smith suggests that this is 'the poem of which the first part, entitled *The Mirrour of Mans Miserie*, was printed by Edward Allde in 1584' (1904: 2.442). Another possibility is Edmund Bunny's *A Book of Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution* (1584). This was a Protestant version of the Jesuit Robert Parsons's 1582 *Book of Resolution* (ODNB). When Parsons responded angrily in an annotated 1585 edition of his work, Bunny in 1589 issued *A Briefe Answer, vnto those idle and friuolous quarrels of R.P. against the late edition of the Resolution* (STC 4088). It would be considerably more politic of Harvey to praise Bunny's text, which ran to twenty-four editions, than Parsons's, printed in Rouen (ODNB), although he does pair whichever 'Resolution' he refers to with a Catholic text (see below).
- p. 127.49 Mary Magdalens funerall teares] Robert Southwell's *Marie Magdalens funeral teares* was printed by John Wolfe for G. Cawood in 1591 (STC 22950): his name does not appear on it (see p. 156.51 – p. 157.1).
- p. 128.3-5 the Apology...Provinciall] *An Apologie for Sundrie Proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall* was printed by the deputies of Christopher Barker in 1591; *An Answer to the two fyrst and principall Treatises of a certaine factious Libell, put foorth latelie...under the title of An Abstract of certeine Acts of Parlement* was printed for Thomas Chard in 1584. Both have been attributed to Richard Cosin (STC 5820, 5819.5). Harvey's annotated copies of both are extant; Stern notes that Cosin was Dean of the Arches (see p. 102.43 n.) when Harvey practised there (1979: 207-08). Both responded to puritan criticism of the Church of England (ODNB art. Cosin).
- p. 128.5-6 two...Treatises] For the pun, see p. 137.46-47 & n.

- p. 128.8 *Doctour...honour*] The emphasis is perhaps because Nashe had interpreted the mention of Whitgift in *FL* as derogatory (see p. 26.18 *n.*), because of Harvey's suspected involvement in the Marprelate tracts (see p. 79.19-20), or because of his avowed enmity to Andrew Perne (for whose close friendship with Whitgift see p. 134.13-23 *n.*).
- p. 128.8-9 *Doctour Hutton*] Perhaps Matthew Hutton (1529?-1606), made Bishop of Durham in 1589 (*ODNB*). Brydges (1815: pt. 8.233) identifies this as Leonard Hutten (1556/7-1632), clergyman and antiquary, but he did not receive his DD until 1600 (*ODNB*).
- p. 128.9 *Doctour Young*] See p. 63.34 *n.*
- p. 128.9 *Doctour Chaderton*] Brydges sees both this and the 'M. Chaderton' of p. 128.12 as 'DR. LAWRENCE CHADDERTON, a calvinistic disputant' (1815: pt. 8.233). 'Doctour Chaderton' is probably William Chaderton (d. 1608), Bishop of Chester; Laurence (1536?-1640), Master of the distinctly evangelical Emmanuel College in Cambridge and a famous preacher, did not gain his DD until 1611 (*ODNB*).
- p. 128.10 *M. Curtes*] Richard Curteys (1532?-1582), consecrated Bishop of Chichester in 1570; according to Roger B. Manning, he was 'regarded as an eloquent preacher' (*ODNB*).
- p. 128.10 *M. Wickam*] William Wickham or Wykeham (1539-95), consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1584 (*ODNB*).
- p. 128.10 *M. Drant*] See p. 67.21 *n.*
- p. 128.10 *M. Deering*] See p. 91.48 *n.*
- p. 128.10-11 *Doctor Still*] John Still (1544?-1608), Bishop of Bath and Wells, was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, when Harvey was an undergraduate there (*ODNB*); in a 1579 letter to Leicester, Harvey calls him 'My oulde Tutor, and continuall frende' (Stern 1979: 50).
- p. 128.11 *Doctor Underhill*] John Underhill (1544/5-1592), Bishop of Oxford, like Harvey a client of Leicester's (*ODNB*).
- p. 128.11 *Doctor Matthew*] Brydges identifies this as 'DR. TOBIE MATTHEW' (1815: pt. 8.233); he was installed as Dean of Durham in 1583 (*ODNB*).
- p. 128.11 *M. Lawherne*] Brydges comments, 'Of M. LAWHERNE I know nothing' (1815: pt. 8.234), and he does not appear to have an *ODNB* entry.
- p. 128.11-12 *M. Doove*] See p. 41.9 *n.*
- p. 128.12 *M. Andrewes*] See p. 41.6 *n.*
- p. 128.12 *M. Smith*] Brydges comments, 'The name is so common that it is difficult to identify the person alluded to by this general designation' (1815: pt. 8.234).
- p. 128.13 *other*] i.e. 'others': see p. 2.22 *n.*
- p. 128.14 *nihil...beatum*] Cf. Horace, *Odes* II.xvi.27-28 ('nihil est ab omni parte beatum'). Bennett translates 'Nothing is happy altogether' (Horace 1914: 151); 'beatus' might also mean 'fortunate', which is closer to Harvey's context.
- p. 128.16 *Doctour Cooper*] Brydges identifies this as Thomas Cooper (1815: pt. 8.234): see p. 79.28-31 *n.*
- p. 128.16 *Doctour Humfry*] See p. 87.5-7 *n.*



- p. 128.16 *Doctour Fletcher*] Brydges (1815: pt. 8.234) identifies this as Richard Fletcher (1544/5-1596), made Bishop of Bristol in 1589, and described by Brett Usher as ‘one of the most successful preachers of his day’ (*ODNB*).
- p. 128.19 *despiseth...abhorred*] Perhaps the distinction is best explained by Harvey using ‘despise’ in the sense of ‘To exhibit contempt for; to treat with contempt in word or action’ (*OED* v. †3).
- p. 128.20-21 *interteineth...amendment*] Cf. the phrase ‘Commend it, or amend it’, which appears on the title-page of *Euphues and his England* (1580). It reappears in ‘The Epistle Dedicatory’ (‘if there be any so nice, whom nothing can please, if he will not commend it, let him amend it’), and after Euphues’ description of Elizabeth: ‘In the meane season I say as *Zeuxis* did when he had drawn the picture of *Atalanta*, more wil envie me then imitate me, and not commende it though they cannot amende it’ (Lyly 1902: 2.1, 6.21, 205.21). As Bond says (Lyly 1902: 2.531), the story appears in Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV.63, where Zeuxis writes the words in verse under his painting of an athlete.
- p. 128.26-27 *True...quintessences*] See p. 58.25 n.
- p. 128.32 *Lullius*] See p. 59.16 n.
- p. 128.32 *Paracelsus*] See p. 52.5 n.
- p. 128.33 *peece of Alchimy*] See p. 108.4 & n. *OED* gives examples of ‘piece’ applied to immaterial or abstract things, including ‘a person in whom some quality is exemplified or realized’ (*sb.* 3e, 8b, †c).
- p. 128.34 *the Mandrake of scurrility*] *OED* cites this as a figurative use of ‘mandrake’ in the sense of ‘a noisome growth’ (1 †b). The plant is poisonous: Batman says of the ‘mandragora’ that it ‘must be warily used: for it slayeth if men take much therof’ (1582: fol. 305<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 128.34 *the myrrhe of curtesie*] Myrrh could be used medicinally: Batman says that ‘By vertue thereof sinews and other members of feeling be comforted [. . .] By the good smell thereof spirits of feeling be restored & comforted’ (1582: fol. 304<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 128.34-35 *the saffron of temperance*] According to Batman, the plant ‘is hot and drye in the first degree, and temperate in his qualitie, and therefore it is comfortative’; it was thought to prevent drunkenness and cure ‘the biting of serpents and of Spiders, and stinging of Scorpions’ (1582: fol. 286<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 128.47-48 *Take heede...grasse*] Cf. Tilley S585.
- p. 128.48 *padd in the straw*] See Tilley P9, ‘There is a pad in the straw’. Cf. p. 23.29 n.
- p. 128.48 *a Martin Guerra*] An impostor. See p. 115.29 n.
- p. 128.49 *a browne-bill*] A weapon: this could mean ‘A kind of halberd [. . .] formerly used by foot-soldiers and watchmen’ (*OED*).
- p. 128.49 *a wheelbarrow*] Of all the proverbial phrases cited by *OED*, the most relevant seems to be ‘as drunk as a wheelbarrow’ (*OED* wheelbarrow c).
- p. 128.49 *a kight*] Brydges reads ‘kite’ (1815: pt. 8.190). See p. 122.18 n.
- p. 128.49 *H.N. an O.K.*] See p. 89.24 n. Following Nashe’s repetition of this phrase, as if meaningless, in *HWY*, McKerrow comments ‘I cannot interpret this’ (1958: 3.48.9, 4.326).
- p. 128.51 – p. 129.1 *singular...remarkable*] Perhaps the thought was commonplace. Cf. *A Myrror for Martinists*: ‘Schismes, innovations, and fantasticall devices (of the which great learned men are

many times the authors)' (T.T. 1590: 4). The four 'Ecclesiasticall examples' which the author gives are Nestorius, Photinus, Appollinar and Origen, explaining their gifts and the damage they caused to the Church, before commenting, 'But what neede wee seeke examples so farre of, when as at home daily we have too many of these before our eies', citing 'Anabaptisticall *Brownists*', 'libertine *Family-lovists*' and 'malecontent *Martinists*' (T.T. 1590: 7).

p. 129.7 *Doctor...mirabilis*] Moore Smith identifies this as 'Petrus Gregorius (Tholosanus), author of *Syntaxe on artis mirabilis* [tomus, &c.], in quo omnium scientiarum et atrium tradita est epitome, Lugd, 1581' (Harvey 1913: 286). See p. 58.19-21 n.

p. 129.7 *Politians Panepistemon*] Angelo Poliziano (1454-94), poet and humanist, gave in 1490 a lecture on Aristotle called *Panepistemon* (Wolters 1987: 463), whose title suggests an inclusive scope of knowledge.

p. 129.7-8 *He...indeede*] *OED* cites this as an instance of 'old soaker' in the sense of 'An old hand at anything; an old stager', adding 'Perh. originally with allusion to drinking [. . .], but this does not appear in the quotations' (3a). It is as a drinker that Harvey seems to characterize Perne in *3PL*: 'a morning bookeworm, an afternoone maltworm' (Spenser 1912: 622).

p. 129.9 *lusty curled pates*] Harvey seems to mean fashionably-shorn young men. Cf. *Henry V* V.2.159: 'a straight back will stoop, a black beard will turn white, a curled pate will grow bald [. . .]'.  
p. 129.10 *pay-home*] See p. 79.36 n.

p. 129.15 *lullaby...sweetly*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.682 ff.  
p. 129.21 *Agathocles*] See p. 16.23 n.

p. 129.22 *other*] i.e. 'others': see p. 2.22 n.

p. 129.28 *to feele his pulse*] 'To feel the pulse of' could mean 'to try to discover the sentiments, intentions, drift, etc., of; to "sound"' (*OED* pulse sb.<sup>1</sup> 2b).

p. 129.31-32 *intelligencer*] Harvey seems to have used this in a sense peculiar to him (see p. 41.7 n.).  
p. 129.32 *in a state*] 'In the state': see p. 49.38 n.

p. 129.34 *Tiberius*] Harvey in some marginalia praises his gift for deceit: 'A brave quality, and most subtle property of the Emperour Tiberius: who altogether fayned to do that, w<sup>ch</sup> he meant not to do' (1913: 143.13). Cf. Bacon's 'Of Death' (1972: 7).

p. 129.34-36 *the master...kingdome*] See p. 62.3-4 n. Commynes intermittently gives a portrait of Louis XI, more diplomatically worded than Harvey's: 'the wisest Prince in winding himself out of trouble and adversitie, [. . .] and the greatest traveller to win a man that might do him service or harme that ever I knew [. . .] such was his disposition, that he could hardly away with peace or quietnes. In his talke he spared no man, neither absent nor present, save such as he feared, which were many, for naturally he was very fearefull'; 'never man feared death more than he, nor sought so many waies to avoide it'; 'never saw I him free from toile of body and trouble of minde' (1596: 33, 235, 238).

p. 129.36 *the Foxes satchell*] *OED* cites this as a figurative instance of the word literally meaning 'A small bag; esp. a bag for carrying schoolbooks' (sb. 1b). Several of the instances it cites suggest that this was used to mean a bag in which money was carried: cf. p. 134.23.

p. 129.37 *Aesops*] Foxes feature in too many of Aesop's fables to identify a specific one here. Cf. p. 107.21 & n.: perhaps Harvey means the fox as proverbial symbol of cunning.

- p. 129.37 *Archilochus Fox*] Topsell, describing the iconography of foxes, says ‘many writers have devised divers witty inventions and fables of Foxes, under them to expresse vices of the world, as when they set a Foxe in a Friers weed, preaching to a sort of Hens and Geese, following the fixion of *Archilochus Fox*, to signifie how irreligious pastors in holy habittes beguile the simple with subtilty’ (1607: 228).
- p. 129.37 *Lysanders Fox*] The Spartan general justified his use of underhand tactics by saying ‘where the lion’s skin will not reach, it must be patched out with the fox’s’ (Plutarch, *Life of Lysander*, VII.4). This became proverbial: see Tilley L319 (‘If the lion’s skin cannot the fox’s shall’).
- p. 129.38 *Aristomenes Fox*] Cooper calls Aristomenes ‘A most just capitaine of Athens [. . .] subtile and craftie’. Topsell recounts a story that, when he ‘was taken by the *Lacædemonians*, and included into a rocke or quarey of stones, he escaped out of their handes, by digging another passage out of it then where he was put in; saying, that it was a shame for a man to have lesse wit then a fox’ (Topsell 1607: 223).
- p. 129.38 *Pisistratus Fox*] Pisistratus was an Athenian nobleman who made himself dictator: Lemprière cites, as evidence of his ‘duplicity and artful behaviour’, his wounding himself and claiming that his enemies had tried to assassinate him, and hiring a woman to impersonate Minerva and endorse his regime.
- p. 129.38 *Ulysses Fox*] See p. 16.23 n.
- p. 129.38 *Chirons Fox*] Chiron is ‘the name of a man, who did first finde the vertues of herbes: He taught Aesculapius phisicke, Apollo to harpe, & Hercules astronomie’ (Cooper). According to Lemprière, he was a centaur.
- p. 129.38 *Proteus owne Fox*] The sea god was proverbial for shape-shifting (see Tilley S285). There is no mention in Homer or Ovid of the fox being one of the forms assumed by him (Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.435-61; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII.732-37): Harvey’s meaning is probably to associate him with cunning, as in 3 *Henry VI* III.2.192 Gloucester does when, boasting of his skill in deceit, he claims that he can ‘change shapes with Proteus for advantages’.
- p. 129.39 *play...hole*] This was a children’s game (see *OED* fox sb. III 16d).
- p. 129.39 *Stephen Gardiners Fox*] Stephen Gardiner (1495?-1555), cleric and administrator, was Bishop of Winchester and Privy Councillor in the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary Tudor, spending most of Edward VI’s reign in prison. As Lord Chancellor 1553-55, he was a key figure in the Marian regime’s attempt to restore Catholicism (*ODNB*). In the narrative of Elizabeth’s captivity under Mary in *Acts and Monuments*, Gardiner features as the chief villain, scheming to have the princess executed (Foxe 1837-41: 8.600-25 *passim*), similarly playing this role in Thomas Heywood’s play *If you know not me, you know no bodie* (1605), which uses Foxe as source material. Notwithstanding this, he was very much the kind of scholar-statesman admired by Harvey, witness Harvey’s marginalia in his copy of Florio’s *First Fruites*, where he notes that Gardiner was ‘of manie surnamed the Foxe’ and ‘reputed singularly wise, politique, & learned: especially in Lawe, and matters of state’ (quoted Stern 1979: 154-55).
- p. 129.40 *Macchiavels Fox*] Unless Harvey means Machiavelli’s emphasis on cunning generally, perhaps he has in mind this passage in Chapter XVIII of *The Prince*: ‘as a prince is forced to know

how to act like a beast, he must learn from the fox and the lion [. . .] one must be a fox in order to recognize traps, and a lion to frighten off wolves. Those who simply act like lions are stupid' (1999: 56).

- p. 129.42-43 *examine...himselfe*] Assuming that Harvey has Rabelais in mind (see p. 112.18-20 *n.*), perhaps he means Gargantua's tactics at the battle in La Roche-Clermault (Chapter 48), where he defeats Picrochole's army (Rabelais 1955: 142-44).
- p. 129.43-44 *even Gargantua...Pupill*] A gown lined with fox fur was a sign of status – cf. *GWW*: 'he boare office in his parish and sat as formally in his foxfurd gowne, as if he had been a very upright dealing Burges' (Greene 1592a: sig. B<sup>v</sup>) – and Harvey here makes it a sign of cunning. Gargantua is described in Chapter 21 of Rabelais's text as wearing 'a great long gown of coarse frieze furred with foxskins' (1955: 81). Harvey is parodying Chapter 8, where the vast amounts of cloth used to make Gargantua's clothes are detailed (Rabelais 1955: 54-56).
- p. 129.45-46 *he that...Vulpe*] Harvey's astronomical allusion is perhaps untraceable, although the sun enters Leo in July (see *FQ* VII.vii.36).
- p. 129.48 *S. Maryes Pulpet*] The site of the compulsory university sermon (Mullinger 1884: 428).
- p. 129.49 *the Fox...notorious*] See p. 10.1 *n.*
- p. 130.2-3 *and feede...Pikes*] 'Carp' could mean 'Carping speech, cavil': *OED* cites examples, punning (like Harvey) on the name of the fish (*sb.*<sup>2</sup> c). 'Pike' is both a kind of weapon and a predatory fish (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> II 2a, *sb.*<sup>4</sup>).
- p. 130.5 *so appliable...person*] See p. 82.2-4 & *n.*
- p. 130.7-8 *so curteous...honour*] The distinction has to do with social status. Cf. p. 10.21 & *n.* *OED* cites a passage in Stow's *Survey* (1598) in which men 'of worship' are broadly men 'of repute and standing', while men 'of honour' are specifically aristocrats (worship *sb.* 4a).
- p. 130.12 *he curred popular favour*] Smith 144 cites this as an instance of the phrase 'to curry favour'. Brydges reads 'curried' (1815: pt. 8.193).
- p. 130.13 *not hoat, but warme*] As Harvey uses 'hot' in the sense of 'zealous' in the 'Advertisement' (see Appendix A), it has religious associations. In the pejorative use of 'warm', perhaps there is an echo of Revelations 3.16: 'because thou art luke warme, and neyther colde nor hot, I wyl spewe thee out of my mouth'.
- p. 130.13-14 *not eger...indeede*] 'Eager' could mean literally or figuratively violent or caustic (see especially *OED* †1c, †5a), but Harvey is punning here.
- p. 130.14 *round, and sound*] Here as on p. 12.20-21, Harvey is using the language of street-cries. The phrase 'round and sound' was used by vendors of cherries (see Tuer 1885: 43) and marking-stones (Bridge 1921: 48). Possibly Harvey's use of mercantile language here is to suggest Perne's mercenary nature, as earlier he represents Greene as a hack.
- p. 130.16 *Temporiser*] *OED*'s closest sense is 'One who complies for the time, or yields to the time; a time-server, a "trimmer"' (temporizer 1). 'Temporizing' meant a specific kind of doctrinal compromise in the sixteenth century. In *FQ* V.xi.56.3, in an episode which allegorizes the apostasy of Henri IV (see Gregory 2000: 372-78), Sir Burbon defends his relinquishing of his shield by saying 'To temporize is not from truth to swerve'.

- p. 130.17 *he long...Archbishop*] OED defines 'to yawn after or for, to be eager to obtain, to long for' (OED yawn v. †3).
- p. 130.18 *the Image of both Churches*] See p. 18.48 n.
- p. 130.19 *the puling Preacher*] Nashe in *SN* mentions Perne's 'puling manner of speaking' (1958: 1.260.14).
- p. 130.20 *the gaping Oratour*] Like 'puling preacher', this perhaps refers to a peculiarity of Perne's: see p. 134.43-44.
- p. 130.21-22 *Be...Queenes*] See p. 14.37-38 n.
- p. 130.23 *Ambidexterity*] See p. 91.34 n.
- p. 130.25 *Temporise*] See p. 130.16 n.
- p. 130.25-26 *in genere...specie*] The distinction is broadly the one which Harvey makes when using 'in general' and 'in special' (p. 82.9-10, p. 153.3). *Genus* and *species* are perhaps categories in logic. See p. 18.51 n., and *The Mirrour of Madnes*: 'wee shall have *Genus & species*, taste in the scholes emonge the *Logitioners*, *Ad nauseam* like a *Tenise Bale*' (Sandford 1576: sig. Dii').
- p. 130.27 *in individuo*] 'In individual cases.'
- p. 130.28 *other*] i.e. 'others': see p. 2.22 n.
- p. 130.28-29 *ô...Vivere*] 'Oh fortunate Cato, you alone know how to live.' If Harvey is quoting, I cannot identify his source.
- p. 130.30 *ô...vivendi*] Perhaps this might be rendered, 'Oh fortunate Perne, yours only is the art of living' ('art' bringing associations with deceit).
- p. 130.31 *the barbarous...Mars*] Cooper describes how Saturn 'used to kyll and deuoure all the men children' born to him.
- p. 130.33 *Jupiter*] In associating him with guile, Harvey perhaps has in mind the disguises in which he pursued mortal women (see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI.103-14 for some of these).
- p. 130.33 *Mercury*] Cf. Harvey's praise of his cunning in his annotated copy of Foorth's *Synopsis Politica*: 'He that is Solary; seemith Joviall; and can Mercurize, or strategize at every occasion [. . .] Ovids *Metamorphoses*, nothing else, but Mercuries pageants, where Jupiter, and Apollo do everywhere Mercurize for lyfe'. He cites an anecdote illustrating 'Mercuries timely dexterity, and agility: who lying yet an Infant in his Cradle, and spying Apollos back towards him, then in talk with his Moother; suddainly whiped him upp, and privily stealing away certain of Apollos Arrowes owt of his quiver, nymbely conveyed himself again into his swadling clothes [. . .] A lively quickfingerid, and quickfootid slave from his Moothers lapp' (1913: 193.18-194.5).
- p. 130.35-36 *he better...himsel[e]*] Vertumnus was god of the spring and of orchards (Lemprière): falling in love with the nymph Pomona, he assumed a variety of shapes to woo her (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XIV.641-771).
- p. 130.36 *his Councels, Oracles*] Perhaps Harvey is comparing Perne to Ahithophel, the type of the schemer: see p. 115.8-11 n.
- p. 130.36-37 *his intentions...Labyrinth*] Perhaps Harvey simply means 'were closely hidden'. The half-human son of Pasiphaë Queen of Crete, who had 'companie with a bulle', was 'inclosed in the place called *Labyrinthus*' (Cooper).

- p. 130.37 *the Stratagemes of Fabius*] See p. 16.22 n.
- p. 130.38 *the wellcome of Circe*] See Homer, *Odyssey*, 10.203-44. Circe enchants Ulysses' companions by her singing and welcomes them by giving them food (in which are the drugs which turn them into swine).
- p. 130.39-40 *those....saved*] See Pliny, *Natural History*, VII.16. (The saving of things by destroying them appears to be a flourish of Harvey's.) 'Forspeak' here seems to mean 'curse'. *OED* defines one sense as 'Bewitch, charm' (1), and from the examples cited, this seems to have had the literal meaning of 'perform magic on'. See, for instance, Scot's *Discouerie*: 'witches [. . .] saie they have made a reall bargaine with the divell, killed a cow, bewitched butter, infeeble a child, forespoken hir neighbour, &c.' (1584: 58); Nashe in *HWY* calls Harvey 'the most fore-spoken and unfortunate under heaven' (1958: 3.49.21).
- p. 130.40-41 *I have....sugar-worke*] In *The Honorable Entertainement gieuen to the Queens Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham* (1591), there is a long list of different animals and birds, real and mythical, made 'in sugar-worke' for a banquet given for Elizabeth I (Lyly 1902: 1.449).
- p. 130.42 *standing dish*] This meant 'one that appears each day or at every meal' (*OED* dish sb. I 2b).
- p. 130.45-46 *go....recknings*] See p. 4.22-23 n.
- p. 130.47 *practitioner*] Given Harvey's love of wordplay, and his presentation of Perne, it may be relevant that one of the meanings of this word is 'schemer, plotter, conspirator' (*OED* †5).
- p. 130.49-50 *his affections....Pegasus*] See p. 91.37-38 n.
- p. 130.51 *Anaxarchus*] When the philosopher was ordered to be pounded with iron hammers by the tyrant Nicocreon, he 'bore this with composure' (Lemprière).
- p. 131.1-4 *Were he....depraved*] For an idea of the sort of thing that contemporary Londoners used to do in gutters, see Jonson's scatological mock-heroic poem 'On the Famous Voyage' (1975: 77-84).
- p. 131.7 *for the....floorished*] Perne took his BA in 1539, dying in 1589 (*ODNB*).
- p. 131.8-13 I am assuming that, in comparing Perne to various saints, Harvey's intention is to associate him with Catholicism, although the individual saints are cited mainly for puns on their names.
- p. 131.8-9 *For....himselfe*] *CE* lists two saints of this name. One was Pope 418-22; the other was an Englishman named Winfrid or Winfrith (martyred 755) who converted large parts of Germany. His name was either adopted by him on entering the Benedictine order, or given to him by Pope Gregory II on his consecration as Bishop. Harvey's pun notwithstanding, it derives either from *bonum facere* ('to do good') or *bonum fatum* ('good destiny').
- p. 131.8 *Canonical*] Both 'authoritative; orthodox, accepted; standard' and 'Of or belonging to an ecclesiastical chapter' (*OED* A 4, 7).
- p. 131.9 *for his fayre....Benedict*] In *The Golden Legend*, we are told 'Benet is said because he blessed much people, or else because he had many benedictions in this life. Or forasmuch as he deserved for to have blessings and benedictions perpetual' (Voragine 1900: 3.80). Harvey seems to have in mind specious, flattering speech.
- p. 131.10 *S. Eulaly*] St. Eulalia is believed to have been martyred c. 304 A.D., but reliable details of her life are scarce (*ODS*). Etymologically, her name means 'good speech'.

- p. 131.10 *for...Hillary*] In *The Golden Legend*, we are told that the etymology of the saint's name comes 'of joyousness, for he was joyous in the service of God' (Voragine 1900: 2.213). Hall makes the same pun as Harvey in *Virgidemiarum* V.i.34 (1949: 76).
- p. 131.10-11 *for his...Servatius*] The closest name in *ODS* is St. Serf or Servanus, *fl.* 6th century. See p. 114.22 & *n.*
- p. 131.11 *for his...Martir*] In *The Golden Legend*'s life of St. Vincent, we are told 'Vincent is as much to say as burning vices [. . .] for he [. . .] vanquished the burnings of torments by stedfast endurance'; the *Legend* details his torture and martyrdom (Voragine 1900: 2.252-53, 254-56).
- p. 131.11-12 *for his...Augustine*] See p. 52.21-22.
- p. 131.12 *for his...Bernard*] See p. 52.22 *n.*
- p. 131.12-13 *for his preaching...Fox*] See p. 129.37 *n.* For Francis's preaching to birds, see *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 5.225).
- p. 131.13 *for his praying...Publicane*] For the reasons why these two are contrasted, see p. 101.7-8 *n.*, p. 145.11-12 *n.*
- p. 131.14 *for his chastitie...virgine*] Nashe comments on Harvey's portrait of Perne, '*An apostata, an hypocrite, a Machavill, a cousner, a jugler, a letcher hee makes him*' (1958: 3.137.10). Perne's lechery is presumably meant here, although I cannot quite explain the astronomical allusion: see p. 129.45-46. The sun enters Virgo in August, which (as Yates notes) is when 'Mother Hvbberds Tale' begins: 'It was the month in which the righteous Maid [. . .] / Into her silver bower the Sun received' (quoted Yates 1975: 31).
- p. 131.14 *for his pastorall...Calendar*] The title predated Spenser's text. In E.K.'s words, 'these twelve eglogues [. . .] he termeth the *Shepherds' Calendar*, applying an old name to a new work'. Brooks-Davies glosses, '*The Calendar of Shepherds* (a translation of the French almanac *Le compote et Calendrier des bergers* (1493)) was reprinted at least seven times between 1503 and 1559' (Spenser 1995: 24).
- p. 131.18-19 *the Picture...unmooveable*] See p. 119.41-42 *n.* *The Golden Legend* recounts St. Andrew's interrogation by the Roman official Ægeas, his intransigence, and martyrdom (Voragine 1900: 2.100-04), although Harvey is mainly punning on Perne's given name.
- p. 131.22 *the sting of a Scorpion*] Perhaps Harvey means 'more subtle' or 'unexpected'; Batman describes how the scorpion 'feineth pleasance' before it stings (1582: fol. 380<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 131.22-23 *like...Bable*] See p. 23.51 *n.*
- p. 131.23-24 *that...nose*] *OED* defines '*to bite by the nose*' as 'treat with contempt' (nose *sb.* 9e).
- p. 131.24 *Barnewell*] 'The N. suburb of Cambridge, doubtless haunted by the less reputable members of the University' (Sugden). Fencing would be a pastime of less conscientious students (see p. 14.44 *n.*).
- p. 131.24-25 *that played...pate*] Possibly there is a pun on fencing terminology here, and possibly an allusion to recent events in Cambridge, but I cannot explain either. To 'take up the gauntlet' (or glove) means to accept a challenge, and to 'lay down' (transitively) to overthrow (*OED* gauntlet *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1c, glove *sb.* 1d, lay *v.*<sup>1</sup> 51f†).

- p. 131.28 *that Apollo Doctour*] Apollo was ‘god of all the fine arts’ and had ‘the power of knowing futurity’ (Lemprière).
- p. 131.28-29 *Whose...fier*] See p. 49.41-42 n.
- p. 131.29-30 *For his...Trigon*] See p. 59.30 n.
- p. 131.34 *incomparably...Country-cuffes*] See p. 77.38-40 & n.
- p. 131.36 *Ilias of professed Evils*] Cf. Tilley I22 (‘Iliads of woe’), *OED* Iliad 2b (‘A long series of disasters’).
- p. 131.41-42 *What Historian...Indians*] See p. 56.24 n.
- p. 131.42-43 *king...Phrygians*] Midas himself ruled the Phrygians, and is more usually associated with folly than cunning. Possibly, Harvey means his keeping his ass’s ears a secret from his subjects (see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI.180-81); Lemprière notes that ‘Some explain the fable of the long ears of Midas, by the supposition that he kept a number of informers and spies, who were continually employed in collecting every seditious word that dropped from the mouths of his subjects’.
- p. 131.43 *king...Sabines*] For the Romans’ war with the Sabines, see Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, XIV-XIX. The rape of the Sabine women was authorised by Romulus, either in order to provoke the Sabines into war or because he wanted to enforce miscegenation (XIV.1-2).
- p. 131.43-44 *king...Lydians*] For details of Cyrus’ campaign against the Lydians, see Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VI.i.25-VII.ii.9. His strategies include the use of spies to infiltrate the enemy camp.
- p. 131.48-49 *no text...crooke?*] Catholic and Protestant theologians represented each other’s commentaries on key biblical passages such as Matthew 26.26 as distorting the sense of the original. Perhaps Harvey has in mind translations of Scripture such as the 1582 Rheims New Testament, produced by English Catholic exiles with the avowed intention of engaging in theological controversy, or the 1560 Geneva Bible, in the marginal glosses of which James I identified ‘some notes very partiall, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of daungerous, and trayterous conceites’. See Tribble 1993: 11-56. Some secular printed texts also came equipped with this apparatus, hence Aretino’s comment that ‘Petrarch’s commentators have made that poet say things that ten lashes would not have made him confess’ (McPherson 1969: 1555).
- p. 131.49-51 *It was not...asleepe*] See Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.682-721.
- p. 132.1-2 *Undoubtedly...Lion*] See p. 129.37 n., p. 129.40 n. The contrast is also made in *De Officiis* I.41, where Cicero states ‘fraud seems to belong to the cunning fox, force to the lion’ (1921: 45).
- p. 132.3 *he was...Marius*] ‘Sylla, a Romaine, of the noble house and familie of the Scipions [. . .] Being Dictatour, he so oppressed the common weale, that no man but by his favour, could enjoye goodes, life, or countrey’ (Cooper). Sulla’s enmity to the young Caesar was because Caesar was a relative of Marius’. When Caesar heard that the Dictator was secretly planning to have him killed, he left Rome (Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, I.1-4).
- p. 132.3 *of Cato, then of Catiline*] The younger Cato is perhaps contrasted with Catiline since the latter attempted a military coup (see Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*, X-XXII) and Cato was a politician who operated within a democratic framework. However, there appears to have been nothing covert about Cato’s opposition to Caesar, since it often took the form of decrying his policies in the senate (Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, VIII, XIII-XIV, XXI-XXII). Similarly, Catiline was so far from being one



- of Caesar's enemies that Caesar has been accused of involvement in his conspiracy, especially after he proposed leniency towards the conspirators (Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, VII-VIII).
- p. 132.4 *Cassius*] For Caesar's suspicions of Cassius, see Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, LXII.8-10.
- p. 132.4 *Antony*] The only evidence I can find that Antony was not always one of Caesar's friends and supporters is the story of his having advance notice of Brutus' and Cassius' conspiracy and neither becoming involved nor warning Caesar (Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, XIII).
- p. 132.4 *of Brutus, then of Pompey*] For the enmity between Caesar and Pompey, which resulted in civil war, see Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, XXVIII-XLV *passim*. Brutus was granted clemency by Caesar, having fought against him on Pompey's side. Caesar is supposed to have taken care that Brutus not be killed at Pharsalus, since Brutus was the son of a former lover of Caesar's, and possibly his own: he subsequently treated him as heir apparent to his sovereign power (Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, XLVI, *Life of Brutus*, IV-VIII).
- p. 132.4-5 *of Saturne....Jupiter himselfe*] In his copy of Livy, Harvey wrote 'Fabius Max[imus] bie Warie, & cautelous proceeding, sumwhat cooled his [Hannibal's] heate: but liker slie Saturne, then gallant Jupiter, or brave Mars' (quoted Jardine, Grafton 1990: 70).
- p. 132.13 *Ninus*] 'A kyng of Assyria, and sonne of Belus, was the fyrst that made warre [. . .] he reigned .lii. yeres, before the incarnation of Christ .2055. yeres' (Cooper). He features as the archetypal great king of antiquity in *FQ* II.ix.56.8, *Martins Months Minde* (Nashe 1589: sig. H2').
- p. 132.13 *Cyrus*] See p. 24.33 *n*.
- p. 132.13 *the Venturous Argo-Pilots*] See p. 70.24 *n*.
- p. 132.14 *Herôes*] In singular or plural form, 'hero' seems to have been pronounced as three syllables, as in Drayton's verse letter to Reynolds: 'The noble *Sidney*, with this last arose, / That *Heroe* for numbers, and for Prose' (1961: 3.228). See also *FQ* V.ii.1.5.
- p. 132.16 *Scarborough warning*] See p. 107.46 *n*.
- p. 132.18 *He...armeth me*] Tilley cites examples from 1530 (H54).
- p. 132.21-22 *Caesar....day*] Machiavelli does indeed discuss Borgia's career specifically in *The Prince*, stating in Chapter VII, 'I know no better precepts to give a new prince than ones derived from Cesare's actions' (1999: 22), although he often has in mind the final obliteration of Borgia's political hopes. Borgia's seizure of the duchy of Urbino happened in June 1502: according to George Bull, this was effected 'effortlessly' (Machiavelli 1999: 106).
- p. 132.22-23 *So...exceedingly*] On May 6th, 1527, Rome was sacked by the Imperial army commanded by the Duke of Bourbon (see Guicciardini 1969: 382-86).
- p. 132.26 *But honorable...Councell*] 'Honourable' often prefaced mentions of the Privy Council. Holinshed describes Francis Throckmorton being examined by 'some of the principall personages of hir majesties most honourable privie councell' and calls Sir Walter Mildmay 'one of hir majesties most honorable privie councell' (1807-08: 4.537, 587).
- p. 132.27 *Dolus, an Virtus*] 'Deceit or valour.' The quotation is from *Aeneid* II.390. Choroebus urges the Trojans to seize shields and weapons from the Greek dead and then infiltrate the enemy side: 'whether [this is] deceit or valour, who would ask in warfare?' (Virgil 1960: 1.321).
- p. 132.27-28 *hoat-spurre*] See p. 20.33 *n*.

- p. 132.28 *a graine of mustard-seede*] A thing capable of great growth. See Matthew 13.31-32: 'The kyngdome of heaven is lyke to a grayne of mustarde seede [. . .] Which in deede is the least of al seedes: But when it is growen, it is the greatest among hearbes'.
- p. 132.30 *Non quà, sed quò*] 'Not how, but where.'
- p. 132.32-33 *The Fox...geese*] See p. 129.37 n.
- p. 132.34-36 *Horaces...Stratagemes*] See Horace, *Satires* II.III.186. Fairclough translates, 'a cunning fox mimicking the noble lion' (1929: 169).
- p. 132.36 *the glorious Indian Conquestes*] Harvey presumably means Bacchus and not the Spanish: see p. 131.42.
- p. 132.37-38 *what...Stratagemes*] See p. 8.6 n.
- p. 132.38-42 *Jovius Fox...dentibus utor*] The full title of Giovio's dialogue on emblems and mottos, as translated by Daniel, is *The Worthy tract of Paulus Iouius, containing a Discourse of rare inuentions, both Militarie and Amorous called Imprese* (STC 11900). Giovio has Lodovico Dominico describe a Venetian called della Volpe, who 'bare a Foxe in his Ensigne shewing his devouring teeth, with this mot, *Simul astu & dentibus utor*, to signifie that there was no dealing with him being so defended on every side' (1585: sig. Hi<sup>v</sup>). The Latin might be translated, 'I use my cunning and my teeth simultaneously'.
- p. 132.42-45 *And his Griphen...hostem*] Giovio describes 'S. Gion Paule Baglione', a soldier who 'aspired to bee (as it were) Tyrant of *Perugia*, and Governer of the *Venetian Campe*'. He was lured to Rome by the Pope and beheaded, on which Giovio comments, 'And so became his *Impresa* cleane dashed and most vaine: which was a *Griphon argent* in a *fielde Geules*, with this mot, *Unguibus & rostro, atque alis armatus in hostem*' (1585: sig. [E6]<sup>r</sup>). The phrase could be rendered, 'armed with talons, beak and wings against the enemy'.
- p. 132.45-46 *Alexanders Bucephalus*] The wild horse bought by Philip of Macedonia, whom only Alexander could tame; when he died, Alexander named a city after him (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, VI, LXI).
- p. 132.46 *Caesars courageous horse*] Caesar's charger is described by Suetonius as a prodigy with hooves resembling human feet, of whom it was prophesied that his rider would rule the world (*Julius Caesar* LXI).
- p. 132.47 *Bevisses Arundell*] See p. 42.22 n. Arondel is the steed given to Bevis by King Brademond, who will not be ridden by anyone else (Herzman, Drake, Salisbury 1999: 191-92).
- p. 132.47-50 *The Trojan...Poet*] The poet is Virgil. The Latin phrase is from *Aeneid* II.237: Aeneas recounts the drawing of the horse into Troy ('The fateful engine climbs our walls').
- p. 132.50 *the flying...Bellerophon*] See p. 113.16 n.
- p. 132.51-p. 133.1 *the hideous...Lycia*] See p. 41.36 n. Lemprière ascribes the myth of Chimaera to the lions, goats and serpents which lived on the Lycian mountain, but *OED*'s earliest instance of 'savage' in the sense of 'wild beast' is from 1682 (*a., sb.*<sup>2</sup> B †1).
- p. 133.2-3 *his horrible...winges*] See p. 32.27 n.
- p. 133.3-5 *Did the fiery...Equorum*] The Latin tag is from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, II.392. Phoebus, mourning the death of Phaëthon, declares that guiding the horses of the sun would be too difficult a

- task even for Jove. Miller translates, 'Then will he know, when he has himself tried the strength of those fiery-footed steeds' (1916: 1.87).
- p. 133.6 *Serviet asper Equus*] From Statius, *Silvae* IV.IV.69. Mozley translates, 'the mettlesome charger will do thy bidding' (1928: 235).
- p. 133.7-8 *insulso...asello*] Perhaps this might be translated, 'the wild ass will eat thistles' (as above, 'asper' probably has the sense 'untamed, intractable').
- p. 133.9 *Termagant*] Brydges (1815: pt. 8.199) and Collier (1870b: 207) both read 'termagant': see p. 42.15 *n*.
- p. 133.9-10 *Although...laborious*] See p. 129.37 *n*. The anecdote does not appear in Plutarch's life of Lysander, or in Xenophon's *Hellenica*.
- p. 133.12-13 *Action...loqui*] Jugurtha was a 'kynge of Numidia, which warred upon the Romaines' (Cooper). The Latin phrase is from Sallust, *The War with Jugurtha*, VI.1: Rolfe translates, 'he distinguished himself greatly, but spoke little of his own exploits' (1931: 143).
- p. 133.14 *The...fruite*] See p. 84.33-34 *n*.
- p. 133.19 *Pittacus*] See p. 60.4-5 *n*.
- p. 133.19-22 *he, that beginneth...perfice*] Harvey means the Latin tags with which *SN* begins and ends. See p. 54.47 *n*., p. 74.22-23 *n*. 'Occasion', or opportunity, was conventionally personified as bald at the back of her head (and hence to be seized by the forelock): see *FQ* II.iv.4-10, *Greene in Concept* (Dickenson 1598: 9).
- p. 133.24-25 *Foretel...flowtingstocke*] See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* I.78.
- p. 133.28 *Apotheas*] See p. 119.5 *n*.
- p. 133.29 *Theognis*] 'Theognis, a Greek poet of Megara, who flourished about 549 years before Christ [...] His sentences, which are intended as precepts for the conduct and the regulation of human life, are often quoted by Plato, and other Greek historians and philosophers' (Lemprière).
- p. 133.29 *of dainty Emblemes, like Alciat*] See p. 30.3 *n*.
- p. 133.31 *other*] i.e. 'others': see p. 2.22 *n*.
- p. 133.31-32 *that...Secretary*] For the pun, cf. p. 132.26.
- p. 133.34 *the Delphicall Oracle*] Sugden says that the oracles 'were often very ambiguous, so that they could easily be interpreted afterwards to suit any event' (art. Delphos).
- p. 133.34 *the Aegyptian Crocodile*] The belief that the crocodile lures its victim with tears is alluded to in 2 *Henry VI* III.1.225-27 and *FQ* I.v.18; the belief that it weeps after killing appears in *Batman* (1582: fol. 159<sup>v</sup>). Either of these may be in play in *Othello* IV.1.240-41, where the crocodile features as an emblem of deceit, as in Harvey.
- p. 133.36 *his eares martyrs*] I cannot say what Harvey means by this. Possibly he is alluding to the idea that the ears of people who are spoken about in their absence 'burn' (see p. 55.10-11 *n*.), but this would be a rather far-fetched joke.
- p. 133.37 *his hart...sticke*] See p. 97.28 & *n*.
- p. 133.38-39 *Celarent*] 'A term designating the second mood of the first figure of syllogisms, in which the major premiss and the conclusion are universal negatives, and the minor premiss a universal affirmative' (*OED*).

- p. 133.39-41 *his hospitality...Ember weeke*] Patrick Collinson, who is considerably less hostile to Perne than Harvey, says that he ‘seems to have regarded his deanery, which he may have visited only on the occasion of the annual audit and for somewhat meagre hospitality, as a sinecure’ (*ODNB*).
- p. 133.39 *aleven*] For the same spelling, see Cooper’s entry on William Waynflete (‘Wainfletus’): ‘he builded the notable house of Marie Magdalene colledge in Oxforde. Out of the whiche [. . .] have been sent into the churche [. . .] aleven byshops’.
- p. 133.49 *the true squire*] *OED* cites ‘squire’ as one of the forms of ‘square’, which would here mean ‘canon, criterion, or standard’ (*OED sb.* 2).
- p. 133.51 *that...gabbing*] ‘Chaucer’s English’ is probably to be understood broadly, without any particular passage intended. *CRC* gives three instances in Chaucer’s works of ‘gab’ in the sense of ‘lie’, but none of ‘addle’ in the sense of ‘to earn’ (*OED* † v.<sup>2</sup> gives instances until 1865, although latterly it seems to have been a Northern word). *CRC* does not cover texts such as ‘The Ploughman’s Tale’ (printed as by Chaucer in Harvey’s lifetime, but now considered apocryphal), but Harvey’s sense of Chaucer’s language was probably as impressionistic as Nashe’s – see *SN* (1958: 1.316.31-32, 4.188).
- p. 134.2 *the ravens...pray*] See p. 43.20-23 *n*.
- p. 134.2-3 *the forstalling...Tithes*] See p. 119.25-29 *n*.
- p. 134.4 *many...mickle*] Tilley gives examples from 1535 (L362).
- p. 134.5 *the Fox...most*] Proverbial (see Tilley F632).
- p. 134.6 *a golden hooke*] Perhaps ‘a bribe’. In *2Parnassus* 740-41, Academico complains that by applying for benefices without using bribery he is fishing ‘without a silver hooch’ (Leishman 1949: 271).
- p. 134.6 *fisher of men*] Echoing Matthew 4.19.
- p. 134.6-7 *that every man...shirt*] Proverbial: see Tilley S505.
- p. 134.8-9 *Si...cautè*] Loosely, ‘If not justly, then with stealth.’ Cf. *The Courtier*, in which Castiglione says of corrupt members of the clergy, ‘they [. . .] alleage a certaine authoritie of their owne head, that saith: *Si non castè, tamen cautè*, and with this weene to heale every great sore, and with good reason to perswade him that is not heedful that God forgiveth soone all offences, how hainous soever they be, so they be kept close’ (1974: 203).
- p. 134.9 *Epicharmus incredulity*] See p. 113.32 *n*. *OCD* states that ‘he was particularly fond of mythological burlesque’.
- p. 134.10 *Dions Apistie*] Not in *OED*, ‘Apistie’ appears to be a coinage of Harvey’s from the Greek, and might be translated ‘unbelief’. If the Dion that Harvey means is the uncle of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, who led the resistance to his nephew, possibly Harvey means his scepticism about omens (see Plutarch, *Life of Dion*, XXIV).
- p. 134.10 *Heywoods...finde*] Harvey means John Heywood (1496?-1578?), whose collections of proverbs and epigrams went through many editions (see *STC* 13285-13289, 13291-13297). One of the examples of ‘Fast bind, fast find’ cited by Tilley is from Heywood; it was explained by James Kelly as ‘An Encouragement to careful securing, and laying up, as the only way to keep and

preserve' (quoted Tilley B352), and Shylock in *Merchant of Venice* II.5.54 calls it 'A proverb never stale in a thrifty mind'.

p. 134.10 *Bayard in the stable*] Cf. Tilley B111, 'Keep Bayard in the stable'.

p. 134.11-12 *many...revealed*] In logic, a proposition involving a hypothesis or condition is distinguished from one which does not (see *OED* hypothetical A 1b, categorical A 1).

p. 134.12-13 *two frendes...away*] Cf. Tilley T257: 'Three (two) may keep counsel if two (one) be away'.

p. 134.13 *Unum necessarium*] Harvey uses the phrase in his marginalia, to denote tenets which he keeps memorised, and books he especially values (1913: 176.5-6, 186.25).

p. 134.13-23 *For, Vincit...satchell ransacked*] Nashe commented on this, '*Vincit qui patitur*, he saith, (or a great Counsellor that gives that Posie,) *can unrip his whole packet of knaverie*, making him a broker to his scutcherie', and shortly afterwards says that, if for no other reason, Harvey should have spared Perne because 'a chiefe Father of our Common-wealth lov'd him, (in whose house he died,)' (1958: 3.137.16, 26). McKerrow comments, 'The suggestion that by the motto is meant a great counsellor who bears it (i.e. Whitgift [. . .]) is Nashe's'; it was while visiting Whitgift at Lambeth Palace that Perne died (Nashe 1958: 4.370). Given that Harvey here seems to allude to a 'secret friend' of Perne's, whom he says he will not name because of his 'calling', the case could be made that Nashe is in fact right, although this is a particularly prolix and obscure passage. Whitgift was elected to a fellowship at Peterhouse (of which Perne was master) in 1555; it was Perne who dissuaded him from following his fellow-Protestants into exile during Mary's reign (*ODNB*, art. Whitgift). In turn, Whitgift as Archbishop recommended Perne for a bishopric in 1584, and Perne during his last years was often Whitgift's guest at Lambeth (*ODNB*, art. Perne). Their relationship was known to Marprelate, who in *Epistle* claims that Whitgift 'was sometime doctor Pernes boy / and carried his cloak-bagge after him' (p. 32).

p. 134.15-16 *Pap-hatchet...Martinists*] See p. 104.43 n.

p. 134.18 *Register*] See p. 111.16 n.

p. 134.20-21 *nomans frend...inward*] See Tilley T423 for other uses of the phrase 'From the teeth outwards', generally implying dishonesty.

p. 134.22 *to have his coate blased*] 'Blaze' could mean both 'to publish, divulge, make known' and 'To describe heraldically' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 2, †3). *OED* cites only two examples 1573-79 of '*to blaze one's arms*' in the sense of 'to publish, celebrate, describe', the first from Harvey (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> †3c).

p. 134.23 *satchell*] See p. 129.36 n.

p. 134.25-26 *as I...Fox*] There seems to be no way of identifying this person.

p. 134.29 *defeating*] Harvey held Perne responsible for his failure to be made university Orator (see p. 9.48 – p. 10.1). 'Defeat' might mean 'cause to fail, frustrate' or 'do (a person) out of (something expected, or naturally coming to him)' (*OED* v. 5, 7).

p. 134.34-35 *He...foole*] 'He' is Harvey and the fool Nashe: see p. 116.17-18 n.

p. 134.35 *Stilliard*] This (a corruption of 'steelyard') was the name of the hall in Upper Thames Street where German merchants had their headquarters: Sugden states that it became 'a favourite resort for the drinking of Rhenish wines' after they were expelled in 1597, but *OED* suggests that these

associations were already in place in 1592 (steelyard<sup>1</sup> 1c). It cites this, and p. 146.31, as examples of 'of or pertaining to the Steelyard' (*OED* steelyard<sup>1</sup> 2).

p. 134.38 *Ghostly father*] Confessor: see p. 12.45-46 n.

p. 134.38 *in a scoldes pollicy*] See p. 83.8 n.

p. 134.40-41 *it pleased...desired*] Patrick Collinson calls Perne, who amassed a large private library, 'a predatory observer of the book market' (*ODNB*).

p. 134.44 *with...head*] This is quoted in *IParnassus* 362, where Ingenioso describes a potential patron listening to him 'with a Camelions gape, an[d] a verie emphaticall nodd of the head' (Leishman 1949: 153). Pliny says of the chameleon, 'it is the only animal that does not live on food or drink or anything else but the nutriment that it derives from the air, with a gape that is almost terrifying' (*Natural History*, VIII.122).

p. 134.47-48 *If...home*] I cannot explain this.

p. 134.50 *the lukewarme Doctour*] The nickname, whether Harvey's invention or someone else's, is perhaps intended as a parody of such names as 'the angelic doctor' for Aquinas (*OED* angelic a.<sup>1</sup>, sb. A 3) or 'the enlightened doctor' for Ramon Lull (Hamilton 1986: 148).

p. 134.50 *likened...Cowe*] 'Cow' could mean 'timid, faint-hearted person, a coward' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 4).

p. 134.51 – p. 135.2 *I remember...lesson*] The context of this anecdote is militant Protestantism. The period when Perne was Master of Peterhouse was a time of doctrinal strife at Cambridge; Patrick Collinson notes that 'in the mid-1560s and early 1570s [...] direct action by the younger dons against the supposedly "popish" ceremonies retained by the Elizabethan church was followed by the presbyterian, anti-episcopal ideology advanced by Thomas Cartwright and his many supporters' (*ODNB*).

p. 135.2 *taught...lesson*] i.e. backed down, took to his heels. See 1 Chronicles 12.8: 'they were as swift as the Roes in the mountaynes'.

p. 135.4 *Speede...cloud*] To do something 'in a cloud' seems to mean 'invisibly' (see *OED* cloud sb. 9a).

p. 135.5-6 *as ever...Aeneas*] Venus, Aeneas' mother, appears to him in several places in the *Aeneid*, e.g. giving him directions to Dido's palace (Virgil, *Aeneid* I.314-402).

p. 135.6 *wise...Ulysses*] The goddess fulfils this role in both of Homer's epics (see Homer, *Odyssey*, 3.218-222).

p. 135.7 *naturall Magique*] See p. 25.10 n.

p. 135.7 *supernaturall Cabale*] See p. 94.8 n.

p. 135.8 *the rod of Mercury*] Lemprière calls this 'a rod entwined at one end by two serpents [...] given to him by Apollo [...] by its powerful touch he could lull mortals to sleep, and even raise to life a dead person' (art. caduceus).

p. 135.8-9 *the ring of Gyges*] Cooper calls Gyges 'The sonne of Dascylus, one of the servauntes of Candaules, kynge of Lydia [...] Gyges had a rynge, of suche vertue, that whan the broder parte therof was tourned to the palme of his hande, he was seene of no man, but he might see all thinges'.

p. 135.9 *Cabalist*] See p. 115.44 n.

- p. 135.15-16 *The weapon...Cunning*] Batman, citing Aristotle, states 'lightning is seene in the aire sodainelye, and is the appearing and shewing of subtile vapour set on fire' (1582: fol. 164<sup>r</sup>). For the descending order of the elements here, see p. 19.41-43 n.
- p. 135.22 *his Indian Discoovery*] 'Indian' here perhaps means 'precious'. According to Sugden, both East and West Indies 'suggested the thought of great wealth in gold and gems' to Harvey's English contemporaries. When, in *Twelfth Night* II.5.13, Toby Belch addresses Maria as 'my metal of India', Lothian and Craik identify this as 'gold' (Shakespeare 1975b: 63). Nashe uses the word in this sense (in the mouth of the orator Vanderhulk, partly a caricature of Harvey) in *UT*: 'affoord me a more Indian metaphor than that, for the brave princely blood of a Saxon' (1958: 2.248.11).
- p. 135.22-24 *the admirable...Toombe*] Lemprière says of Archimedes, 'Marcellus, the Roman consul [. . .] raised a monument over him, and placed upon it a cylinder and a sphere'.
- p. 135.26 *tria sequuntur tria*] Literally 'three is followed by three': I cannot explain this. Lyly uses the phrase twice. In *Midas* V.2.165-68, the barber Motto, who has been asked to procure Midas' golden beard, says 'I protest by [. . .] all the *tria sequuntur trias* in our secret occupation (for you know it is no blabbing arte) that you shall have the beard'. In *PWH*, the author announces 'A good note & signe of good lucke, three times motion of *Bull* [. . .] *Tria sequuntur tria*, in reckoning *Bull* thrice, meethinkes it should presage hanging'. (See p. 78.39-40 n.) Bond comments, 'It looks like some formula in alchemy or magic' (Lyly 1902: 3.157, 406.16-19, 536).
- p. 135.28-40 Nashe describes the personification of Perne's coffin as 'a wodden jest' (1958: 3.137.9). If there seems something bathetic about the poem, it is perhaps not a conscious use of irony, since Harvey in his verses on the death of Nicholas Bacon similarly has Bacon's tomb and grave speaking (Woudhuysen 1980: 146).
- p. 135.31 *Three Faces in one Hood*] *OED* defines 'to bear or carry two faces under one hood' as 'to be duplicitous' (face *sb.* 2a).
- p. 135.32 *a Turnecoate rood*] The rood is 'the symbol of the Christian faith', and, being a crucifix, also brings associations with Catholicism (see *OED sb.* 2a, 3a).
- p. 135.34 *A lukewarme Trigon*] See p. 59.30 n.
- p. 135.36 *weathercock*] This was often used of someone 'changeable or inconstant' (*OED sb.* 2b). However, it may just be worth noting an anecdote told by J.B. Mullinger: 'On the weathercock of St. Peter's Church in Cambridge were the letters A. P. A. P., which might be interpreted (said the satirists) as either Andrew Perne a papist, or Andrew Perne a protestant, or Andrew Perne a puritan' (*DNB*).
- p. 135.38 *Cerberus*] 'A dogge with three heades, whiche (as poetes feygne) was porter of hell' (Cooper).
- p. 135.42 *Geryon*] 'A celebrated monster [. . .] represented by the poets as having three bodies' (Lemprière).
- p. 135.42 *a greater duety*] Cf. Harvey's comment on his mock epitaph for Greene (p. 7.23).
- p. 135.44 *a conjuring Hatchet*] See Appendix B, 5.
- p. 135.45 *the old dreamer...sore*] Tilley gives examples of 'An old dog bites sore' from 1546 (D499).

- p. 135.46 *Titius*] Stern identifies this as ‘Roberto Tizio, teaching at Bologna in the late sixteenth century’ (1979: 117 *n.*), but she does not specify his contact with Harvey, and Tizio is not mentioned in the marginalia transcribed by Moore Smith.
- p. 135.46 *that have...stomackes*] See Proverbs 5.3-4.
- p. 135.46-47 *water...other*] Cf. Tilley F267: ‘He bears (carries) fire in one hand and water in the other’. From the examples cited, this seems to have related to hypocrisy and religious malleability, e.g. Skelton’s *Magnificence* (‘Two faces in a hode covertly. I bere water in the one hand and fyre in the other’) and Bullein’s *Dialogue* (‘He beareth fire in one hand, and water in an other; a Papiste and a Protestante’).
- p. 135.48 *canvasses*] A possible sense might be ‘tricks, stratagems’. *OED* defines only one sense which appears to be relevant, citing only one example, from the anti-Marprelate *The Retvrne of Pasquill*, of which it acknowledges ‘the precise meaning is now obscure’ (*OED* canvas *sb.* †6). Pasquill states ‘I never saw [. . .] such canvaces made, such stales set, such traynes layde, such platformes drawne by the factious, to bring theyr Superiours into contempt’ (Nashe 1958: 1.80.24-28). *OED* compares a hawking term meaning ‘To entangle or catch in a net’ (v. 1).
- p. 135.49 *pitch-branded*] Cf. Ecclesiasticus 13.1: ‘Whoso toucheth pitch, shalbe defiled withal’. This became proverbial (Tilley P358).
- p. 136.1 *practise*] Harvey’s pun involves the sense ‘machination, treachery’ (*OED* practice *sb.* 1 6a).
- p. 136.3 *od man*] This is a person of unique excellence, a paragon. Cf. Ascham’s *Scholemaster*: ‘the odde man to performe all three perfiltie, whatsoever he doth, and to know the way to do them skilfullie, whan so ever he list, is [. . .] *Joannes Sturmius*’ (1904: 250). Mayor, glossing this, cites North’s Plutarch: ‘the onely odde man, that never giveth rest to his enemy’; ‘one of the odde men of the world, that most esteemed the discipline of warre’ (1863: 234).
- p. 136.3 *Trium litterarum*] Literally ‘three letters’: Harvey’s meaning seems to be ‘deceitful person’. In Plautus’ *The Pot of Gold* 325, Congrio says to Anthrax, who has insulted him, ‘Tun, trium litterarum homo / me vituperas? fur’. Nixon translates, ‘You running me down, you? You five letter man, you! You T-H-I-E-F!’ (1916-38: 1.269). The point seems to be that ‘fur’ (thief) has three letters.
- p. 136.4 *A Per se A*] See p. 16.51 *n.*
- p. 136.5 *Hobgoblin*] Harvey uses the singular because this is a proper noun, an alternative name for Robin Goodfellow. See *Midsummer Night’s Dream* II.1.32-41, Drayton’s *Nimphidia* 282 (‘Pucke, which most men call / *Hobgoblin*’) (1961: 3.133), p. 3.46 *n.* For ‘Hob’ as a form of ‘Robert’, see Leishman 1949: 266 *n.*
- p. 136.5 *sought-up*] *OED* gives four examples of ‘seek up’ between 1375 and 1889 (seek v. 1 1b).
- p. 136.7 *stood stifly*] *OED* defines ‘stand stiff’ as ‘to stand firm; esp. *fig.* to be steadfast or obdurate’ (stiff *a., sb., adv.* 8 †c).
- p. 136.14 *Art of distinctions*] The phrase is not in *OED*. Possibly Harvey has in mind scholastic logicians or theologians, whose habit (in the hostile words of Bacon) was ‘upon every particular position or assertion to frame objections, and to those objections, solutions; which solutions were for the most part not confutations but distinctions’ (1915: 26).
- p. 136.18 *what would...coale*] See p. 62.35-36 *n.*



- p. 136.21 *for matter, or manner*] i.e. content or form: see p. 48.24-25 n.
- p. 136.23-24 *that can...cheese*] Tilley gives variants of the proverb from 1530 (C218).
- p. 136.33 *silliest*] See p. 113.39 n.
- p. 136.42 *I alwayes...two*] McCarthy sees this as proof that the 'Gentlewoman' is Mary Sidney, calling the phoenix a bird with 'strongly Sidneian associations' (2000: 26). In context, the bird seems here to mean someone other than Harvey's patroness, who alone is capable of comparing with her. As the only one of its kind, capable of reproducing asexually, the phoenix was adopted by Elizabeth as part of her personality-cult as the Virgin Queen (Yates 1975: 58). See *Henry VIII* V.4.40, where Cranmer compares Elizabeth to 'the maiden phoenix'. Equally possibly, Harvey is alluding to neither woman. As the type of 'unique excellence' (*OED* 2), 'phoenix' was applied to several people: in *3PL*, Harvey notes that Pico della Mirandola was 'surnamed *Phœnix*, as the odde, and in effecte the onely singular learned man of Europe' (Spenser 1912: 620).
- p. 136.44 *in...devotion*] For similar syntax, see p. 83.8 n.
- p. 136.47 *Agrippa*] Harvey is probably thinking of his text translated into English in 1542 as *A treatise of the nobilitie of woman kynde* (STC 203). Large parts of this are lists of women from the Bible or Graeco-Roman history or mythology, famous for their chastity, prudence, learning, etc.
- p. 136.47 *Tyraquell*] McKerrow identifies this as 'André Tiraqueau, French writer on civil law, c. 1480-1558' (Nashe 1958: 5.359).
- p. 137.1-2 *Other...sexe*] This *gradatio* (see p. 85.46-49 n.) assumes Penelope's supremacy as the archetypal chaste wife, as in *FQ* V.vii.39.2 ('the most chaste *Penelope*'). Sappho is perhaps above her in inaccessibility to men, although *OCD* notes the 'implausible selection of male lovers' with whom she has been associated, as also that she 'was probably married'. Arachne was forced to yield to Minerva since, proud of her skill at weaving, she challenged the goddess to a contest and was changed to a spider for her boldness (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VI.5-145). Juno is goddess of women and (being associated with Hera) the wife of Jupiter (*OCD*).
- p. 137.3-5 *She...know*] For the distinction, see p. 100.16-17 n. McKerrow feels that this offers proof that Harvey's 'championess' is not, and is not to be identified as, the Countess of Pembroke (Nashe 1958: 5.90 n.), although McCarthy responds, 'the Sidneys were not old aristocracy and had certainly been pressed for money. That indeed was the reason for marrying Mary to Pembroke' (2000: 34-35). Cf. p. 137.10-11, p. 138.33-34.
- p. 137.5-6 *Not such...puppy*] McKerrow takes this passage as an instance of the impossibility of the 'Gentlewoman' being, or being intended to be identified as, Mary Sidney, as is thought by Grosart and Penny McCarthy: 'Surely, whether or not the Countess could properly be referred to as a "gentlewoman", it would have been grossly incorrect to call her a "wench"' (Nashe 1958: 5.90).
- p. 137.7-8 *the tinsell...Graces*] 'Tinsel' could mean 'a rich material of silk or wool interwoven with gold or silver thread', or 'Very thin plates or sheets, spangles, strips, or threads, originally of gold or silver [. . .] used chiefly for ornament'; *OED*'s earliest figurative sense suggesting 'Anything showy or attractive with little or no intrinsic worth' is from 1660 (*sb.*<sup>3</sup> †2, 3, 4). See p. 75.23 n. for the 'Graces'.
- p. 137.9 *beautesert*] See p. 119.40 n.

- p. 137.10-11 *is respectively...fortune*] See p. 137.3-5 n.
- p. 137.11-12 *she can...life*] Harvey displays a similarly quantitative (as opposed to qualitative) approach to his own writings in his 1598 letter to Robert Cecil: 'I can in one year publish more, then anie Englishman hath hitherto dun' (1884-85: 3.xxvi).
- p. 137.13 *our inspired Heliconists*] 'Heliconist' is not in *OED*: Nashe mocks the word as a neologism of Harvey's (1958: 3.45.21). Harvey perhaps means poets, or imaginative writers generally (see p. 105.42 n.).
- p. 137.13 *Could I...Recreations*] 'Dispose of' might here mean 'publish' (cf. *OED* dispose v. I 1b, †4).
- p. 137.16 *in integrum*] 'To [their] original condition.'
- p. 137.18 *the...taske*] See p. 116.8 n.
- p. 137.19-20 *Yet...sexe*] Nashe suggests what the privilege might be when he says, 'hee thinkes in his owne person if hee should raile grosely, it will be a discredit to him, and therefore hereafter hee would thrust forth all his writings under the name of a Gentlewoman; who, howsoever shee scolds and playes the vixen never so, wilbe borne with' (1958: 3.111.9).
- p. 137.22-23 *the Handmayd...Vertue*] Again Harvey is employing a *gradatio*: cf. p. 120.25-26.
- p. 137.26-28 *her hoattest...bridle*] See p. 91.37-38 n.
- p. 137.29-30 *She...Collect*] I cannot exactly explain this, but 'Benet' could mean 'The third of the four lesser orders in the Roman Catholic Church' (*OED sb.*), and 'Collect' 'a collection (of money)' (*OED sb.* †1a: the examples are mainly ecclesiastical), so perhaps Harvey, like Nashe, is using the language of good works (see Nashe 1958: 1.259.4).
- p. 137.31 *booted*] See p. 116.17-18 n.
- p. 137.31 *Shakerley*] See p. 107.10 n.
- p. 137.31 *alwayes...rideth*] Cf. Tilley S42, 'Like Saint George, who is ever on horseback yet never rides'; the allusion seems originally to have been to an inn-sign.
- p. 137.33-34 *his favorablest...name)*] See p. 121.21 n.
- p. 137.34 *M. Apis Lapis*] Nashe dedicates *SN* to 'his verie friend Maister *Apis lapis*', whom he addresses as 'Gentle M. *William*'. McKerrow suggests that the name is a pun on 'Beeston', but is unable to find any William Beestons before the seventeenth century (1958: 1.255.3-7, 5.154).
- p. 137.35 *Greene, Marlow, Chettle*] Nashe in *HWY* responds 'I never abusd *Marloe, Greene, Chettle* in my life', reproducing a letter signed by Chettle to this effect (1958: 3.131.15 ff.). For Nashe's relationship with Greene, see p. 121.20-21 n. McKerrow suggests a possible reason for Harvey's having assumed ill-will between Nashe and Chettle (Nashe 1958: 4.368): Chettle in his preface to *Kind-Harts Dreame* denies charges that he is the author of *GWW* ('it was all *Greenes*, not mine nor Maister *Nashes*, as some unjustly have affirmed') (1593: sig. [A4]'), whereas Nashe in the preface to the second edition of *PP* calls it 'a scald trivial lying pamphlet' (1958: 1.154.10), the implication being that it is not Greene's work, although he specifically addresses charges that it is by him.
- p. 137.35 *Gabrielissime Gabriel*] Nashe 1958: 1.265.3.
- p. 137.39 *Tu es Starnigogolus*] I cannot explain this. The phrase is presumably not a compliment.
- p. 137.40 *and hath...for't*] See p. 109.28 n.

- p. 137.41-42 *Plaudite...nebulo*] From Erasmus' colloquy *De Lusu*. The speaker, beaten in a game resembling croquet, praises his vanquisher: 'Let all the young people who are here applaud the winner! The one who beat me is first-rate - a first-rate bastard!' (Erasmus 1993: 353).
- p. 137.45-46 *his whole matter, & manner*] See p. 48.24-25 *n*.
- p. 137.46-47 *his matter...formam primam*] See the tenth book of *Batman vppon Bartholome*, 'De Materia et Forma', for a long discussion of the relationship between matter and form, 'principalles of all bodilye things' (1582: fols 152<sup>v</sup>-153<sup>v</sup>). In scholastic philosophy, 'form' is distinguished from 'matter', not as 'physical shape' but 'essential determinant principle' (see *OED* form *sb.* 1 4a).
- p. 137.47 *Privationem Ultimam*] 'The final destruction.'
- p. 137.47 *his Last...threatened*] See p. 109.28 *n*.
- p. 137.51 – p. 138.1 *his...Word*] See p. 109.28 *n*.
- p. 138.2 *his meritorious worke*] 'Meritorious' could be used specifically 'of good works, penance, etc., as entitling to reward from God' (*OED* 1). Here as on p. 144.14, Harvey seems to refer to Nashe's description of *SN* as 'workes of supererogation' (1958: 1.259.4), from which he takes the title of *PS*.
- p. 138.3 *as quicke, as quicksilver*] See p. 50.20 *n*.
- p. 138.8-9 *armed...Minerva*] See p. 91.37-38 *n*.
- p. 138.9 *accleered*] See p. 74.1 *n*.
- p. 138.11 *like a new starre in Cassiopea*] See p. 95.36-38 *n*.
- p. 138.14-15 *It...greenesickness*] Literally this is 'An anæmic disease which mostly affects young women about the age of puberty' (*OED* green sickness). *OED* cites as a figurative instance Nashe's quotation of this in *HWY* (1958: 3.112.23), commenting that it is often used 'with reference to the morbid appetite which characterizes chlorosis' (*OED* b), although Harvey is probably punning, as so often, on Greene's name.
- p. 138.15-16 *a greater...88.*] See p. 25.11 *n*. Something of the currency of beliefs about this prophecy in the 1580s is conveyed by Holinshed in 1587, when describing the ferment caused by Richard Harvey's *Astrologically Prognostication* in 1583: 'The publication [. . .] made manie [. . .] to looke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and withall, put them in mind of an old and common prophesie, touching the yeare 1588, which is now so rife in everie mans mouth. That yeare was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and much spoken of amongst astrologers, who have [. . .] prognosticated, that either a marvellous fearfull & horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, segniories and estates, together likewise with other most woonderfull, and verie extraordinarie accidents, as extreame hunger and pestilence, desperat treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an utter and finall overthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall insue' (1807-08: 4.511). 1588 was the year of the Armada, and the subject of Thomas Tymme's *A preparation against the prognosticated dangers of this yeare, 1588* (STC 24420) is that the attempted Spanish invasion is the great event foretold.
- p. 138.16 *the falling-sickness*] Cassius makes a similar pun in *Julius Caesar* 1.2.251-53.
- p. 138.17-19 *M. Stowe...worke*] This is Harvey's revenge on Nashe for having written 'raigne sole Emperour of inkehornisme [. . .] from this time forth for [. . .] evermore maist thou be canonized as the *Nunparreille* of impious epistlers [. . .] Chroniclers, heare my praiers. Good maister *Stowe*, be not

unmindfull of him' (1958: 1.317.19-36). Stow's chronicle included not only news of foreign events and affairs of state but descriptions of freaks and monstrosities, e.g. the list of the 'monstrous births' of 1562, human and animal (1592: 1102).

p. 138.18-19 *vayner...conceit*] See p. 107.10 n.

p. 138.18 *a thing lighter then Tarletons Toy*] Cf. *Terrors of the Night*: 'in the [. . .] first yere of the reigne of Tarltons toies'; McKerrow glosses, '*Tarltons Toyes* was entered in the Stationers' Register on Dec. 10, 1576. No copy is known to exist' (Nashe 1958: 1.343.11-12, 4.199).

p. 138.20 *be it...Presentes*] See p. 26.21-22 n.

p. 138.20 *his brasen wall*] See p. 72.21, p. 111.7. 'Brazen' could mean 'strong as brass' as well as 'Hardened in effrontery; shameless' (*OED* a. 1b, 3). Cf. *Virgidemiarum* V.iii.60: 'if those walles be over weake a ward, / The squared Bricke may be a better gard. / Go to my thriftie Yeoman, and upreare / A brazen wall to shend thy land from feare'. Davenport compares *FQ* IV.xi.36, where Spenser describes the 'brasen wall' which Constantine II built as defence against the Picts; *FQ* III.iii.10, where Merlin plans to build a 'brasen wall' around Carmarthen; and Roger Bacon's plan to wall England with brass in Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (Hall 1949: 85, 247).

p. 138.22 *more...Bell*] The bell is Nashe's dissonant satire. Cf. *Hamlet* III.1.160, where Ophelia compares the disordered speech of the once-brilliant prince to 'sweet bells jangled, harsh and out of tune'.

p. 138.23 *forcible to moove*] 'Move' could mean generally to 'affect, persuade' (understood as the end of rhetoric – see p. 44.8-9), and not specifically 'affect with tender or compassionate emotion' (see *OED* v. I 9, 10). In *Henry V* V.2.185, the King, his courtship stymied by his lack of French, complains to Katherine 'I shall never move thee in French, unless it be to laugh at me'.

p. 138.27-29 *the base...credit*] See p. 108.26-27.

p. 138.33-34 *She...Fortune*] See p. 137.3-5 n.

p. 138.35-36 *who...dutie?*] Cf. p. 7.23.

p. 138.50 *the finger of Industry*] See p. 127.4 n.

p. 139.2 *pot-jestes*] Jokes made under the influence of drink. Cf. 'pot-girl' (barmaid), 'pot-knight' (drunkard), etc. (see *OED* pot sb.<sup>1</sup> 14).

p. 139.2 *whip-dog*] Someone who performs menial tasks. In *I Parnassus* 1235, Philomusus loses his job as a rural sexton because he is 'too proude to whipp they [*sic*] doggs out' of the church (Leishman 1949: 194).

p. 139.3 *directly, or violently*] 'Directly' could mean 'correctly, rightly' (*OED* 1b) and 'violently' 'improperly, illegally' (*OED* 1b).

p. 139.10-11 *the Oile...woondes of Scorpions*] Batman states that 'scorpions drowned in oile, helpeth & succoureth beasts that bee stong with scorpions' (1582: fol. 381<sup>r</sup>).

p. 139.12 *a rod in lye*] Perhaps 'lye' means 'urine' here (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1 †d). Cf. the phrase 'to have a rod in stale' (*OED* stale sb.<sup>5</sup> 1b).

p. 139.12 *in a City*] See p. 49.38 n.

p. 139.14 *Whipsydoxy*] 'Harvey [. . .] seems to use the word for a "whipping"' (Nashe 1958: 4.359).

p. 139.15-16 *cry...Penitent*] See p. 16.14 n.

- p. 139.18 *desperate Dick*] See p. 3.39 n.
- p. 139.24-25 *the discoovery of Cunny catchers*] Harvey is alluding to Greene's *A Notable Discouery of Coosenage* (see p. 64.37 n.).
- p. 139.27-29 *Aunswere...conceit*] Proverbs 26.4-5.
- p. 139.29 *the wisest...Sentences*] A 'sentence' could mean a proverb; 'Master of the Sentences' was the name given to Peter Lombard (fl. 12th c. A.D.), who compiled the *Sententiarum libri quatuor*, 'the opinions of the Fathers on questions of Christian doctrine' (*OED* sentence sb. 4a, 2b).
- p. 139.30-31 *to the horse...rod*] Proverbs 26.3.
- p. 139.35 *Tu autem*] 'You too'.
- p. 139.38 *the shott...musket*] Cf. p. 70.27-28.
- p. 139.41-42 *the lovely...Starre*] See p. 77.47 n.
- p. 139.43 *if some...crevise*] In an alternative draft of 3PL's 'Earthquake Letter', extant in manuscript, Harvey, having listed the preferred reading of young Cambridge scholars, adds 'you may easily conjecture y<sup>e</sup> rest yourselfe; especially being on that can as soone as an other spye lighte at a little whole' (1884: 80).
- p. 139.44-45 *an other...Hall*] The pressing business which Harvey pleads as a reason for bringing *PS* to an end is presumably legal: according to Sugden, 'From the time of Henry III the courts of Common Law and Chancery were fixed' in Westminster Hall. In 1593, Martha Harvey, widow of Gabriel's younger brother John, lodged a suit against Gabriel and his father, alleging that, according to the marriage settlement, she was owed twice the amount that she had brought to the marriage in dowry (£300). Stern's account of the suit (1979: 98-100) is more flattering to Gabriel Harvey than that of Nashe, who in *HWY* claims that Harvey 'hath gone about to circumvent [Martha] of al she hath' (1958: 3.81.35).
- p. 139.47 *such...fier*] i.e. matters occupying me (see Tilley I99, 100).
- p. 140.2-3 *in whose onely Indifferency*] 'In whose impartiality alone [. . .]' – see p. 11.15 n.
- p. 142.8 *promise I account debt*] See p. 7.49 n.
- p. 143.21-38 Nashe in *HWY* sums up the sonnet: '*Mounsieur Fregeville Gautius* [. . .] is at it with his *Apologie of the thrice learned and thrice eloquent Doctour Harvey, befooles and besots mee* in everie line, pleads *the Doctors innocence*, and *the lawfulness of his proceedings*, praiseth his *moderate stile*, saies *he is sorie he is so unjustly pusht at, and, being pusht at, glad he hath so acquitted him*, and that *his Answer is reasonable and eloquent*' (1958: 3.136.9-16). As McKerrow says, this is an accurate summary (Nashe 1958: 4.370): I have attempted below to translate the sonnet more closely.
- 'On the *apologia* of the most-learned and most-eloquent Master Doctor Harvey, by the Lord de Frégeville of Gaut.' He who, being provoked, publishes his defence, may justly display his cause; the Law of Retaliation can do no less than give permission to repay the injury. But he who, by undertaking to write, presumes to defame others, consciously tarnishing them, cannot claim to be in the right; if he does this, the intended infamy will return to him for reward. Nevertheless, in all things I love a moderate style, even if one is responding to a fool who is excessive, since it is not right to imitate his folly [cf. Proverbs 26.4]. I am sad to see Harvey provoked, but glad that, being

- shamefully wounded, your learned response is eloquent and calm [the semi-colon after 'piqué' would be a comma in modern syntax: see p. 63.36-38 *n.*].
- p. 144.8 *Haec...poena tua est*] 'This was your crime, and shall also be your punishment.'
- p. 144.13 *howt*] Brydges retains this spelling (1815: pt. 8.219), although in a modern-spelling text this might be rendered 'hoot', pronunciation notwithstanding.
- p. 144.14 *Her...Wonderclowte*] Hubbard sees this as an allusion to *SN*: 'the expected wonder turns out to be a ridiculous failure' (1918: 441). See p. 138.2 *n.*
- p. 144.17 *What...Mister wight*] Glossing *FQ* I.ix.23.2 ('To weet, what mister wight were so dismayd'), Hamilton calls it 'a common formula for "what kind of person"' (Spenser 2001: 117 *n.*).
- p. 144.21 *Not...Larke*] See p. 88.27, p. 124.18, & *nn.*
- p. 144.23 *the Pickle-herring clarke*] See p. 6.29-30.
- p. 144.26 *Est...Erit*] 'It is good that [she] was not able to speak: [she] says [she] will be.'
- p. 144.28-44 As Stern notes, John Harvey the elder died in July 1593, and he and the younger John, Gabriel's brother, are the subject of this sonnet (1979: 108). A recurrence of the celestial imagery which characterises the sonnets of *FL* is noticeable.
- p. 144.32 *brother Eye*] The eye was thought not only to receive but also to emit light, as Hamilton notes when glossing *FQ* II.ix.46.3, where 'Two goodly Beacons' stand for the eyes in Alma's castle (Spenser 2001: 243 *n.*). Ben Jonson, praising Edinburgh as the equal of London, calls it 'the hart of Scotland Britaines other eye' (1925-52: 1.143); Harvey in *Ciceronianus* praises Smith and Cheke as 'the two eyes' of Cambridge (1945: 81).
- p. 144.38 *the heavenly Art*] Possibly this applies to the younger John's practice of medicine. It would appear that Gabriel did not approve of his brothers' interest in astrology (see p. 25.11 *n.*).
- p. 144.43 *Deigne...indulgence*] Collier's interpolation of commas after 'Deigne' and 'Zeale' appears to be an error (1870b: 232): 'prostrate' is an adjective modifying 'Zeale'.
- p. 144.44 *that is amisse*] i.e. 'that which is': see Abbott 1870: 164-67.
- p. 145.3-15 Nashe's claim that the 'Advertisment' on p. 46 above, allegedly by Wolfe, is in fact Harvey's (1958: 3.117.3-7) might equally well be made of this.
- p. 145.8 *two other their writings*] 'Two other pieces of their writing': see p. 73.46 *n.*
- p. 145.11-12 *sometime...Pharise*] Perhaps a particular parable is meant (see Luke 18.10-14).
- p. 145.12 *to blase other mens armes*] See p. 134.22 *n.*
- p. 145.27 *Si...valeo*] 'If you are well, that is good: I am well.'
- p. 145.45 *Fames swift winges*] See p. 45.25-26 & *n.*
- p. 145.49 *forcing*] Perhaps 'persuasive': see *OED* force v.<sup>1</sup> 4a. Cf. p. 138.23.
- p. 146.22-23 *I pray...pleasure*] Cf. p. 137.13 *n.*
- p. 146.31 *Stilliard*] See p. 134.35 *n.*
- p. 146.34 *Pot-jests*] See p. 139.2 *n.*
- p. 146.37 *In...passion*] 'Agony' could mean specifically 'The mental struggle or anguish of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane' (*OED* 2), and 'passion' 'The sufferings of Jesus Christ on the Cross (also often including the Agony in Gethsemane)' (*OED sb.* 1a).

- p. 146.38 *thy Oisterwhore phrase*] Chute associates Nashe's satire with the stereotypical loudness and coarseness of female street-vendors: see Taylor 1981.
- p. 146.39 *Yet-Gentry...degree*] See p. 16.43 *n*.
- p. 146.40 *thine Armory to blase*] See p. 145.12 *n*.
- p. 146.42 *groser*] Perhaps Chute is using the comparative form solely for the extra syllable provided, as persistently done by the author or authors of the *Parnassus* plays (see Leishman 1949: 96 *n*.).
- p. 146.47 *Ramme-ally meditations*] See p. 109.16-19 *n*. Either this was a stock phrase, or this passage is quoted in *2Parnassus* 273, when Ingenioso says that Marston 'Cutts thrusts, and foines at whomesoever he meets, / And strewes about Ram-ally meditations' (Leishman 1949: 242). McKerrow explains its sense (in *2Parnassus*) as 'coarse language' (Nashe 1958: 4.180).
- p. 147.3 *thy long-booted gentry*] See p. 116.17-18 *n*.
- p. 147.8 *Yet...Hell*] See p. 17.40 *n*.
- p. 147.11 *his Asses name*] Grosart comments on p. 50.11, 'this is one of Harvey's [. . .] frequent equivoques on *an asse* and Nashe, on the principle of a nuncle, etc.' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.110), which may be relevant here. McKerrow cites Frederick Fleay's statement 'that the name was pronounced "Nass"', but disagrees: 'It is true that Harvey punned upon "a Nashe" and "an ass", but his pun may have been merely a bad one' (Nashe 1958: 5.2 *n*.).

## *A New Letter of Notable Contents*

The factors predating the composition of *NL* are more complicated than its textual history, if the two can be separated. Its entry in the Stationers' Register is dated 1st October 1593:

John wolf.      Entred for his copie under Master MURGETRODes hand *A letter from*  
D[octo]r HARVIE. to John wolf. (Arber 1875-94: 2.636)

As the title of its entry suggests, *NL* has an ambiguous status, somewhere between a private letter to an acquaintance of the author and a printed text in the public domain. In the words of McKerrow, 'the style is unusually obscure, even for Harvey' (Nashe 1958: 5.96); Hale Moore states that 'The obscurity incident to most of the writings of Gabriel Harvey reaches its superlative' in *NL* (1926: 337). Even Virginia F. Stern calls the verses at the end of *NL* 'curious and difficult' (1979: 114). (The title-page describes the sonnet as 'straunge', suggesting that some of the people involved in the printing of *NL* did not understand it.) McKerrow's explanation is that the text was not intended by Harvey for publication.

Harvey's letter to Wolfe, dated September 16 (p. 158.39), begins with him thanking the printer for sending him some pamphlets of recent news. McKerrow infers that, at some point after July 16, when the prefatory matter to *PS* is dated (see p. 41.30), Harvey had left London for Essex (Nashe 1958: 5.96). The death in July of his father would provide a reason for this (Stern 1979: 108), although A.H. Bullen assumes that he was 'staying in the country, to be out of the reach of infection', 1593 being a plague year (quoted Harvey 1884-85: 3.xv). G.R. Hibbard (1962: 211) notes that Nashe's description of Harvey lodging with Wolfe for 'Three quarters of a yere' while working on *PS* (1958: 3.87.8) fits the time-period between the printing of *FL* (September 1592) and the date of Harvey's last contribution to *PS* (July 1593). This point is of importance. Harvey makes repeated mention, throughout the letter, of *CT* – entered in the Stationers' Register on 8 September (Arber 1875-94: 2.635) – and also of private overtures made by Nashe towards him, which he treats with suspicion, stating his wish for a public apology. In his preface to the first edition of *CT*, 'To the Reader', Nashe did in fact issue an apology. In producing a devotional tract, in sharp contrast to his previous work, Nashe had bid 'A hundred unfortunate farewells to fantasticall Satirisme', declaring

Nothing is there nowe so much in my vowes, as to be at peace with all men, and make submissive amends where I have most displeased [. . .] Even of Maister Doctor *Harvey*, I hartily desire the like, whose fame and reputation (though through some precedent injurious provocations, and fervent incitements of young heads) I rashly assailed: yet now better advised, and of his perfections more confirmedly perswaded, unfainedly I entreate of the whole worlde, from my penne his worths may receive no impeachment. All acknowledgements of abundant Schollership, courteous well governed behaviour, and ripe experienst judgement, doe I attribute unto him. Onely with his milde gentle moderation, hereunto hath he wonne me. (1958: 2.12.3-23)



Grosart interpreted the publication of *NL* as Harvey having refused the 'olive-branch of reconciliation and oblivion' offered him by Nashe (Harvey 1884-85: 3.xix). This has been the conventional view for a long time:

Nashe, who at this stage appears to have been becoming heartily ashamed and weary of the controversy, now sought to bring it to an end by making a formal and graceful apology [. . .] Even this, however, failed to appease his antagonist, and Harvey returned to the attack in his 'New Letter of Notable Contents.' (*DNB*, art. Harvey)

Declaring himself tired of the controversy with Harvey, [Nashe] acknowledged in generous terms that he had rashly assailed Harvey's 'fame and reputation.' But Harvey was deaf to the appeal [. . .] (*DNB*, art. Nashe)

McKerrow's interpretation is that Harvey in Essex had not read *CT*. He suggests that Nashe had mentioned its imminent publication in a private letter (Nashe 1958: 5.96). (Since the two were clearly corresponding, Hibbard suggests that Wolfe might have mentioned it to Harvey (1962: 214).)

McKerrow points out that Harvey shows no further knowledge of Nashe's text than its title and general subject-matter, and that much of the language which he uses about Nashe's apology is not appropriate to his having seen a printed text:

it would have been purely absurd to behave as if it was non-existent, to clamour for a 'public apology to be publicly confessed' when he had Nashe's confession and apology in print before him (Nashe 1958: 5.102).

He suggests that the 'professed *Pænitet*' which Harvey rejects in *NL* (p. 158.11) was a private communication (Nashe 1958: 5.101). Evidently the two had been in contact via mutual acquaintances. Harvey mentions fruitless attempts, instigated by himself, to contact Nashe via third parties (p. 156.21-25). The second preface to *CT* supports this, as does *HWY*. In the former, Nashe describes Harvey 'plucking on with a slavish privat submission a generall publike reconciliation'; in the latter, he tells Harvey that *NL* was published 'after (through your Friends intreatie) wee were reconciled' (1958: 2.179.29, 3.118.8).

McKerrow also suggests that, when Nashe wrote the first preface to *CT*, he had not read *PS*:

from what we know of Nashe we can hardly think it likely that he would pen such an apology if Harvey had, a month or so before, published against him so violent an attack (Nashe 1958: 5.103).

He notices a passage in the second preface:

upon his prostrate intreatie I was content to give him a short Psalme of mercie [. . .] *Sixe and thirtie sheets of mustard-pot paper since that hath he published against me* (Nashe 1958: 2.180.21; italics mine).

He surmises from this that a) *PS* appeared after *CT* was printed, and b) *PS* and *NL* were printed simultaneously, since thirty-six sheets is exactly the amount of paper contained in *PS* and *NL* together (Nashe 1958: 5.103). Nashe, he notes, refers in *HWY* to *NL* as a whole as if it were part of a larger

work: 'one Epistle thereof, to *John Wolfe*, the Printer' (1958: 3.36.6). *PS* was not entered in the Stationers' Register (Nashe 1958: 5.173), which makes the date when Wolfe decided to print it flexible. He suggests that Wolfe took the initiative in publishing *PS* and *NL*. Nashe states in *HWY* that Harvey undertook to pay for the printing of *PS* himself, and was then unable to (1958: 3.71.21-23, 96.12-15). McKerrow suggests that, *CT* having appeared and *PS* being already printed, Wolfe 'issued the book and made what he could out of it' (Nashe 1958: 5.104). He cites its obscurity as possible evidence of its being originally intended as private correspondence:

It indeed gives one the impression that it was begun as a mere friendly letter to Wolfe, and that the attack upon Nashe, which occupies five-sixths of it, was simply the result of an ebullition of feeling at the moment. Harvey naturally enough in writing to Wolfe would make some mention of the subject, and once embarked upon it he perhaps found it difficult to stop (Nashe 1958: 5.97).

G.R. Hibbard accepts Harvey's absence from London, and the joint publication of *PS* and *NL*, but is no less hostile to Harvey than Grosart and the Victorian biographers. He argues that Harvey *had* read *CT* by this point, and to McKerrow's objections about the absurdity of Harvey's asking for a public apology when he had already been given one, says 'Harvey may have been quite capable of behaving absurdly' (1962: 215). Harlow 1969 concurs with Grosart and Hibbard. Virginia F. Stern, always sympathetic to Harvey, accepts that *NL* was written before the publication of *CT*, but suggests that Harvey had seen Nashe's work in manuscript (1979: 110-13). This version requires Wolfe to publish *NL* without Harvey's consent, and Stern says of the printer

Although Harvey seems to have been convinced at this time that Wolfe was truly his friend, the printer-publisher was a man whose monetary interests usually took precedence in all his actions (1979: 101).

She notes Wolfe's piracies of other printer's privileged works, as also that Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveller* was entered to him in the Stationers' Register, inferring 'Dubious loyalty to Harvey' on Wolfe's part (1979: 121).

Supposing that *NL* had been intended as a private letter or to circulate in manuscript, Harvey's arcane linguistic practices and previous use (in *3PL* and *FL*) of an epistolary format for a printed text counted against him. Nashe had clearly read *PS* by the time the second edition of *CT* was issued in 1594, with its splenetic new preface:

The love or pitie I shewed towards mine enemy, of all my ill fortunes hath most confounded me [. . .] treason was shrowded under termes of truce [. . .] This it is to deale plainly. An extreme gull he is in this age, and no better, that beleeves a man for his swearing [. . .] he is utterly undone which seekes by new good turnes to roote out old grudges [. . .] Never more let him looke to quench wilde fire with milke, or mitigate the matter with mild termes [. . .] Let him trust to it Ile hamper him like a jade as he is for this geare, & ride him with a snaffle up & down the whole realme. (1958: 2.179.5-181.24)

In 1596, Nashe returned to 'fantasticall Satirisme' with a vengeance in *HWY*; he wrote no more religious works.

Stern summarizes *NL* as a 'discourse on genuine and sham values and an attempt to appraise Nashe's intentions in these respects' (1979: 111). As so often, Harvey leans into his subject gradually, rather than introducing it clearly, and it is long before Nashe or any of his works are mentioned by name. He begins by discussing the political developments on mainland Europe which are the subject of the pamphlets he has received from Wolfe (p. 148.1 – p. 149.47), then shifts to praise of contemporary English writers (p. 149.48 – p. 150.31). He mentions a sonnet that he has enclosed or appended, which Wolfe may publish if he wishes (p. 151.20). The transition of subject-matter to Nashe seems to come at p. 151.41: 'You might heare of the new *Treaty, or motive* [. . .]'. Harvey draws an implicit comparison between the truce offered by Nashe and the truces recently brokered in France and Croatia (Nashe, he implies, is no more to be trusted than Philip II or the Sultan). The rest of *NL* is concerned with Nashe's apparent conversion and Harvey's mistrust of it. He declares himself happy to be reconciled but requires a printed apology first: 'Till a *publique injurie* be publicquely confessed, and *Print* confuted in Print, I am one of S. Thomas disciples' (p. 156.29).

As in *PS*, Harvey mentions some works by his mysterious female patron, whose publication will annihilate Nashe. A long speech of hers is quoted (p. 154.42 – p. 155.31). Harvey says that her works will not appear in the case of Nashe publishing a retraction, but that it would be a shame for the public to be deprived of them. He repeatedly uses medicinal language – or, as Nashe derisively calls it in *HWY*, 'Apothecarie tearmes' (1958: 3.139.27) – to describe the healing process that he calls for, in literary London and across Europe. After the end of the letter comes the sonnet which Harvey has already mentioned, with an envoy, then a 'Stanza declarative', then another sonnet ('The Writers Postscript'), a 'gloss' to this, and another envoy. McKerrow declares that the verses were 'doubtless intended to have some meaning, but [. . .] I have in vain attempted to discover what this may be' (Nashe 1958: 5.102). Allusive and obscure though the verses are, scholarly consensus is that they concern the death in May 1593 of Christopher Marlowe, of whose friendship with Nashe Harvey was aware (see p. 137.32-35).

Unlike *FL* and *PS*, *NL* does not contain detailed quotations from any of Nashe's works (the exceptions are p. 154.46-48 and p. 155.21-23, where Harvey returns to some favourite phrases from *PP*). C.G. Harlow argues that individual words in *NL* are echoes of the language used by Nashe in his preface to the first edition of *CT*. However, even Harlow did not claim that Harvey shows detailed knowledge of the main body of the text of *CT*. As McKerrow points out, Harvey in *PS* had seized eagerly on a passage of *PP* which had seemed to be derogatory to the city of London, as well as the court (p. 120.38-45); he argues that, had Harvey known of Nashe's outspoken attack in *CT* on the city fathers, which caused such offence that it had to be cut from the second edition, and earned Nashe a spell in Newgate (see Hutson 1987, Duncan-Jones 1996), he would surely have made use of this as well (Nashe 1958: 5.101 *n.*).

The order of events preceding the publication of *NL* cannot be easily resolved. As McKerrow writes in another place, Stationers' Register entries provide no more than a rough guideline for the date of a text's publication (1928: 137). The several dates appearing in the respective parts of *PS*, the fact that (if Harvey was absent from London in July-September 1593) the end-matter to *PS* must have been added in his absence, the fact that it exists in several states and the possibility that it was printed

together with *NL*, do nothing to simplify matters. A desire to resolve this question is bound up with the desire to write a narrative of the Harvey-Nashe quarrel with Harvey as either hero or villain – Harlow states that, if McKerrow is correct, Harvey ‘emerges from the encounter unlucky, but with his honour untarnished’ (1969: 459) – which is perhaps a temptation to be avoided. In my explanatory notes, I have noted passages in *NL* which support McKerrow’s conjecture, and also the passages which Harlow identifies as echoing the first preface to *CT*.

#### *Early Editions*

*Title:* ‘A Nevv Letter of | NOTABLE CONTENTS. | *With a straunge Sonet, intituled |*  
GORGON, | *Or the wonderfull yeare.* | [Printer’s device (McKerrow 294)] |  
LONDON | Printed by Iohn Wolfe. | 1593.’

*Format:* Quarto.

*Collation:* A-D<sup>4</sup>.

I have collated four copies of *NL*: the two copies held in the British Library (shelf-marks 96.b.16.(2.) and C.40.d.10), the Bodleian Library copy reproduced in facsimile by the Scolar Press (Bliss A 110), and the Huntington Library copy reproduced on EEBO. I have found no variations between the copies, although one of the British Library copies (96.b.16.(2.)) is missing a title-page and has been cropped, so that some characters on the right-hand margin of sig. B3<sup>r</sup> and the running-title on sigs A4<sup>r</sup>-[D4]<sup>v</sup> are missing.

Supposing McKerrow’s conjecture about the circumstances of *NL*’s publication to be correct, Harvey would not have been present in the printing-house to read proofs and correct any compositor’s errors, as seems to have been common practice (McKerrow 1928: 205-07). However, I can discover no textual corruption except for the two errors given in the ‘Errata’ on sig. [D4]<sup>v</sup> and the readings ‘exceeing’ on sig. B2<sup>r</sup> (which seems to be the result of a turned letter) and ‘sweet’ on sig. C<sup>r</sup>. Unlike *FL* and *PS*, there is no pagination, *NL* being much shorter than these two texts. One striking factor is the number of words and phrases which are italicised: these appear not to be quotations, but the use of them is more marked here than in *FL* or *PS*. A comparison of the Errata with the passage on sig. C<sup>r-v</sup> which it corrects, some phrases being italicized in the Errata and not on the main body of the text, suggests that these should be regarded as accidental (see p. 154.32-34, p. 160.48-50).

#### *Modern Editions*

*Archaica*, ed. by Egerton Brydges, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1815)

‘Part the Ninth’ of *Archaica* is comprised of the third book of *PS*, then *NL*. Pagination begins again at the start of *NL*. Brydges’s methodology is as with *FL* and *PS*, although, unlike his editions of the earlier texts, he has a few explanatory notes as footnotes. The italicised words and phrases he generally puts in Roman.

*A New Letter, of Notable Contents*, ed. by J.P. Collier ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1870)

As with his edition of *FL*, Collier has several readings with no textual authority in common with Brydges. Like Brydges, he generally, but not systematically, puts the italicized words and phrases in Roman.

*The Works of Gabriel Harvey, D.C.L.*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, 3 vols (London, Aylesbury: Hazell, Watson, and Viney, 1884-85), I, 255-98

Grosart states in his preface, 'Mr J. Payne Collier also reprinted this in his (so-called) Yellow Series, much as he did the "Foure Letters" and all. It is simple and sorrowful matter-of-fact that in no single case has it been my good fortune to find a consecutive half-page true to the original in any one of his reprints' (Harvey 1884-85: 1.256). As with his transcription of *FL*, Grosart has several readings with no textual authority in common with Collier, as Hale Moore notes (1926: 344 *n.*). A few of them seem to emanate originally from Brydges.

*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. by G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), II, 282-84

Smith reproduces one passage from sigs A4<sup>r</sup>-B<sup>r</sup>. For his habits in reproducing Harvey's text, see the introductions to *FL* and *PS* above. His explanatory notes are on p. 444 (there are only five).

#### *This edition*

The only changes I have made to Harvey's text are to incorporate the two emendations given in the Errata (p. 154.28, p. 154.32-34), and read 'exceeding' for 'exceeping' (p. 151.17) and 'sweet' for 'sweett' (p. 154.10). On sig. B3<sup>r</sup> of the Bodleian copy, some of the letters have not inked properly and are hard to read; on the Huntington copy a very large patch on this page has not been properly inked and is illegible. Fifteen lines down, the Bodleian copy reads 'v rooted'; I have followed the two British Library copies (and Brydges, Collier and Grosart) in reading 'unrooted' (p. 152.18), since there is no evidence that *NL* went through more than one edition or issue.

## Explanatory notes

- p. 148.5-6 *the Italian...footeman*] The closest phrase in Tilley or *ODEP* is ‘Good news may be told at any time, but ill, in the morning’, which appears in George Herbert’s 1640 collection *Outlandish Proverbs* (Tilley N139).
- p. 148.9 *your Indices...sickness*] On July 14 1593, ‘*the billes, briefes, notes and larges gyven out for the sicknes, weekly or otherwise*’ were entered to Wolfe in the Stationers’ Register (Arber 1875-94: 2.634). According to Nashe, Harvey was involved in writing these: ‘he did [. . .] that eloquent *post-script* for the Plague Bills, where he talks of the series, the classes, & the premisses, & presenting them with an exacter methode hereafter, if it please God the Plague continue’ (1958: 3.89.10-13). These bills had first appeared in 1519, but Wolfe appears to have been the first to print them weekly (Wilson 1927: 189, 196). McKerrow suggests that these bills were among the books which Wolfe has sent to Harvey, who was ‘absent from London’ (Nashe 1958: 4.346), which would count against Nashe’s story, accepted by Wilson.
- p. 148.11 *Parthenophil*] ‘*PARTHENOPHIL and PARTHENOPE &c* By B. BARNES’ is one of several books entered to Wolfe on 10 May (Arber 1875-94: 2.631).
- p. 148.11-12 *Shores wife*] See p. 38.1-3 n. A ‘booke intituled *the abuse of beautye* represented under the title of *SHORES wife*’ was entered to Wolfe on June 16 (Arber 1875-94: 2.632).
- p. 148.12 *the Articles...France*] On 25 August 1593, ‘a booke in Frenche to be printed in Englishe intituled *Articles accordez pour la Treve generale*’ was entered to Wolfe (Arber 1875-94: 2.635).
- p. 148.13-14 *your queint...Maine*] On 4 September 1593, ‘a booke to be printed in Englishe intituled *Remonstrances to the Duke DE MAYNE &c*’ was entered to Wolfe (Arber 1875-94: 2.635).
- p. 148.14-15 *that...Croatia*] ‘Ruprecht Freiherr Eggenberg (1545-1611), an Austrian general, defeated the Turks under Hassan Pascha in a great battle at Sissek, June 20, 1593’ (Moore 1926: 350). Two candidates for the text Harvey means were entered to Wolfe on 14 September 1593: ‘a booke intituled *Warer erhaltenen underlang ten victori / so undter der furst &c*’ and ‘a descripcon intituled *Marhastige gluckliche Reittung aufs Crabaten / von Dem Sigder Christen &c*’ (Arber 1875-94: 2.636). The latter is less likely than the former, since a marginal note in the Register calls it a ‘balled [*sic*] of *ye overthroe of the Turke*’, and Harvey seems to mean a news-pamphlet.
- p. 148.15-16 *the old...Shippes*] See Suetonius, *Caligula*, XXXVII. The building of ‘Liburnian galleys’ is given as one of the Emperor’s extravagances: Rolfe comments that they were ‘famous for their speed’ (Suetonius 1998: 474 n.).
- p. 148.18 *Remembrancer*] See p. 111.16 n., although the word could be used as the title of a pamphlet (see *OED* 3c).
- p. 148.22 *an honorable...durable*] The cessation of hostilities between the Ottoman and Holy Roman Empires after the raising of the siege was short-lived. On August 7, Sultan Murad III ‘caused open war to be proclaimed’ on Rudolf II (Knolles 1603: 1023).
- p. 148.27 *Rubarbe*] The use of rhubarb as a purgative is suggested by *Macbeth* V.3.50-56.

- p. 148.34 *Hungary*] In the English commentary to Ortelius' *Theatre of the VWorld*, we are told that 'to the grief of all good myndes, the chief citties & best partes of this country are now in the possession of the Mahometicall Tyrant' (1601: fol. 90<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 148.34 *Almany*] It may be necessary to bear in mind how inclusive the area of Europe covered by 'Germany' was to Harvey: in some marginalia, he lists Erasmus among the 'Germaniæ lumen' (1913: 256). In this respect, he is not unrepresentative of Elizabethans (see Draudt 1993: 118-19).
- p. 148.35 *Immensum...Gloria*] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, IV.II.36 (the text reads 'immensum gloria calcar habet'). Wheeler translates, 'renown possesses a mighty spur' (Ovid 1924: 429).
- p. 148.39 *though gold-leaves...Oratours*] Cf. 3PL: 'no such Orators againe, as redheaded Angelles' (Spenser 1912: 621); *Richard III* IV.2.38: 'Gold were as good as twenty orators, / And will, no doubt, tempt him to anything'. Tilley gives as an instance of the proverb 'Gold speaks' a quotation from Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd* (1594): 'Gold is a deepe-perswading orator' (G285a).
- p. 148.43-44 *Fraunce...Truce*] The French civil wars had commenced in 1562 with the Massacre of Vassy, continuing until 1598 with intermittent periods of truce (see Buisseret 1972: 47-87 *passim*).
- p. 148.44 *Judas kisse*] See Matthew 26.47-49, Mark 14.43-46, Luke 22.47-48.
- p. 148.45-46 *fealt...post*] 'Been deceived.' *OED* cites this as a figurative instance of 'Samson's post', 'a kind of mousetrap' (†1).
- p. 148.46 *prest*] Perhaps 'on the alert, ready for action'. *OED* gives senses relating to conscription (pressed *ppl.* *a.*<sup>2</sup>).
- p. 148.46-47 *nor Hungary too fierce*] Hungary is praised by Sidney in *A Defence of Poetry* as 'that right soldierlike nation' (1966: 46).
- p. 148.48-49 *The house...Crowne*] A 1562 declaration of Elizabeth I's had identified 'the duke of Guise and his adherents' as 'authors & maintainers' of the French civil wars, motivated by a desire 'for the exaltation of their particular house' (quoted Stow 1592: 1105-06).
- p. 148.49 *the Duke...main-chance*] See p. 110.5-6 & *n.* Charles, Duc de Mayenne (1554-1611), younger brother of the Duc de Guise assassinated in 1588, succeeded him as leader of the Catholic League (Buisseret 1972: 122).
- p. 149.1 *The king...enemy*] See p. 13.47 *n.*
- p. 149.4-5 *Were...all*] Cf. Tilley M113: 'Every man for himself and God for us all'. 'God's above all' is a truism which Shakespeare puts in the mouth of the drunken, maudlin Cassio (*Othello*, II.3.96).
- p. 149.11-13 *Whose...Examples*] Ottoman possessions in Europe, Asia and Africa are itemised in Ortelius 1601: fol. 102<sup>v</sup>. Holinshed's description of Lepanto (see below) ends with a warning that if 'the Lord of hosts doo not in time disappoint his [the Sultan's] proceedings, it will be [. . .] too late to stop the breach' (1807-08: 4.264).
- p. 149.20-21 *the most...mustard-seede*] See p. 132.28 *n.*
- p. 149.27-30 *Who...Turky?*] The naval victory over the Turks, won by a combined Spanish, Venetian and Papal fleet led by Don John of Austria (Philip II's half-brother) took place on October 7, 1571; this was celebrated publicly in London as a victory for Christendom (see Holinshed 1807-08: 4.262-64).
- p. 149.31 *make...triumphant*] See p. 101.20-22 *n.*

- p. 149.32 *divine*] Characterised by a religious as opposed to a secular perspective (cf. *OED a., sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3, 6).
- p. 149.36 *coheaping*] The word, not in *OED*, perhaps means ‘amalgamating’.
- p. 149.40-42 *Meane-while...Lepanto*] The allusion is to James VI (see p. 69.17-23 & *n.*). The siege would be similar subject-matter to the activities of English knights on the continent, which in the Second Letter of *FL* Harvey expresses aspirations to write about himself (p. 8.15-22). The ‘noble wit’ is perhaps du Bartas, who had translated *Lepanto* into French (Willson 1956: 66).
- p. 149.44 *Orpheus glorified Jason*] Orpheus was supposedly one of the Argonauts; what Lemprière calls his ‘poetical account’ of the voyage has been attributed to an Athenian called Onomacritus.
- p. 149.44 *Ariosto, Charlemaine*] Orlando (Roland) is one of Charlemagne’s knights: Harington describes Ariosto’s Charlemagne as ‘a just, a fortunate, and a mercifull Prince, and one that within Europe, as well as without did attaine great conquestes’ (1591: 7).
- p. 149.44-45 *Tasso...Bollen*] See p. 58.3 *n.* Godfrey of Bouillon was one of the Nine Worthies (*OED* worthy *a., adv., sb.* C 1c) and is the hero of *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Hamilton 1990: 678-80).
- p. 149.45 *encountring*] See p. 51.31 *n.*
- p. 149.45 *surprising*] Characterised by sudden attacks (see *OED* surprise *v.* 2). *OED*’s only instance of ‘surprising’ before 1645 is from Harvey (*ppl. a.* 2 †b).
- p. 149.46 *floorish...mountaine*] Echoing Psalms 92.11: ‘The righteous shal florish lyke a palme tree’. (In other early-modern translations, this is 92.12.)
- p. 149.46-47 *fade...valley*] See p. 105.30. Harvey’s passion for parallelism means that he wrenches the Biblical phrase slightly.
- p. 149.48-49 *I know...write*] This was perhaps a stock phrase. Gascoigne uses it in *The Adventures of Master F.J.*, eliding the sex scene between his hero and Elinor: ‘Were it not that I know to whom I write, I would the more beware what I write. F.J. was a man and neither of us are senseless [. . .]’ (Lawlis 1967: 64).
- p. 149.49-50 *he that...done*] Stern comments, ‘the reference here seems to be both to Aretino and Machiavelli’: Wolfe had printed texts by both authors (1979: 112 *n.*). Huffman sees this as a reference to the time Wolfe actually spent in Florence: ‘Giovanni Vuolfio, Inglese’ appears on the colophon of two religious poems printed there in 1576 (1988: 123-24). However, he sees a similarly arch allusion to Wolfe’s clandestine printing of Aretino and Machiavelli in Eliot’s *Ortho-Epia Gallica* (1593), also printed by Wolfe, in which the author inveighs against expatriate Italians ‘who have empoysoned with the venime of their skill, our English nation, with the bookes of Nicholas Machevill and Peter Aretine’ (1988: 165).
- p. 150.2 *Presidents*] ‘Precedents’: see p. 14.31 *n.*
- p. 150.12 *Graces*] See p. 75.23 *n.*
- p. 150.13 *Suada*] See p. 30.41 *n.*
- p. 150.16 *the balme...Tempe*] See p. 124.15-16 *n.*
- p. 150.17 *the dulcimers of Sappho*] Harvey’s allusions in this passage are opaque, but since he clearly has Mary Sidney in mind on p. 150.24-26, perhaps he means her here and not his ‘Gentlewoman’.



- p. 150.18-19 *which...endenisoned*] On 'the English Ariosto', Brydges comments 'By Sir John Harington' (1815: pt. 9.8 n.), and Harvey certainly read Harington's translation at some point (see p. 13.34 n.). Possibly, however, Harvey is not referring to translations, since he decries the lack of an English du Bartas immediately afterwards, and works by du Bartas had been translated into English already, by Joshua Sylvester; Harvey's annotated copies are extant (Stern 1979: 234). Perhaps he means Englishmen who are the equivalent of these authors (cf. p. 53.9 & n., p. 66.27 & n.). In this case, I cannot identify the English Ariosto, although Harvey was aware of Spenser's desire to emulate the Italian – see 3PL (Spenser 1912: 628).
- p. 150.20-21 *The sky-coloured...itselfe?*] The allusion is to Bartas's *La Muse Chrestienne* (see p. 32.4 & n.).
- p. 150.22-23 *his amazing devises*] It is not clear whether this still refers to du Bartas or not.
- p. 150.24 *Dia-margariton*] Medication made of pearls (*OED* *dia-* prefix<sup>2</sup>): see p. 105.13 & n.
- p. 150.25-26 *though...Gemmes*] Smith identifies the allusion as to Mary Sidney's *Antonius* (1590) and translation of Plessis de Mornay's *Discourse of Life and Death* (1593) (1904: 2.444).
- p. 150.28 *blason*] Because of the verb's associations with heraldry, it could perhaps mean 'praise' or 'flatter'. Cf. *A Mervaylovs discourse...of Katherine de Medicis*: 'I will no wyse blason her conditions, but only doe intend to give all men warning of [. . .] her injustice, wronges and injuries' (Estienne 1575: sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup>).
- p. 150.29-30 *not...overskip*] Cf. p. 10.2, p. 52.9, p. 67.39.
- p. 150.35 *a quicke sent*] See p. 73.10 n.
- p. 150.44 *prompt*] This might be applied to the 'quickness' of someone's intellect, as in *Leicester's Ghost* 2090, where the Earl calls himself and his brother 'Myghty in power, and prompt inough of witt' (Rogers 1972: 81).
- p. 150.45 *as fine...Daedalus*] See p. 127.33 n.
- p. 150.45 *as nimble...Mercury*] See p. 95.20 n.
- p. 150.48 *Exercise hatcheth miracles*] See p. 15.22-23 n.
- p. 151.3 *Heroicall...Prizes*] Cf. p. 33.33-34, p. 70.24.
- p. 151.7-8 *the smal...Turke*] See p. 148.14-15 n.
- p. 151.8-9 *the little...enemies*] Henri's pre-eminence is possibly due to his only-recently-rescinded status as Protestant hero (see p. 8.5 n.). As an Austrian, Eggenberg would be assumed by Harvey's contemporaries to be a Catholic (see Draudt 1993). The European countries forced to contain the spread of the Ottoman Empire were either Catholic or Orthodox, and thus only co-religionists of the English to an extent. The place of the Croatian siege (called 'Siseg' in Knolles's account) was a fortified monastery, and the governor also an abbot (Knolles 1603: 1021-22).
- p. 151.10-11 *what written...Tokens*] This seems to support McKerrow's conjecture that *NL* 'was intended merely for the semi-publicity of a MS.' (Nashe 1958: 5.102).
- p. 151.11 *One...other*] Tilley cites examples from 1567 (H87).
- p. 151.13 *my least...Trifle*] Harvey seems to mean the sonnet which follows his letter (p. 158.42 ff.).
- p. 151.15 *I terme...superexcellent*] See p. 48.24-25 n.

- p. 151.19-20 *disguiseth...Glosse*] In grammar, 'positive' is applied to an adjective or adverb 'which expresses simple quality, without qualification, comparison, or relation to increase or diminution' (*OED a., sb.* A II 4).
- p. 151.20 *it is your...pleasure*] This seems to me to support McKerrow's conjecture: Harvey would not write about the sonnet in these terms if he had intended his whole letter for publication. For 'dispose' in the sense of 'publish', see p. 137.13 *n.*
- p. 151.21 *promise...Obligation*] See p. 7.49 *n.*
- p. 151.23 *lesse...Unthankefulness*] 1593 was a plague year (Stow 1598: 438). See p. 148.9 *n.*
- p. 151.25 *your...States*] Huffman calls Wolfe 'one of the printers most active in reporting news from abroad' (1988: viii).
- p. 151.27 *any his vacation*] 'Any spare time of his' (see p. 106.5 *n.*).
- p. 151.30-31 *our sweet Table-philosophy*] See p. 48.15 *n.*
- p. 151.31 *the fordead...creature*] See p. 103.43 & *n.*
- p. 151.36-37 *puffe-up...veynes*] As on p. 105.8-9 and p. 129.28-29, Harvey is punning. 'Puff up' describes the distending of the vein as well as pride (*OED v.* 4a, 5a). See *The English Phlebotomy*: 'till the veine be puffed up, and swell, and may easily bee seene' (Gyer 1592: 231), also *OED* swelling *ppl.* *a.* 7.
- p. 151.39 *stand stifly*] *OED* defines 'stand stiff' as 'be steadfast or obstinate' (*a., sb., adv.* 8 †c). Cf. *Philadelphvs*: 'never stand so stiffly in your naked *conjecture*' (Harvey 1593: 5-6).
- p. 151.42 *Treaty, or motive*] McKerrow interprets this, 'proposal or motion (for a treaty)' (Nashe 1958: 5.97 *n.*).
- p. 151.43-46 *the famous...conduct*] Batman, not citing any authorities, tells the same story more curtly, adding 'Men of that Countrie, call that Well, *Jobs Well*' (1582: fol. 190').
- p. 151.49 *dogged...vomit*] Cf. 'The dogge is turned to his owne vomite agayne' (2 Peter 2.22).
- p. 151.50-51 *the fittes...September*] Stern interprets this as Nashe's abuse in *SN* and apologies in *CT* (1979: 112).
- p. 152.1 *as lunatique...Moone*] See p. 95.21 *n.*
- p. 152.2 *a jugling Convert*] Harlow (1969: 460) sees an echo here of *CT*: 'to God & man doe I promise an unfained conversion' (Nashe 1958: 2.13.6).
- p. 152.2-3 *Did...colours*] Perhaps Harvey has Andrew Perne in mind (see p. 130.16, p. 135.32, etc.).
- p. 152.4 *read a Lecture*] See p. 29.24 *n.*
- p. 152.6 *running heads*] See p. 12.19 *n.*
- p. 152.7-9 *those...white?*] See Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, III.25.3-4. Seneca cites Theophrastus here as several times in this book, apparently citing his *De Aquis*, no longer extant (see Seneca 1971-72: 1.226 *n.*). I cannot find the relevant passage in Theophrastus' extant works, although in *De Causis Plantarum* 13.II.5-6, he describes the phenomenon in animals, suggesting that the drinking of water is the cause.
- p. 152.11 *as merry as a cricket*] Proverbial (Tilley C825).
- p. 152.11-14 *When...other?*] Sidney Lee cites this and p. 157.16-17 as evidence of 'the influences of Rabelais and Aretino' on Nashe (*DNB*). McKerrow argues against any actual influence (Nashe 1958:

- 98 n., 128-31). Possibly Aretino functions here merely as the 'symbol of vener<sup>y</sup>' he meant to so many of Harvey's compatriots (McPherson 1969: 1551); see also p. 17.49 n.
- p. 152.13-14 *attainted...other*] The allusion seems not to be to any particular passage in Rabelais but to his obscenity generally. Syphilis is thought of as specifically French by Harvey's English contemporaries: see Marston's *Malcontent* V.2.4 (1975: 132), and all the puns in Shakespeare about 'French crowns' – scalps bald from *alopecia syphilitica* (*Measure for Measure* I.2.48, *Love's Labours Lost* III.1.138, *All's Well That Ends Well* II.2.21).
- p. 152.14-15 *he hath...Magdalen*] Robert Southwell's *Marie Magdalens funeral teares* (1591) had gone through two editions by 1593 (STC 22950). Sidney Lee states that *CT* 'is clearly framed on the model of Southwell's tract' (DNB, art. Southwell), but McKerrow does not 'detect any particular resemblance between the two works' (Nashe 1958: 5.98 n.). Possibly Harvey makes the comparison because of the respective titles and the broad similarity of subject-matter.
- p. 152.15 *his Patheticall veine*] C.G. Harlow cites this as 'positive evidence that Harvey had read at least the prefatory matter of *Christ's Tears*' (1969: 460), comparing Nashe's words in the epistle 'To the Reader': 'A hundred unfortunate farewells to fantastick Satirisme. In those vaines here-to-fore have I mispent my spirite' (1958: 2.12.4). Harvey's and Nashe's joint use of the word 'vein' appears to me less compelling evidence than it does to Harlow.
- p. 152.21-22 *Machiavell...religious*] Notwithstanding Tobin's conviction that this passage is the basis for Hamlet's speech (1980: 86), what is in play here is the conventional association of Machiavelli with deceit and treachery. Weissberger notes that Elizabethan notions of Machiavelli were formed more by Innocent Gentillet's *Contre-Machiavel* (translated in 1577) than by *The Prince* (not translated until 1640), citing Harvey as a conscious misinterpreter (1927: 589-90).
- p. 152.31-32 *If...pretendeth*] Harlow sees another echo of *CT* here (1969: 460): see p. 152.2 n.
- p. 152.32 *put-on the new man*] Used in Ephesians 4.24 and Colossians 3.10, with regard to spiritual regeneration.
- p. 152.33-34 *playeth...loose*] Deceives, dissembles (see p. 11.13-14).
- p. 152.35 *as holly...holly-hock*] For this spelling of 'holy', see p. 92.4-5, p. 94.8, etc. *OED* suggests that the plant's name is 'of hagiological origin' and stems from 'med. L. *malva benedicta*'.
- p. 152.36 *if...old Apuleius*] See p. 49.41-42 n.
- p. 152.44 *in a...kinges*] Shakespeare makes a similar pun in *King John* II.1.122 ('thy bastard shall be king, / That thou mayst be a queen, and check the world!'). 'Mating' here perhaps means 'contentious' (see *OED* mate v.<sup>2</sup> 1a).
- p. 152.47 *that we cannot*] 'That which we cannot': see Abbott 1870: 164-67.
- p. 152.47-48 *Socrates professed nothing*] See p. 59.15-16 n.
- p. 152.49-50 *put-up*] *OED* defines this as 'submit to, endure, suffer quietly, patiently, or tamely (an affront or injury)' (put v.<sup>1</sup> B 56 p †(a)), citing Harvey as the first instance.
- p. 152.51 – p. 153.2 *An unguiltie...Feude*] Cf. Tilley C597 ('A clear conscience laughs at (fears not) false accusations'), C606 ('A guilty conscience is a self-accuser (feels continual fear)').
- p. 153.1 *a brasen wall*] The type of impenetrability: see p. 138.20 n.
- p. 153.7 *their materiam primam*] Their constitutive parts (cf. p. 137.46-47).

- p. 153.13 *Law of Oblivion*] *OED*'s earliest instance of the phrase ('A law that no man should be called in question nor troubled for things that were past...called Amnestia, or law of oblivion') is from 1612 (oblivion *sb.* 1c).
- p. 153.14 *silly*] See p. 113.39 *n.*
- p. 153.16 *Pierces...your,)*] See p. 79.28 *n.*
- p. 153.16 *lest*] 'Least' (see p. 121.18).
- p. 153.17 *the penknife*] Perhaps this means 'an abrasive way of writing' (see p. 108.9-10 & *n.*).
- p. 153.20 *washing...head*] See p. 120.9 *n.*
- p. 153.23 *satisfaction*] Harvey seems to mean 'apology': cf. *OED* I 1a ('the atoning *for* [. . .] an injury, offence, or fault by reparation').
- p. 153.24-29 *It...sweet*] McKerrow paraphrases this, 'If peace was made [. . .] her attack upon Nashe was evidently to be suppressed' (Nashe 1958: 5.99).
- p. 153.29-30 *The bravest...described*] There is no reason to assume that Harvey is referring to another part of his published writings. The importance of balancing the active and contemplative lives is something he stresses repeatedly (see p. 24.42-43).
- p. 153.30 *A Lion...towne*] Cf. Puttenham: 'we say it is comely for a man to be a lambe in the house, and a Lyon in the field' (1936: 293). See Tilley L311 for other examples.
- p. 153.30 *Joves Eagle*] See p. 118.15-17 & *n.*
- p. 153.30-31 *an Apollos Swanne*] According to Lemprière, the swan was sacred to Apollo.
- p. 153.31 *A Serpent...life*] Perhaps echoing Matthew 10.16: 'be ye therefore wise as the serpents, and harmlesse as the doves'.
- p. 153.31-32 *an Angell in conversation*] The phrase 'angelic conversation' is applied to contact with spirits such as supposedly undertaken by John Dee and Edward Kelley (*ODNB*, art. Dee).
- p. 153.33 *Minerva*] 'The goddess of wisdom and all good artes & sciences' (Cooper).
- p. 153.34-35 *the cunning...brave*] Harvey perhaps means Nestor, who 'beyng [. . .] almost three hundred yeres olde, [. . .] went with the other Grecians to Troy [. . .] besyde his greatte wisdom gathered by long experience, he was so eloquent, that Homere affirmeth his talke proceeded from him sweeter then any honye' (Cooper). 'Menage' seems to mean Nestor's soldiers or retinue (*OED* †1), and not his personal qualities; the predominant senses of 'array' seem to have related to fighting men (*OED sb.* I 1-4).
- p. 153.37 *pledge*] Be on equal terms with (a drinking metaphor: see *OED* v. 5).
- p. 153.37-38 *She...chariot*] Not to be read literally (see p. 55.12-14 *n.*).
- p. 153.38 *teacheth...gallantly*] Cf. the proverbial expression 'to crow like a cock of the game' (*OED* cock *sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 2b).
- p. 154.2 *the progresse...Scorpion*] The sun occupies Scorpio in October (see *FQ* VII.vii.39).
- p. 154.5 *the flashing...Aier*] Lightning (see p. 135.15-16 & *n.*).
- p. 154.6 *moved*] See p. 138.23 *n.* Here the sense seems specifically to be 'angered', as in *Romeo and Juliet* I.1.5 ('I strike quickly being moved').
- p. 154.7 *a peece...Oratour*] A good enough orator (see p. 108.3 & *n.*).

- p. 154.8 *Tullyes perfect Oratour*] Harvey perhaps means *Orator*, in which Cicero gives a sketch of the ideal rhetorician, rather than the dialogue *De Oratore*.
- p. 154.9 *as full...Newyeares-day*] Brydges comments 'See, in the Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, a muster-roll of the rich gifts of New-years days' (1815: 9.17 n.). Harvey in *Ciceronianus* associates the giving of New Year's Day gifts of gold and silver with courtiers (quoted Knight 2006: 40-41).
- p. 154.11 *remembering*] In context, 'remember' could mean 'honour, praise' (cf. *OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 2). Among many biblical examples, see Psalms 20.7 ('remember the name of the Lorde'), Malachi 4.4, Acts 20.35.
- p. 154.11-12 *him...busines*] Perhaps this is not to be interpreted literally. Wolfe is described in a document of 1595 as married, and in 1601 the Stationers' Register records his widow Alice binding an apprentice, but the date of his marriage is unknown, and *ODNB* does not mention any children.
- p. 154.15-16 *Concerning...Supererogation*] Presumably Harvey means the three sonnets on pp. 41-42.
- p. 154.18-19 *it is...nature*] See p. 137.7-8 n.
- p. 154.19 *notes...above Ela*] i.e. remarkable things: see p. 124.7-8 & n.
- p. 154.21 *Pandora...singularitie*] 'Pandora' means 'all gifts': Epimetheus' wife, the first mortal woman, was given presents by all the gods (*OCD*).
- p. 154.24-25 *carrieth...mouth*] Harvey is playing with the phrase 'to carry meat in the mouth' (see p. 16.26-27 & n.). For marmalade and succade as the epitome of the delicacy, cf. 'the A per se A of all Artistes; the *Summa totalis* of witte: the second dish, the marmalade and sucket of the Muses' (Walkington 1607: sig. E3<sup>r</sup>); in *The Mirrour of Madnes*, the Epicure ends his list of gastronomic delights with 'Succettes, Marmalades, and greene ginger' (Sandford 1576: sig. Bii<sup>v</sup>). Harvey's phrase is echoed in *I Parnassus* 406, when Luxurio says to Ingenioso, 'now the time is come when what ere I make will beare marmelett and sukhet in the mouth' (Leishman 1949: 155).
- p. 154.25-26 *No...Conclusions*] Harvey presumably has in mind a chain such as the golden one presented to Aretino by François I in 1533 (Aretino 1976: 29-30), or the golden chain which Antipholus of Ephesus promises Adriana (*Comedy of Errors*, II.1.106).
- p. 154.26 *Cristall*] See p. 102.6 n.
- p. 154.30 *the precious...Cleopatra*] Perhaps Harvey has in mind the tomb near the temple of Isis, where Cleopatra stored her treasures (see Plutarch, *Life of Antony*, LXXIV).
- p. 154.30 *the cunning...Maedea*] For Medea's gathering of magical herbs, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VII.179-284.
- p. 154.32 *rondelet*] *OED*'s only sense is 'short rondeau' (†); cf. 'small cask' (*OED* roundlet †3).
- p. 154.40 *But when...runne-over*] Cf. *PWH*: 'Martins mouth hath sod [boiled] unskimde these twelve months, and now it runnes over' (Lyly 1902: 3.405.39).
- p. 154.44-46 *S. Dunstons...bull-beggar*] See *The Golden Legend* (Voragine 1900: 3.189). The Devil had unwisely chosen to tempt Dunstan in the form of a woman while he was busy making a chalice.
- p. 154.45 *Autem*] 'Indeed.'
- p. 154.46-48 *And as...babyes*] See p. 17.42-44 n., p. 18.4-5 n.
- p. 154.48 *steeping...fortis*] See p. 17.42-44 n.
- p. 154.48 *his goose-quill*] See p. 50.30-31 & n., p. 107.30.

- p. 154.49 *I will... Collyrium*] See p. 78.14 n.
- p. 154.50 *the Image... Patience*] Harvey seems to mean 'patience personified', as Nashe uses 'S. Silver' to mean money and 'Sainte *Lubecke*' to mean beer (1958: 1.288.12, 1.312.29). *ODS* lists no saints under this name, and *OED*, Tilley and *ODEP* give no evidence that the phrase 'the patience of a saint' was current in 1593.
- p. 154.50-51 *I have... nothing*] *OED* cites this as its sole instance of 'squatter' in the intransitive sense of 'To be fussily busy' (v. †1). McKerrow compares *UT*: 'scholasticall squitter bookes' (Nashe 1958: 2.248.27, 4.274).
- p. 154.51 *paint*] See p. 123.49 n.
- p. 155.2 *slaumpaump*] See p. 123.41 n.
- p. 155.4 *it... hard*] See p. 100.8-9 n.
- p. 155.6 *in commendam*] The phrase was 'used of the tenure of a benefice "commended" or given in charge to a qualified clerk or layman, to hold until a proper incumbent was provided for it' (*OED* commendam 1).
- p. 155.6 *his meritorious workes*] See p. 138.2 n.
- p. 155.7 *tuck*] This could mean a blow (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2); possibly, like 'bob', it could mean both this and a quip.
- p. 155.7-8 *Honesty... K*] I cannot confidently explain this. The only word for which the letter was an abbreviation before the nineteenth century (according to *OED* 4b) was 'king'. Perhaps Harvey's meaning is 'an honest subject will rebuke even the King when he is at fault'. Cf. the characters of Williams in *Henry V* (especially IV.8) and the Fool in *King Lear*. The importance of a king's listening to honest counsel and not flattery is emphasized throughout Greene's *James IV*, especially in II.2 (1970: 49-58). Possibly, however, 'K' is here the equivalent of 'fool' rather than 'scholar' (cf. p. 128.49).
- p. 155.8 *my mortar... fetida*] Harvey is perhaps punning. See p. 112.14-15 & n.
- p. 155.8-9 *the Falanta... Rymes*] Collier cites this when glossing Ver's song in *SLW* 182, the burden of which is 'Falangtado', suggesting that 'Falanta' or 'Falangtado' was the refrain of a contemporary song or ballad (cited Nashe 1958: 4.423), although it need not refer to a specific song.
- p. 155.9 *the Hayhohalliday of Prose*] 'Hey ho holiday' is the first refrain in Willy and Perigot's roundelay in *SC* August 54 (Spenser 1995: 132), and is the name of the melody to which the very similar 'A pastorall song' in Deloney's *Garland of good Will* (1593) is stated to be sung (1912: 344). Harvey is perhaps trying to suggest crude rusticity.
- p. 155.9 *Walladay*] I cannot explain this: it is perhaps also a phrase from ballads.
- p. 155.9 *new writers*] See p. 65.45 & n.
- p. 155.9-10 *the kutthroate... adversaries*] Cf. p. 48.1.
- p. 155.10 *broker*] See p. 125.35 n.
- p. 155.11 *for... hart*] 'For dear life' (see *OED* for *prep.* A 9c).
- p. 155.11-12 *my battring... powder*] See p. 112.14-15 & n.
- p. 155.12-13 *We must have... Tospot*] See p. 16.14 & n. For 'to cry *miserere*' see *UT*: 'he [. . .] made us plainly to confesse, and crie *Miserere*' (Nashe 1958: 2.259.27-29).

- p. 155.14 *the Moone-shine...water*] *OED* defines ‘moonshine in the water’ as ‘appearance without substance; something unsubstantial or unreal’ (moonshine *sb.* †2a).
- p. 155.16 *a drumme of Flushing*] Vlissingen in Holland was one of the towns given to Elizabeth in 1585, as security for the men and money she pledged to supporting the Revolt of the Netherlands (Sugden, art. Flushing). In *Every Man Out of his Humour* III.6.56, the *miles gloriosus* Shift boasts ‘I have seene *Vlishing*, *Brill*, and the *Haghe*, with this rapier, sir, in my Lord of *Leysters* time’ (Jonson 1952-25: 3.509-10). As a stage-direction in contemporary plays, a drum denotes ‘military or other ceremonial events’ (Dessen, Thompson). See p. 155.34 below.
- p. 155.17 *rattle...parchment*] See p. 18.4-5 *n.*
- p. 155.18 *girke...gig*] Perhaps this means ‘whip him like a wobbling top’. See *OED* jerk *v.*<sup>1</sup> †1a, hobble *v.* 1, gig *sb.*<sup>1</sup> I †1 (*OED* cites this passage of Harvey’s as an instance of ‘jerk’ in this sense and form). Cf. the poem ‘*My Lord All-pride*’, attributed to Rochester: ‘’tis such a baffled Fop / That every School-boy whips him like a Top’ (Wilmot 1999: 93).
- p. 155.19 *forspoken*] Cursed (see p. 130.39-40 *n.*).
- p. 155.20 *playing...fiddle*] Harvey’s pun uses ‘play upon’ in the sense of ‘make a fool of’ (see *OED* play *v.* II 14a); in *Hamlet* III.2.360-63, the Prince makes the same joke.
- p. 155.21-22 *Sirrha...bed*] See p. 53.23 *n.*
- p. 155.22-23 *broach...nippitaty*] See p. 53.31-32 *n.*
- p. 155.25 *long tongues*] ‘Long tongues’ seem to stand for loquacity in *An Almond for a Parrat*: ‘that long tongd doctresse, Dame *Law.*, must have been faine (in spite of insperation) to have given over speaking in the congregation, and employ her Parrats tong in stead of a winde-clapper’ (Nashe 1958: 3.344.9).
- p. 155.26 *the Stilliarde*] See p. 134.35 *n.*
- p. 155.26 *drunken*] See p. 106.23 *n.*
- p. 155.29 *borne...throats*] Cf. p. 50.11.
- p. 155.30 *the Tower...Conceit*] See Genesis 11.4. Babylon ‘is said in *Gen.* x. 10 to have been the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod [. . .] and the name B[abe]l is said to be derived therefrom; though this is a false etymology’ (Sugden).
- p. 155.33 *the Horne...sturres*] ‘Horn’ seems to have been associated more with hunting or the arrival of a post than with war, as Harvey seems to use it here (see *OED* horn *sb.* 13 a, b; Dessen, Thompson).
- p. 155.36 *vernished*] Brydges reads ‘varnished’ (1815: pt. 9.19).
- p. 155.38 *better...inconvenience*] See p. 26.36-37 *n.*
- p. 155.42 *unwoven...web*] From Ulysses’ wife’s deceit of her suitors, according to Cooper, came the proverb ‘*Penelopes telam retexere*, [. . .] to take much labour in vayne’.
- p. 155.43 *that confuteth itsel[e]*] ‘That which’ (see Abbott 1870: 164-67).
- p. 155.50 *requiting...bad*] Cf. Tilley G318 (‘Do good for evil’); Tilley traces this back to I Thessalonians 5.15 (‘See that none recompence evyl for evyl’).
- p. 156.6 *wordes are winde*] Proverbial (Tilley W833-34).
- p. 156.7 *promises of trust*] Trustworthy promises: cf. p. 55.30-32 *n.*

- p. 156.9 *Lawyers love reall cautions*] Harvey is perhaps punning, using legal terminology. 'Real' could mean 'Relating to things, or *spec.* to real property' (*OED a.*<sup>2</sup>, *adv.*, *sb.*<sup>3</sup> A II 6a), and 'caution' a bond or something pledged as part of it (*OED sb.* 1).
- p. 156.19 *Penmen*] 'Penman' could mean both a scrivener and an author (*OED sb.* 1a, 3a): cf. Harvey's similarly derogatory use of 'secretary' and 'scrivener'.
- p. 156.19-20 *great...frend*] McKerrow paraphrases this, 'May not Nashe's action be merely intended to sell his book?' (Nashe 1958: 5.100). Nashe himself uses similar vocabulary in *SN*, praising Greene as a professional writer: 'Greene came oftner in print than men of judgement allowed of, but neverthelesse he was a daintie slave to content the taile of a Tearme'; McKerrow notes Nashe's use of 'terms' in the sense of 'the chief publishing seasons' (1958: 1.329.4, 5.352).
- p. 156.21-22 *I have...conference*] When Nashe resumes hostilities, in his preface to the second edition of *CT*, he mentions a 'slavish privat submission' of Harvey's and a 'prostrate intreatie', as a result of which he issued his peace terms in the first edition (1958: 2.179.29, 180.21).
- p. 156.23-24 *the mediation...fourth*] In *HWY*, Nashe reminds Harvey that before the publication of *PS*, they were temporarily reconciled 'through your Friends intreatie' (1958: 3.118.8).
- p. 156.26-27 *dead in the neast*] Tilley gives other examples of the phrase (N123).
- p. 156.27 *the burned...fire*] Tilley's closest proverb is 'To put one's finger in the fire' (F230); Harvey's context requires a saying such as the one which Tilley cites from *Club Law* (c. 1600): 'I have byn burnt already, Ile not putt my finger into the fier againe'. See p. 16.17 n.
- p. 156.36 *Osculum Pacis*] 'The kiss of peace.'
- p. 156.37 *Osculum Judæ*] The Judas kiss (see p. 148.44 n.).
- p. 156.37-38 *the Teares...Crocodile*] See p. 133.34 n.
- p. 156.38-39 *that long...haire*] See p. 6.1. *The Trimming of Thomas Nashe* has Lichfield wondering 'why thou hast so much haire on thy head, and [. . .] almost none at all on thy face' (1597: sig. [D4]<sup>r</sup>). The woodcut accompanying the text (sig. E2<sup>r</sup>) shows Nashe with unkempt long hair (reproduced Nashe 1958: 5.109).
- p. 156.40-41 *Irish haire...countrys*] A tangled sentence, perhaps meaning 'barbarism and hypocrisy are not uncommon in England'. See p. 17.17 n. for the white raven as the type of rarity, and p. 78.25 n. for 'weeping Irish', although the phrase might mean something different from the sense in which Lyly uses it. *ODEP* defines it as 'to feign sorrow', and Tilley cites Thomas Fuller's *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine* (1662): 'the Egyptians did not weep-Irish with fained and mercenary tears' (W247). Long hair, signifying not effeminacy but barbarity, was part of the stereotype of Irishmen. Spenser describes them with 'a thick curled bush of hair hanging down over their eyes' (1970: 50), and in *FQ* V.ix.10.6, Malengin (who, as Hamilton notes, 'resembles the rebel Irish'), has 'long curld locks, that downe his shoulders shagged' (Spenser 2001: 569-70). See also *Richard II* II.1.155-56.
- p. 156.41 *there be...England*] See p. 121.1-2 n.
- p. 156.43-44 *still...fashions*] See p. 73.36 & n. Harvey seems to suggest that Nashe frequents brothels: he was aware of 'The Choice of Valentines' (see p. 65.46-47 & n.), and possibly the main character is meant to be identified as Nashe himself, since the prostitute he visits calls him 'Tomalin' (Nashe 1958: 3.407.81).



- p. 156.44-45 *to this...changeling*] Harlow (1969: 460) compares Nashe's words in the dedicatory epistle to Elizabeth Carey: 'My impotent care-crazed stile cast of his light wings and betooke him to wodden stilts' (1958: 2.10.3). See p. 152.15 *n*.
- p. 156.48 *diet*] This could mean 'way of living' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †1), although Harvey is perhaps thinking of philosophers such as Pythagoras (see p. 62.25 *n*).
- p. 156.51 – p. 157.1 *I know...Magdalene*] Southwell's name does not appear on the text; the prefaces are signed 'S.W.' (*STC* 22950).
- p. 157.2 *the liquid...Repentance*] Harlow sees this and p. 158.11-12 as an echo of Nashe's words in the preface to *CT*: 'Many things have I vainly sette forth whereof now it repenteth me' (1958: 2.12.29).
- p. 157.6 *some...Doinges*] 'Some recent words and actions of his' (see Abbott 1870: 23 for similar syntax).
- p. 157.10 *pay him home*] See p. 79.36 *n*.
- p. 157.15-16 *the Divels Oratour*] See p. 2.15 *n*.
- p. 157.16 *Though...Lucian*] See p. 4.43 *n*.
- p. 157.16-22 *I would be loth...mundi*] The texts in question are Aretino's, or were attributed to him, and are identified by McPherson: 'Harvey's first reference is to *Il Genesi* (Venice, 1538); his second to *I Ragionamenti* [. . .] the third to *L'Humanità di Christo* (Venice, 1535); the fourth, I cannot identify; the fifth, to *La Vita di Maria Vergine* (Venice, 1539), the sixth, to *La Puttana Errante*, originally a prose work by Lorenzo Veniero (Venice, c. 1538), later a prose work of the same title, perhaps by Niccolò Franco (both Veniero and Franco were disciples of Aretino, so the attribution of their works to him is understandable [. . .]); the seventh, to *La Vita di San Tomaso Signor d'Aquino* (Venice, 1543); the last, to an anonymous work (not by Aretino) with an obscure bibliographical history' (1969: 1554 *n*). See p. 21.36-37 *n*. Stern understands 'an Aretin' as 'one who taints and perverts religious feeling for his own purposes'; like Aretino, 'Nashe turns from the writing of satire and bawdry to the production of a homiletic religious tract' (1979: 114, 110).
- p. 157.18 *Capricious*] See p. 53.40 *n*.
- p. 157.20-21 *the Errant Putana*] 'Errant' should perhaps be understood here as 'Itinerant, travelling' (*OED a. (sb.) I*). Cf. the anonymous 1660 *The wandering whore continued*, which COPAC suggests is an English adaptation of *La Puttana Errante*.
- p. 157.23-24 *to spoile...peiùs*] See Cassiodorus, *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning*: 'it is said of him [Origen] "where he writes well, no one writes better; where he writes badly, no one writes worse"' (2004: 114).
- p. 157.24 *surmounting*] Here Harvey's context seems to suggest a sense like 'overweening': cf. p. 160.6. Hale Moore identifies the subjects as Marlowe and Greene (1926: 342).
- p. 157.25 *arreare*] See p. 74.6 *n*.
- p. 157.25-26 *Hyperbolicall...miracles*] I cannot identify the passage in Aristotle.
- p. 157.29 *bombasted termes, or Babilonian Phrases*] *OED* gives figurative uses of 'Babylonian' from 1637, defining three senses: 'a. huge, gigantic; †b. popish (*obs.*); c. (cf. *Rev.* xvii. 4) scarlet' (*OED A adj.*). Cf., however, Jonson's 'To Fine Grand' (published 1611), with its phrase 'the Babylonian song you sing'; Donaldson glosses the word 'incomprehensible', which might be relevant here (1975: 39).

- p. 157.30 *beaudesert*] See p. 119.40 *n*.
- p. 157.34 *playeth the Democritus*] i.e. the joker. Cooper calls the Athenian 'An excellent philosopher [. . .] Whan he behelde the citie of Athens, he continually laughed at their foolyshe diligence, whiche spared no peines to get authoritie and ryches'.
- p. 157.34 *capon-crammed*] See p. 77.20 *n*.
- p. 157.35 *his hart...surquidry*] The swollen toad seems here not to represent malice (as on p. 61.27-28) but pride.
- p. 157.35 *padd*] See p. 23.39 *n*.
- p. 157.39 *Heraclitus*] 'A philosopher, whiche alwayes wepte when he behelde the people, consydering howe busy they were to gather treasure, and how negligent in the well brynging up of their children' (Cooper). It seems to have been conventional to contrast him with Democritus, as Harvey implicitly does here. Cf. Puttenham: 'I could be content with *Democritus* rather to condemn the vanities of our life by derision, then as *Heraclitus* with teares' (1936: 112); also Whitney 1586: 14.
- p. 157.40 *the melting...bowels*] See p. 20.22 & *n*.
- p. 157.48 *Non...execrabile*] 'It is not good to jest about the Saints: to jest about Christ is abominable.' I cannot find the source, which is perhaps patristic.
- p. 157.49 *Castilio*] *Il Cortegiano* has been identified as the book which Thomas Cromwell recommended to Reginald Pole c. 1528, while arguing that 'a politician's astuteness consisted in [. . .] formulating ways in which the sovereign may satisfy his appetites without offense [*sic*] to the religious or moral notions of the people', not *Il Principe* as had been supposed (Weissberger 1927: 599-600). Castiglione's statement that a prince cannot 'governe either himselfe or others well, without the help of God' is perhaps not as cynical as Harvey makes him appear (1974: 285).
- p. 157.50-p. 158.1 *there is...state*] When Harvey makes the same point in some marginalia, Moore Smith traces the thought back to Machiavelli's *Discorsi* VII (1913: 209.32 *ff.*, 297).
- p. 158.1-3 *I would...mindes*] This is echoed in *The Art of Iugling or Legerdemaine* (1612): see Appendix E, 12-15.
- p. 158.3 *Plinyes*] See p. 100.48 *n*.
- p. 158.4 *Lucians religion*] See p. 4.42 *n*.
- p. 158.11-12 *let...appeare*] McKerrow argues that this refers to 'some expression of regret in writing' which Nashe had passed to Harvey (Nashe 1958: 5.101). If Harvey had seen *CT* in print, surely he could not write about the potential of its appearance when this had already happened.
- p. 158.12 *satisfaction*] See p. 158.12 *n*.
- p. 158.14 *Truth...hatred*] Tilley cites examples from 1530 (T569).
- p. 158.14 *Vertue Envy*] See p. 64.10 & *n*.
- p. 158.14-15 *Familiaritie contempt*] Tilley cites example of the proverb from 1576 (F47).
- p. 158.15 *Favour pride*] Not in Tilley.
- p. 158.15 *Pardon recklesnesse*] Cf. Tilley P50 ('Pardon makes offenders').
- p. 158.15 *Credulitie...daunger*] Not in Tilley.
- p. 158.18 *Consultation*] Perhaps 'caution' or 'prudence': see p. 102.27-28 *n*.

- p. 158.22 *sine dolo malo*] ‘Without wicked deceit.’ Cf. Harvey’s comments in some marginalia on sayings of his father’s: ‘Other familiar glosses he wanted not, upon y<sup>e</sup> Title De Dolo Malo: wherein lightly his Conclusion was; The Divil is A knave, and his Dam A whore’ (1913: 155.1).
- p. 158.24 *Jett*] See p. 70.1-2 *n*.
- p. 158.28-29 *His...abused*] McKerrow assumes that this refers to a private letter of Nashe’s to Harvey, since nothing to this effect appears in *CT* (Nashe 1958: 5.97 *n*.); as Harlow says, Harvey is using the ‘authorial third person singular’ here, and is himself the person in question (1969: 460). This does not seem to me to prove that no such letter existed, as Harlow infers.
- p. 158.30 *All...effectually well*] Tilley cites examples from 1536 (A154).
- p. 158.34 *Oyle of roses*] See p. 62.18-19 *n*.
- p. 158.35 *Mercury of Buglosse*] For medicinal uses of bugloss, see Pliny, *Natural History*, XXV.81.
- p. 158.42-p. 159.8 Stern summarizes the sonnet, ‘because of dire astrological predictions 1588 had been anticipated as the year of awesome events. But the earth need not have feared, for it had been tricked by “St. Fame” [ . . . ] The truly “wonderful” year, one of incredibly amazing events (for the most part welcome rather than dire ones) has been the current year’ (1979: 116).
- p. 158.44 *Gorgon*] Stern sees the title as a reference ‘to the terrifying Medusa, the sight of whom petrified those who gazed upon her’ (1979: 117). Clearly the name meant to Harvey an object of fear: in some marginalia, he describes how Apollonius of Tyana could with his face ‘overawe them, that went about to restraine him. He woold shew them a Gorgons hed’ (1913: 153.1). The Gorgon is also the type of the monstrosity: Cooper calls the Gorgons ‘Monstruous women, whiche were vanquished by Perseus’.
- p. 158.46 *S<sup>t</sup> Fame*] I think that Harvey here means rumour personified (see p. 22.37-39 *n*.), and that Nashe’s ‘dire warnings in *Christs Teares*’ (Stern 1979: 116 *n*.) are not relevant.
- p. 158.48 *a wonderment of Eighty Eight*] See p. 138.15-16 *n*.
- p. 159.1 *Wonders...odd*] Cf. Tilley L582: ‘There is luck in odd numbers’.
- p. 159.2 *The fatall...Three*] Huffman (1988: 191) notes an echo of John Harvey’s *Discovrsive Probleme concerning Prophetes* (1588): ‘Some [ . . . ] will needes include a deepe mystery, & high secret in the very number 5550 it selfe (the present yeere of the world, and the 88. of Christ) [ . . . ] I am well assured there is no such exquisite *Arithmetically*, or exact *Geometrically* proportion in the figures and numbers thereof, as shall be in the yeere 5555. approaching [ . . . ] it is the 93. not the 88. yeere of the *Christian Epocha*, that must proove the dismall period, and fatall yeere of lamentations’ (Harvey 1588: 91-92).
- p. 159.3 *Parma hath kist*] See p. 8.6 *n*. Farnese had died fighting in France on December 3, 1592 (Moore 1926: 349). *OED* gives no instances of ‘kiss’ as used intransitively by Harvey, but cf. ‘*kiss the ground*, [ . . . ] *fig.* to be overthrown or brought low’ (*OED* kiss *v.* 6d).
- p. 159.3 *De-maine...rodd*] Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Mayenne, called a meeting of the States General in January 1593, and was reconfirmed as lieutenant general of France (Moore 1926: 349).
- p. 159.4 *Warre...see*] On July 31, a truce of three months was agreed between Henri IV and the Catholic League, in which Philip II was majority shareholder (Moore 1926: 349). See p. 8.5 *n*. Peace and Spain are presumably understood as incompatible (see p. 13.47 *n*.).

- p. 159.5 *Brave...shames*] See p. 148.14-15 n.
- p. 159.6 *The Christian...tames*] Moore sees this as an allusion to the battle of Lepanto, 'in the metaphor of a Christian with his water putting out the Greek-fire used by the Turk as a naval weapon' (1926: 350). However, all the other events mentioned in the sonnet are of the previous year (hence the title): perhaps this should be interpreted as a comment on the preceding line.
- p. 159.7 *Navarre wooes Rome*] Henri's conversion happened on July 23 (Moore 1926: 350).
- p. 159.7 *Charlmaine...Phy*] Stern interprets, 'Charlemagne was shamed by his descendants, the House of Guise, who failed to live up to his greatness' (1979: 117). In the *Mervaylovs discourse...of Katherine de Medicis*, Catherine is described as calling 'the governmente of the Lordes of Guise [. . .] no other then a tirannous usurpation and entry unto the possession of the crown, under coulour of succession in the right & title of *Charlemaigne*' (Estienne 1575: sig. [B8]r). Huffman by contrast sees an allusion to Henri IV's conversion: 'Navarre ("Charlmaine") outflanked the Guisard League by agreeing to convert' (1988: 120).
- p. 159.8 *Powles*] Stern's identification of this as 'St. Paul's Churchyard, hub of stationers, writers, and controversialists' (1979: 117), is more convincing than Moore's statement that this is the cathedral, 'antithesis of "atheist Tamberlaine"'': he himself later cites Kyd on Marlowe's frequenting 'stationers in Paules churchyard' (1926: 351, 352).
- p. 159.12-13 *The hugest...binde*] F.G. Hubbard comments on this, 'The "hugest miracle" mentioned in the Envoy (i.e., the muzzling of Nashe) is to be worked by the "Gentlewoman rare" of the *Stanza declarative*' (1918: 438). For Nashe as another Shakerley, see p. 107.9-10 & n. For the playing on Nashe's name, cf. p. 144.6.
- p. 159.15-25 In Stern's words, the subject of the 'Stanza' is 'another miracle of 1593: the muzzling of the redoubtable "bullbear" Thomas Nashe by the "Gentlewoman"' (1979: 117-18).
- p. 159.22 *miracles surcease*] That (in Protestant theology) miracles had ceased after Christ was proverbial (*Henry V* I.1.67, *All's Well That Ends Well* II.3.1).
- p. 159.25 *Vis...sua*] Horace, *Odes* III.iv.65: Bennett translates, 'Brute force bereft of wisdom falls to ruin by its own weight' (1914: 191).
- p. 159.27-48 Stern summarizes this sonnet, 'although Marlowe's "Gargantua minde" is now conquered by death, he has left the dissembling rascal Nashe behind to follow in his footsteps' (1979: 118).
- p. 159.28 *Shakerley*] See p. 107.10 n.
- p. 159.34 *Eccho*] Collier makes this 'echo' (1870c: 31), but perhaps this should be a personal name (see p. 88.27 n.).
- p. 159.34 *shrill*] See p. 124.18 n.
- p. 159.37 *Magnifique...race*] Moore assumes that Nashe is meant to be one of Marlowe's mourners (1926: 352), citing p. 107.37.
- p. 159.39 *Whose Corps on Powles*] See p. 159.8 n. 'Corpse' could mean a living body (*OED sb.* †1). Moore comments, '*corps...mind* balance each other in about the same sense *physical presence...cunning*'; he sees 'Paul's' here as the 'loitering place, and book center, where Marlowe the good-for-nothing scribbler struts about' (1926: 352).

- p. 159.39 *whose...Kent*] Moore lists the possible meanings of this (1926: 352). Firstly, Alleyn had played Tamburlaine at the Rose, in Southwark, outside the city precincts: 'The meaning would be, He swaggers about Paul's in person as he bombasts over in Kent with the products of his mind – his plays'. Secondly, Marlowe had been arrested at the house of Thomas Walsingham, in Kent: 'He escaped the consequences by incontinently dying, which in Harvey's ironical vein might be to "triumph on Kent"'. Thirdly, Kent might stand for the Archbishop of Canterbury or his see, 'religion in epitome'. Fourthly, Harvey means the fifth Earl of Kent, Henry Grey. Fifthly, the allusion is to Marlowe's birth in Kent.
- p. 159.40 *to bate...Ace*] Moore interprets, 'to yield in the least to the greatest of braggers' (1926: 353). See p. 108.3 *n*.
- p. 159.44 *Scanderbeg*] *OED* identifies this as George Castriotes, leader of a fifteenth-century Albanian revolt against the Turks. Nashe in *LS* cites him as the archetypal great soldier (1958: 3.191.11), and one of *OED*'s examples pairs him with Tamburlaine, but most of the instances are pejorative, and Harvey seems to mean a bully or braggart. Cf. the downward trajectory described by 'Hector', which meant first a warrior and then a ruffian (*OED sb.* 1-2).
- p. 159.45 *Vowed...bile?*] Since 'bile' here seems to mean a kind of sore (see p. 159.47), perhaps this should be modernised 'boil' (see p. 56.13-14 *n*). Harvey describes Nashe in the same terms which Nashe had used for him in *SN*: 'this bile on the browe of the Universitie' (1958: 1.282.15).
- p. 160.2-27 Stern suggests that this is a parody of Marlovian blank verse (1979: 119).
- p. 160.5 *haunted Powles*] See p. 159.8 *n*.
- p. 160.5 *hunted winde*] Possibly 'drew breath', although I can find no other examples.
- p. 160.7 *that...swell*] 'That outdid conceit itself': cf. 109.24-25.
- p. 160.9 *He...game*] Grosart reads this and the other references to disease in the 'Glosse' as evidence that 'Harvey imagined the poet of "Dr. Faustus" to have died of the Plague (*not* in the appalling way he actually did)' (Harvey 1884-85: 3.xii). Stern sees it as a metaphor, contrasting with the medicinal imagery which Harvey uses elsewhere in *NL*, stating that by September, Harvey would have had time to have discovered the truth about Marlowe's death (1979: 119). Five years later, Meres in *Palladis Tamia* repeats a similarly mythical version (1598: fol. 287<sup>v</sup>).
- p. 160.13-14 *The tyrant...Lane?*] Moore comments, 'these lines are intended to represent the haughty speech of Marlowe as he defies the plague to touch him: the sense being "How fatal is the plague to cowards!"'. He cites jocular place-names similar to 'Coward Lane' (1926: 353-54).
- p. 160.18 *his toade Conceit*] See p. 157.35 & *n*. *OED*'s first instance of 'conceit' in the sense of 'vanity' comes from 1605 (*sb.* II 6).
- p. 160.21 *He...Div'II*] For Marlowe's reputation as an atheist, see p. 110.35 *n*.
- p. 160.25 *Or...dy*] Moore suggests that this refers to Tamburlaine, or to the myth of Tithonus, changed to a grasshopper (1926: 354). Perhaps the former is more likely: Tithonus, lover of the goddess Aurora, given immortality but not eternal youth, pleaded for death (Lemprière). *OED*'s earliest example of 'bug' in the sense of 'insect' is from 1642 (*sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1).
- p. 160.27 *kisse the pitt*] See p. 159.3 *n*.

- p. 160.23-24** *Junos...taile*] The peacock (see p. 108.16 *n.*). For its proverbial pride in its feathers but shame at its feet, see Tilley P158.
- p. 160.31** *Powles...downe*] *ODEP* gives this as the first instance of the proverb 'Paul's will not always stand'; the second instance, from 1659, calls it '*a very auncient Proverb*' (P121). The steeple had burnt down in 1561, and the city's failure to repair it is highlighted by Holinshed (1807-08: 4.202-03).
- p. 160.32** *Beware...towne*] Stern glosses, 'Let this be a warning to London's next terror-inspiring bugbear (Nashe)' (1979: 119).
- p. 160.34** *Fata immatura vagantur*] Stern translates this, 'A not-yet-accomplished fate is abroad' (1979: 119).

## APPENDIX A: GLOSSARY

In the Second Letter of *FL*, Harvey writes to Christopher Bird ‘you understand me without a Glosse’. Not all of Harvey’s readers have occupied this privileged position. His lexis is obscure when it is not idiosyncratic; he so typically employs irony and wordplay that defining his exact sense is often hard. In some cases, I have tried to suggest the range of possible meanings of a word, rather than categorically to state the sense in which Harvey uses it.

I have tried to convey, not only what Harvey’s sense was, but how current the word he uses would have been at the time. When it seemed impossible to deal with the word out of context, or when a variant reading by another editor is in play, the gloss appears in the main body of the notes: I have dealt with variant forms of familiar words (e.g. ‘byle’ for ‘boil’) there as well. As, owing to the vagaries of 16th-century orthography, the same word is often spelt differently throughout Harvey’s text, I have listed words in the modernised form under which their entries appear in *OED* (not without reservations: Harvey invariably spells ‘improve’ ‘emproove’). If the form in which it appears in Harvey’s text is considerably different (e.g. ‘coulerably’ for ‘colourably’, ‘ypocras’ for ‘hippocras’, etc), this is given in parentheses. When a word in Harvey’s text is not his but comes from an epistle or sonnet by one of his associates (Spenser, Barnes, etc), or when he is quoting it from the works of Nashe or another enemy of his, this is noted with an asterisk.

Since the online version of *OED* is currently being updated quarterly, I have decided for the sake of consistency to use the second edition (of 1989), even though I am aware that the online version supersedes it in places. I have also reproduced the daggers with which *OED* denotes that a word is archaic, although its use of these is often arbitrary.

**ability** (habilitie) p. 133.50: ‘Pecuniary power; wealth, estate, means’ (*OED* 4).

**object** <sup>A</sup> (abjects) p. 48.4 (see note). <sup>B</sup> (abjected) p. 87.46: ‘To [. . .] reject, *lit.* and *fig.* [. . .] as inferior, unworthy, or vile’ (*OED* † v. 1).

**about, go** p. 50.14: ‘To busy oneself about; to set to work upon, take in hand; in early use, †to seek after’ (*OED* go v. VI 49b).

**abstract** (abstractes) p. 90.22, p. 96.49: ‘one thing concentrating in itself the virtues of several’ (*OED ppl. a., sb.* B 1).

**absurdity** p. 85.26 (absurdities), p. 86.19, p. 88.3 (absurdities), p. 97.45 (absurdities), p. 146.33 (absurdities), p. 157.47: ‘a statement, action, or custom opposed to obvious truth or sound reason; [. . .] a foolish error’ (*OED* 3).

**abuse** <sup>A</sup> p. 85.14 (Abuses), p. 86.44, p. 87.32 (abuses), p. 97.14 (abuses): ‘a corrupt practice’ (*OED sb.* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 90.9: ‘Wrong or improper use’ (*OED sb.* 2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 96.46, p. 102.5: Harvey seems to mean ‘sin’ (abstractly in the first instance, concretely in the second). This sense is not in *OED*, but it is surely the sense in which the word is used in the titles of Stephen Gosson’s *Schoole of Abuse* and Philip Stubbes’s *Anatomie of Abuses*. Nashe in the *Anatomie of Absurditie*, alluding to the latter work (‘to anatomize abuses, and stubbe up sin by the rootes’) uses the word in the same sense (1558: 1.20.3).

**abusive** p. 94.31: ‘Wrongly used [. . .] misapplied, improper’ (*OED* 1).

**accident** <sup>A</sup> (accidents) p. 68.32: ‘occurrence, incident, event’ (*OED sb.* I 1 †a). <sup>B</sup> (accidents) p. 108.47, p. 110.37 (see notes). <sup>C</sup> (Accidents) p. 114.16: ‘*Grammar. pl.* (L. *accidentia*, Quintil.) The changes to which words are subject, in accordance with the relations in which they are used’ (*OED sb.* II †9).

**accleered** p. 138.9 (see note).

**accloy** p. 105.46 (accloied), p. 121.7 (accloieth), p. 151.13: ‘To disgust, weary, become offensive to’ (*OED* 7, citing the first as an instance).

**accord** <sup>A</sup> p. 82.2: ‘to reconcile (quarrels or differences)’ (*OED v.* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 155.47, p. 158.20: ‘Reconciliation, agreement, harmony’ (*OED sb.* 1).

**account** p. 138.7: ‘Estimation, consideration, esteem, worth, importance in the eyes of others’ (*OED sb.* IV 11).

**achate** (achates) p. 125.50: ‘An agate, a kind of precious stone’ (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup>). Three of the examples cited take the form ‘achates’, although two are clearly singular.

**actor** p. 52.11, p. 70.23, p. 71.20, p. 107.13: *OED*’s closest sense is ‘One who acts, or performs any action, or takes part in any affair; a doer’ (3).

**addle** p. 106.18: ‘Empty, idle, vain’ (*OED B attrib., adj.* 2a).

**addling** p. 133.51: ‘Earning’ (*OED vbl. sb.* <sup>2</sup>, citing 5 instances c. 1200–1855, although the last two are Northern). See note.

**addressed** p. 36.18: ‘Directed, dispatched, aimed’ (*OED* 5; the earliest instance is from 1598).

- addulce** (addoulce) p. 33.41: 'To sweeten, to render pleasant or palatable' (*OED*). Cited by Nashe in *SN* as one of Harvey's coinages (1958: 1.316.17), but *OED* gives 9 instances 1475-1696 (including this).
- adiaphoral** p. 87.8: 'Indifferent in the eyes of the church, or of theologians' (*OED* †, citing this sole instance).
- adulterate** p. 148.41: 'corrupted by base intermixture' (*OED ppl. a.* 2).
- advancement** (advancements) p. 119.29 (see note).
- advantage** <sup>A</sup> p. 20.38, p. 94.4 (see note to first). <sup>B</sup> p. 130.6, p. 130.28: perhaps 'Pecuniary profit, gain' (*OED sb.* †7). The example cited from *Paradise Lost* which *OED* cites as an illustration of 'Benefit' – 'Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven To their own vile advantages shall turn Of lucre and ambition' – seems to fit Harvey's context (*OED sb.* 6a). <sup>C</sup> p. 134.47, 134.48: 'A time of vantage, a favourable occasion, an opportunity' (*OED sb.* †4).
- adventure** <sup>A</sup> p. 47.12, p. 104.25 (aventure): 'chance, hap, fortune, luck' (*OED* †1a). <sup>B</sup> p. 51.28 (see note). **at all adventures** <sup>A</sup> p. 81.18 'recklessly' (*OED sb.* 3 †b). <sup>B</sup> p. 95.38: 'at all events' (*OED adventure sb.* †3c).
- advertise** p. 38.15: 'notify' (*OED* 4).
- advertisement** <sup>A</sup> p. 77.1, p. 82.43, p. 99.15: 'The action of calling the attention of others; admonition, warning, precept, instruction' (*OED* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 89.17: 'attention [. . .] heed' (*OED* †1). <sup>C</sup> p. 127.7: 'information' (*OED* †3).
- advice** (advise) p. 79.30: 'prudence, wisdom' (*OED* †2).
- advised** <sup>A</sup> p. 62.10: 'cautious, wary' (*OED* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 86.45 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 137.25: 'judicious' (*OED* 4).
- advisement** <sup>A</sup> p. 89.37: perhaps 'combined deliberation; consultation' is *OED*'s closest sense (4). <sup>B</sup> p. 128.50: 'thought, thinking' (*OED* †2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 136.28: Harvey may also mean 'consideration, reflection, deliberation' (*OED* †2a).
- æger** see **eager**
- aeger** see **eager**
- affect** <sup>A</sup> p. 40.38 (affecteth), p. 54.40 (affecteth), p. 66.23 (affecteth), p. 81.18, p. 92.4, p. 93.7, p. 94.22, p. 99.17 (affectest), p. 115.22 (affecting), p. 121.8, p. 123.31 (affecteth), p. 126.44 (affecting), p. 150.34 (affected), p. 155.46, p. 158.20: 'To aim at, aspire to, or make for; to seek to obtain or attain' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 88.46 (affecteth): 'love' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> 2). <sup>C</sup> p. 89.21: 'To be drawn to [. . .] show preference for' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> 2). <sup>D</sup> p. 106.35: 'To like to practice, use' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> 2c).
- affectation** p. 80.29: 'Inclination towards, affection, liking, fondness (*of*)' (*OED* †2).
- affected** <sup>A</sup> p. 9.3: 'disposed, inclined' (*OED ppl. a.* II 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 9.50: Past participle of 'to seek to obtain or attain' (*OED affect v.* <sup>1</sup> †1). <sup>C</sup> p. 12.15, p. 39.51: past participle of 'To like to practise, use, wear or frequent' (*OED affect v.* <sup>1</sup> 2c). <sup>D</sup> p. 101.1 (well-affected), p. 157.2: 'Usually with the direction of the affection or disposition indicated by *well*, *ill*, etc. Well- or ill-disposed, or –conditioned (mentally)' (*OED* II 1b).
- affection** <sup>A</sup> p. 52.10, p. 52.11, p. 57.10, p. 97.5, p. 97.38, p. 102.24, p. 119.7, p. 133.37, p. 137.26, p. 139.5, p. 158.19: 'Feeling as opposed to reason; passion' (*OED sb.* III †3). <sup>B</sup> p. 38.30, p. 67.12 (affections), p. 69.46 (affections), p. 105.31 (Affections), p. 124.20 (affections), p. 130.49 (affections), p. 133.46 (Affections): 'an emotion or feeling' (*OED sb.* II 2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 84.43: 'Good disposition towards, goodwill, kind feeling, love, fondness, loving attachment' (*OED sb.* II 6a). <sup>D</sup> p. 129.26: 'bent, inclination' (*OED sb.* II 5).
- affectionate** (affectionatest) p. 88.18: 'Passionate, wilful, self-willed, headstrong, obstinate' (*OED a.* II †3).
- affectionately** p. 149.8: 'eagerly, zealously, earnestly' (*OED* †1).
- affiance** p. 47.31, p. 140.3: 'faith, trust' (*OED* 1).
- affray** (affrayeth) p. 131.38: either 'To disturb, or startle' or 'To frighten' (*OED v.* 1, 2).
- afterclap** p. 79.11 (see note).
- after-winter** p. 62.26: *OED*'s only instance of 'after-winter', 'a second winter when spring is looked for, a renewal of winter', is from 1601 (*OED after-* II).
- against** p. 65.26: 'in anticipation of, in preparation for' (*OED A prep.* VI †19).
- agaric** p. 148.24, p. 148.29: 'various corky species of *Polyporus*, a genus of fungi growing upon trees; of which *P. officinalis* [. . .] was renowned as a cathartic' (*OED A sb.* 1).
- agent** p. 108.48: 'One who (or that which) acts or exerts power, as distinguished from the *patient*' (*OED ppl. a., sb.* B 1a).
- aggravate** p. 156.42: 'To make the most of; to represent (a thing) as graver, more serious, or more important; to exaggerate' (*OED v.* III 8).
- aggravation** (aggravations) p. 92.51: 'Making the most of (in a bad sense); exaggeration' (*OED* †5: the earliest instance is from 1628).



- agog, to set** p. 79.14: all *OED*'s illustrations of the adverb before 1782 use 'set'.
- agreement** p. 158.20: 'reconciliation' (*OED* †3).
- aim** p. 137.7: 'guess' (*OED* v. †3).
- aliably** see **alliably**
- allective** <sup>A</sup> p. 34.41, p. 136.34: 'Having the power or tendency to allure; alluring, enticing' (*OED* † A *adj.*, citing the latter of these). <sup>B</sup> (allectives) p. 92.50: 'That which has power to allure' (*OED* B *sb.*).
- allegation** <sup>A</sup> p. 18.34, p. 89.10: 'citation, quotation' (*OED* †5). <sup>B</sup> p. 81.5: 'an assertion, affirmation' (*OED* 3).
- allege** <sup>A</sup> p. 5.25: here Harvey's sense is something like 'To mention, produce, bring in, involve': see sense B. <sup>B</sup> p. 12.26; p. 26.12, p. 83.45 (alledged), p. 88.7 (alledged), p. 95.13, p. 97.21 (alledge), p. 102.22 (alledged), p. 115.18, p. 128.26: 'To cite, quote (an author or his authority)' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 2). <sup>C</sup> p. 19.18: 'To plead as an excuse; to adduce or urge as reason' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 3). <sup>D</sup> p. 80.9 (alledged), p. 104.42: figuratively 'to bring forward as a legal ground or plea, to plead' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 1).
- alliably** (aliably) p. 84.6: *OED* gives this as the only instance of a word it defines as 'by way of alliance or affinity'.
- allowance** p. 123.45, p. 126.51: 'Praise, applause' (*OED* *sb.* I †1).
- Almainy** (Almany) p. 148.34, p. 148.47: 'Germany' (*OED* †).
- aloe** (Alöe) p. 108.32: 'A drug of nauseous odour, bitter taste, and purgative qualities' (*OED* 3).
- ambidexterity** p. 91.34 (see note).
- amiable** (amiablest) p. 138.45: 'Worthy to be loved, lovable, lovely' (*OED* †2).
- amount** <sup>A</sup> p. 24.34, p. 111.14, p. 117.29, p. 134.4: possibly Harvey means 'increase in quantity or value' (*OED* v. †4); his context suggests something like 'increase in weight' or 'be weighty'. Hence the participial adjective **amounting** p. 21.43, p. 22.5. <sup>B</sup> p. 57.8: 'To come up to in meaning, effect or substance' (*OED* v. 7). <sup>C</sup> p. 99.20: 'To go up, ascend, rise, mount' (*OED* v. †1).
- ample** (amplest) p. 86.15: perhaps 'free, unrestrained'. Cf. 'Of things immaterial: large in extent or amount; extensive' (*OED* *a.* 3).
- amplification** p. 16.51, p. 21.45, p. 49.46, p. 54.37, p. 92.51: 'amplified or exaggerated statement' (*OED* 5).
- amplified** p. 9.43: 'exaggerated' (*OED* *ppl.* *a.* 2).
- amplify** p. 64.14: 'To enlarge (a thing) in representation; to magnify, exaggerate' (*OED* 8).
- amplifying** p. 16.21: 'The action of enlarging, extending, increasing, exaggerating, etc.' (*OED* *vbl.* *sb.*)  
On p. 38.17 the word is used as a participial adjective, no examples of which are cited before 1867.
- Anabaptism** p. 99.27 (see note).
- anatomy** <sup>A</sup> p. 113.23, p. 113.24, p. 113.49 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 137.45: 'A body (or part of one) anatomized or dissected, so as to show the position and structure of the organs' (*OED* *sb.* I †2).
- anchor** p. 97.24 (see note).
- ancient** (auncients) p. 85.16, p. 91.5: 'A senior, a superior in age' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>1</sup> †5).
- and** p. 108.7: 'If' (*OED* *conj.* <sup>1</sup> C 1a).
- \*angel** (Angels) p. 104.33: 'An old English gold coin' (*OED* *sb.* III 6).
- angelica** p. 155.50: *OED* calls this 'An aromatic umbelliferous plant [. . .] cultivated (since 1568) in England, for culinary or medicinal purposes', citing Harvey's as the sole figurative instance (*OED* 1a, 4).
- annoy** (annoyeth) p. 121.7, p. 132.9: This could mean 'To molest, injure, hurt, harm' (*OED* v. 4), as well as the more familiar sense.
- answerable** <sup>A</sup> (aunswereable) p. 40.4: 'adequate' (*OED* II 5). <sup>B</sup> p. 58.29: 'Equivalent, equal' (*OED* II 5).
- apesclog** p. 79.28 (see note).
- apistie** p. 134.10 (see note).
- apology** p. 35.38, p. 117.22, p. 117.49, p. 123.16, p. 128.3, p. 157.19: 'defence of a person, or [. . .] institution, etc., from accusation or aspersion' (*OED* 1).
- apostrophe** p. 144.28: 'A figure of speech, by which a speaker or writer suddenly stops in his discourse, and turns to address pointedly some person or thing, either present or absent; an exclamatory address' (*OED* *apostrophe* <sup>1</sup> 1).
- apparent** p. 62.32, p. 110.39, p. 132.32 (too-apparent): 'evident, plain, clear, obvious, palpable' (*OED* *a., sb., A* 3).
- appeach** p. 35.45: 'cast imputation upon, asperse' (*OED* † v. 3).
- appeachment** p. 97.44: 'accusation or impeachment' (*OED*).
- appeal** p. 51.47: figuratively 'To accuse of a crime' (*OED* v. †I 1).
- appetite** p. 95.14, p. 98.5: 'desire' (*OED* *sb.* 1).
- applaud to** p. 79.14, p. 121.15: 'To give approbation to' (*OED* *applaud* v. †2a).

- applicable** p. 130.5: 'docile, compliant, well-disposed. Cf. pliable' (*OED* †1).
- applicably** p. 101.10 (see note).
- applicant** p. 120.32: 'Applying or inclining the mind; favourably inclined' (*OED* †1).
- application** p. 97.37, p. 99.14: 'the practical lesson or "moral" of a fable' (*OED* 5a).
- appointment** p. 145.36: *OED*'s closest sense is 'direction, decree, ordinance, dictation' (6).
- appose** p. 144.23: this could mean to examine or interrogate, and was a variant form of 'oppose' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup>).
- appropriate** p. 53.43, p. 57.44, p. 86.7, p. 124.27: 'Attached or belonging as an attribute, quality or right; peculiar to, own' (*OED ppl. a.* A 4).
- approve** <sup>A</sup> p. 19.25, p. 21.9, p. 69.48, p. 78.5, p. 153.21: 'to show to be true, prove, demonstrate' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> I †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 105.34: 'display, exhibit, make proof of' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 3).
- approved** p. 16.11, \*p. 43.34, p. 85.11, p. 85.21, p. 99.50, p. 119.30, p. 119.31, p. 122.10: 'Proved or established by experience, tried, tested' (*OED ppl. a.* 1a). Hence **unapproved** p. 26.29.
- Areopage** p. 95.50: the word is not in *OED*; cf. 'A hill at Athens where the highest judicial court of the city held its sittings; hence [...] any important tribunal' (*OED* Areopagus). Nashe in *HWY* seems to have regarded this as a coinage of Harvey's, and did not necessarily understand it, seeming to think that it was applied to an individual (1958: 3.43.23-25).
- Argonautiques** p. 33.33 (see note).
- argue** (argueth) p. 133.11: 'To prove or evince' (*OED* 3).
- argument** <sup>A</sup> p. 8.17, p. 19.13, p. 19.14, p. 23.22, p. 23.32, p. 48.2, p. 69.41, p. 78.46, \*p. 145.22, p. 152.28: 'Subject-matter [...] theme, subject' (*OED* †6). <sup>B</sup> p. 87.15, p. 89.12, p. 96.29, p. 96.50, p. 98.36, p. 117.51: here the sense may possibly be 'A statement or fact [...] urged in support of a proposition' (*OED sb.* 3a), although the difference between this and the most current sense is slight. <sup>C</sup> p. 55.6: perhaps sense B is more likely than sense A.
- arrant** <sup>A</sup> p. 12.17, p. 26.33: 'Notorious, manifest, downright, thorough-paced, unmitigated [...] after 1575 widely used as an opprobrious intensive' (*OED a.* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 30.32, p. 35.11, p. 49.38, p. 78.27, p. 105.1, p. 120.50: 'With the opprobrious force transferred to the adj.: Thoroughly bad, good for nothing, rascally' (*OED a.* †5, citing *PS*).
- arrantly** p. 111.6: 'Thoroughly (in a bad sense), notoriously, "abominably."' (*OED*)
- arread** p. 74.1 (see note).
- arrear** p. 74.6, p. 126.11, p. 157.25 (see note to first).
- art** p. 53.15: 'Scholarship, learning' (*OED sb.* I 3b).
- artificial** <sup>A</sup> \*p. 43.16: 'Displaying technical skill; workmanlike' (*OED A adj.* †II 8). *OED*'s sole instance is from 1656; Barnes is being figurative. <sup>B</sup> p. 49.47, p. 57.4, p. 78.2, p. 123.6, p. 158.37: perhaps 'Displaying much skill' or 'Displaying education or training; scholarly' (*OED* †II 6, 7). *OED*'s earliest instance of the latter is from 1618, but John Harvey may be using the word in this sense in his *Discovrsive Probleme*: 'the learned phrase, and artificiall tenor of their stile' (1588: 58). <sup>C</sup> p. 85.48, p. 116.11, p. 108.29: perhaps 'Skilfully made or contrived' (*OED A adj.* †II 6a). <sup>D</sup> p. 114.34: 'Displaying much skill' (*OED* †II, 6).
- artificiality** p. 21.47, p. 74.30, p. 124.3: perhaps 'skill' or 'scholarship' might fit – see 'artificial' above. *OED*'s earliest instance ('the quality or state of being artificial') is from 1763: 'artificialitie' is one of the words and phrases that Nashe lists as being coinages of Harvey's (1958: 1.316.8).
- artificially** <sup>A</sup> p. 9.43: 'By art as distinguished from the operation of nature' (*OED* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 18.48: it is being placed in apposition with 'natural', but there may be wordplay on 'craftily, cunningly, cleverly' (*OED* †3; the first instance is from Harvey). <sup>C</sup> p. 97.2, p. 117.51, p. 123.17: 'with much art, skilfully, ingeniously, cleverly' (*OED* 2).
- artist** <sup>A</sup> p. 24.49, p. 25.2; p. 32.8: glossing 'that Divell which Artistes entitle *Apolonius*', McKerrow notes 'The word [...] could be applied to proficients in any art or science' (1958: 1.238.24, 4.147). <sup>B</sup> p. 77.36: 'an artificer, mechanic, craftsman, artisan' (*OED sb.* II †5; the earliest instance is from 1633). <sup>C</sup> p. 94.31: perhaps 'One who is master of the liberal arts' (*OED A sb.* I †1); *OED* notes that these included arithmetic and geometry (*art sb.* 7a). <sup>D</sup> p. 103.19, p. 105.37: 'A professor of magic arts or occult sciences' (*OED A sb.* †3b). *OED* cites no examples before 1605, but see the quotation from *PP* in sense A. <sup>E</sup> p. 121.29, p. 124.32, p. 129.50, p. 134.23, p. 155.3: 'a Master of Arts, learned man, philosopher' (*OED A sb.* I †1).
- ascertain** p. 110.29, p. 158.34: '*trans.* To make (a person) certain, sure, or confident; to certify, assure; passing in looser usage into: To inform, apprise, tell' (*OED* v. I †1).
- aspect** <sup>A</sup> p. 139.6 (aspects): '*Astrol.* [...] The way in which the planets, from their relative positions, look upon each other' (*OED sb.* II 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 144.35: perhaps 'To look at, behold, face; to survey, watch' (*OED* † v. 2). *OED*'s sole example of 'To look on with favour' († v. 4) is from 1663.
- aspen** p. 41.45, p. 112.41, p. 122.16: 'Tremulous, quivering; quaking, timorous' (*OED A adj.* 2).

- asperity** p. 101.34: Harvey's sense would seem to be 'bitterness, acrimony' (*OED* 6, but the first instance is from 1664).
- ass** (asseth) p. 71.2: *OED* cites this as the only instance of 'To call ass' (v. 1).
- assays, at all** p. 54.43: 'ready for every event' (*OED* assay *sb.* V †22).
- assecure** p. 85.27: 'To make secure, sure, or safe; to assure, secure' (*OED* †, citing only 2 examples 1594-97).
- assiege** p. 148.15: an obsolete form of 'siege' (*OED* cites 4 examples 1375-1598).
- assistant** p.83.2, p. 96.21, p. 97.51 (Assistants): perhaps 'one who takes part in an assembly' (*OED* B *sb.* †1).
- assize** p. 61.5: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Judgment, sentence; deliverance of opinion' (*sb.* II †14).
- associate** p. 108.23: 'To keep company or consort with' (*OED* v. †5).
- assurance** <sup>A</sup> p. 81.6, p. 85.49, p. 86.23, p. 87.43, p. 88.13, p. 96.47, p. 97.36, p. 102.17: 'Security' (*OED* II 7). <sup>B</sup> p. 102.32: 'Objective certainty; = ASSUREDNESS' (*OED* II †6). <sup>C</sup> p. 155.50, p. 156.34: 'Subjective certainty; a being certain as to a fact, certitude; confidence, trust' (*OED* II 8).
- assured** <sup>A</sup> \*p. 43.15: 'Certified, verified, certain, sure' (*OED* A *ppl.* a. 5). <sup>B</sup> p. 61.41, \*p. 145.17, p. 158.39: 'pledged' (*OED* A *ppl.* a. †3; 'assured friend' is one of the examples cited). <sup>C</sup> p. 99.28: 'satisfied as to the truth of a matter, confident' (*OED* A *ppl.* a. 6).
- \*astonish** p. 43.27: 'to dismay, terrify' (*OED* †3).
- ataxy** p. 87.39: 'Want of order or discipline; irregularity, confusion, disorderliness' (*OED* †1; the earliest instance is from 1615. although Richard Harvey used the word twice in *LG*: 'disobedience, contempt of Authoritie, [. . .] Sedition, Ataxy. and [. . .] all manner of disorder'; 'the whole body of the kingdome would soone proove a huge monster of ataxy and anarchy' (1590b: sig. a3<sup>v</sup>, 176).).
- atheism** p. 60.41 (see note).
- athletical** p. 119.41: 'vigorous' (*OED*, citing this as the first of only 3 examples 1593-1656).
- atone** (attone) p. 40.28: 'To compose, appease' (*OED* v. I 1 †b).
- atonement** p. 34.30, p. 155.50: 'harmony, concord, agreement' (*OED* †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 138.49: 'reconciliation' (*OED* †2a).
- Atticism** p. 123.37: 'The peculiar style and idiom of the Greek language as used by the Athenians; hence, refined, elegant Greek. and *gen.* a refined amenity of speech' (*OED* 2: the earliest instance is from 1612).
- attractive** <sup>A</sup> p. 67.42, p. 114.27: 'That which draws like a magnet' (*OED* B *sb.* †2, citing the title of Norman's text as the first example). <sup>B</sup> p. 158.25: 'Having the property of drawing to itself by some physical force bodies not materially attached to it' (*OED* A *adj.* 4).
- authentic** p. 122.50, p. 130.44, \*p. 146.44: either 'Of authority, authoritative' or 'having legal force' (*OED* authentic *a.. sb.* A †1a, †2a).
- author** p. 129.10 (Autour), p. 157.37 (Autours): 'The person who originates or gives existence to anything' (*OED sb.* 1).
- available** <sup>A</sup> \*p. 43.28: 'Capable of producing a desired result' (*OED* I 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 49.6, p. 70.48 (availablest), p. 117.34, p. 158.38: 'of avail, effectual, efficacious' (*OED* I 1).
- aventure** see **adventure**
- awatering** p. 40.22 (see note).
- away with** (can-away with) p. 87.11: 'put up with; tolerate, endure, bear' (*OED* away IV 16a).
- awful** p. 117.47: 'Worthy of, or commanding, profound respect or reverential fear' (*OED* I 2).
- awk** <sup>A</sup> p. 57.13: 'Untoward to deal with, awkward to use, clumsy' (*OED* † A *adj.* 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 106.34: perhaps 'odd, strange' (*OED* † A *adj.* 3), but *OED*'s sole instance is from 1440. <sup>C</sup> (awkest) p. 151.32: *OED* cites this as an instance of sense A, but cf. 'Untoward, froward, perverse, in nature or disposition' (*OED* † A *adj.* 2).
- awl** p. 108.3: 'a piercer, pricker, bodkin' (*OED* 1).
- ay** p. 33.29: 'Ever, always, continually' (*OED* 1a).
- backfriend** p. 103.25, p. 134.45: 'A pretended or false friend; an enemy who pretends friendship; a secret or unavowed enemy' (*OED* †1).
- baggage** <sup>A</sup> p. 56.29, p. 122.26: 'Trashy, worthless, beggarly, trumpery, despicable' (*OED* B †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 61.23, p. 73.40: 'Dregs, offscouring, riff-raff'; *OED*'s one instance is from 1603, but it gives literal examples of 'Rubbish, refuse, dirt' from 1549 (†4e. a).
- bagpudding** p. 73.42: literally 'A pudding boiled in a bag', this might also mean 'Clown' (†*OED* 1, 2).
- balance** p. 127.37: perhaps 'compare'. Cf. *OED*'s closest sense, 'To weigh two things, considerations, etc., against each other, so as to ascertain which preponderates' (v. I 2: the earliest example is from 1596).
- bald** p. 106.7: 'meagre, trivial, paltry' (*OED* a. II 6).

- balductum** p. 106.33: *OED* gives this as the first figurative instance of the word in its sense of ‘A farrago of words; trash, balderdash’ (*OED* †2).
- balk** p. 92.34: ‘A slip, a mistake, blunder’ (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 5a). The verb could also mean ‘To pass by’ (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> II 2a). Cf ‘error’, which could also mean ‘a devious or winding course’ (*OED* I 1).
- \*ban** p. 18.23, p. 18.44: ‘To curse, imprecate damnation upon’ (*OED ban v.* 2a).
- band**<sup>A</sup> p. 34.26 (see note).<sup>B</sup> p. 62.8 (bands), p. 108.16, p. 144.3, p. 151.8 (bandes): ‘An organised company: a troop. Said of armed men’ (*OED sb.*<sup>3</sup> 1a).<sup>C</sup> (bandes) p. 75.20: ‘A strip of linen, or the like, to swathe the body or any part of it’ (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1 5; from the examples cited, ‘swathing bands’ are clearly what babies are wrapped in).
- banning** p. 107.39: ‘That bans, cursing’ (*OED ppl. a.*).
- barely** p. 88.30: ‘Openly, without disguise or concealment, clearly, plainly’ (*OED* 2).
- barrator** (barratours) p. 89.3: ‘a hired bully’ (*OED* II †4).
- barratous** p. 89.16, p. 97.29: ‘Contentious, quarrelsome’ (*OED* †, citing the first of these as the last of 4 examples 1430-1592 (*sic*)).
- battledore** p. 80.36 (see note).
- bauling** p. 26.36 (see note).
- bayard**<sup>A</sup> p. 3.37, p. 111.26: either ‘the type of blindness or blind recklessness’ or ‘One blind to the light of knowledge, who has the self-confidence of ignorance’ (*OED a., sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2c, 3).<sup>B</sup> p. 134.10: ‘a bay horse’ (*OED a., sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- beadsman** (Beadman) p. 112.20: ‘One paid or endowed to pray for others; a pensioner or almsman charged with the duty of praying for the souls of his benefactors’ (*OED* 2).
- bearward** p. 107.18 (see note).
- beauesert** p. 119.40, p. 137.9, p. 157.30 (see note to first).
- beck** p. 120.29: ‘The slightest indication of will or command’ (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2).
- beclaw** (beclaweth) p. 62.34: *OED* defines its only two examples (from 1603 and 1609) as ‘To scratch or tear all over with claws or nails’. Perhaps, however, Harvey means ‘flatter’: see ‘claw’ below.
- become**<sup>A</sup> p. 86.19: ‘where became it, is it become, etc (= “where went it, has it gone”)’ (*OED v.* I †1b).<sup>B</sup> p. 86.19, p. 89.26, p. 97.46 (became), p. 100.5: ‘to befit’ (*OED v.* III 7).<sup>C</sup> p. 100.36 (became): ‘To come (to a place), to arrive’ (*OED v.* I †1).
- befool** p. 113.47: ‘call “fool”’ (*OED* 2). *OED*’s earliest instance is from 1612, but Nashe uses the word in this sense in *HWW* (1958: 3.136.12).
- behooveful** p. 64.25, p. 113.24: ‘necessary’ (*OED*).
- beldam** p. 109.35: ‘a furious raging woman [. . .], a virago’ (*OED* 3).
- bell, give the** p. 53.36-37: *OED* defines ‘to bear the bell’ as ‘to take the first place, to have foremost rank or position, to be the best’ (*OED bell sb.*<sup>1</sup> III 7a). *OED*’s earliest instance of ‘give the bell’ is from 1686 (*OED bell sb.*<sup>1</sup> 7 †b).
- bell-wether** p. 122.26: ‘A chief or leader. (Mostly *contemptuous*.)’ (*OED* 2).
- bencher** (benchers) p. 98.35: ‘One who officially sits on a bench; a magistrate, judge, assessor, senator, member of the Sanhedrim, alderman, etc.’ (*OED* 1). Possibly the sense ‘one who frequents the benches of a tavern’ is also in play (*OED* 1).
- Berlady** see **byrlady**
- besbrew** p. 55.12, p. 77.22 (beshrow): ‘to curse, objurgate, or blame greatly, as the cause of misfortune’ (*OED* †3).
- bestead**<sup>A</sup> p. 23.19, p. 47.30: ‘Placed in some situation, situated, circumstanced; generally with *ill* and the like. *To be hard bested*: to be hard put to it, hard pressed’ (*OED* bested, bestead *pa. pple.* 5).<sup>B</sup> p. 25.12: ‘To help, assist, relieve’ (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- betimes** p. 104.19: ‘while there is yet time, before it is too late’ (*OED* 3).
- betray** (betrayed) p. 148.40: ‘mislead, seduce, deceive’ (*OED v.* 4a).
- bewray** p. 77.34 (see note).
- bibbing** p. 79.32, p. 122.25: ‘given to drinking’ (*OED ppl. a.* 1; the first instance is from 1594).
- bibble-babble** (bibble-bables) p. 67.22: ‘idle or empty talk; prating’ (*OED*, citing this example).
- biggin** p. 106.30 (see note).
- bird, rare** p. 77.25, p. 90.48: *OED* cites no instances of this phrase before 1890 (*rare a.*<sup>1</sup> 5d); see 22.32 *n.*
- bit, at a** p. 149.37: ‘at one bite’ (*OED bit sb.*<sup>1</sup> †I †1a).
- blab** p. 108.49, p. 108.50, p. 108.51: ‘An open-mouthed person, one who has not sufficient control over his tongue’ (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- blason(ing)** see **blazon(ing)**
- blaze**<sup>A</sup> p. 134.22 (blased).<sup>B</sup> p. 145.12, \*p. 146.40 (see note to first).<sup>B</sup> (blazed) \*p. 145.48: ‘To proclaim (as with a trumpet), to publish, divulge, make known’ (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 2).

- blazon** (blason) <sup>A</sup> p. 38.19, p. 121.46 (blasoneth): 'To proclaim' (*OED* v. II 6). <sup>B</sup> p. 52.47: 'To depict or paint (armorial bearings) according to the rules of heraldry' (*OED* v. I 2). <sup>C</sup> p. 138.30: 'To describe fitly, set forth honourably in words' (*OED* v. II 4). <sup>D</sup> p. 150.28 (see note).
- blazoning** (blasoning) p. 100.14: *OED*'s closest sense is 'The action or proclaiming or publishing' (*OED* vbl. sb. 3).
- blear** (bleared) p. 150.36: 'to *blear the eyes*: to deceive, blind, "hoodwink"' (*OED* v. 3).
- blood** <sup>A</sup> p. 65.3, p. 109.47: 'Family, kin, race, stock' (*OED* sb. III 9a). <sup>B</sup> p. 107.7, p. 144.13: 'rake, roisterer' (*OED* sb. IV 15a).
- blow**, at a p. 53.2: 'by one stroke' (*OED* blow sb. <sup>1</sup> 4a).
- blunt** p. 53.5: 'Dull, insensitive, stupid, obtuse' (*OED* a., sb. A 1).
- blurt** p. 122.23: 'An exclamation of contempt' (*OED* adv., int. B).
- bob** <sup>A</sup> (bobbes) p. 79.42: 'a taunt, bitter jest or jibe, scoff' (*OED* sb. <sup>3</sup> †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 107.27: either as sense A or in the literal sense of 'A blow with the fist' (*OED* sb. <sup>3</sup> †1).
- bobbers** see **dry-bobbers**
- bodge** (bodges) p. 123.8: 'a botched piece of work' (*OED* † sb. <sup>1</sup>).
- bombasted** p. 111.30: 'Stuffed or padded [ . . . ]; puffed out' (*OED* ppl. a. †1).
- bond** <sup>A</sup> (bondes) p. 87.42, p. 96.47: 'A constraining force [ . . . ] acting upon the mind, and recognised by it as obligatory' (*OED* sb. <sup>1</sup> 6a). <sup>B</sup> p. 88.45: 'Obligation, duty' (*OED* sb. <sup>1</sup> 6 †b).
- book-case** p. 48.41 (see note).
- botcher** <sup>A</sup> p. 13.12, p. 124.34: 'One who does a thing bunglingly [ . . . ] an unskilful workman' (*OED* botcher <sup>1</sup> 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 108.1: 'A tailor who does repairs' (*OED* botcher <sup>1</sup> 2b).
- bounce** p. 155.16: 'To knock loudly, *esp.* at a door' (*OED* v. I †2).
- bouncing** p. 57.11: 'in various senses of the verb relating alike to loudness, brag, and vigorous or ungainly movement' (*OED* ppl. a.).
- bourd** p. 71.2, p. 90.13, p. 129.13: 'To make game of, mock' (*OED* v. <sup>1</sup> 2, citing the last of these as the first of only two examples).
- bowels** p. 20.22 (see note).
- boy** p. 42.9 (see note).
- brabbling** p. 73.3, p. 121.27: 'quarrelsome' (*OED* ppl. a. b).
- brag** p. 84.51: either, literally, 'Boastful', or, ironically, 'Spirited, brisk, lively, mettlesome, valiant' (*OED* a. †2, †1).
- brain**, **bear a** p. 54.22, p. 98.28: *OED* gives the latter of these as the second instance of a phrase it defines as 'to be cautious, thoughtful, have brains' (*OED* brain sb. 4b).
- bravado** (bravados) p. 73.26: 'bold or daring action intended to intimidate or to express defiance' (*OED* sb. 1; the earliest instance is 1599. All examples before 1816 are concrete and not abstract).
- brave** <sup>A</sup> p. 14.18: Harvey's sense would seem to be 'rash, foolhardy, arrogant', but this is not listed in *OED*. Onions defines the use of the word in *Coriolanus* IV.5.17 as 'Defiant, insolent'. Cf. 'in a bravery' below. <sup>B</sup> p. 16.37, p. 19.14, p. 90.50, p. 94.22, p. 95.38, p. 104.45, p. 108.38 (bravest), p. 127.17, p. 127.32, p. 150.11, p. 150.12: 'a general epithet of admiration or praise' (*OED* a., sb., int. A 3). <sup>C</sup> p. 36.2, p. 111.10, p. 133.2, \*p. 145.10 (bravest), p. 154.10: 'Splendid, showy, grand, fine' (*OED* a., sb., int. A 2). <sup>D</sup> p. 96.36, p. 99.4: 'Courageous, daring, intrepid, stout-hearted' (*OED* a., sb., int. A 1a: in both cases, Harvey is perhaps being ironic).
- bravely** <sup>A</sup> p. 19.9. See 'brave' (sense A) above. <sup>B</sup> p. 149.43: 'gaily, splendidly, finely, handsomely' (*OED* 2).
- bravery** <sup>A</sup> p. 12.25, p. 63.9, p. 125.27: 'Display, show, ostentation; splendour' (*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 25.23, p. 61.20, p. 126.28 (braveries): 'An adornment, an embellishment' (*OED* 3 †c). <sup>C</sup> p. 77.11, p. 133.18, p. 149.39, p. 158.5: 'boasting, swaggering, bravado' (*OED* †1). <sup>D</sup> p. 78.27 (braveries), p. 106.35 (braveries): 'an act of bravado' (*OED* †1). <sup>E</sup> (braveries) p. 155.29: possibly 'A fine thing, a matter to boast or be proud of', but *OED*'s earliest example is from 1626 (3 †e). **in a bravery** p. 2.10, p. 18.46: 'in bravado, in defiance, in display of courage or daring, as a brag' (*OED* †1).
- braving** <sup>A</sup> p. 38.35, p. 42.31, p. 151.36: 'daring, defiant, boasting' (*OED* † ppl. a. 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 56.16: perhaps 'Showy, resplendent, high-sounding, stately' (*OED* † ppl. a. 2), although *OED*'s earliest example is from 1600.
- bravure** p. 107.12, p. 111.11 (see notes).
- bray** (brayed) p. 107.36: 'To beat small; to bruise, pound, crush to powder' (*OED* v. <sup>2</sup> 1).
- brazen** p. 138.20, p. 153.1 (see note to first).
- break-neck** p. 150.39: 'destruction, ruin' (*OED* †B sb.).
- brokage** (broccage) p. 66.11: 'Procuracy in immorality, pimping' (*OED* 1e).
- broker** p. 125.35, p. 155.10 (see note to first).
- broking** p. 121.26 (see note to first).

- brothel** p. 65.48 (see note).
- buckle** p. 150.34, p. 155.15: Harvey and his 'Gentlewoman' both seem to use this to mean 'compete, contend'. Cf. *OED* v. 3a ('To close, come to close quarters; to grapple, engage').
- bucklers, to strive for those** p. 12.1: cf. 'to take up the bucklers: to enter the lists, present oneself as a champion', 'to take away the bucklers, to come off winner' (*OED* buckler 5).
- buckram** p. 17.39 (see note).
- bug** <sup>A</sup> p. 42.15, p. 89.4 (bugges), p. 128.48 (bugges), p. 136.5, \*p. 147.9 (bugges): 'An object of terror, usually an imaginary one; a bugbear, hobgoblin, bogy; a scarecrow' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1a). <sup>B</sup> p. 160.25: probably as sense A, but see note.
- bugs-words** p. 5.27; p. 20.44, p. 107.35, p. 110.16: 'Swaggering or threatening language' (*OED* † bug's-word).
- bull-bear** p. 11.29, p. 126.39, p. 159.20: 'a bugbear, or object of groundless terror' (*OED* †, citing the first of these as the last of 3 instances).
- bull-beggar** p. 17.34, p. 78.28, p. 137.38, p. 154.46, p. 160.32: 'it is generally assumed [. . .] that it is a (further) alteration of *bull-bear*' (*OED* †).
- bull-begging** p. 144.19: 'that operates as a terror' (*OED*, citing this as the sole instance, although it gives the text as *FL*).
- bum** p. 122.27: *OED* gives instances applied to the *gluteus maximus* from 1387 (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- bum-card** \*p. 104.51, p. 106.43: 'A raised or otherwise marked card used for cheating at play' (*OED* †).
- bung** p. 53.32: 'To stop, close; to shut up' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 2).
- bungle** (bungled) p. 106.15: 'To do or make in a clumsy or unskilful manner' (*OED* v. 1, citing a 1579 instance from Harvey).
- buss** (busseth) p. 125.42: 'kiss' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 1).
- bustle** (bustleth) p. 109.13: 'To struggle, scuffle, contend' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> †3).
- but** p. 97.27, p. 97.50: 'only, merely' (*OED* prep., adv., conj. C 6).
- \*butter-whore** p. 109.16-17, p. 109.38, p. 109.45, p. 112.22: 'a scolding butter-woman' (*OED* butter sb. 5).
- buttery** p. 53.48, p. 74.42 (see note to first).
- buttons** p. 111.43 (see note).
- buxom** p. 130.5: 'Obedient; pliant; compliant, tractable' (*OED* a. I 1 †a).
- buzz** (buzzing) p. 53.5: 'To speak indistinctly, mutter, murmur busily. (Usually somewhat contemptuous.)' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 3a).
- buzzard** p. 123.38: 'A worthless, stupid, or ignorant person' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 2).
- byrlady** (Berlady) p. 65.26: 'Contraction of *by our Lady*, used as an oath, form of adjuration, or expletive' (*OED*).
- cabalist** p. 115.44, p. 135.9 (see note to first).
- cabbalism** p. 122.43: 'Mystic or occult doctrine; mystery' (*OED* 2).
- caitiff** (caitive) <sup>A</sup> p. 139.5: 'Wretched, miserable' (*OED* B adj. †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 144.33: 'Vile, base, mean, basely wicked; worthless' (*OED* B adj. 3).
- calf** p. 26.23, p. 26.24, p. 50.38, p. 103.6, p. 105.4: 'A stupid fellow, a dolt' (*OED* calf<sup>1</sup> 1c).
- can-away** see **away**
- cancel** p. 151.20: 'To deface or destroy by cutting or tearing up' (*OED* v. 1 †b).
- canicular** p. 4.50: Used since 1398 with reference to 'the days immediately preceding and following the heliacal (in modern times, according to some, the cosmical) rising of the dog-star'; Harvey is apparently the first to use it in the sense of 'pertaining to a dog' (*OED*).
- canker** p. 71.34: *OED* notes that this was 'Formerly, often the same as CANCER' (*OED* sb. 1 †a).
- canonical** p. 131.8: see note.
- canton** <sup>A</sup> p. 85.44, p. 86.4: 'One of the several sovereign states which form the Swiss confederation' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 5a: the earliest instance is from 1611). <sup>B</sup> p. 85.45: *OED*'s earliest instance of the verb 'To quarter, divide' is from 1598 (*OED* v. 1); in any case this is a nonce-use meaning 'to make like a Swiss state in theological terms'.
- cantonish** p. 86.6: not in *OED*. Harvey's meaning is perhaps 'in the manner of a Swiss canton', ecclesiastical power being shared democratically.
- canvas** <sup>A</sup> p. 48.43 (canvassing): 'to discuss, criticize, scrutinize fully' (*OED* v. canvass, canvas v. 4, citing an instance from Harvey). <sup>B</sup> p. 61.18 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 78.48: perhaps, figuratively, to administer a beating – cf. transitively 'to beat, batter, drub' (*OED* canvass, canvas v. †2). <sup>D</sup> p. 135.48 (canvasses): see note.
- capacity** p. 119.3, p. 155.25: 'Mental or intellectual receiving power; ability to grasp or take in impressions' (*OED* 4).

- capricious** <sup>A</sup> p. 53.40, p. 157.18 (see note to first). <sup>B</sup> p. 124.2: 'Characterized by play of wit or fancy; humorous, fantastic, "conceited"' (*OED* †1).
- captious** p. 89.1, p. 90.9: 'fault-finding, cavilling, carping' (*OED* 2).
- card** p. 97.1 (Cardes): 'A map or [ . . . ] chart' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> † II 3a).
- career** <sup>A</sup> p. 54.47, p. 62.28: 'A running, course (usually implying swift motion)' (*OED sb.* 3a). <sup>B</sup> p. 56.39: 'Rapid and continuous "course of action, uninterrupted procedure" (J.); formerly also, The height, "full swing" of a person's activity' (*OED sb.* 4).
- carnal** p. 152.27: 'Not spiritual [ . . . ] unregenerate, unsanctified, worldly' (*OED a.* 5).
- carol** (Carols) p. 68.6: a secular song as opposed to a hymn (*OED sb.* 2).
- carouse** p. 66.13 (see note).
- carter** p. 20.41 (see note).
- carterly** p. 113.33: 'clownish, boorish, rude, ill-bred' (*OED A adj.*).
- case** p. 112.45: situation (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 4b).
- cassia** p. 148.24, p. 148.29: 'A genus of trees, shrubs, or herbs (family Leguminosæ) [ . . . ] The leaflets of several species constitute what are known in medicine as *Senna leaves*' (*OED cassia*<sup>1</sup> 4).
- castaway** p. 152.35: 'reprobate' (*OED A adj.*).
- casualty** <sup>A</sup> p. 39.6, p. 81.5, p. 95.38: 'liability to accident; precariousness, uncertainty' (*OED* †3a). <sup>B</sup> p. 114.26 (Casualties), p. 117.39: 'A chance occurrence, an accident; *esp.* an unfortunate occurrence, a mishap' (*OED* 2a).
- catechist** p. 134.36: this could mean various kinds of teacher, including 'a teacher appointed to give oral instruction in the elements of Christianity according to a catechism' (*OED*), although Harvey is being figurative.
- catilinaries** p. 19.20 (see note).
- cautel** <sup>A</sup> p. 13.42, p. 110.6, p. 134.8, p. 156.33: 'A precaution' (*OED* † *sb.* 4). <sup>B</sup> (cautels) p. 102.46: 'a trick, sleight, deceit' (*OED* † *sb.* 1).
- cautelous** p. 19.36, p. 148.44: 'Cautious, wary, heedful, circumspect' (*OED* †2).
- cavalcade** (Cavalcads) p. 113.16: 'A ride, a march or raid on horseback' (*OED* †1).
- centre** p. 158.50: 'The earth itself, as the supposed centre of the universe' (*OED sb.*, *a.* I 2b).
- centurion** p. 83.5 (see note).
- ceremonial** p. 94.40 (see note).
- ceremonious** <sup>A</sup> p. 121.33 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 130.8: 'given to ceremony; punctilious in observance of formalities. *esp.* those of intercourse between ranks or persons' (*OED* 5).
- certes** p. 91.35: 'certainly' (*OED*).
- chafed** p. 107.42: 'angered, irritated, vexed' (*OED*).
- challenging** p. 75.30 (see note).
- chamber** p. 69.16 (see note).
- chance** p. 155.17: 'perchance, haply' (*OED sb.*, *a.* C).
- chancel** p. 125.51: 'Used of [ . . . ] the temple at Jerusalem, heathen temples, etc.' (*OED* †3).
- channel** p. 131.3: 'gutter' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 3a).
- chanter** p. 103.26 (see note).
- chap** (chappes) p. 146.19: '*Pl.* The jaws as unitedly forming the mouth' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2).
- chapman** p. 119.31: 'An agent in a commercial transaction; a negotiator, broker' (*OED* †3).
- charge** <sup>A</sup> p. 48.46 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.26: '*pl.* Expenses' (*OED sb.* 10c).
- chargeable** p. 154.12: 'Burdensome (as a tax or payment); costly, expensive' (*OED* †I †4).
- chary** p. 40.36: 'Careful, cautious, circumspect, wary' (*OED* 4).
- cheerly** p. 114.2: 'blithe, cheerful, lively, cheery' (*OED A adj.*).
- cheverel** p. 136.4: 'kid-leather. (Noted for its pliancy and capability of being stretched.)' (*OED* †*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- Chiliarkes** p. 83.5 (see note).
- chimera** p. 126.38: both 'A horrible and fear-inspiring phantasm, a bogey' and 'An unreal creature of the imagination, a mere wild fancy; an unfounded conception' (*OED* 3a, b).
- chivalry** <sup>A</sup> p. 112.18: 'Knights or horsemen equipped for battle' (*OED sb.* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 113.17: 'Bravery [ . . . ] glory' (*OED* 3 †b).
- choice** p. 111.47, p. 151.12, p. 158.33: 'Abundance and variety' (*OED sb.* 4a).
- chop** p. 110.5, p. 148.49 (see note to first).
- chopping** p. 110.28 (see note).
- chosen** p. 69.33: 'Taken by preference, selected, picked out' (*OED* 1; in the examples shown, as in Harvey's use, the participial adjective on its own has sufficient force without needing to be qualified with an adverb such as 'well'. Cf. 'choice').
- Christall** see **crystal**

- cipher** p. 17.49, p. 57.35, p. 92.47: 'a nonentity, a "mere nothing"' (*OED sb.* 2a).
- circle** p. 158.50: 'The sphere or "heaven" in which a heavenly body was supposed to revolve' (*OED sb.* 1 4a).
- circuit** p. 117.31: 'area, extent, tract' (*OED sb.* 2a).
- circumcise** p. 17.25: 'To cut short, limit, abridge, circumscribe; to cut off' (*OED v.* II †3).
- circumvent** p. 129.14: 'To get the better of by craft or fraud; to overreach, outwit, cheat' (*OED* 3).
- civil** <sup>A</sup> p. 117.44: 'Of or pertaining to the whole body or community of citizens; pertaining to the organization and internal affairs of the body politic, or state' (*OED a.* I 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 122.47, p. 133.35, p. 133.47: 'Distinguished from *ecclesiastical* [...] non-religious, non-sacred, secular' (*OED a.* II 15a).
- civilian** \*p. 108.39, p. 122.16: 'a practitioner, doctor, professor, or student of Civil Law' (*OED* 1).
- civility** p. 73.30, p. 111.48, p. 139.8: perhaps this might mean 'the discourse of educated people' (cf. *OED* †11: 'Polite or liberal education; training in the "humanities", good breeding; culture, refinement'). *OED* cites instances in the sense of 'courtesy' from 1561 (12).
- clarified** p. 156.49: one of *OED*'s senses is 'freed from impurity'.
- clarkly** see **clerkly**
- claw** (claweth) p. 71.1: 'To flatter, cajole, wheedle, fawn upon' (*OED claw v.* 5a).
- clepe** (cleapeth) p. 123.15: 'To call by the name of, call, name' (*OED v.* 3).
- clerk** (Clarkes) p. 100.1, p. 127.24: 'a scholar' (*OED sb.* 4a).
- clerkly** (clarkly) p. 60.7: 'In a scholarly way, learnedly' (*OED adv.* 1).
- client** p. 89.34: 'he whose cause an advocate pleads' (*OED* 3a).
- climax** p. 85.48: '*Rhet.* A figure in which a number of propositions or ideas are set forth so as to form a series in which each rises above the preceding in force or effectiveness of expression; gradation' (*OED sb.* I 1).
- climbing** p. 36.23 (see note).
- clime** p. 146.31: climate (*OED* 3).
- close** <sup>A</sup> p. 59.24, p. 90.21, p. 131.40, p. 133.31, p. 134.19: 'Practising secrecy; reserved, reticent, uncommunicative' (*OED a., adv.* A 7). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.16: 'hidden, secret' (*OED a., adv.* A I 4a).
- closet** p. 72.6, p. 126.4: this could mean 'a private room; an inner chamber', and specifically 'Such a room as the place of private devotion' (*OED sb.* 1a, b).
- clung** (clunged) p. 74.48: 'shrunk, or shrivelled, by the action of heat, cold, hunger, thirst, disease, etc.' (*OED ppl. a.* 2).
- coat** p. 87.51: 'profession, class' (*OED sb.* I †6).
- cocker** <sup>A</sup> p. 75.21: 'To indulge or pamper (a child, favourite, etc.)' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup>). <sup>B</sup> p. 121.14, p. 152.49: 'To foster, indulge (an appetite, idea, hope, evil, etc.)' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> d, citing the first of these as the first instance).
- cockish** p. 73.41: 'Like a cock in disposition; strutting, self-assertive, assuming, cocky' (*OED* 2).
- cockle** p. 40.13, p. 127.9 (see note to first).
- cog** p. 139.18: *OED* cites this as an example of 'To produce or put forth cunningly and fraudulently' (*v.* <sup>3</sup> †6).
- cogging** Harvey on p. 16.22 and p. 134.1 means 'Underhand dealing, deceit' (*OED vbl. sb.* <sup>1</sup>); on p. 6.5, he may also mean 'Cheating at dice' (see *OED cog v.* <sup>3</sup> 1).
- cogitation** p. 102.27 (see note).
- coil** p. 79.46: 'Noisy disturbance. "row"; "tumult, turmoil, bustle, stir, hurry, confusion" (J.)' (*OED sb.* <sup>2</sup> 1). **keep a coil** p. 108.11: 'to keep up a disturbance; make a fuss, bustle, much ado' (*OED coil sb.* <sup>2</sup> 4).
- coin** p. 55.47: *OED*'s one intransitive sense is 'To feign, dissemble' (*v.* <sup>1</sup> †7, citing one instance from 1607).
- collation** p. 88.4: 'The bestowal of a benefice or other preferment upon a clergyman' (*OED sb.* III 1a).
- collop** (collops) p. 123.14: of *OED*'s various senses relating to food, perhaps the most likely is 'slice of meat' (collop <sup>1</sup> 2b).
- collusion** p. 119.11 (collusions), p. 158.12: 'deceit, fraud, trickery' (*OED* 1, citing concrete examples from 1579).
- collyrium** p. 78.14, p. 154.49 (see note to first).
- colonel** p. 11.27 (see note).
- colony** p. 67.31: 'a body of people who settle in a new locality' (*OED sb.* II 4a).
- colour** (colours) <sup>A</sup> p. 49.44: '*Pl.* Rhetorical modes or figures; ornaments of style or diction, embellishments' (*OED* III 13). <sup>B</sup> p. 123.39: '(gen. in *pl.*) A flag, ensign, or standard of a regiment or a ship' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> II 7a). <sup>C</sup> p. 131.48, p. 154.41: 'Outward appearance, show, aspect, semblance of (something)' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> III 11a).



- colourable** (coolerable) p. 132.32, p. 148.40, p. 155.46: 'Covert, pretended, feigned, counterfeit, collusory, done for appearance' sake' (*OED* 2c).
- colourably** (coulerably) p. 80.8: 'With a show of reason or legality' (*OED* 3).
- colt** p. 61.16, p. 63.7, p. 106.32, p. 109.37, p. 111.3: this could mean a 'young or inexperienced person' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2a), but Harvey is often punning.
- comb-cut** p. 125.34: '*trans.* To cut the comb of, "take down"' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- combustion** p. 108.27: '*Astrol.* Obscuration of a planet or star by proximity to the sun' (*OED* †4).
- comedian** (Comedians) p. 104.7: Perhaps 'One who plays in comedies, a comic actor' (*OED* 1a, although the earliest instance is from 1601).
- comedy**<sup>A</sup> p. 6.21, p. 56.24: *OED* cites the first as a figurative instance of the word used of 'incidents in real life' (comedy<sup>1</sup> 4).<sup>B</sup> p. 42.20, p. 42.33 (see note to first).
- comfit** (comfites) p. 105.10: 'A sweetmeat made of some fruit, root, etc., preserved with sugar' (*OED sb.* 1; Harvey's figurative use would seem to be unique).
- comfortative** p. 105.16: figuratively, 'A strengthening or reviving medicine, a cordial' (*OED* † B *sb.*).
- comical** p. 26.46: 'trivial, mean, low' (*OED A adj.* †2).
- commination** p. 29.29: 'Denunciation of punishment or vengeance, *esp.* threatening of Divine punishment or vengeance' (*OED* 1).
- commissary** (commissaries) p. 79.24: 'An officer exercising spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction as the representative of the bishop in parts of his diocese; or one entrusted with the performance of an absent bishop's duties' (*OED* 2).
- commodious** p. 75.12: 'Advantageous, beneficial, profitable, of use' (*OED* †1).
- commodity**<sup>A</sup> p. 93.24, p. 116.46: 'Profit, gain' (*OED* 2 †d).<sup>B</sup> p. 117.34, p. 130.27: 'Advantage, benefit, profit, interest: often in the sense of private or selfish interest' (*OED* 2 †c).<sup>C</sup> p. 127.11: 'a thing of use or advantage to mankind' (*OED* 5).<sup>D</sup> p. 135.3: '(with *a* and *pl.*) A convenience, advantage, benefit, interest' (*OED* 3).
- commonplace**<sup>A</sup> p. 48.31: perhaps 'a theme, topic' (*OED sb.*, *a.* A †1b).<sup>B</sup> (Common-places) p. 78.47, p. 122.37-38: 'A striking or notable passage' (*OED sb.* A 3).
- commotioner** p. 50.48: *OED*'s only sense is 'One who excites or takes part in a commotion; one who stirs up tumult or rebellion'.
- companion** p. 137.37: 'As a term of familiarity or contempt. Cf. "fellow"' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †4).
- comparison** p. 10.32 (see note).
- compass**<sup>A</sup> p. 85.35: 'To contrive, devise, machinate (a purpose)' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> I 2).<sup>B</sup> p. 95.34, p. 135.13: 'To attain to or achieve (an end or object aimed at); to accomplish' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> IV 11).<sup>C</sup> p. 133.49: 'Measure' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup>, *a.*, *adv.* A I †1).
- compendious** p. 135.50: this could mean 'concise' or 'economical' (*OED* 1, †2b).
- competent** p. 120.8, p. 153.23: 'adequate, or sufficient, in amount or extent' (*OED a.* 3a).
- complement** p. 116.45: 'a personal accomplishment or quality' (*OED sb.* II †7).
- complexion** p. 62.30 (complexions), p. 87.5: 'disposition, temperament; "nature"' (*OED sb.* I †3).
- complot** p. 92.40, p. 98.25, p. 129.20: 'A design of a covert nature planned in concert; a conspiracy, a plot' (*OED*).
- complotter** p. 93.13, p. 97.19: 'One who joins in a plot [. . .] conspirator' (*OED*; the earliest instance is from 1592).
- composition** p. 158.24: this could mean, literally, a peace-treaty, or figuratively, a compromise (*OED* III 23, 24).
- compound** p. 72.27, p. 114.39 (see note to first).
- conceit**<sup>A</sup> \*p. 43.10, p. 125.49: 'The faculty of conceiving: conception, apprehension, understanding' (*OED sb.* I †2).<sup>B</sup> p. 48.27, p. 50.20, p. 53.31, p. 56.1, p. 57.6, p. 65.45, p. 74.48, 79.4, p. 80.7, p. 82.41, p. 88.12, p. 96.1, p. 99.7, p. 99.20, p. 102.26, p. 112.11, p. 113.29, p. 114.9, p. 122.6, p. 122.36, p. 124.30, \*p. 145.29: 'Fancy, imagination, as an attribute or faculty' (*OED sb.* III 7b).<sup>C</sup> p. 71.1 (conceits), p. 92.27, p. 153.41 (conceits): 'a conception, notion, idea, thought' (*OED sb.* I †1). The sense 'A fanciful, ingenious, or witty notion or expression' may be relevant (*OED sb.* III 8).<sup>D</sup> (conceites) p. 80.27: 'A fanciful notion: a fancy, a whim' (*OED sb.* III 7).<sup>E</sup> p. 81.25: 'To imagine, fancy, think' (*OED v.* 2).<sup>F</sup> p. 103.44, p. 106.31 (conceits): 'A fanciful, ingenious, or witty notion or expression: now applied disparagingly to a strained or far-fetched turn of thought, figure, etc.' (*OED sb.* III 8).<sup>G</sup> p. 113.6, p. 137.9: 'Personal opinion, judgement, or estimation' (*OED sb.* II †4).<sup>H</sup> p. 160.18 (see note).
- conceited**<sup>A</sup> p. 97.28: either 'Fanciful, fantastical, whimsical' or 'Imagined, fancied; imaginary' (*OED* I 4, II 5 †b).<sup>B</sup> p. 154.44: 'Having a conceit, conception, intelligence, wit, a mind (of such a kind)' (*OED* I †1).

- conclusion(s), try (a)** p. 14.9, p. 109.38-39: 'to try experiments, to experiment; *transf.* to engage in a trial of skill, strength' (*OED* conclusion 8b: the earliest instance is from 1601).
- concur** p. 33.34: *OED* notes a possibly relevant sense: 'Of qualities, attributes, etc.: To come together or be combined *in* the same person or thing; to meet *in*' (v. 2 †f).
- condignly** p. 19.29: 'worthily, agreeably to deserts, deservedly; suitably, adequately' (*OED*).
- condition** p. 86.11 (see note).
- conference** <sup>A</sup> p. 10.32, p. 82.8: 'Comparison' (*OED sb.* †3). <sup>B</sup> p. 21.13, p. 150.1, p. 156.22, p. 156.50: 'Conversation, discourse, talk' (*OED sb.* 4a). <sup>C</sup> p. 90.5: 'Communication, converse, intercourse' (*OED* †5). <sup>D</sup> p. 117.30: either sense B or sense C would be relevant.
- confounder** p. 66.1: 'One who ruins, destroys' (*OED* a).
- confusion** p. 157.37: 'overthrow, ruin, destruction, perdition' (*OED* 1).
- \*conjure** p. 43.17: 'To entreat (a person) by something for which he has a strong regard' (*OED* v. II 4a).
- conscionable** p. 95.41: 'Having a conscience [. . .] conscientious, scrupulous' (*OED* †1).
- considerate** p. 39.40, p. 81.1, p. 102.33: 'thoughtful, deliberate, prudent' (*OED* 2).
- considerately** p. 140.7: 'thoughtfully, carefully, attentively, discreetly' (*OED* 1).
- consideration** p. 110.36, p. 129.19, p. 153.12: 'attentive thought, reflection, meditation' (*OED* 2).
- consort** p. 153.39: 'To associate, to join or keep company' (*OED* v. 5: *OED*'s only intransitive sense without accompanying preposition).
- construction** p. 40.40, p. 54.4, p. 89.13: 'Interpretation put upon conduct, action, facts, words, etc.' (*OED* II 8a).
- construe** (conster) p. 114.17: 'expound, explain, interpret' (*OED* 4).
- consultation** p. 102.28, p. 158.18 (see note to first).
- contend** (contendeth) p. 113.20: 'argue' (*OED* v. 3b).
- contingent** (Contingents) p. 98.25, p. 125.14: perhaps 'A thing that may or may not happen, a possibility of the future'; but *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1623 (*B sb.* 2).
- contradiction** p. 129.2: 'The action of speaking against or in opposition to (an action, proposal, etc.); gainsaying; opposition' (*OED* 1).
- control** p. 40.1 (controwle), p. 82.28 (controlled), p. 89.20: 'To challenge, find fault with, censure, reprehend, object to (a thing)' (*OED* v. †3b).
- controller** p. 11.12 (see note).
- controlment** p. 113.14: 'Restraint, check' (*OED* 3).
- contumacy** p. 87.31, p. 88.11, p. 130.4: 'Perverse and obstinate resistance of or disobedience to authority; rebellious stubbornness' (*OED* 1).
- contumeliously** p. 131.3: 'With insolent contempt; with the infliction of dishonour' (*OED* a).
- convenient** p. 87.13: 'befitting, becoming ([. . .] *for* a thing or person)' (*OED* †3).
- convent** (convented) p. 98.17: 'To summon *before* a judge or tribunal, for trial or examination' (†*OED* v. 3b).
- conversation** p. 92.7, p. 100.45, p. 157.3: in each case Harvey might mean 'Manner of conducting oneself in the world or in society: behaviour, mode or course of life' (*OED* 6).
- converse** p. 101.4 (conversed), p. 101.8: 'To associate familiarly, consort, keep company; to hold intercourse, be familiar *with*' (*OED* v. †2).
- conveyance** <sup>A</sup> p. 56.26, p. 64.36, p. 134.46: 'Cunning management or contrivance; underhand dealing, jugglery, sleight of hand' (*OED sb.* I †11b). <sup>B</sup> p. 61.25: perhaps the likeliest sense is 'Manner of expressing thought: form of expression or utterance, style' (*OED sb.* I †9). <sup>C</sup> p. 119.8: '(with *a* and *pl.*) A secret or cunning device, an artifice, a trick of jugglery' (*OED sb.* I †11c). <sup>D</sup> p. 119.33 (see note).
- convince** p. 73.35: 'to prove or find guilty' (*OED* II †4).
- cony-catch** p. 125.12 (coony-caught), p. 152.34 (cunnycatch), p. 158.46 (cunnycatch): 'To cheat, trick, dupe, gull' (*OED* †).
- coosenage** see **cozenage**
- cooven** see **covin**
- coovenous** see **covinous**
- copesmate** p. 48.25, p. 79.20: *OED* gives the second of these as its first instance of 'FELLOW, in the vague and often contemptuous sense' (4). <sup>B</sup> p. 103.44: 'an associate, companion, comrade' (*OED* †2).
- copious** p. 128.9: 'Having a plentiful command of language for the expression of ideas' (*OED* 2 †b).
- copyhold** p. 109.29: 'a copyhold estate', 'copyhold' being a kind of tenure where the tenant holds land 'at the will of the lord according to the custom of the manor' (*OED*).
- coram, to call** p. 4.12: *OED* defines *to call in coram* as 'to call to account, bring to book' (*OED* †b).

- cormorant** \*p. 17.40, p. 133.36: this might be used figuratively, of 'insatiably greedy or rapacious' people or things (*OED* 2, 2b).
- correction** (corrections) p. 128.27: 'The counteracting or neutralizing of the ill effect of (something hurtful or unpleasant)' (*OED* 6: the sense in two of the three examples is medical).
- corruptible** p. 101.41: Harvey seems to mean 'subject to human frailty, fallible': cf. *OED* 1 ('mortal' in a literal sense).
- corruption** p. 136.40: 'Corrupting influence or agency' (*OED* II 4c).
- \*cotquean** p. 109.17: 'a coarse, vulgar, scolding woman' (*OED* † 2). This example (dated 1592) is the first given by *OED*, although Harvey is quoting Nashe.
- counsel** (Counsels) p. 129.42: 'plan, design, scheme' (*OED sb.* I 4).
- countenance** <sup>A</sup> p. 48.25: 'to set off, grace' (*OED v.* †4). <sup>B</sup> p. 54.11: "'Calmness of look, composure of face"; "confidence of mien" (J.)' (*OED sb.* I 6).
- counterfeisance** p. 148.40: 'The action of counterfeiting; deceit, dissimulation, fraud, imposture' (*OED* †).
- countermine** p. 129.14: 'To defeat by a counter-plot' (*OED v.* 2).
- counterpane** p. 130.45: perhaps 'to equal' – cf. *OED* counterpane<sup>1</sup> 2 ('A copy, duplicate').
- countervail** <sup>A</sup> p. 135.10: 'To avail or prevail against; to have force or be of effect against' (*OED v.* 4). <sup>B</sup> (countervailleth) p. 151.18: 'To equal, match, come up to' (*OED v.* 2).
- courage** p. 47.16, p. 56.31, p. 57.6, p. 57.10, p. 96.48, p. 99.8, p. 155.30: as with 'brave' (see above), Harvey seems to use this word ironically, and among its current senses were 'Anger, wrath', 'Haughtiness, pride' and 'Confidence, boldness' (*OED sb.* †3 b, c, d).
- courageous** p. 104.1 (see note).
- courser** p. 132.27: 'A large powerful horse, ridden in battle, in a tournament, etc.' (*OED* courser<sup>2</sup> 1).
- courtesan** <sup>A</sup> (Curtesans) p. 62.5 (see note). <sup>B</sup> (Curtesan) p. 120.33 (see note).
- courting** p. 58.35 (see note).
- cousin** p. 11.26 (see note).
- covetise** (Covetice) p. 132.29: 'covetousness' (*OED* 2).
- covin** <sup>A</sup> p. 135.48 (cooven), p. 156.32: 'fraud, deceit, treachery' (*OED sb.* 4). <sup>B</sup> (coovens) p. 119.12: 'A privy agreement between two or more to the prejudice of another; conspiracy, collusion' (*OED sb.* 3).
- covinous** p. 13.18: 'fraudulent, deceitful' (*OED*).
- cowl** p. 75.21 (cowled), p. 125.42 (see note to first).
- coy** <sup>A</sup> (coying) p. 38.41: 'To stroke or touch soothingly, pat, caress' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 60.8 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 84.4: 'Of distant and disdainful demeanour' (*OED a.* †3). <sup>D</sup> p. 139.32: perhaps 'flatter' (cf. *OED v.* †3, 'To blandish, coax, court').
- cozenage** <sup>A</sup> p. 107.15, p. 121.34: 'cheating, deception, fraud' (*OED*). <sup>B</sup> (coosenages) p. 119.9: 'An act of cozening; a deception, a fraud' (*OED b*).
- crack** <sup>A</sup> p. 59.27 (crakest): 'To boast of' (*OED v.* 6 †c; the earliest instance is from 1653). <sup>B</sup> p. 133.12 (crake): 'To talk big, boast, brag' (*OED v.* I 6a). <sup>C</sup> p. 154.46 (crackes): 'boast, brag' (*OED sb.* I 4).
- cracking** (craking) <sup>A</sup> p. 74.44, p. 122.25, p. 126.28: 'Bragging, boasting; boastful' (*OED ppl. a.* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 112.8, p. 124.48: 'Exaggerated talking, bragging, boasting' (*OED vbl. sb.* †2).
- crank** <sup>A</sup> p. 26.1, p. 38.37, p. 113.6, p. 138.5: Either (ironically) 'sprightly, merry' or 'aggressively high-spirited, disposed to exult or triumph' (*OED a.*<sup>1</sup> 2). <sup>B</sup> (cranckes) p. 56.3 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 73.26 (cranckes), p. 78.18 (cranckes): 'fanciful turn of speech [. . .] verbal trick or conceit' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 3).
- crankly** p. 50.35: *OED* cites this as an example of the word which here perhaps means 'boldly'.
- crankness** p. 123.36: perhaps 'arrogance' (see 'crank' sense A above). *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1726.
- crash** p. 110.1, p. 112.23, p. 143.48: 'a short spell' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †3).
- credible** (crediblest) p. 105.20: 'Worthy of belief or confidence; trustworthy, reliable' (*OED* 2).
- credit** <sup>A</sup> p. 9.35, p. 18.8, p. 20.30, p. 22.39 (credites), p. 60.48, p. 63.22, p. 95.32, p. 97.13, p. 102.16, p. 104.21, p. 105.20, p. 110.16, p. 126.50, p. 136.10, p. 138.29: 'Favourable estimation, good name, honour' (*OED sb.* 5b). <sup>B</sup> p. 12.38, p. 47.29: 'reputation, repute' (*OED sb.* 5).
- crest** <sup>A</sup> p. 50.35 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 61.20: among its literal uses, this could mean figuratively 'The most excellent, the crown' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 5c). <sup>C</sup> p. 79.16, p. 100.11: *OED* notes that 'In phrases, such as to *erect*, *elevate*, *let fall one's crest*' the word is 'used as a symbol of pride' (*OED crest sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1b; the first instance also uses 'set up').
- crochet** see **crotchet**
- crossbite** <sup>A</sup> p. 24.20, p. 152.35: 'to "take in", gull, deceive' (*OED* †1). <sup>B</sup> (crossbitten) p. 60.36, p. 126.18: 'To attack or censure bitingly or bitterly' (*OED* †2). <sup>C</sup> (Crosbiting) p. 107.17 (see note).
- cross-cloth** p. 109.2 (see note).

- crotchet** p. 13.11: 'A whimsical fancy; a perverse conceit' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> III 9a: the earliest instance is from Harvey's *Letter-Book*).
- crouch** p. 112.4: 'To bow or bend humbly or servilely; to cringe submissively or fawningly' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 2).
- crowder** p. 75.47: 'One who plays a crowd; a fiddler' (*OED crowder*<sup>1</sup>).
- crow-tread** p. 49.38: *OED* cites this as the first instance of a word which might mean 'fig. to subject to ignominious abuse' (†).
- crusade** p. 127.18: 'A Portuguese coin bearing the figure of a cross, originally of gold, later also of silver' (*OED crusado*<sup>1</sup>).
- cry, out of** p. 15.15, p. 59.33: 'beyond measure, to excess, desperately' (*OED cry sb.* 17b).
- crystal** (Christall, Cristall) <sup>A</sup> p. 91.9: 'A piece of rock-crystal or similar mineral; *esp.* one used in magic art' (*OED sb.*, a. A 4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 60.25 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 102.6, p. 154.26 (see note to first).
- cub** p. 129.46, p. 129.48, p. 134.42: 'A young fox' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- cuckingstool** p. 56.29, p. 106.23, p. 109.25, p. 109.29: 'An instrument of punishment formerly in use for scolds, disorderly women, fraudulent tradespeople, etc., consisting of a chair (sometimes in the form of a close-stool), in which the offender was fastened and exposed to the jeers of the bystanders, or conveyed to the pond or river and ducked' (*OED*).
- cunning** <sup>A</sup> p. 125.27: 'wit, wisdom, intelligence' (*OED sb.* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 127.24, p. 154.30, p. 156.17: 'Possessing practical knowledge or skill; able, skilful, expert, dexterous, clever' (*OED a.* 2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 148.14: 'skilfully contrived or executed' (*OED a.* 2b).
- cunycatch** see **cony-catch**
- curate** p. 71.15: 'One who has a charge; a curator, overseer' (*OED sb.* †3).
- curb** p. 133.37: 'Anything that curbs or restrains; a check, restraint' (*OED sb.* I 2).
- curiosity** <sup>A</sup> p. 99.21: 'Careful attention to detail; scrupulousness; exactness, accuracy' (*OED I* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 136.35: 'A matter upon which undue care is bestowed; a vanity, nicety, refinement' (*OED III* †13). <sup>C</sup> p. 137.15: 'Undue [. . .] fastidiousness' (*OED I* †4).
- curious** <sup>A</sup> p. 41.7, p. 123.48: either 'bestowing care or pains' or 'Ingenious, skilful, clever, expert' (*OED I* †1a, †4). <sup>B</sup> p. 48.38 (most-curious), p. 74.36, p. 108.29, p. 123.33, p. 123.34, p. 128.10, p. 150.48: 'Ingenious, skilful, clever, expert' (*OED I* †4). <sup>C</sup> p. 66.37, p. 93.8 (most-curious), p. 155.35: 'Made with care or art; skilfully, elaborately or beautifully wrought' (*OED II* †7a). <sup>D</sup> p. 51.7, p. 79.49, p. 88.48, p. 130.6, p. 135.14: 'Bestowing care or pains; careful; studious, attentive' (*OED I* †1a). <sup>E</sup> p. 81.1: perhaps 'Desirous of knowing what one has no right to know, or what does not concern one' (*OED I* 5a). <sup>F</sup> p. 82.31: 'Unduly minute' (*OED II* †10a). <sup>G</sup> p. 137.14 (most-curious): 'difficult to satisfy' (*OED* †2). <sup>H</sup> p. 156.46: 'fastidious' (*OED* †2). <sup>I</sup> p. 156.10: 'Anxious, concerned, solicitous' (*OED a.* I †1b).
- curiously** <sup>A</sup> p. 82.31: 'minutely, critically' (*OED* 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 154.29: 'With careful art, skilfully, elaborately, exquisitely' (*OED* 3).
- current** <sup>A</sup> (currantest) p. 57.45, p. 123.4: 'in general use; prevalent' (*OED a.* 6). <sup>B</sup> p. 78.12: 'in vogue' (*OED a.* 7). <sup>C</sup> p. 89.19: 'genuine, authentic' (*OED a.* †5). <sup>D</sup> p. 97.9, p. 102.24: 'Generally accepted' (*OED a.* 7). <sup>E</sup> p. 105.14: perhaps Harvey means 'productive', but this sense is not in *OED*.
- currently** p. 150.18: 'In the manner of a flowing stream; with easy rapid movement; smoothly, fluently, readily' (*OED* 1).
- cursory** p. 60.29 (see note).
- curst** (curstest) p. 109.34, p. 139.12: '(Usually spelt *curst*.) [. . .] Of persons (or their dispositions, tongues, etc.): Malignant: perversely disagreeable or cross; cantankerous, shrewish, virulent' (*OED* cursed, *curst ppl.* a. 4).
- cut** (Cuttes) p. 106.36 (see note).
- cuts, draw** p. 78.45, p. 103.7: draw lots (*OED cut sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- cutter** (Cutters) p. 101.42: 'One over-ready to resort to weapons; a bully' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †3a).
- cutting** p. 6.13; p. 30.12, p. 54.1, p. 79.13: 'That is a "cutter" or swaggering blade' (*OED ppl.* a. †3). In the last instance, perhaps Harvey means 'in a manner suggesting such a person – crude, abrasive'.
- daggle-tailed** p. 109.13: 'Having the skirts splashed by being trailed over wet ground; untidy, slatternly' (*OED*: the first example comes from Harvey's marginalia, the second is dated 1824).
- daggled** p. 112.26: 'Having the skirts clogged or splashed with dirt or wet; bespattered, bemired' (*OED*).
- dainty** <sup>A</sup> p. 48.27 (daintiest), p. 79.35, p. 85.39, p. 103.49, p. 106.31, p. 120.27 (daintiest), p. 121.30 (daintiest), p. 124.11, p. 124.27, p. 148.38, p. 154.28, p. 158.33: 'Valuable, fine, handsome; choice, excellent; pleasant, delightful' (*OED a.* †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 77.26, p. 113.46: 'rare, scarce' (*OED a.* †2). <sup>C</sup> \*p. 104.34 (dainties), p. 105.10 (dainties), p. 120.27 (dainties): 'a choice viand, a delicacy' (*OED sb.* 6).

- <sup>D</sup> p. 105.49, p. 127.48 (daintiest): 'fastidious' (*OED* *a.* 5). <sup>E</sup> p. 123.21, p. 155.2: 'Pleasing to the palate, choice, delicate' (*OED* *a.* 3).
- dalliance** p. 136.31 (dalliances), p. 157.46: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Idle or frivolous action, trifling' (3), but all its instances are abstract, not concrete.
- dam** p. 2.15 (see note).
- dandiprat** p. 73.22: 'A small, insignificant, or contemptible fellow' (*OED* 2).
- dapper** p. 56.1, p. 78.21 (see note to latter).
- dart** p. 101.31 (see note).
- darting** p. 112.6 (see note).
- dash** <sup>A</sup> p. 139.2: 'To confound, put to shame, abash' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> 7b). <sup>B</sup> p. 144.7: 'To destroy, ruin, confound' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> 6).
- daub** p. 58.7: 'To put on a false show; to dissemble so as to give a favourable impression' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> 7b). *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1605, although it gives transitive uses of 'to whitewash, cloak, gloss' from 1543 (*v.* <sup>1</sup> 7).
- \*day** (to breake day) p. 51.18: 'A day appointed, a fixed date, *esp.* for payment' (*OED* *sb.* B III 9a). *OED* cites *Merchant of Venice* I.3.165, where Shylock says of Antonio, 'If he should break his day, what should I gain / By the exaction of the forfeiture?'
- dealing** p. 56.6: 'Intercourse, friendly or business communication, connexion' (*OED* *vbl. sb.* 2).
- debase** <sup>A</sup> p. 40.20: 'decry, depreciate, vilify' (*OED* <sup>†</sup>2). <sup>B</sup> p. 126.2: 'to lower in estimation' (*OED* <sup>†</sup>2). Harvey specifically means 'by contrast with its own excellence': cf. 'stain' below.
- debate** p. 40.28: 'Strife, contention, dissension, quarrelling, wrangling' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1a).
- debtful** p. 138.40: this could mean both 'dutiful' and 'Indebted', although *OED* only cites one instance of the latter, from 1649 (<sup>†</sup>).
- decipher** <sup>A</sup> p. 50.2, <sup>\*</sup>p. 146.15 (deciphred): 'To represent verbally or pictorially; to describe, delineate, portray, depict' (*OED* *v.* <sup>†</sup>6). <sup>B</sup> p. 65.46 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 138.44: 'To reveal, make known' (*OED* *v.* <sup>†</sup>5).
- declarative** p. 159.15: perhaps 'explanatory' – cf. *OED* <sup>†</sup>1 ('Making clear').
- decurion** p. 83.5 (see note).
- deep** (deepest) p. 129.14: 'profoundly cunning, artful, or sly' (*OED* *a.* II 17).
- default** p. 5.12, p. 26.51, p. 18.50, p. 47.15, p. 62.37, p. 127.16: this could mean both 'an imperfection, defect, blemish, flaw' or 'a fault, misdeed, offence' (*OED* *sb.* I 2, II <sup>†</sup>5a).
- defeat** <sup>A</sup> (defeated) p. 10.1: 'cause to fail, frustrate' (*OED* *v.* 5). <sup>B</sup> (defeating) p. 134.29 (see note).
- defection** p. 95.9, p. 126.19: 'Imperfection, defectiveness' (*OED* I <sup>†</sup>c).
- defendant** (defendants) p. 62.25: 'A defender against hostile attack; opposed to *assailant*' (*OED* B *sb.* <sup>†</sup> 1a).
- defensative** (Defensatives) p. 105.16: 'Something that serves to defend or protect' (*OED* defensive B *sb.* <sup>†</sup>1).
- deft** p. 25.27, p. 56.1, p. 78.21, p. 123.24 (deftest): 'Apt, skilful, dexterous, clever' (*OED* 2, citing the first of these as an example).
- degenerate** p. 95.6: 'to decline in character or qualities' (*OED* *v.* 1).
- degree** p. 127.32: 'relative social or official rank, grade, order, estate, or station' (*OED* *sb.* I 4a).
- deign** p. 122.10: 'to vouchsafe' (*OED* 2).
- delicate** p. 120.32, p. 150.12, p. 155.41: 'Delightful, charming, pleasant' (*OED* *a., sb.* A 1).
- delict** p. 86.47: 'A violation of law or right; an offence, a delinquency' (*OED*).
- demean** (demeaned) p. 81.30, p. 82.19, p. 100.51: 'To behave, conduct or comport oneself (in a specified way)' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> 6).
- \*demerit** p. 43.35: 'Merit, desert, deserving (in a good or indifferent sense)' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>†</sup>1).
- demonstrative** p. 10.13 (see note).
- demurrer** p. 151.51, p. 155.50: 'A pause, stand-still; a state of hesitation or irresolution' (*OED* demurrer <sup>1</sup> <sup>†</sup>2).
- denounce** (denounceth) p. 123.4: 'to proclaim, announce, declare' (*OED* *v.* 1).
- depend** (dependeth) p. 90.9: 'To be in suspense or undetermined, be waiting for settlement' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> 7).
- dependence** p. 57.40, p. 158.21: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Reliability, trustworthiness', but the earliest example is from 1752 (*OED* 5 <sup>†</sup>c).
- deprave** <sup>A</sup> p. 115.50: 'vilify, defame, decry, disparage' (*OED* *v.* <sup>†</sup>4). <sup>B</sup> p. 131.4 (depraved): either as sense A or 'impair, spoil, vitiate' (*OED* *v.* 1).
- depression** p. 91.10, p. 138.29: 'the fact or condition of being brought low (in station, fortunes, etc.)' (*OED* 4a).
- descant** p. 124.7: among various musical senses is 'A warbled song, a melodious strain' (*OED* I <sup>†</sup>3).

- descrie** <sup>A</sup> p. 50.15, p. 142.30 (descrie): 'reveal' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> I †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 124.25, p. 136.19: distinguish – *OED*'s closest sense is 'To discern, discriminate' (v.<sup>1</sup> 7 †b), but its earliest instance is from 1633.
- designment** <sup>A</sup> p. 81.50, p. 100.7. In the first instance, Harvey, having pointedly called the men in question 'master', seems to mean 'Appointment or nomination to office or function' († *OED* 2). Perhaps in the second he means the office or function itself. <sup>B</sup> p. 110.40, p. 130.36: 'Appointment, arrangement, or ordination of affairs; planning, designing; hence, that which is planned; an enterprise, undertaking, design' (*OED* 3).
- despite** (despight) p. 21.10, p. 136.43: 'spite' (*OED* sb. 4).
- despitefully** p. 139.7: 'Angrily, maliciously, cruelly; with malicious cruelty or ill-will; spitefully' (*OED* 2).
- despitefulness** p. 18.8: 'malicious feeling or action, cruelty' (*OED*).
- despiteous** p. 63.42: 'Spiteful, malevolent, cruel' (*OED* 2).
- device** p. 133.13: 'An emblematic figure or design, *esp.* one borne or adopted by a particular person, family, etc., as a heraldic bearing, a cognizance, etc.: usually accompanied by a motto' (*OED* 9).
- devil in the horologe** see **horologe**
- device** <sup>A</sup> (devises) p. 125.45, p. 138.23, p. 150.23: for literary senses, see *OED* 10, 11. <sup>B</sup> (devise) p. 133.7: 'An emblematic figure or design, *esp.* one borne or adopted by a particular person, family, etc., as a heraldic bearing, a cognizance, etc.: usually accompanied by a motto' (*OED* 9).
- devise, in** p. 93.26-27: deceitfully, as a ruse – cf. 'plan, scheme [ . . . ] ingenious or clever expedient; often one of an underhand or evil character; a plot, stratagem, trick' (*OED* device 6).
- devoir** <sup>A</sup> p. 117.29: 'A dutiful act of civility or respect; [ . . . ] chiefly in phr. *to do* or *pay one's devoir*' (sb. 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 136.48: 'That which one can do, (one's) utmost or best' (*OED* sb. †2).
- devotion** <sup>A</sup> p. 119.34, p. 136.44: 'Devoted or attached service; command, disposal' (*OED* II †6). <sup>B</sup> p. 134.38, p. 152.28, p. 157.3: 'devoutness' (*OED* I 1). <sup>C</sup> \*p. 142.43: figuratively 'offering made as an act of worship' (*OED* I †3).
- dexterity** p. 124.50, p. 129.18, p. 134.48, p. 153.48: 'Mental adroitness or skill [ . . . ] Sometimes in a bad sense: cleverness in taking an advantage, sharpness' (*OED* 2).
- dia-margariton** p. 150.24 (see note).
- diamber** (Dia-ambre) p. 150.24: 'An old stomachic and cordial containing ambergris, musk, and other aromatics' (*OED*).
- diapason** p. 79.34: *OED* gives attributive uses from 1549 (sb. 8), perhaps meaning 'melodious'; Harvey is of course being ironic.
- diet** (be dieted): <sup>A</sup> p. 49.13 'To feed' (*OED* v. I 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 65.35: 'To fix, prescribe, or regulate the food of (a person) [ . . . ] as a regimen of health' (*OED* v. I 2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 156.48 (see note).
- difference** p. 87.38, p. 88.5, p. 158.36: 'discrimination or distinction' (*OED* sb. 5). *OED* understands this as concrete, although one of the examples it cites – *Merry Wives of Windsor* II.1.54 – is abstract, as is Harvey's use.
- diffidence** p. 155.51, p. 156.1: 'Want of confidence or faith; mistrust, distrust, misgiving, doubt' (*OED* 1).
- dight** (dyght) p. 30.1: this is the past participle of the identical verb defined by *OED* as 'To clothe, dress, array, deck, adorn' (v. III 10).
- dignity** <sup>A</sup> p. 90.29: 'Honourable or high estate, position, or estimation' (*OED* 2). <sup>B</sup> (dignities) p. 108.27: '*Astrol.* A situation of a planet in which its influence is heightened, either by its position in the zodiac, or by its aspects with other planets' (*OED* 5).
- dilate** p. 24.12: 'To discourse or write at large; to enlarge, expatiate' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 5).
- dilatory** p. 110.3: 'Tending to cause delay; made for the purpose of gaining time or deferring decision or action' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup>, sb. A 1).
- dint** <sup>A</sup> p. 56.21, p. 109.24: 'force of attack, assault, or impact [ . . . ] violence, force' (*OED* sb. 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 108.3: 'A stroke or blow; *esp.* one given with a weapon in fighting' (*OED* sb. †1). The two senses are perhaps not easily distinguished.
- direction** p. 86.22: 'authoritative guidance, instruction' (*OED* 1c).
- directly** p. 139.3 (see note).
- directory** (directoryes) p. 53.28: 'Something that serves to direct; a guide; *esp.* a book of rules or directions' (*OED* sb. 1).
- disbalass** (disbalased) p. 154.15: 'to disburden' (*OED* v. †, citing this as the second of only two examples).
- discipline** <sup>A</sup> p. 68.19 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 80.1, p. 80.2, p. 80.43, p. 82.30, p. 82.36, p. 83.24, p. 84.8, p. 84.15, p. 84.31, p. 84.33, p. 85.11, p. 87.36, p. 87.37, p. 88.26, p. 88.27, p. 92.23, p. 93.4, p. 93.14, p. 93.26, p. 94.4, p. 96.2, p. 98.11, p. 99.4, p. 99.17, p. 99.48, p. 100.1, p. 100.29, p. 100.44, p. 102.25:

- ‘the system by which the practice of a church, as distinguished from its doctrine, is regulated’ (*OED sb.* 6b).
- disciplinist** p. 100.3: the word is not in *OED*, although n.b. Disciplinarian *B sb.* 1: ‘A name applied to the Puritans of the Elizabethan age, who aimed at establishing the Genevan or Presbyterian ecclesiastical polity or “discipline” in England’.
- discommodity** p. 127.12: ‘A disadvantage, inconvenience, trouble’ (*OED* 2).
- discover** <sup>A</sup> p. 77.34 (discovereth), p. 83.47: ‘to display (unconsciously or unintentionally); to exhibit, betray, allow to be seen or perceived’ (*OED* †7b). <sup>B</sup> p. 138.27: ‘To disclose or expose to view (anything covered up, hidden, or previously unseen)’ (*OED* 3a).
- discipline** p. 49.4: ‘*Ecccl.* The system or method by which order is maintained in a church, and control exercised over the conduct of its members’; ‘Hence, generally, the system by which the practice of a church, as distinguished from its doctrine, is regulated’ (*OED sb.* 6a, b).
- discover** p. 108.48: ‘to reveal, show’ (*OED* 3a).
- disease** p. 35.17: ‘to trouble, annoy, incommode, molest’ (*OED v.* †1).
- disgrace** p. 139.39: perhaps ‘Marring of the grace of anything; disfigurement’ is the closest sense (*OED sb.* †6).
- disguised** p. 153.7: ‘altered in fashion of dress for the sake of modish display’ (*OED* †1b).
- dish-clout** p. 154.43: ‘“clout” or cloth used for washing dishes, etc.’ (*OED*).
- dismal** p. 119.51, p. 125.13, p. 139.5: ‘unlucky, sinister, malign’ (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup>, *sb.* <sup>2</sup>, *a.* B †2).
- disparagement** <sup>A</sup> p. 58.5 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 112.51: ‘Lowering of value, honour, or estimation; [. . .] loss of dignity’ (*OED* 2).
- display** p. 36.38 (see note).
- disple** (*displing*) p. 111.31: ‘To subject to discipline, bodily correction, penance, or punishment’ (*OED* †).
- displeasure** p. 156.5: one possible sense is ‘injury, harm; a wrong, an offence’ (*OED* 3).
- dispose** p. 137.13, p. 146.23, p. 151.20 (see note to first).
- dissolute** see **over-dissolute**
- distain** p. 142.27: ‘To defile: to bring a blot or stain upon; to sully, dishonour’ (*OED v.* 2).
- disveil** (*disvailed*) p. 135.21: ‘to unveil, unmask’ (*OED* †: the earliest instance is from 1611).
- dodkin** \*p. 60.25, p. 73.4: used nominally the word could mean a ‘coin of very small value’ (*OED* 1), hence in the second instance it means ‘trivial, worthless’.
- dogbolt** (*dogboltes*) p. 50.27: ‘Some kind of bolt or blunt-headed arrow’ (*OED* †1, citing this as the first of only two instances).
- dogfish** p. 73.9, p. 75.41, p. 75.44, p. 111.50: this could be ‘Applied opprobriously to persons’ (*OED* 2).
- dog-fly** p. 59.32: *OED*’s sole example ‘As a term of abuse’ is from 1611 (2).
- dogged** p. 60.6: ‘malicious, crabbed, spiteful, [. . .] cruel’ (*OED A adj.* 2 †a).
- Domine fac totum** p. 102.40: vocative of *dominus factotum*, ‘a ruler with uncontrolled power’ (*OED factotum* 1 †a).
- domineer** p. 119.15: ‘To assume lordly airs; to swagger, play the master’ (*OED v.* 1 †b).
- \*doomful** p. 37.33 (see note).
- dor, dorr** p. 122.18: this could many various kinds of ‘insect that flies with a loud humming noise’ (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup>); it was also used figuratively, to mean ‘a fool’ (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> †3, *sb.* <sup>3</sup>).
- dor-beetle** p. 115.49, p. 122.18 (see note to first).
- double** p. 50.19: ‘To make evasive turns or shifts; to use duplicity, act deceitfully’ (*OED double v.* 11).
- doubt** <sup>A</sup> p. 84.25: ‘A thing to dread; danger, risk’ (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> †3b). <sup>B</sup> p. 130.10 (*doubted*): ‘To dread, fear, be afraid of’ (*OED v.* II 5).
- doubtful** p. 129.19: ‘Giving cause for apprehensions’ (*OED* †4).
- doulcely** see **dulcely**
- drab** p. 122.19: ‘A harlot, prostitute, strumpet’ (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 2).
- drad** p. 41.42: dreaded – cf. *FQ* I.i.2.9 (‘Yet nothing did he dread, but ever was ydrad’), V.xii.37.8 (‘A dreadfull feend of gods and men ydrad’).
- draff** p. 106.38, p. 113.50 (*Draff-maides*): ‘Refuse, dregs, lees; wash or swill given to swine; hog’s-wash: *spec.* the refuse or grains of malt after brewing or distilling; brewer’s grains’ (*OED*).
- draught** (*drawghts*) p. 98.24: ‘Something drawn up or devised; a scheme, plan, design, device; a plot’ (*OED sb.* X †33).
- dribbling** p. 53.4 (see note).
- drift** p. 56.23, p. 129.27, p. 156.21: ‘purpose, intention, object, aim’ (*OED sb.* I 4a).
- drone** p. 122.18: ‘The male of the honey-bee’ (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1).
- drunken** p. 106.23, p. 121.25, p. 155.26 (see note to first).

- dry-bobbers** (drie bobbers) p. 104.8: a 'dry bob' is 'A sharp rebuke [. . .] a taunt, bitter jest or jibe, scoff' (*OED* bob *sb.*<sup>3</sup> †2), and 'bobber' 'A mocker, one who mocks' (*OED* †bobber<sup>1</sup> 2).
- dudgen** <sup>A</sup> p. 106.33: "'Poor stuff," trash' (*OED* †A *sb.*, citing only this instance). <sup>B</sup> p. 114.4: 'Mean, poor, contemptible' (*OED* †B *adj.* 1).
- dug** p. 116.40: 'The pap or udder of female mammalia; also the teat or nipple; usually in reference to suckling' (*OED*).
- dulcely** (doulcely) p. 29.34: 'In a "dulce" manner; sweetly; soothingly' (*OED* †, citing this as the last of three instances).
- dull** (dullest) p. 129.18: 'slow of understanding; not sharp of wit; obtuse, stupid, inapprehensive' (*OED* a. 1).
- dummerell** p. 125.35: 'A dumb person; a dummy' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- dump** p. 152.10: 'A fit of melancholy or depression; now only in *pl.*' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2).
- dumpish** p. 15.36, p. 114.6: 'Sad, melancholy' (*OED* 2).
- eager** <sup>A</sup> (æger) p. 72.27, p. 109.23: when applied to humans this could mean 'fierce, angry' and when applied to animals, 'Fierce, savage' (*OED* a. II †5 a, b). <sup>B</sup> (æger) p. 125.38: 'Hungry' (*OED* a. II †7). <sup>C</sup> p. 130.13 (see note).
- eagerness** (egrenesse) p. 39.11: 'Acerbity, bitterness' (*OED* †2).
- ecliptic** (Eclyptique) p. 138.33: 'Of or pertaining to an eclipse' (*OED* A *adj.*).
- efficients** p. 19.21: 'Efficient' as a noun was defined by Samuel Johnson as 'the cause which makes effects to be what they are' (*OED* B *sb.* †1).
- eftsoons** <sup>A</sup> p. 87.50: 'soon afterwards' (†*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 130.44: 'soon' (†*OED* 3). <sup>C</sup> p. 139.9, p. 148.44: 'repeatedly' (†*OED* 4).
- \*egall** p. 146.1: Thorius' meaning seems to be 'make equal to'. *OED* cites one instance from 1591 of the verb in the sense of 'to equal to'.
- egregious** Responding to Harvey's use of the word in the Second Letter (p. 8.16), Nashe in *SN* objected that 'egregious is never used in English but in the extreame ill part' (1958: 1.316.4). *OED* gives 11 instances from c. 1534 onwards of the word in its obsolete sense of 'Remarkable in a good sense' (†2) (in which Harvey also seems to be using it on p. 33.28). However, the sense in which Harvey uses it in several other places (p. 13.1, p. 78.33, p. 104.45, p. 110.43, p. 127.50, p. 157.24, and see 'egregiously' below) would appear to be 'remarkable in a bad sense' of which *OED* cites 12 examples from 1573, the first from a letter of Harvey's. This inconsistency might be resolved either by the *OED*'s theory that the latter usage 'arose from an ironical use of' the former, or if Harvey is using it to mean 'remarkable in a neutral sense'. Nashe is either using it in this sense or is committing tautology when he writes in *PP*, 'there was never man egregiously evill but he was a Scholler' (1958: 1.191.21).
- egregiously** p. 17.48, p. 61.24: 'grossly, monstrously, shamefully' (*OED*).
- egrenesse** see **eagerness**
- election** <sup>A</sup> p. 41.28: 'at or in (one's) election: at (one's) option or discretion' (*OED* 2a). <sup>B</sup> p. 48.27: 'The exercise of deliberate choice or preference: choice between alternatives' (*OED* 2a).
- electuary** p. 105.12 (Electuaryes). p. 150.25, p. 150.26: 'A medicinal conserve or paste, consisting of a powder or other ingredient mixed with honey, preserve, or syrup of some kind' (*OED* 1, giving figurative instances from 1526).
- elench** (Elenches) p. 55.20 (see note).
- elential** p. 74.25: 'Pertaining to elenchus, concerned with logical refutation' (*OED* †). *OED*'s earliest example is from 1615, but Richard Harvey uses the word in *LG*: 'this invective or elenchicall is to follow that other demonstrative or declarative manner of proceeding' (1590b: 74).
- elevate** p. 70.42: 'lofty, sublime' (*OED* elevated 5).
- elf** p. 29.24, p. 31.10, p. 35.17: like 'imp' (p. 22.22), this was a word with rather more force in the Elizabethan era than it has now – cf. *FQ* V.viii.19.9, where 'the Elfe' would seem to be 'the Devil'. *OED* defines three relevant senses: 'an "imp", "demon"' (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1 †b); 'a spiteful and malicious creature' (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2b) and 'In a vague depreciatory sense, "a (poor) creature", "a (poor, pious) soul", "a (poor) devil"' (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 5). Where on this scale Harvey's use of the word comes is matter of opinion, although in the last instance the context suggests gentle deprecation rather than angry denunciation.
- ell** p. 94.4 (see note).
- elocution** p. 121.30, p. 124.6, p. 124.14: 'Oratorical or literary expression of thought' (*OED* †1a).
- \*emblazon** p. 146.5: 'To celebrate, extol, "blaze abroad"; to render illustrious' (*OED* v. 2).
- \*embrace** p. 43.10 (embraved), p. 44.16 (embraving): 'To embellish, beautify' (*OED* †1).
- empeach** see **impeach**
- empeachment** see **impeachment**



- empiric** p. 115.43 (Empiriques), p. 127.24 (Empirique): 'One who, either in medicine or in other branches of science, relies solely upon observation and experiment' (*OED* B sb. 1b).
- emplaster** p. 115.41: '*Med.* or *Surg.* = plaster' (*OED* sb. 1).
- employable** p. 116.34 (see note).
- employed** p. 8.5 (implied), p. 54.25, p. 56.18 (see note to first).
- empro(o)ve** see **improve**
- emprovement** see **improvement**
- empyrean** p. 144.39: 'Of or pertaining to the empyrean or highest heaven. Also *fig.*' (*OED* 1).
- emulation** <sup>A</sup> p. 5.13: two possibly relevant uses of the word are 'Ambitious rivalry for power or honours; contention or ill-will between rivals' and 'Grudge against the superiority of others; dislike, or tendency to disparagement, of those who are superior' (*OED* †2, †3). <sup>B</sup> p. 53.36, p. 150.9, p. 150.46: 'the desire or ambition to equal or excel' (*OED* 1). <sup>C</sup> p. 123.7 (see note).
- encounter** <sup>A</sup> p. 54.41, p. 67.37, p. 69.1, p. 88.40, p. 150.50: 'battle, skirmish, duel, etc.' (*OED* sb. 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 83.16, p. 135.17, p. 138.17: 'to confront in battle, assail' (*OED* v. 1). <sup>C</sup> p. 93.20, p. 139.6, p. 139.7: 'oppose, thwart' (*OED* v. †2).
- encountering** p. 51.31, p. 149.45 (see note to first).
- end** p. 96.34: 'an aim, purpose' (*OED* sb. II 14a).
- endenizen** (endenisoned) p. 150.20: 'To make a denizen or citizen of; to naturalize, enfranchise' (*OED* 1, citing this as the first example).
- endighted** see **indict**
- endowment** p. 136.50: 'A "gift". power, capacity, or other advantage with which a person is endowed by nature or fortune' (*OED* 4).
- enfright** (enfraight) p. 42.6: not in *OED*, which however defines 'enfraught' as 'Laden, charged, filled' (citing only 1 instance, from 1866).
- engine** p. 108.11 (Engins), p. 132.15: *OED* lists as senses 'Native talent', 'Skill', 'cunning, trickery' and 'snare, wile', all of which seem relevant (sb. †1a, †2a, †3).
- engineer** (enginer) p. 50.26 (see note).
- engrained** p. 150.22: 'Dyed in grain' (*OED* †1).
- engrossed** p. 130.44: 'written in a legal hand: expressed or incorporated in a legal document' (*OED* †b).
- engrossing** <sup>A</sup> p. 55.30 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 149.36: cf. *OED* engross v. II 4b ('To gain or keep exclusive possession of; to concentrate (property, trade, privileges, functions) in one's own possession (often with the notion of unfairness or injury to others); to "monopolize"').
- enormity** (enormities) p. 93.42, p. 95.8, p. 97.14, p. 157.8: 'transgression, crime [. . .] gross and monstrous offence' (*OED* 2b).
- enravished** p. 69.33: see 'ravished' below. *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1662.
- \*ensue** (ensewe) p. 43.30: 'To follow as a result or consequence; to result from' (*OED* 6 †a).
- entelechy** p. 33.32, p. 70.25, p. 70.38, p. 70.45, p. 125.30, p. 126.31, p. 126.34, p. 126.40 (see note to first).
- entend** see **intend**
- entertain** <sup>A</sup> (interteined) p. 18.39, p. 150.3 'To treat in a (specified) manner' (*OED* v. III †8). <sup>B</sup> p. 39.24 (interteine), p. 50.41, p. 128.20 (interteineth): 'to receive (news, events, etc.) in a certain manner' (*OED* v. V †14). <sup>C</sup> p. 79.25, p. 119.31: 'to hire (a servant, etc.)' (*OED* v. †5b). <sup>D</sup> p. 84.44 (interteine): figuratively 'to accept, to allow' – cf. the literal sense, 'To give reception (to something); to allow (something) to enter' (*OED* v. V †14). <sup>E</sup> p. 93.15: 'to engage in, enter upon (a task)' (*OED* v. V †16). <sup>F</sup> (interteine) p. 94.11, p. 155.1: 'To receive as a guest; to show hospitality to' (*OED* v. V 13). <sup>G</sup> p. 100.38 (interteined), p. 108.24 (reinterteined): 'To give reception to; to receive (a person)' (*OED* v. V †12). <sup>H</sup> (interteineth) p. 111.48: 'to retain in use' (*OED* v. II 3). <sup>I</sup> (interteine) p. 145.10: 'To occupy, fill up, wile away (time)' (*OED* v. IV 9 †b).
- entertainment** <sup>A</sup> (interteinement) \*p. 46.9, p. 127.48: 'the "reception" (*esp.* favourable reception, welcome). *e.g.* of a newly published book' (*OED* 12 †a). <sup>B</sup> p. 50.36, p. 79.12 (intertainment), p. 89.2 (interteinement): 'Treatment' (*OED* †5). <sup>C</sup> (interteinement) p. 79.12: perhaps 'favourable reception, welcome' (*OED* 12 †a). <sup>D</sup> p. 106.39: 'Hospitable provision' (*OED* 11b).
- enthusiastical** p. 70.42: inspired – cf. 'Pertaining to, or of the nature of, possession by a deity. Also *fig.*' (*OED* enthusiastic A †1).
- entreat** <sup>A</sup> p. 111.37: 'To treat, deal with, act towards (a person, etc.) in a (specified) manner' (*OED* v. †I 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 127.43: 'To treat *of* or *upon* a subject' (*OED* v. †I 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 159.3: 'To ask earnestly for (a thing)' (*OED* v. II 8).

- envy** <sup>A</sup> p. 6.40 (envyed), p. 136.50 (envieth): 'to regard (a person or an action) with dislike or disapproval' (*OED* v. †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 12.48, p. 7.46, p. 19.32, p. 29.10, p. 64.10, p. 105.29, p. 107.5, p. 111.15, p. 126.25, p. 139.8: 'Malignant or hostile feeling, ill-will, malice, enmity' (*OED* sb. †1).
- ephemeris** (Ephemerides) p. 131.8: 'An almanac or calendar of any kind; in early use *esp.* one containing astrological or meteorological predictions for each day of the period embraced' (*OED* †4a: the earliest instance is from 1597).
- ephory** p. 96.25, p. 96.29, p. 96.36 (Ephoryes), p. 103.3: 'Ephor' was 'The title given to certain magistrates in various Dorian states, *esp.* at Sparta, where the five ephors, appointed annually by popular election, exercised a controlling power over the kings' (*OED* 1); 'ephory' is 'the body of ephors' (*OED* †, citing one instance from 1689).
- equal** p. 136.23: 'Fair, equitable, just, impartial' (*OED* a., sb. A †5).
- equilater** p. 135.25: *OED* gives examples of this form from 1570 (†).
- equipollent** p. 82.7: 'Equal in power, effectiveness, or validity' (*OED* A *adj.* 2).
- error** p. 56.12 (see note).
- esse, in** p. 68.19, p. 108.38, p. 133.49: 'in actual existence' (*OED* 1).
- estate** <sup>A</sup> p. 81.50, p. 121.16, p. 137.16, p. 153.40: 'State or condition' (*OED* sb. 1a). <sup>B</sup> (estates) p. 87.33: 'An order or class regarded as part of the body politic' (*OED* sb. 6a). <sup>C</sup> p. 87.43: perhaps 'Condition with respect to worldly prosperity, fortune, etc.' (*OED* sb. 2a). Either of the previous senses might fit Harvey's context. **chair of estate** p. 84.3, p. 150.25: this like ('chair of state') could mean 'A raised chair with a canopy, etc; a throne', and therefore, metonymically, a position of power or authority (*OED* estate sb. †4c, state sb. II 17b, †20a).
- estimation** p. 130.12: 'condition of being esteemed [. . .] repute' (*OED* 2 †b).
- ethnic** p. 82.21: 'Gentile, heathen, pagan' (*OED* A *adj.* 1).
- euforbium** see **Euphorbium**
- Euphorbium** p. 108.34, p. 148.27: 'A gum resin obtained from certain succulent species of *Euphorbia*. It is an extremely acrid substance, formerly used as an emetic and purgative' (*OED* 2).
- evangelically** p. 149.34: contrasted with the Koran, this probably means 'The Gospel record' (*OED* 2).
- even with, to be** p. 103.39-40: an archaic form of 'to get even with' (*OED* even a. 10c).
- ever-playing** see **play**
- evict** p. 118.26: 'To establish by argument, to prove' (*OED* v. II †6).
- exchange** p. 151.46: 'Transmutation; mutation, alteration' (*OED* sb. 6 †c).
- exceed** p. 142.28: 'To be preëminent [. . .] to bear the palm' (*OED* 5).
- \*excel** p. 145.30: '*intr.* To be superior or preëminent' (*OED* 1).
- excrements** <sup>A</sup> p. 103.39 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 108.51: this could mean any outgrowth of the body, as well as the current sense (*OED* †excrement<sup>2</sup>).
- execution** p. 153.31: 'Effective action (*esp.* of weapons); destructive effect, infliction of damage or slaughter' (*OED* 5).
- executioner** p. 107.23, p. 132.29: this could mean 'One who executes or carries into effect (a command, design, instructions, law, justice, etc.)' and 'One who performs the duties of a place or office' (*OED* 1. 1 †b), although in the second instance Harvey is perhaps punning.
- exemplary** p. 98.50: 'Serving as a model or pattern' (*OED* a., *adv.* 5).
- exercise** p. 150.4, p. 150.48: 'Practice for the sake of training or improvement, either bodily, mental, or spiritual' (*OED* sb. 6a).
- exhibition** <sup>A</sup> p. 57.6: perhaps, figuratively, 'An allowance of money' or 'A gift, present' (*OED* I †2 a, b). <sup>B</sup> p. 104.35: Harvey's concrete use here seems to mean 'expenditure' or 'generosity': see *OED* I for similar senses ('The action of providing or furnishing').
- exigence** <sup>A</sup> p. 49.9: 'A pressing state of circumstances, or one demanding immediate action or remedy; a sudden or pressing necessity; an emergency' (*OED* 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 81.15: 'need, requirement' (*OED* 1 †b).
- experiment** (experiments) p. 156.50: 'example' (*OED* sb. †6).
- experimentally** p. 139.12: 'By experience' (*OED* 1).
- exploit** p. 58.11, p. 58.43, p. 72.48: 'To accomplish, achieve, execute, perform' (*OED* exploit v. †1).
- expostulate** p. 6.34: 'To complain of (grievances): to plead or remonstrate *with* a person about (conduct)' (*OED* †2).
- express** p. 10.22: 'Definite, unmistakable in import' (*OED* A *adj.* 3a).
- expressly** <sup>A</sup> p. 18.2: 'Avowedly, directly' (*OED* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 150.27: 'clearly, explicitly, definitely' (*OED* 1b).
- ex professo** p. 106.25: 'Professedly' (*OED*).
- exquisite** p. 128.41: possible senses include 'ingeniously devised, far-fetched' (*OED* A 1).

- extenuate** <sup>A</sup> p. 12.48, p. 40.19: 'depreciate, disparage (a person, his actions or attributes)' (*OED* v. II †5). <sup>B</sup> p. 64.14: the opposite of 'exaggerate' – to minimize (cf. *OED* v. II 6, 'to disparage the magnitude or importance of').
- extenuation** (extenuations) p. 49.47: 'The action of representing (something) as slight and trifling' (*OED* 5).
- extremity** (extremities) p. 157.22: 'Extreme or inordinate intensity or violence (of passion, action, suffering, labour, etc.); an instance of this; a violent outburst' (*OED* †4).
- fact** p. 129.26: 'An action, deed, course of conduct' (*OED sb.* 1 †a).
- factor** p. 119.32: 'One who buys and sells for another person; a mercantile agent' (*OED sb.* 4a).
- fair-conditioned** p. 101.1: *OED*'s only instance is from 1634. 'Condition' here is perhaps 'character, moral nature; disposition, temper' (*OED sb.* II †11a).
- falchion** (fauchon) p. 108.9: 'A broad sword more or less curved with the edge on the convex side. In later use and in poetry: A sword of any kind' (*OED sb.* 1).
- fall out** (fall-out) <sup>A</sup> p. 95.12, p. 97.27: 'To prove to be, turn out. Formerly with *adj.* as compl., or to be' (*OED* fall v. XI 94h). <sup>B</sup> p. 102.40: 'To happen, chance, occur, arise, come to pass' (*OED* fall v. XI 94g).
- falling-sickness** p. 115.35, p. 138.16: 'epilepsy; also humorously for "a fall"' (*OED* falling *ppl.* a. 5).
- falsification** (falsifications) p. 119.12: *OED* cites four concrete examples 1607-1833.
- fame** <sup>A</sup> p. 22.38, p. 22.39 (see note p. 22.39). <sup>B</sup> p. 40.21, p. 56.42: 'reputation' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 2a).
- familiar** p. 159.34: *OED* defines 'familiar spirit' as 'a demon supposed to be in association with or under the power of a man' (*A adj.* 2d).
- famous** On p. 4.6, p. 12.6, p. 13.9 and p. 139.2, the sense of 'Libellous, slanderous' (*OED a.* †3b) is in play. On p. 12.6, Harvey is either using it in this sense or 'That is matter of common talk' (*OED a.* †4). Considering the sense in which he uses 'Fame' on p. 22.38 ('reputation'), it may not be impossible that he means 'relating to a person's reputation'. In all these instances he may mean 'Notorious' (*OED* †3a), the context being his enemies and their writings – or on p. 17.48, where he is writing about infamous men. On p. 28.18 this is clearly his meaning.
- fantast** (phantast) p. 71.5: 'A visionary, a dreamer; a flighty, impulsive person' (*OED* 1; the only example before 1804 is from John Harvey).
- fantastical** p. 106.14 (phantasticall), p. 122.4, p. 123.7 (phantasticall): 'Extravagantly fanciful, odd and irrational' (*OED* fantastic *A adj.* 4).
- fantasy** (phantasy) p. 129.20: 'Imagination' (*OED sb.* 4a).
- fardel** (fardle) p. 106.28, p. 117.20: 'A bundle, a little pack' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1a).
- fashion** (fashions) p. 156.44: '(*pl.*) Actions, [. . .] "ways"' (*OED* 6b).
- fatal** p. 74.1 (see note).
- fathers, the** p. 81.35, p. 83.30, p. 86.32, p. 90.40: 'the early Christian writers' (*OED* father *sb.* 3b).
- fauchon** see **falchion**
- favoured** see **well-favoured**
- favourable** p. 152.40: 'Gracious (said of a superior); kindly, obliging' (*OED* 2 †b).
- \*fawnguest** p. 60.29 (see note).
- feat** p. 55.9, p. 138.23: 'Apt. apropos; smart, adroit' (*OED a., adv.* A 2).
- featly** p. 123.44, p. 130.27: 'Cleverly, deftly, skilfully' (*OED* 2).
- fecial** p. 101.50 (see note).
- fee** p. 104.19: 'To bribe' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> 3 †b).
- feelingly** p. 87.26: 'In such a manner as to be felt or to leave an impression behind' (*OED* 6).
- felicity** p. 130.30: either 'a source of happiness, a blessing' or 'good fortune, success' (*OED* 2, 3).
- felinger** p. 18.9 (see note).
- fell** <sup>A</sup> p. 29.41 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 73.24, p. 125.18: perhaps 'Fierce, savage' or 'angry, enraged' (*OED a., adv.* A 1, †3).
- fellow(s)** see **good fellow(s)**
- felly** p. 143.47: 'Fiercely, cruelly, harshly; with deadly malignity or destructive effect' (*OED* 1).
- festival** p. 22.2, p. 115.3: 'Glad, joyful, merry' (*A adj.* 1).
- festively** p. 108.24: 'Joyously, gaily' (*OED* † a).
- festue** p. 70.3 (see note).
- fetch** p. 132.6: 'A contrivance, dodge, stratagem, trick' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 2).
- fetial** (Feciall) p. 101.50 (see note).
- feud** p. 153.2, p. 153.30, p. 155.35: 'Active hatred or enmity, hostility, ill-will' (*OED* †1).
- feudist** p. 62.38, p. 107.6, p. 115.48: *OED*'s earliest instance of 'A person who has a feud with another' is from 1901 (3).

- field** <sup>A</sup> p. 24.2 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 69.16, p. 72.33: 'A battle' (*OED sb.* I 8a). <sup>C</sup> p. 70.7, p. 112.1: 'battle-field' (*OED sb.* I 6a).
- figure** <sup>A</sup> p. 53.33, p. 108.38, p. 111.46, p. 123.8, p. 125.46, p. 126.29: 'Any of the various "forms" of expression, deviating from the normal arrangement or use of words, which are adopted in order to give beauty, variety, or force to a comparison, e.g. Aposiopesis, Hyperbole, Metaphor, etc.' (*OED sb.* V 21a). <sup>B</sup> (figured) p. 55.22: either 'To represent in a diagram or picture' or 'To be an image, symbol, or type of' (*OED v.* 6). <sup>C</sup> (figures) \*p. 78.43: a technical term from logic: 'figures' are defined in the *OED*'s most recent instance as 'The forms determined by the different position of the middle term [...] in the premises of a syllogism' (*OED figure sb.* V 23, citing the passage in *PWH* as an instance). <sup>D</sup> (figureth) p. 157.43: 'To portray or represent by speech or action' (*OED v.* 4).
- file** p. 127.47: *OED* cites figurative instances 'with reference to the polish imparted by a file' (*sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1b). Cf. 'filed' below.
- filed** p. 123.28, p. 128.30: 'chiefly *fig.* of speech, etc.: Polished, smooth, neatly finished off or elaborated; fine' (*OED ppl. a.*).
- filly-folly** p. 67.6: Harvey is clearly using this abstractly, to mean 'folly', but *OED*'s only definitions (both concrete) are 'A foolish or ridiculous notion; a foolish hobby', citing one instance of each.
- fine** (finest) p. 133.8: perhaps 'Cunning, artful' (*OED a.* II †11), although Harvey is perhaps punning.
- fine**, in p. 69.11: 'in the end, at last' (*OED fine sb.* <sup>1</sup> I †1b).
- finely** p. 135.4: 'Cleverly, cunningly, shrewdly' (*OED* 5).
- finger, with a wet** p. 47.22: 'with the utmost ease' (*OED finger sb.* 3b).
- fire-work** p. 99.3: perhaps Harvey means 'A pyrotechnic display' (*OED* 4c; the first example cited – from 1588 – is singular).
- figig** p. 65.39: 'A light, frivolous woman, fond of running or "gadding" about' (*OED* 1).
- fisk** (fisking) p. 65.39, p. 121.25: 'To move briskly, scamper about, frisk, whisk' (*OED † v.*).
- fit** <sup>A</sup> p. 89.47 (fits), p. 151.50 (fittes): 'A sudden and transitory state of [...] any specified kind of activity, feeling, inclination, or aptitude' (*OED sb.* <sup>2</sup> 4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 97.31: perhaps, jocularly, 'A paroxysm of lunacy'; *OED*'s first instance of 'A capricious impulse, humour, or mood' is from 1680 (*OED sb.* <sup>2</sup> 3 †b, 4e). **by fits** p. 78.9-10, p. 98.28: all *OED*'s instances before 1620 of the phrase meaning 'at varying intervals, fitfully, spasmodically' use this form rather than 'fits and starts' (*OED fit sb.* <sup>2</sup> 4c).
- flatter** p. 128.25: perhaps 'To represent too favourably; to exaggerate the good points of' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> 9a).
- flattering** (flatteringest) p. 123.23: 'Suggesting pleasurable (usually, delusive) anticipations' (*OED ppl. a.* 2a).
- flaunt-aflaunt** p. 56.34: 'bragging, display, swagger' (*OED †*, citing this as one of only 3 instances).
- flaunting** p. 126.28: 'showy, gaudy' (*OED* 2).
- fleabiting** p. 15.42: 'A small hurt, damage, etc.' (*OED †2*).
- fleering** p. 129.24: perhaps '†smiling obsequiously' is *OED*'s closest sense (*ppl. a.*).
- flesh** p. 79.40: 'To inflame the ardour, rage, or cupidity of (a person) by a foretaste of success or gratification' (*OED v.* 2v; the only instance before 1600 is from Harvey).
- flibbertigibbet** (flibber-gibbet) p. 122.19: 'a flighty or frivolous woman' (*OED* 1).
- flim-flam** (Flimflams) p. 110.46: 'A piece of nonsense or idle talk; a trifle, a conceit' (*OED sb., a.* A 1).
- flitch** p. 119.51: 'The side of an animal, now only of a hog, salted and cured' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1a).
- flix, bloody** p. 115.33: 'dysentery' (*OED bloody adj., adv.* C 2a).
- flourish** <sup>A</sup> p. 2.13: Harvey puns on 'Of a plant or tree: To blossom, flower' and 'gen. To thrive' (*OED v.* I †1, 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 18.50, p. 20.34: 'To boast, brag' (*OED v.* III 10b). <sup>C</sup> p. 26.2 might be 'Literary or rhetorical embellishment' or 'A boast, brag' (*OED sb.* 5, 5 †b). <sup>D</sup> p. 59.11, p. 100.22, p. 149.46: 'Of a plant or tree: To blossom, flower' (*OED v.* I †1). <sup>E</sup> p. 79.25 (florished): ambiguous – perhaps 'to talk big; to "swagger": "show off", "to exhibit oneself conspicuously' (*OED v.* III 10a, 10 †c); the verb could also mean to behave menacingly (*OED v.* III †13a). <sup>F</sup> p. 91.6: 'To thrive' (*OED v.* I 2). <sup>G</sup> p. 97.20 (floorishes): perhaps 'A boast, brag' (*OED sb.* 5 †b); perhaps, figuratively, emanations or offshoots (see *OED sb.* 1 for the literal sense; Polonius in *Hamlet* II.2.91 pairs 'flourishes' with 'limbs'). <sup>H</sup> (floorished) p. 131.7, p. 137.1: 'To be at the height of fame or excellence; to be in one's bloom or prime. Also in weaker sense, used in pa. tense of a person to indicate that his life and activity belong to a specified period (cf. *floruit*)' (*OED v.* 4).
- flourishing** (Harvey's use of this word is problematic. He often appears to use it in a punning sense: cf. the wordplay in his Latin marginalia in John Florio's *First Fruits*, where he states that Florio has created 'blossoming Italians', playing, as Virginia F. Stern notes, on Florio's name ('Florio quot fecit ex tempore florentes Italos?') (Stern 1979: 156-57). The exact sense in which he uses it in his disputed marginalia in his copy of Chaucer has a bearing on the date of *Hamlet* (see Harvey 1913: ix). The following is a rough guide to the senses which may be in play on each occasion.) <sup>A</sup> p. 4.49,

- p. 10.24, p. 22.15, p. 49.23, p. 53.46, p. 81.12, p. 88.23, p. 97.14, p. 97.51, p. 106.1, p. 108.14, p. 137.51, p. 150.7 (most-flourishing): 'Prosperous, thriving, conspicuous, eminent' (*OED ppl. a. 2*).<sup>B</sup> p. 14.21: both 'Budding or blossoming' and 'in the bloom of youth or health' are in play (*OED ppl. a. 1, 3*). (For the dead Greene as a faded flower, cf. p.2.12-14: possibly his name suggested this slightly macabre joke to Harvey.)<sup>C</sup> p. 7.20, p. 25.32: 'of a writer: Addicted to floridness' (*OED ppl. a. 5*); in the first and last of these instances Harvey is dealing with dead writers.<sup>D</sup> p. 48.31, p. 53.14, p. 136.36: 'Budding or blossoming' (*OED ppl. a. 1*).<sup>E</sup> (flourishingest) p. 116.1: *OED* cites this as an instance of 'of a writer: addicted to floridness' (*ppl. a. 5*): see also sense A.<sup>F</sup> p. 129.9: 'in the bloom of youth' (*OED ppl. a. 3*).<sup>G</sup> p. 153.40: Harvey puns on senses A and D.
- flout** p. 78.48, p. 104.17 (flowtes): 'A mocking speech or action; a piece of mockery, jeer, scoff' (*OED sb.<sup>1</sup> 1*).
- flouting-stock** p. 54.6, p. 133.25: 'an object of mockery' (*OED flouting vbl. sb. 2*).
- flowing**<sup>A</sup> p. 58.33 (see note).<sup>B</sup> (flowingest) p. 120.21: 'Of a person: Having a flowing style' (*OED ppl. a. 3*).
- flurt** p. 4.36 (see note).
- flush**<sup>A</sup> p. 2.16, p. 89.24: 'A sudden plentiful increase or abundance of anything' (*OED sb.<sup>2</sup> 2b*; the former is *OED*'s first instance).<sup>B</sup> (flushing-out) p. 73.15: perhaps 'To rush out suddenly or copiously, to spurt; to flow with force or violence; also with *forth, out, over, up*' (*OED v.<sup>2</sup> 1 1*).
- flying post** p. 67.14: 'a post travelling by relays of horses, an express' (*OED flying ppl. a. 4b*).
- foil** p. 112.45, p. 138.5, p. 149.3: 'repulse, defeat [ . . . ] †In early use often in phrases: *to give a or the foil; to have, receive, take a (the, one's) foil*' (*OED sb.<sup>2</sup> 2*, citing an instance from Harvey).
- foin** (foines) p. 106.36: either 'A thrust or push with a pointed weapon' or 'A wound made by such a stroke' (*OED sb.<sup>2</sup> 1, 1 †b*).
- foist** p. 125.4: 'A cheat, a rogue; a pick-pocket' (*OED foist †sb.<sup>4</sup> 1*).
- foist in** p. 84.32, p. 106.43: 'to introduce [ . . . ] surreptitiously' (*OED foist v.<sup>1</sup> †1*; as the second example suggests, this was the language of dicers and cardsharps).
- foisting** p. 6.5, p. 65.1: According to *OED*, when used intransitively, as here, 'foist' meant 'To practise roguery, to cheat' (*OED v.<sup>1</sup> †2*), but it could also be used (transitively) in relation to cheating at dice (*OED v.<sup>1</sup> †1*), which would be appropriate to the first instance.
- fond**<sup>A</sup> p. 39.5, \*p. 142.33: 'foolish, silly' (*OED a., sb.<sup>2</sup> A adj. 2*).<sup>B</sup> p. 106.14: 'Idiotic, imbecile, mad' (*OED a., sb.<sup>2</sup> A †4*).
- fool's Paradise** (fooles Paradises) p. 93.1: 'A state of illusory happiness or good fortune' (*OED 1*).
- foot** p. 130.21: 'A division of a verse, consisting of a number of syllables one of which has the ictus or principal stress' (*OED sb. II 6*).
- footman** p. 148.6: 'One who goes on foot, a pedestrian' (*OED 1*).
- fop** p. 112.28: 'A foolish person, a fool' (*OED sb. †1*).
- foppery** p. 57.23: 'A foolish action, practice, idea, statement, etc.' (*OED †1b*).
- forbear** p. 129.13: possibly 'To bear, endure, submit to' (*OED v. 1*).
- force**<sup>A</sup> p. 124.50 (see note).<sup>B</sup> p. 142.26: conquer, defeat – cf. 'To overpower by force' (*OED force v.<sup>1</sup> 6*).
- \***forcing** p. 145.49 (see note).
- fordead** p. 75.2, p. 103.43, p. 151.31: 'utterly speechless and still' (*OED for-, prefix<sup>1</sup>*; the first two are *OED*'s only instances).
- forehead** p. 56.1, p. 72.21, p. 74.5 (see notes).
- forehorse** p. 7.33 (see note).
- forge** p. 55.47: *OED*'s only intransitive sense is 'To commit forgery'; cf. 'To fabricate, frame, invent' (a false or imaginary story, lie, etc.)' (*v.<sup>1</sup> 6, 4*).
- forgery** (forgeryes) p. 153.10: 'Deception, lying; a fraudulent artifice, a deceit' (*OED 2†*).
- form** (formes) p. 110.40: 'Manner, method, way, fashion (of doing anything)' (*OED sb. I †10*).
- formal**<sup>A</sup> (most-formall) p. 128.6: 'That is according to recognized forms, or to the rules of art or law' (*OED a., sb.<sup>1</sup> 3*).<sup>B</sup> p. 136.1, p. 155.47: 'That is such merely in outward form or appearance' (*OED a., sb.<sup>1</sup> A 2 †c*).
- formality** p. 24.48: either 'Method, regularity' or 'Literary or artistic form; agreement with the laws of form' (*OED †3, †5*).
- formally** p. 130.27: 'In outward appearance, seemingly' (*OED 1 †c*). *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1602: cf. 'formal' above.
- forspeak** p. 130.39, p. 155.19 (see note to first).
- fortune** p. 136.29, p. 139.13: 'To happen, chance, occur' (*OED v. †3*).
- forward**<sup>A</sup> p. 2.8, p. 20.48, p. 49.37, p. 127.1, p. 135.2, p. 154.37 (forwarder): 'Ready, prompt, eager [ . . . ] esp. with const. *to* (do something)' (*OED a., adv., sb. 6a*).<sup>B</sup> p. 67.11: 'Ardent, eager, spirited,

- zealous' (*OED a., adv., sb.* 6c). <sup>C</sup> (forwardest) p. 73.47: 'Presumptuous, pert; bold, immodest' would fit Harvey's context (*OED a. adv., sb.* A 8).
- forwardness** p. 135.4: 'eagerness' (*OED* 3).
- frailty** p. 127.11: 'liability to err or yield to temptation' (*OED* 2).
- frame** <sup>A</sup> p. 124.24: either, concretely, 'order, plan, scheme' or, abstractly, 'order, regularity, "shape"' (*OED sb.* 4a, †5). <sup>B</sup> (framed) p. 133.46: determine (cf. *OED* v. 5c: 'To shape, direct (one's thoughts, actions, powers, etc.) to a certain purpose').
- franchise** (fraunchises) p. 86.15: 'Freedom, immunity, privilege' (*OED sb.* I).
- frank** <sup>A</sup> p. 40.47: 'Liberal, bounteous, generous, lavish' (*OED a.* <sup>2</sup> 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 106.20: either (if Harvey is being ironic) 'ingenuous, open, sincere' (*OED a.* <sup>2</sup> 3a), or 'Free from restraint or impediment, unrestricted, unchecked' (*OED a.* <sup>2</sup> 1 †c), although all of the examples which *OED* cites in this sense are positive. <sup>C</sup> (frankest) p. 133.28: 'outspoken, unreserved' (*OED a.* <sup>2</sup> 3b).
- frank-tenement** p. 109.14: 'freehold' (*OED*, citing this as the sole figurative instance).
- frantic** p. 93.12, p. 106.27: here perhaps 'a term of reproach imputing extreme folly'; given Sandford's subject-matter it may be necessary to bear in mind the literal sense of 'lunatic, insane' (*OED a.* 2 †a, 1).
- freehold** p. 97.28, p. 109.29: 'A tenure by which an estate is held in fee-simple, fee-tail, or for form of life' (*OED* 1).
- freeholder** p. 98.31: 'One who possesses a freehold estate' (*OED* 1).
- fret** (fretteth) p. 113.49: *OED* gives examples from c. 1225 applied to 'slow and gradual destructive action, as of [ . . . ] chemical corrosives' (v. <sup>1</sup> 3).
- frise** p. 114.6 (see note).
- frisking** p. 54.10: '† Of wine: Sparkling' (*OED ppl. a.*). This is perhaps the sense in play on p. 53.24, p. 65.45 and p. 124.1.
- frolic** <sup>A</sup> p. 54.32, p. 72.8, p. 115.2: 'Frolicsome, sportive, full of merry pranks' (*OED a.* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 155.30: 'In early use: Joyous, merry, mirthful' (*OED a.* 1).
- froward** <sup>A</sup> p. 119.5: 'Disposed to go counter to what is demanded or what is reasonable; perverse, difficult to deal with, hard to please' (*OED a., adv., prep.* A 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 151.39, p. 153.50: 'Perverse, ill-humoured' (*OED a., adv., prep.* A 2b).
- frowardness** p. 130.4: *OED*'s closest definition is 'Over-readiness, presumptuous self-confidence; hence, lack of becoming modesty, boldness' (4), and its earliest example in this sense is from 1600. See 'froward' above.
- fructify** p. 59.12, p. 100.23: 'To bear fruit, become fruitful' (*OED* 1).
- frump** p. 42.3: 'To mock, flout [ . . . ] browbeat, snub' (*OED* v. 1).
- frumping** p. 79.41: 'mocking, scoffing, jeering' (*OED*).
- fume** <sup>A</sup> (fumeth) p. 113.49: perhaps 'intoxicate': cf. *OED* v. 3 †b ('Of food, wine, etc.: To rise as fumes (to or into the head)'). <sup>B</sup> p. 146.31: 'a noxious vapour supposed formerly to rise to the brain from the stomach (now chiefly as the result of drinking "strong" or alcoholic liquors)' (*OED sb.* 4).
- furnish** p. 109.5: 'Inclined to fume, hot-tempered, irascible' (*OED* † 4).
- furibundal** p. 41.38: 'Furious, raging, mad' (*OED* furibund, giving this as the only instance of its synonym, 'furibundal').
- furious** p. 152.13: 'Of pains, diseases, evil influences: Raging, cruel' (*OED* 1 †c).
- furnish** p. 96.13: perhaps, ironically, to adorn (see *OED* v. 5 †b).
- furnished** <sup>A</sup> p. 82.15, p. 145.13, p. 151.12: 'Equipped' (*OED* 2c). <sup>B</sup> p. 102.50: 'prepared' (*OED* 2c). <sup>C</sup> p. 120.8: 'Provided or stocked with (something, material or immaterial)' (*OED* 2 †a). <sup>D</sup> p. 127.45: skilled, able, talented. See the examples cited for *OED* 2c ('Equipped [ . . . ] in immaterial sense'), and cf. 'furniture' below.
- furniture** <sup>A</sup> p. 39.17, p. 58.23, p. 127.18, p. 154.31: two relevant senses are 'The condition of being equipped, whether in body or mind [ . . . ] mental cultivation, culture' or 'intellectual faculties, or aptitudes' (*OED* 2a, 5b). <sup>B</sup> p. 90.32, p. 95.42, p. 151.4: 'provision, stock, or supply of anything' (*OED* 3 †a).
- fury** p. 54.39, p. 56.38, p. 57.10, p. 70.32, p. 123.37, p. 124.19, p. 125.25, \*p. 146.30: 'Inspired frenzy, [ . . . ] esp. poetic "rage"' (*OED sb.* 4).
- fustian** p. 114.7 (see note).
- gabbing** p. 133.51: 'Lying, falsehood' (*OED vbl. sb.* †1).
- gad** (gaddeth) p. 56.12: 'fig. To go wandering in desire or thought; to leave the true path' (*OED* v. <sup>2</sup> 2).
- gad-bee** p. 107.41, p. 107.42: 'gad-fly' (*OED*).
- gage** p. 6.26 (see note).
- gag-toothed** p. 42.29 (see note).
- gallant** p. 128.11, p. 150.12: 'Excellent, splendid, "fine", "grand"' (*OED a., sb.* A 4a).

- gallantly** p. 153.39: 'In an excellent manner, splendidly, finely' (*OED* 2).
- galliard** <sup>A</sup> p. 53.25 (gagliards), p. 126.29 (galiarde) (see note). <sup>B</sup> (galiardest) p. 125.37 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 159.21: 'Valiant, hardy, "stout", sturdy' (*OED a., sb.* <sup>1</sup> A 1).
- galliasse** (Galeasse) p. 106.41: 'A heavy low-built vessel, larger than a galley, impelled both by sail and oars, chiefly employed in war' (*OED*, citing this as the first figurative instance).
- gallimaufry** <sup>A</sup> (gallymafry) p. 53.25: 'A heterogeneous mixture, a confused jumble, a ridiculous medley' (*OED sb.* 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 155.2: 'A dish made by hashing up odds and ends of food' (*OED sb.* 1).
- gallipot** (gallipots) p. 105.14: 'A small earthen glazed pot, *esp.* one used by apothecaries for ointments or medicines' (*OED* 1). *OED*'s earliest instance in a figurative sense is from 1630 (1b).
- game** p. 160.11: 'The winning position, the victory in a contest, the mastery [. . .] the prize contended for' (*OED sb.* †7).
- Ganymede** (Ganimeds) p. 66.6: 'A catamite' (*OED* 2).
- gape after** p. 87.11: 'to be eager to obtain' (*OED* gape v. 4).
- garboil** (garboiles) p. 93.7: 'a brawl, hubbub, hurlyburly' (*OED sb.*).
- gargarism** (gargarismes) p. 105.47: *OED* gives this as the first figurative instance of 'A gargle' (1).
- garnish** p. 103.51: figuratively 'to decorate, ornament, or embellish' (*OED* v. 4). Cf. 'Of a person: To add to the honour, splendour, or attractiveness of anything, by his presence' (*OED* adorn v. 3).
- garnished** p. 113.13: '†Prepared for defence' (*OED*).
- gay-nothing** p. 13.13, p. 57.26 (gay-nothings), p. 63.9: see note to first.
- gear** p. 12.21: 'matter, stuff' (*OED sb.* III 11).
- geere** see **gear**
- generation** p. 48.8, p. 107.40, p. 119.34: 'Family, breed, race; class, kind, or "set" of persons' (*OED* II †6).
- generous** <sup>A</sup> p. 69.45: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Rich and full of strength; invigorating', although all the examples have to do with wine, and the earliest is from 1630 (*a.* 5). <sup>B</sup> p. 116.37: 'Of noble lineage; high-born' (*OED* 1a). <sup>C</sup> p. 133.11: 'Appropriate or natural to one of noble birth or spirit; hence, †gallant, courageous (*obs.*)' (*OED* 2a).
- gentry** p. 70.1: a nonce-use to balance 'nobility' (see below).
- gewgaw** (guegawes) <sup>A</sup> p. 65.40: 'A gaudy trifle, plaything, or ornament, [. . .] a toy or bauble' (*OED* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 110.34: 'A paltry thing of no account, a trifle' (*OED* 1b).
- gig** p. 155.18 (see note).
- gird** <sup>A</sup> p. 50.1, p. 79.42, p. 113.39, p. 125.48: 'A sharp or biting remark directed against a person; a gibe, "dig", "hit"' (*OED sb.* <sup>2</sup> 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 71.2 (girdeth): 'To assail with jest or sarcasm; to sneer or scoff at' (*OED* v. <sup>2</sup> 4b; the first instances is from Harvey).
- girding** p. 61.22: 'Jeering, gibing' (*OED vbl. sb.* <sup>2</sup> b).
- girke** p. 155.18 (see note).
- girn** (girn'd) p. 160.16: to mock (cf. *OED* v. <sup>1</sup> †2, 'To show the teeth in laughing; to grin').
- gleeking** (glicking) p. 97.41, p. 148.18: jesting, gibing – see *OED* gleek v. 2 ('To make a jest or gibe'); *OED* cites p. 148.18 as an instance of the participial adjective.
- glib** p. 49.42, p. 70.23 (glibbest): this could mean 'of the tongue [. . .] ready and fluent in utterance' (*OED a., adv.* A 3). Harvey's use in the first instance to describe mental alertness generally seems to be unique to him.
- glicking** see **gleeking**
- glimpse** (glimze) p. 138.30: 'A momentary shining, a flash' (*OED sb.* 1).
- glisten** (glistering) p. 139.41: 'To sparkle; to glitter; to be brilliant' (*OED*).
- glorious** <sup>A</sup> p. 42.31, p. 55.23, p. 72.14, p. 113.43, p. 132.46: 'proud, haughty; vainglorious' (*OED* †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 74.22: 'ostentatious, fond of splendour' (*OED* †1).
- gloriously** p. 38.36, p. 148.41, p. 155.31, p. 160.11: 'Boastfully, proudly, vaingloriously' (*OED* †1).
- glory** <sup>A</sup> p. 67.34 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 124.51 (gloried), p. 126.15 (glorieth): This could mean both 'To exult with triumph, rejoice proudly' and 'To boast' (*OED* v. <sup>1</sup> 1, †2). <sup>C</sup> p. 160.26: vainglory (see *OED sb.* †1a).
- glose** see **gloze**
- glosing** see **glozing**
- glow-worm** p. 50.26: '*fig.* (In 17th c. often applied contemptuously to persons.)' (*OED* b, giving examples from 1624: several of these suggest the giving of an illusory appearance).
- gloze** <sup>A</sup> p. 39.26 (glose), p. 129.29 (glosing): 'To talk smoothly and speciously; to use fair words or flattering language' (*OED* v. <sup>1</sup> 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 138.35: 'a flattering speech' (*OED sb.* 2).
- glozing** <sup>A</sup> (glosing) p. 75.35: 'Flattery, cajolery, deceitful blandishment' (*OED vbl. sb.* 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 155.46: 'flattering, coaxing, cajoling' (*OED ppl. a.*).

- gnome** p. 22.3, p. 133.29: 'A short pithy statement of a general truth; a proverb, maxim, aphorism, or apophthegm' (*OED* <sup>1</sup>).
- goad** p. 117.21, p. 139.32: 'A rod or stick, pointed at one end or fitted with a sharp spike and employed for driving cattle, esp. oxen used in ploughing' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1).
- Goddess-forbid** p. 121.37 (see note).
- Godful** p. 101.6, p. 152.27: 'Full of God, godly' (*OED* †, citing these as its only two examples).
- good, make** p. 77.31-32: 'to make it good upon any one, his person: to enforce one's assertion by combat, or the infliction of blows' (*OED good A adj.* VI 22c).
- good fellow** p. 2.16, p. 6.35, p. 11.17, p. 20.16, p. 57.13, \*p. 77.51, p. 78.30, p. 98.39, p. 99.42-43, p. 102.50, p. 105.17, p. 109.21, p. 130.25, p. 152.10: As McKerrow notes, by this time the phrase had begun to acquire the sense of a drunken, disreputable person (Nashe 1959: 4.127-28, 440). On p. 3.46 Harvey's pun involves this sense. Hence **goodfellowship** p. 4.21. Biller glosses this as 'lascivious behaviour' (1969: 7a), but cf. a pseudonymous 1593 tract about drunkenness, *Bacchus Bountie* (STC 11208), which purported to be written by 'Philip Foulface, of Ale-foord, student in good fellowship'.
- goose** p. 105.4, p. 132.42, p. 134.28, \*p. 147.10: 'A foolish person, a simpleton' (*OED sb.* 1f).
- goose-quill** p. 50.30 (see note).
- gorge** p. 65.25 (see note).
- gosling** p. 58.10: *OED*'s earliest figurative instance – 'A foolish, inexperienced person; one who is young and "green"' – is from 1607 (*OED* 2).
- gossip** p. 109.28 (see note).
- government** <sup>A</sup> p. 115.15: 'becoming conduct, discretion' (*OED* †2b). <sup>B</sup> p. 153.47: 'Conduct, behaviour' (*OED* †2b).
- graff** (graffes) p. 71.41: 'A twig, shoot, scion; *gen.* a branch, plant' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 2).
- grain** p. 150.4: 'Dye in general, esp. a fast dye; colour, hue' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> III 11).
- grain, in** p. 53.35, p. 131.4: 'dyed scarlet or crimson, fast dyed: hence in figurative use, esp. with contemptuous epithets, as *ass, fool, knave, rogue*, etc.: Downright, by nature, pure and simple, genuine, thorough' (*OED grain sb.* <sup>1</sup> III 10c).
- grammarian** p. 59.2: 'A pupil engaged in the study of grammar; a grammar-school boy' (*OED* 2 †a).
- grandiloquous** p. 122.7: 'Grandiloquent' (*OED*, citing this as the first example).
- gratuity** p. 138.36: 'Graciousness, favour' (*OED* †1).
- gravel** (gravelled) p. 129.32: 'To set fast, confound, embarrass, non-plus, perplex, puzzle' (*OED v.* 4).
- green head** p. 7.8, p. 129.9: 'A young, immature or untrained intellect' (*OED green head, greenhead* <sup>2</sup> †1). although in the first case Harvey is mainly punning on 'Greene'.
- green lion** p. 59.2 (see note).
- green sickness** p. 138.25 (see note).
- griper** p. 94.20 (see note).
- groom** (groomes) p. 75.21: 'a man-servant; a male attendant' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 3).
- gross** (grose) <sup>A</sup> p. 94.20: 'said of things material [. . .] as contrasted with what is spiritual, ethereal, or impalpable' (*OED adj.* III 8c). <sup>B</sup> p. 98.14: 'Of persons: [. . .] uninstructed, ignorant' (*OED a., sb.* <sup>4</sup> IV 14a). <sup>C</sup> (grosest) p. 124.38 (see note).
- gross, in** p. 48.11 (see note).
- grossly** p. 135.4: 'Awkwardly, clumsily, unskilfully' (*OED* 6 †b).
- grudge** p. 106.12: 'Ill-will' (*OED sb.* 3a), here used abstractly, not concretely.
- guegawes** see **gewgaw**
- guerdon** p. 96.40, p. 138.1: 'A reward, requital, or recompense' (*OED*).
- guise** p. 129.24, p. 139.27: 'Manner, method, way; fashion, style' (*OED sb.* †1).
- gun-shot** p. 62.24: 'Shot fired from a gun or cannon [. . .] Now rare' (*OED* 1). As is evident from *OED*'s examples, this means the physical object fired from the gun, not the resultant noise or the act of shooting.
- habiliment** (habiliments) <sup>A</sup> p. 88.30: 'apparel, vestments, or garments' (*OED* 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 116.45: 'abilities, faculties' (*OED* †6).
- habilitie** see **ability**
- hackster** (hacksters) p. 78.4: 'One who hacks, a "hacker" or "cutter"; a cut-throat; a swaggering ruffian, swashbuckler' (†*OED* 1).
- haddock** p. 73.7, p. 120.46 (see note to first).
- hag** p. 109.10, p. 120.35, p. 122.19: this could mean 'An evil spirit, dæmon, or infernal being, in female form' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1a).
- haggard** p. 111.13 (see note).
- hale** p. 73.32: 'To draw or pull' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> 1).



- halfpenny, mind on** p. 57.41 (see note).
- hammer** (hammereth) p. 111.22: 'Of an idea: To present itself persistently to one's mind as matter of debate; to be in agitation' (*OED* v.II 4 †b: all the instances use the form 'in the head').
- hammer-drudge** p. 124.38 (see note).
- hamper** p. 117.20: 'A case or casket generally' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1).
- hand** p. 119.28: *OED*'s closest sense seems to be 'a measure of various commodities', but the earliest instance is from 1726 (*sb.* B I 21).
- hand, at the best** p. 91.4: 'most profitably or cheaply' (*OED* hand sb.<sup>2</sup> B I †10b).
- handle** (handed) p. 131.1: 'To deal with, treat, "serve", "use" (in a specified way); to act in some specified way towards' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> II 5b).
- hangman** p. 42.14 (see note).
- hap**<sup>A</sup> p. 110.5: 'chance or fortune, considered as the cause or determiner of events' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 128.16: 'Chance or fortune (good or bad) that falls to any one; luck, lot' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1).
- haply** p. 39.29, p. 116.16, p. 119.30, p. 127.43, p. 133.7, p. 139.23: 'perhaps' (*OED*).
- happely** see **happily**
- happen** p. 65.28: 'perhaps, maybe' (*OED* adv., although its earliest instance is from 1790 and it specifies this use as Northern dialect).
- happily** p. 6.32, p. 7.21, p. 8.3, p. 41.23 (happely): 'perchance' (*OED* 1).
- happy**<sup>A</sup> p. 59.44 (see note). <sup>B</sup> (happier) \*p. 145.33: 'Successful [. . .] apt, dexterous; felicitous' (*OED* a. 5a).
- harborough** p. 140.3: *OED* gives this as a form of 'harbour'.
- harbour** (harboureth) p. 88.28: 'To shelter oneself, lodge, take shelter' (*OED* v. II 7).
- hard, go** p. 79.31: 'to fare ill' (*OED* go adv. 2c).
- hardly**<sup>A</sup> p. 47.30, p. 93.49, p. 132.19: either 'With trouble or hardship; uneasily, painfully' or 'with difficulty' (*OED* 5. 6). <sup>B</sup> p. 133.27, p. 152.50, p. 156.36: 'with difficulty' (*OED* 6).
- harlotry** p. 108.48: 'A harlot: a term of opprobrium for a woman' (*OED* 4).
- havoc** p. 113.11: 'Devastation, destruction' (*OED* sb. 2).
- hawk after (for)** p. 64.1, p. 148.48: 'to hunt after, to endeavour to catch or gain' (*OED* hawk v.<sup>1</sup> †4).
- headlong** p. 31.25, p. 73.47, p. 97.6: 'madly impetuous; rash, reckless' (*OED* adv., a. B 4).
- hearing** p. 84.18, p. 105.17: 'rumour, report, news' (*OED* vbl. sb. 5). One of the examples cited by *OED* is *Taming of the Shrew* V.2.183: "'Tis a good hearing, when children are toward. / But a harsh hearing, when women are froward.'
- heart** p. 98.41 (see note).
- heart-root**<sup>A</sup> p. 62.42: 'A sweetheart: a beloved one' (*OED* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 126.11: 'The depth or bottom of the heart' (*OED* †1).
- heavy**<sup>A</sup> p. 99.5 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.1: 'Of great import; weighty, important; serious, grave' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup> (*sb.*) A III 12).
- hedge-stake** p. 107.33 (see note).
- Heliconists** p. 137.13 (see note).
- Hemerobaptist** (Hemerobaptistes) p. 92.6: 'A Jewish sect which practised daily baptism as a spiritual means of cleansing from sin' (*OED*; all the examples cited are plural).
- hereditament** (hereditaments) p. 101.18: figuratively 'Any kind of property that can be inherited' (*OED* 1).
- heroical** p. 92.44 (see note).
- heteroclital** p. 79.38: *OED* cites this as the first of only 3 instances of a word it defines as 'Deviating from the ordinary rule or standard: irregular, exceptional, abnormal, anomalous, eccentric' (†).
- heterogenize** (heterogenised) p. 94.32: 'To act in a manner heterogenous or foreign to his own character' (*OED*, citing this as the sole instance).
- hibber-gibber** p. 57.13: 'A confused repetition or babble of talking; gibberish' (*OED* †, citing this as the only instance).
- hicket** p. 125.39: 'Early form of hiccup' (*OED* † sb.).
- hick-scorner** p. 79.26: 'The name of a character in an allegorical interlude of the same title printed by Wynkyn de Worde, represented as a travelled libertine who scoffs at religion; hence, a scoffer in general' (*OED* †).
- hieroglyphic** p. 133.36: 'a secret or enigmatical symbol' (*OED* a., sb. B 2a).
- hippocras** (Ypocras, Ypocrase) p. 4.21, p. 120..3, p. 114.20, p. 154.3: 'A cordial drink made of wine flavoured with spices' (*OED* 1).
- hire** (hyer) p. 142.24: 'Reward, recompense' (*OED* sb. 3).
- ho, no** p. 78.12: *OED* defines 'no ho' as 'no cessation, end, or limit', citing among others an instance from 1828: 'There is "no ho with him", he is not to be restrained' (*OED* ho int.<sup>2</sup> B).

- hoar** p. 54.10: either 'Hoariness from age' or 'Mould' (*OED a., sb.* B 2, 3 †c).
- hoat** see **hot**
- Hob** p. 123.40: 'A rustic, a clown' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- hobling** p. 155.18 (see note).
- hodmandod** p. 73.5: 'A shell-snail, a dodman' (*OED sb.* 1 – the first instance is from 1626).
- hogshead** p. 65.43: 'A large cask for liquids'; 'Hence, such a caskful of liquor' (*OED* 1, 2).
- hoise**<sup>A</sup> (hoising) p. 79.46: 'To raise aloft, lift up' (*OED* 2).<sup>B</sup> p. 111.14 (hoised), p. 157.33: 'To raise aloft by means of a rope or pulley and tackle, or by other mechanical appliance' (*OED* 1).
- holly-water** see **court holy water**
- home**<sup>A</sup> p. 79.36, p. 109.39, p. 129.10, p. 157.10 (see note to first).<sup>B</sup> p. 112.1: 'closely, directly, effectively, thoroughly, out and out' (*OED adv.* 5a).
- honester** p. 124.46 (see note).
- hope** p. 15.20: 'promise' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 4).
- horn** p. 155.33 (see note).
- hornbook** p. 78.36, p. 105.1: 'A leaf of paper containing the alphabet (often with the addition of the ten digits, some elements of spelling, and the Lord's Prayer)' (*OED*).
- horologe, devil in the** p. 74.43, p. 153.10-11: 'a type of the confusion and disorder caused by a mischievous agent in any orderly system' (*OED* horologe †2).
- horrel-lorrel** p. 66.4: this is not in *OED* but is presumably similar in meaning to 'A worthless person, rogue, blackguard' (*OED* lorel A *sb.*).
- hose** see **shipman's hose**
- hot**<sup>A</sup> p. 80.43, p. 85.24 (too-heat), p. 87.40 (too-heat), p. 89.29, p. 92.10, p. 93.14, p. 97.31, p. 99.14, p. 130.13, p. 149.36 (hoatest): 'fervent, ardent, passionate, enthusiastic, eager, keen, zealous' (*OED a.* 6a).<sup>B</sup> p. 89.29, p. 108.48: possibly 'angry, wrathful' (*OED* 6b): possibly as sense A.
- hotchpot** p. 55.33 (see note).
- hotspur** p. 20.33, p. 62.17, p. 132.27-28 (see notes).
- huckstering** p. 121.26: 'trafficking, hawking, haggling' (*OED ppl. a.*, citing this as the first instance).
- huddle** (hudled) p. 106.15: 'with *up*: To hurry the completion of; to work up, or compile, in haste and without proper care; to botch up hastily' (*OED v.* 1 4c; the first instance is from Harvey).
- huffing** p. 126.28: 'Puffed up, conceited, boastful' (*OED ppl. a.* 2: the earliest example is from 1602).
- huff-snuff** p. 30.12: 'A conceited fellow who gives himself airs and is quick to take offence; a braggart, hector' (*OED*).
- \*hugger-mugger** p. 104.32: 'Concealment, secrecy' (*OED A sb.* 1).
- humanitian** p. 108.34: 'One versed in the "humanities"; a classical scholar' (*OED*).
- humanity**<sup>A</sup> p. 7.38, p. 53.44, p. 57.6, p. 58.33, p. 69.30, p. 70.37, p. 105.48, p. 115.24, p. 116.2, p. 120.31, p. 125.7, p. 125.34, p. 128.32, p. 149.15, p. 157.31: 'learning or literature [...] scholarship [...] often [...] opposed to *divinity*, as if = secular learning' (*OED* II 4).<sup>B</sup> p. 77.17, p. 153.36: the sense 'Civility, courtesy, politeness, good behaviour' (*OED* II 3 †a) may be used, although as with sense A there is a contrast with 'divinity'.<sup>C</sup> p. 110.8, p. 110.18, p. 128.40, p. 152.38: in these instances, Harvey's sense could be 'The quality or condition of being human' or 'The character or quality of being humane' (*OED* I 1, II 3) as well as sense A.<sup>D</sup> p. 117.35: 'the various branches of polite scholarship, as grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and esp. the study of the ancient Latin and Greek classics' (*OED* II 4).
- humorist** p. 20.50, p. 120.33: 'A person subject to "humours" or fancies [...] a fantastical or whimsical person' (*OED* †1). *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1596 – Richard Harvey had however used it in *LG*: 'Galen was but a prophane humorist [...] to mislike the creation of man, and misreport the wonders of the red sea' (1590b: 3).
- humorous** p. 53.37, p. 71.4, p. 123.31: 'Subject to, influenced by, or dependent on humour or mood; full of humours or fancies: fanciful, capricious, whimsical, humoursome; odd, fantastic' (*OED* †3).
- husbandry**<sup>A</sup> p. 49.21, p. 131.10: 'With qualifying epithet (*good* or *ill*): Management (profitable or wasteful) of a household or of resources: (good or bad) economy' (*OED* 4a).<sup>B</sup> p. 117.27: this could mean 'administration and management of a household' and 'agriculture, farming' (*OED* †1, 2).
- hyacinthine** p. 150.21: *OED*'s first instance ('Of the colour of a hyacinth') is from 1656 (1). Harvey presumably has in mind the gem rather than the flower.
- hyperbolic** p. 124.18, p. 138.38: 'Extravagant in character or behaviour; excessive, enormous' (*OED* 1 †b).
- hysteron proteron** p. 107.47: '*Gram.* and *Rhet.* A figure of speech in which the word or phrase that should properly come last is put first' (*OED* 1).
- idee** p. 32.27, p. 32.43 (Idees), p. 50.9 (Idees), p. 102.3 (Idees), p. 122.2 (Idees), p. 126.13 (Idees), p. 150.50 (Idees): see note to first.

- idiotism** p. 60.7, p. 114.16, p. 121.4: 'The speech, language or dialect peculiar to a country, age, etc.: = idiom' (*OED* I †1). Harvey may be punning.
- idleness** <sup>A</sup> p. 13.15 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 105.45: 'Light-headedness, imbecility; delirium; also folly, foolishness, silliness' (*OED* †3).
- ignis fatuus** p. 25.49 (see note).
- ill-favoured** (ill-favored) p. 124.24: 'Having a bad or displeasing appearance, aspect, or features; ill-looking, uncomely' (*OED*).
- illuminate** <sup>A</sup> p. 80.33, p. 90.48, p. 91.4, p. 92.6: 'Enlightened spiritually; divinely taught or inspired [...] Sometimes *contemptuous* = professing to have the inner light' (*OED ppl. a., sb.* A 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 153.41: 'Enlightened intellectually; well-informed, learned' (*OED ppl. a., sb.* A 3).
- illumination** p. 98.15: 'Spiritual enlightenment' (*OED* 2a).
- image** p. 69.12 (see note).
- imaginative** p. 20.17, p. 64.20: 'Existing only in the imagination; unreal, fancied, imaginary' (*OED a.* 4).
- impeach** (empeach) <sup>A</sup> p. 105.20: 'To challenge, call in question, cast an imputation upon, attack; to discredit, disparage' (*OED v.* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 136.8: 'To bring a charge or accusation against; to accuse of' (*OED v.* 4).
- impeachment** (empeachment) <sup>A</sup> p. 77.16: 'Detriment, impairment, injury, damage' (*OED* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 86.34, p. 126.7: 'A calling in question or discrediting; disparagement, depreciation' (*OED* 3).
- impertinent** <sup>A</sup> p. 22.30: 'idle, trivial, silly' (*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 89.11, p. 90.10: 'Not pertaining to the subject or matter in hand [...] irrelevant' (*OED* 2).
- impetuous** p. 68.8, p. 70.7, p. 113.11: 'moving with great force or violence [...] very rapid, forcibly rushing, violent' (*OED* 1).
- impetuously** p. 67.38, p. 150.34: 'with great impetus or force; violently, vehemently' (*OED*). Harvey seems to use the word approvingly.
- importune** (importunest) p. 90.46: 'Persistent or pressing in solicitation; pertinacious, irksome through persistency of request' (*OED a.* 4).
- imposture** (impostures) p. 119.9, p. 127.51: 'a cheat, a fraud' (*OED* 2).
- improbability** p. 158.16: 'Wickedness, want of principle or integrity' (*OED* 2, citing examples from 1594).
- improve** <sup>A</sup> p. 2.25 (emprove), p. 72.18 (emprooveth), p. 78.33 (emproovest), p. 83.2 (emproove), p. 91.41 (emprooveth), p. 93.5 (emproove), p. 102.23 (emproved), p. 107.8 (emproove), p. 124.37 (emproove), p. 139.3 (emproved), p. 156.15 (emproveth): 'To prove, establish, demonstrate' (*OED* † v.<sup>1</sup> 1; the earliest instance is from 1613). <sup>B</sup> (emproveth) p. 25.20: 'To advance or raise to a better quality or condition' (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 5; the earliest instance is from 1617). <sup>C</sup> The participial adjective **improved** seems to be used in sense A on p. 24.50, p. 107.34 and p. 124.29, although *OED* has no examples until 1713 (*ppl. a.* 4). <sup>D</sup> On p. 18.48, Harvey may be punning on both senses. <sup>E</sup> (emproveth) p. 70.40: perhaps 'to make use of, use, employ' (*OED improve v.*<sup>2</sup> 2).
- improvement** (emproovement) p. 149.20: 'profitable use or employment' (*OED* 3a).
- incendiary** p. 26.44 (see note).
- incensive** p. 92.51: 'INCENTIVE' (*OED* † B *sb.*; the sole example comes from 1618).
- incomprehensible** p. 124.50: 'That cannot be contained or circumscribed within limits; illimitable, boundless, infinite; immense' (*OED A a.* 1).
- inconsiderate** <sup>A</sup> p. 121.14: 'Not properly considered; done or made without deliberation' (*OED* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.17: 'acting without deliberation; thoughtless, imprudent, indiscreet, careless' (*OED* 2).
- incontinent** p. 144.20: 'Straightway, forthwith, at once, immediately' (*OED adv.*).
- incontinently** p. 92.38: 'Straightway, at once, immediately' (*OED adv.*<sup>2</sup>).
- inconvenience** (Distinguishing the different senses is hard, and it is perhaps enough to note how much more force the word has to Harvey than it has in current usage.) <sup>A</sup> p. 26.36, p. 26.37, p. 155.38, p. 155.39 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 95.8, p. 97.45: 'an unseemly act, an impropriety, an offence' (*OED sb.* †2). <sup>C</sup> p. 97.11, p. 102.48: 'A mischief, an injury; an untoward occurrence, a misfortune' (*OED sb.* †3b).
- incorporate** p. 131.15, p. 136.51, p. 154.40: 'embodied' (*OED ppl. a.* II 5).
- incorruptible** p. 116.19: 'Incapable of undergoing physical corruption; that cannot decay or perish; everlasting, eternal' (*OED* 1).
- incorruption** p. 95.30, p. 102.21: *OED*'s closest sense is 'uprightness and honesty' (†2), although the earliest instance is from 1600 and Harvey's context perhaps requires a stronger sense, like 'holiness'.
- incredulity** p. 134.9: perhaps 'Want of religious faith; unbelief' (*OED* †2).
- indefeasible** p. 13.41, p. 61.40: 'not liable to be "defeated", made void, or done away with; that cannot be forfeited' (*OED*).
- indenture** (indentures) p. 111.17: 'deed or sealed agreement or contract' (*OED sb.* I 2).

- indict** (endighted) p. 121.33: 'to accuse (a person) *for* (†*of*) a crime' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> I 1).
- indifferency** p. 2.35, p. 2.39, p. 17.16, p. 82.9, p. 100.51, p. 110.34, p. 136.12, p. 140.3: 'impartiality, equity, fairness' (*OED* 1).
- indifferent** <sup>A</sup> p. 7.40, p. 9.16, p. 22.36, p. 23.3, \*p. 78.4, p. 89.17, p. 130.10: 'unbiased, impartial, disinterested, neutral; fair, just, even, even-handed' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup>). <sup>B</sup> p. 81.48: 'Of an observance or ceremony: That may equally well be done or not done, observed or neglected, etc.; non-essential' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup> II 10c). <sup>C</sup> p. 82.9, p. 158.20: 'Of no consequence or matter either way; unimportant, immaterial' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup> II 10b; the first instance is from 1611).
- indifferently** p. 9.3, p. 12.9: 'Without bias or prejudice; impartially' (*OED* †2).
- indignation** <sup>A</sup> p. 91.37: perhaps 'disdain, contempt' (*OED* †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 103.9: perhaps 'the wrath of a superior' (*OED* 2).
- indivisible** p. 61.48: '†incapable of being separated or detached, inseparable' (*OED* A *adj.*).
- indue** (indued) p. 121.51: 'To invest *with* a power or quality' (*OED* *endue*, *indue* 9).
- inextricable** p. 129.21: 'so intricate or complicated that no means of exit can be discovered' (*OED* 1, citing literal and figurative examples applied to labyrinths).
- infancy** p. 125.26: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Inability or unwillingness to speak; speechlessness; silence' (*OED* †5). The earliest example cited is from 1641, but Harvey is presumably aware of the word's derivation from 'L. *infantia* inability to speak'.
- influence** p. 56.38, p. 70.29, p. 120.28 (influences), p. 144.41: '*spec.* in *Astrol.* The supposed flowing or streaming from the stars or heavens of an ethereal fluid acting upon the character and destiny of men, and affecting sublunary things generally' (*OED* *sb.* 2a).
- information** (informations) p. 82.35: 'with *an* and *pl.* An item of training; an instruction' (*OED* I 1†b).
- infra** p. 125.9: 'Below, underneath, further on' (*OED* *adv.*).
- infused** p. 126.5: 'imparted by divine influence' (*OED* 1).
- ingenious** p. 136.34: 'Of an action, composition, etc.: Showing cleverness, talent, or genius' (*OED* I †1b).
- inkhornist** p. 123.41: 'one who uses ink-horn terms; a pedant' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- insensate** p. 63.21: 'unintelligent, stupid, senseless, foolish' (*OED* 3).
- insensible** p. 138.13: 'Destitute of sense or intelligence; irrational' (*OED* †5).
- insinuate** p. 137.19: to suggest, with no negative connotations (see *OED* v. 7).
- insinuation** p. 92.7, p. 155.46: 'The action of stealing into the favour or affections of any one by winning, persuasive or subtle means; ingratiating' (*OED* 3).
- insinulative** p. 26.45 (see note).
- inspiration** p. 124.20: 'action or influence of the Spirit of God (or of some divinity or supernatural being) upon the human mind or soul' (*OED* II 3a).
- inspired** p. 126.4: 'Infused or communicated by divine or supernatural power' (*OED* 4).
- install** (installed) p. 130.19: 'To invest with an office or dignity' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 1).
- instance** p. 138.6: 'urgent entreaty, solicitation' (*OED* *sb.* I 1a).
- instant** <sup>A</sup> p. 82.45: 'Pressing, urgent, importunate' (*OED* a. I 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 89.14: 'Now present' (*OED* a. II 2a).
- instantly** p. 93.7, p. 156.22: 'Urgently, persistently, with importunity' (*OED* 1).
- instinct** p. 69.42 (see note).
- institution** p. 83.18, p. 87.3, p. 95.11: *OED*'s closest sense is 'foundation' (1a); Harvey's context in each case suggests a state of primitive purity.
- instrument** p. 122.50: 'A formal legal document' (*OED* 5a).
- insufficient** p. 101.42: 'Of a person: Of inadequate ability or qualification; unfit; incompetent' (*OED* †1).
- insult** p. 74.2, p. 90.40, p. 103.40–41, p. 160.11: 'to exult proudly or contemptuously; to boast, brag, vaunt, glory, triumph' (*OED* v. 1).
- intelligence** (intelligences) <sup>A</sup> p. 81.35: 'an intelligent or rational being; esp. applied to one that is or may be incorporeal; a spirit' (*OED* *sb.* 4a). From the examples cited by *OED*, this seems to have had the force of 'angel'; Harvey is being mocking. <sup>B</sup> p. 8.4, p. 104.32, p. 151.25: 'A piece of information or news' (*OED* *sb.* 7 †b). <sup>C</sup> p. 122.33: this might mean 'understanding, knowledge' (*OED* *sb.* 3a) as well as the more familiar sense applied to a person's faculties.
- intelligencer** <sup>A</sup> p. 19.44: 'One employed to obtain secret information, an informer, a spy' (*OED* a). <sup>B</sup> p. 41.7, p. 129.32 (see note to first).
- intend** p. 5.44, p. 26.33: *OED* cites the first of these as an instance of 'To turn one's thoughts to, fix the mind on (something); to attend to; to occupy oneself with; to look after' (v. III †12).
- intendiments** p. 90.48, p. 91.4: the plural form used here perhaps means 'insights'; cf. 'Understanding' (*OED* † *intendiment* 1).

- interbrace** p. 30.5: 'To embrace mutually' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- intercourse** <sup>A</sup> p. 122.46: 'Communication to and fro between countries, etc. [. . .] In early use exclusively with reference to trade, and hence sometimes = commerce, traffic' (*OED* 1). <sup>B</sup> \*p. 145.24: 'Continuous interchange or exchange of (letters, etc.)' (*OED* 7). <sup>C</sup> p. 156.24: 'conversation' (*OED sb.* †4, citing both abstract and concrete examples).
- interest** <sup>A</sup> p. 101.46: possibly 'The relation of being concerned or affected in respect of advantage or detriment; esp. an advantageous relation of this kind' (*OED* 2a). Perhaps, however, Harvey is punning. <sup>B</sup> p. 149.7: 'Right or title to a share in something; share, part' (*OED sb.* 1 1c).
- interlude** p. 115.28: this could mean broadly 'a stage-play, esp. of a popular nature, a comedy, a farce' (*OED* 1).
- intertain** see **entertain**
- interteine(d)** see **entertain**
- intertainment** see **entertainment**
- interteinment** see **entertainment**
- interview** <sup>A</sup> p. 30.24: *OED* cites this couplet as the first of three instances of 'To catch a glimpse of, get a view of' († v. <sup>1</sup>). <sup>B</sup> p. 69.1: 'Looking into, inspection, examination' (*OED sb.* †3a).
- intestine** p. 101.19: 'Internal with regard to a country or people; domestic, civil: usually said of wars, feuds, or troubles' (*OED a.* 1).
- intricate** p. 129.11, p. 135.20: perhaps 'covert, hidden' – the word might mean 'Of thoughts [. . .] obscure' (*OED a.* 2).
- intricated** p. 139.17: 'entangled, involved in toils' (*OED* intricate v.).
- invention** p. 138.23: 'A work or writing as produced by exercise of the mind or imagination; a literary composition' (*OED* II †7).
- invest** (investeth) p. 121.47: figuratively, to declare to be (cf. *OED v.* 4, 5).
- inward** p. 61.43: 'Belonging to the inner circle of one's acquaintance of friends; closely associated or acquainted; intimate, familiar, confidential' (*OED a., sb.* A †3).
- irrefragable** p. 116.1, p. 134.24: 'incontrovertible, incontestable, indisputable, irrefutable, undeniable' (*OED* 1).
- irruption** (irruptions) p. 132.11: 'a violent entry. inroad, incursion, or invasion, esp. of a hostile force' (*OED*).
- issue** p. 87.46, p. 129.30, p. 138.24: 'result, consequence' (*OED sb.* IV 10a). **issue, in** p. 86.6: 'in the event' (*OED* issue *sb.* IV 10a).
- \*itch** p. 77.51: 'To shift one's position a little' (*OED* †itch v. <sup>2</sup>, citing the passage from *PWH* as an example).
- \*ivy-bush** p. 146.50: 'A bush of ivy or a representation of it, placed outside a tavern as a sign that wine was sold there: [. . .] hence, the tavern itself' (*OED* †b).
- Jack-sauce** p. 139.14: 'a saucy or impudent fellow' (*OED* Jack *sb.* <sup>1</sup> V 36).
- jade** p. 61.16, p. 109.36, p. 112.5, p. 114.11, p. 125.36: this could mean both 'a vicious, ill-tempered horse' and 'A term of reprobation applied to a woman. Also used playfully, like *hussy* or *minx*' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1, 2).
- jar** p. 26.46 (Jars), p. 144.4 (jarres): 'A dissension, dispute, quarrel' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> II 6b).
- jasper** p. 125.49: 'any bright-coloured chalcedony except carnelian, the most esteemed being of a green colour' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1a).
- jealous** <sup>A</sup> p. 57.3, p. 118.24: 'Zealous or solicitous for the preservation or well-being of something possessed or esteemed; vigilant or carefull in guarding' (*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 129.35 (jelousest), p. 148.46, p. 156.12: 'Suspicious; apprehensive of evil. fearful' (*OED* 5).
- jealousy** p. 129.20, p. 156.25: 'Suspicion; apprehension of evil; mistrust' (*OED* 5).
- jerk** <sup>A</sup> (Jerkes) p. 104.17: 'A lash of sarcasm: a cutting gibe' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> †1b). <sup>B</sup> p. 155.18 (see note).
- jet** (jetteth) p. 134.35: 'to walk or move about in an ostentatious manner; to strut, swagger' (*OED* † v. <sup>1</sup> I 1).
- Jewry** p. 93.41 (see note).
- Jew's eye** p. 83.45 (see note).
- Jew's trump** p. 83.39, p. 112.15: 'A musical instrument of simple construction, consisting of an elastic steel tongue fixed at one end to a small lyre-shaped frame of brass or iron, and bent at the other end at right angles' (*OED* Jews' harp 1).
- jollily** p. 98.32: 'boldly, insolently' (*OED* 1).
- jollity** <sup>A</sup> p. 18.6: 'Pleasantry, jocularly; joke, jest' (*OED* †8). <sup>B</sup> p. 26.26: 'Insolent presumption or self-confidence; presumptuous self-reliance' (*OED* †4). <sup>C</sup> In p. 16.12, either sense may be present. <sup>D</sup> p. 72.9: see note. <sup>E</sup> p. 126.24: 'A state of splendour, exaltation, or eminent prosperity' (*OED* †7). <sup>F</sup>

- (jollities) p. 155.28: possibly 'A beauty, grace, or personal accomplishment', but *OED* only cites one instance, from 1484 (†6).
- jolly** <sup>A</sup> p. 38.37, p. 73.44: 'Overweeningly self-confident [. . .] arrogant' (*OED* *a.* *A adj.* II †6, citing an instance from Harvey). <sup>B</sup> p. 54.42: possibly as in sense A, possibly 'fresh, lively, sprightly, spirited' (*OED* *a., adv.* A †2), or possibly Harvey is being ironic.
- judicial** (Judicials) p. 109.1, \*p. 143.8: 'Determination, decision, judgement' (*OED* B *sb.* †2).
- juggle** p. 136.39: 'to deceive, trick, cheat, beguile' (*OED* *v.* 4).
- juggler** p. 6.4 (Juglers), p. 107.22: this could mean 'trickster' as well as the more familiar sense (*OED* 3).
- juggling** <sup>A</sup> p. 6.4: 'trickery' (*OED* *vbl. sb. b.*). <sup>B</sup> p. 13.18, p. 54.23, p. 152.2: 'cheating, deceptive' (*OED* *ppl. a.*).
- jump** p. 78.43: 'exactly, precisely' (*OED* *adv.* † B).
- junket** (junkets) p. 105.11, p. 123.22: 'a sweet dish; a delicacy' (*OED* *sb.* †3).
- justify** <sup>A</sup> p. 95.12: 'to condemn to punishment' (*OED* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 106.46: perhaps 'To acknowledge as true or genuine', but *OED*'s earliest instance is 1608 (*OED* 5 †c). <sup>C</sup> p. 127.15, p. 143.40: 'To maintain as true, affirm, aver' (*OED* 5 †b).
- kennel** p. 59.36, p. 131.1, p. 151.44: 'The surface drain of a street; the gutter' (*OED* kennel *sb.* <sup>2</sup>).
- kibe** p. 159.47: 'A chapped or ulcerated chilblain' (*OED* *sb.* 1).
- kill-cow** <sup>A</sup> p. 17.34, p. 78.27, p. 98.40: 'A swashbuckler, bully, braggadocio' (*OED* A *sb.* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 42.40: 'Bragging, bullying' (*OED* B *adj.* †1). <sup>C</sup> p. 107.35: 'to terrify with threatening looks; to cow' (*OED* †, citing this as the only instance).
- kind** p. 109.16: 'Naturally pertaining to, or associated with, a person or thing; proper, appropriate, fitting' (*OED* *a.* I †1c).
- kindly** p. 116.11, p. 117.36, p. 129.16: perhaps 'In an easy, natural way' (*OED* *adv.* I †1c).
- king's evil** p. 71.30 (see note).
- \*kitchen-stuff** p. 109.19, p. 109.47: 'The refuse or waste products of the kitchen; *spec.* dripping' (*OED* 2).
- knack** p. 97.40, p. 97.41, p. 97.44 (see note p. 97.46).
- laborious** p. 133.10: 'hard-working' (*OED* 1).
- \*lamback** p. 11.19, p. 103.19 (see note to first).
- \*lamb's-wool** p. 60.41: *OED* gives this as the first instance of 'A drink consisting of hot ale mixed with the pulp of roasted apples, and sugared and spiced' (*OED* 2), although Harvey is quoting.
- lancelet** p. 153.17: 'lancet' (*OED* †1, citing this as an instance).
- lank** p. 79.4: 'Shrunken, spare' (*OED* A *adj.* 1 †d; oddly, the *OED*'s earliest instance – from Thomas Walkington's *The optick glasse of humors* (1607) – uses Harvey's exact phrase).
- large** p. 10.23, p. 117.29: 'Of discourse, narrative, or literary treatment: Ample, copious, lengthy' (*OED* A *adj.* †1 7a). Hence **larger** p. 11.35, p. 139.50.
- large, at** <sup>A</sup> On p. 4.46, p. 121.18 and p. 127.2-3, Harvey means 'At length, in full, fully'; on p. 23.51 he may also mean 'At liberty [. . .] without restraint' (*OED* C *sb.* II 5c, 5a). <sup>B</sup> p. 86.47 (see note).
- larum** p. 160.15: 'An apparatus attached to a clock or watch, to produce a ringing sound at any fixed hour' (*OED* *sb.* †2).
- lath** p. 79.4: 'A thin narrow strip of wood' (*OED* *sb.* 1a).
- Latinist** p. 100.49: 'a writer of Latin' (*OED* 1†).
- laureate** p. 69.35: 'To crown with laurel in token of honour; to crown as victor, poet, or the like; to confer distinction upon' (*OED* *v.* 1).
- lavish** p. 21.38: the only intransitive senses of the verb given in *OED* are 'To be profuse in expense' and 'To be lavish of words; to exaggerate' (1).
- lawing** p. 57.8 (see note).
- lawn** p. 131.4: 'A kind of fine linen' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1).
- laxative** p. 65.18: 'Unable to control one's speech or emotions' (*OED* A *adj.* 2b).
- leaguer** p. 107.17 (see note).
- leaven** p. 68.41: figuratively, 'tempering or modifying element; a tinge or admixture (of some quality)' (*OED* *sb.* 2b).
- leg** p. 84.5: 'An obeisance [. . .] a bow' (*OED* *sb.* I 4).
- legem pone** p. 134.10-11, p. 156.6: 'used as an allusive expression for: Payment of money; cash down' (*OED*).
- legendary** p. 6.24, p. 13.22, p. 129.41: 'A collection of legends, esp. of lives of saints' (*OED* B *sb.* 1).
- legerdmain** p. 107.15, p. 152.2: 'Trickery, deception' (*OED* 2).
- Leripup** see **liripipe**
- let** (letteth) p. 82.25, p. 100.27: 'To hinder, to be a hindrance' (*OED* let *v.* <sup>2</sup> 1 †e).

- levelleth** p. 110.15: figuratively, 'To aim' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> II 7d).
- lewd** p. 73.41: among various non-sexual senses is 'unprincipled, ill-conditioned; good-for-nothing, worthless' (*OED* †5).
- liberal** p. 94.10 (see note).
- liberality** p. 138.39: 'generosity' (*OED* 1).
- libertine** <sup>A</sup> (Libertines) p. 66.8: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'A man who is not restrained by moral law, esp. in his relations with the female sex: one who leads a dissolute, licentious life' (*sb.* 3). Harvey's context is not gender-specific. <sup>B</sup> p. 106.26: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'Free or unrestrained in constitution, habit, conduct or language' (*OED* a. 3).
- licentious** p. 3.19: 'overstepping customary limits' (*OED* 1).
- licentiously** p. 94.32: 'Without regard to limit or rule' (*OED* 1).
- licentiousness** <sup>A</sup> p. 16.30, p. 40.26, p. 80.26, p. 86.3, p. 111.5: 'Assumption of undue freedom' (*OED* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 106.19: perhaps 'Disregard of law, morality, or propriety; outrageous conduct' (*OED* 2).
- lid** p. 109.41: 'Applied to a door, shutter, board, or the like, closing an aperture' (*OED* *sb.* 1b, citing this as an instance).
- life, for** p. 56.34: 'for dear life', 'the best he can' (see *OED* *life* *sb.* I 3 †c).
- light** <sup>A</sup> (lightest) p. 110.37: 'Characterized by levity, frivolous' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup> III 14a). Cf. also sense B. <sup>B</sup> p. 115.23, p. 156.2, p. 157.44: 'Of small importance or consequence, not weighty; slight, trivial' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup> III 13a). <sup>C</sup> p. 152.11: 'cheerful' (*OED* a.<sup>1</sup> VI 21).
- lightly** <sup>A</sup> p. 55.34, p. 129.12: 'cheerfully, gaily, merrily' (*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 152.49, p. 154.6: 'Easily, readily' (*OED* 4).
- like** p. 62.33: here this means 'equal, identical' (see *OED* a., *adv.* (*conj.*), *sb.*<sup>2</sup> A 1).
- lily-pot** p. 106.11 (see note).
- limb** p. 95.22 (see note).
- lime** (limed) p. 62.37: 'To foul, defile' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> †4, citing this as an instance).
- limn** (limned) p. 155.37: 'To adorn or embellish with gold or bright colour' (*OED* †2).
- lin** p. 12.20 (linnes), p. 82.43: 'To cease from, leave off, discontinue' (*OED* † v. 2).
- link** p. 39.22: 'A torch made of tow and pitch [. . .] for lighting people along the streets.' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>3</sup> 1)
- linsey-woolsey** p. 136.3: 'Orig. a textile material [. . .]; now, a dress material of coarse inferior wool' (*OED* 1). *OED* gives attributive and figurative instances in the sense of 'neither one thing nor the other' (3b).
- liripipe** (Liripup) p. 61.45, p. 124.9: 'Something to be learned and acted or spoken; one's "lesson", "role", or "part": chiefly in phrases *to know* or *have* (one's) *liripoop*' (*OED* †2).
- list** <sup>A</sup> p. 28.28 (see note). <sup>B</sup> (listeth) p. 110.33: 'To wish, desire, like, choose' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 2b).
- litigious** p. 89.15: 'Fond of disputes, contentious' (*OED* 1, citing this as an example, although it dates it 1592).
- litter** p. 62.20: *OED*'s closest definition seems to be 'Straw, rushes, or the like, serving as bedding' (*sb.* 3).
- little** p. 40.51: 'A small quantity, piece, portion' (*OED* B II *sb.* 4a).
- lively** p. 108.46 (livelyer), p. 138.30 (livelyest): 'In a life-like manner; vividly, "to the life"' (*OED* *adv.* 4).
- liver** <sup>A</sup> p. 66.16 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 100.34: 'One who lives [. . .] in a specified way' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1b). <sup>C</sup> p. 138.47: 'the seat of love' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2a).
- livery** p. 78.48 (see note).
- loadstone** <sup>A</sup> p. 26.11, p. 114.27: 'Something which attracts' (*OED* 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 125.49, p. 158.25: 'Magnetic oxide of iron; also, a piece of this used as a magnet' (*OED* 1).
- loose** (loosest) p. 105.40: 'marked by inaccurate or careless thought or speech'; *OED*'s earliest instance applied to 'literary style, etc.' is from 1638 (*OED* a. 6b).
- Lucianical** p. 105.2 (see note).
- lull** (lulled) p. 152.49: 'to delude' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 2b).
- luminaries** p. 32.24, p. 49.5: A luminary is 'A natural light-giving body, esp. a celestial body [. . .] *the luminaries* often = the sun and moon' (*OED* luminary *sb.* 1).
- lunatic** p. 95.21 (see note).
- lust** <sup>A</sup> p. 102.37: '(One's) desire or wish' (*OED* *sb.* †2c). <sup>B</sup> p. 126.8: 'To desire' (*OED* v. †3).
- luxurious** p. 13.28: either 'Lascivious, lecherous, unchaste' or 'Outrageous, extravagant, excessive' (*OED* †1, †2).
- lye** p. 139.12 (see note).
- magie** p. 25.10 (see note).

- magisterium** p. 59.25: *OED* (†1) cites this as the first instance in the sense of ‘a substance that has the power of transmuting or changing the nature of other substances, e.g. the philosopher’s stone’ (magistry 3a).
- magistral** p. 62.22, p. 62.23: *OED* cites this as an instance of ‘supremely effective’ (A 2 †b).
- magnes** p. 34.40, p. 114.28 (see note to first).
- magnifical** p. 118.45: ‘Splendid, stately, sumptuous’ (*OED* 3).
- magnifically** p. 54.27, p. 58.16: *OED*’s only sense is ‘Magnificently, lavishly, splendidly; in eulogistic terms’.
- magnifico** p. 106.19: ‘A great or noble person’ (*OED* A sb.).
- main** <sup>A</sup> p. 21.40: ‘Designating a considerable, uninterrupted stretch of land or water’ (*OED* a. 4b). <sup>B</sup> p. 52.8, p. 84.17, p. 113.4 (main-bataille), p. 125.9, p. 149.25, p. 153.1 (mainest): ‘Strong, vigorous, mighty’ (*OED* a. 1). <sup>C</sup> p. 54.47, p. 113.15: ‘Swift, speedy, rapid’ (*OED* a. 1 †c).
- main-shot** p. 18.4: *OED* gives a sense of ‘shot’ as ‘Projectiles (esp. balls or bullets, as distinguished from explosive “shells”) designed to be discharged from a firearm or cannon by the force of an explosion. Often with qualifying word as *bar-*, *chain-*, *grape-shot*, etc.’ (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> II 14a). It cites an instance from *PS*, where Harvey distinguishes ‘small shott’ from ‘main ordinaunce’ (p. 52.8-9).
- maintenance, cap of** p. 54.29, p. 113.23 (see notes).
- makebate** p. 122.19: ‘One who or something which creates contention or discord; a breeder of strife’ (*OED* 1).
- malkin** p. 109.10 (see note).
- malmsey** p. 6.27, p. 6.43: ‘A strong sweet wine’ (*OED* 1).
- mammaday** p. 79.6, p. 105.21: these are the first two instances cited by *OED*; the first means figuratively ‘pap’, the second ‘a term of contempt used to denote a weak individual’ (*OED* †).
- mammet** p. 107.4 (see note).
- mandilion** p. 79.6: ‘A loose coat or cassock, in later times sleeveless, formerly worn by soldiers and men-servants as a kind of overcoat’ (*OED*).
- manners** p. 66.2, p. 154.41: ‘morals’ (*OED* manner sb. 4 †a).
- marchpane** p. 4.22: This originally meant ‘marzipan’ (in its various senses): *OED* gives this as the first instance of the word in its figurative sense of ‘A person or thing regarded as excessively dainty, delicate, or fussy’ (A sb. †3).
- marl** (merle) p. 127.20: ‘A kind of soil [. . .], valuable as a fertilizer’ (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1).
- massacrous** p. 113.11: *OED* cites this as the first instance of a word it defines as ‘murderous’.
- mastery** (to trie masteries) p. 56.7: ‘A competitive or emulative feat of strength or skill; esp. in phrases *to assay, play, prove, try masteries*, to “try conclusions”’ (*OED* †6).
- mate** (mates) <sup>A</sup> p. 48.10: ‘A fellow, “chap”; often used contemptuously’ (*OED* sb.<sup>2</sup> 1 †c). <sup>B</sup> p. 106.33: ‘A habitual companion, an associate, fellow, comrade [. . .] Now only *colloq.*’ (*OED* sb.<sup>2</sup> 1a). <sup>C</sup> (mated) p. 152.45: ‘To overcome, defeat, subdue’ (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> †2).
- material** p. 49.6, p. 75.10, p. 128.5 (most-materiall), p. 153.8: *OED*’s closest sense is ‘Of serious or substantial import; of much consequence; important’ (*OED* a., sb. A 5a).
- mating** p. 152.44 (see note).
- maugre** p. 15.22, p. 29.7, p. 33.15, p. 53.33, p. 64.9, p. 87.9, p. 88.40 (mauger), p. 98.28, p. 126.7, p. 149.25: ‘In spite of, notwithstanding’ (*OED* B *prep.* †1b).
- Maulkin** p. 109.10 (see note).
- maumet** p. 107.5 (see note).
- maw** p. 121.25: ‘stomach’ (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1a).
- May-game** (May-games) p. 79.23: ‘sport, frolic, entertainment’ (*OED* 2).
- meacock** <sup>A</sup> p. 42.3: ‘Effeminate; cowardly; weak’ (*OED* †B *adj.* (*attrib.*)). <sup>B</sup> p. 52.45: ‘An effeminate person; a coward, weakling’ (†*OED* 1).
- mechanical** <sup>A</sup> p. 23.35: ‘vulgar, coarse’ (*OED* A *adj.* I 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 84.39, p. 85.27, p. 85.36, p. 98.22: ‘Of persons: Engaged in manual labour; belonging to the artisan class. [. . .] †Hence, characteristic of this class, mean, vulgar (*obs.*)’ (*OED* a. 2a).
- mechanician** p. 25.16, p. 127.22, p. 127.32: ‘A person who practices or is skilled in a manual occupation; an artisan’ (*OED* †1).
- mediate** p. 82.26: ‘Acting or related through an intermediate person or thing; opposed to *intermediate*’ (*OED* a. 2).
- meed** p. 138.2, p. 143.14, p. 147.5: ‘recompense, reward’ (*OED* sb. 1).
- mellow** p. 153.45: ‘softened or sweetened by age or experience; having the gentleness or dignity resulting from maturity’ (*OED* *adj.* 3).
- \***memorative** p. 146.16: ‘memorial’ (*OED* B sb.).



- memorial** p. 115.6: adjectivally this could describe 'a festival (or the like) instituted, to commemorate an event or a person' (*OED* *a.*, *sb.* A 1).
- menace** (menaceth) p. 107.48: 'To hold out as a punishment, penalty, or danger; to threaten to inflict' (*OED* *v.* 3).
- menage** p. 153.35 (see note).
- mentery** p. 35.34: 'Lying' (*OED* †, giving this as the second of only two instances). Nashe cites this as an instance of Harvey's 'inkehornisme' (1958: 1.316.9).
- Mercurial** p. 57.22, p. 71.21, p. 127.33: *OED* cites the first of these as the first instance of 'Born under the planet Mercury; having the qualities supposed to proceed from such a nativity, as eloquence, ingenuity, aptitude for commerce' (*OED* A 3).
- Mercury** p. 158.35: 'One of the five elementary "principles" of which all material substances were supposed to be compounded' (*OED* *sb.* 8a, citing this as an instance).
- mere** <sup>A</sup> p. 83.17: 'Without admixture or qualification; purely' (*OED* *merely* *adv.*<sup>2</sup> †1). *OED* gives adverbial uses of 'mere' until 1635 (*OED* *a.*<sup>2</sup> and *adv.* †B). <sup>B</sup> p. 122.38, p. 138.36, p. 154.39: 'Pure, unmixed' (*OED* *a.*<sup>2</sup>, *adv.* A 1 †c). <sup>C</sup> (meerest) p. 145.12: 'Renowned, famous, illustrious; beautiful, noble' (*OED* *adj.*<sup>1</sup>). <sup>D</sup> (meere-meere) p. 153.10: 'entire, sheer, perfect, downright' (*OED* *a.*<sup>2</sup> and *adv.* A †4).
- merely** p. 83.18, p. 83.19, p. 94.25, p. 94.26: 'Without admixture or qualification; purely' (*OED* *adv.*<sup>2</sup> †1).
- merle** see **marl**
- method** <sup>A</sup> p. 55.33, p. 65.34, p. 135.26: this could mean 'an author's design or plan' or 'A regular, systematic arrangement of literary materials' (*OED* *sb.* 6a, †b). <sup>B</sup> p. 99.38, p. 99.47: 'Way of doing anything, [...] mode of procedure in any activity' (*OED* *sb.* 3a). <sup>C</sup> p. 124.24: 'reason, orderliness, or sense' (*OED* *sb.* 5).
- methodical** p. 128.12, p. 134.23: 'Of persons, their actions, etc.: Acting with or observant of method or order' (*OED* 3, citing no examples before 1664).
- methodist** p. 25.7, p. 94.29 (Methodists): the last of these is *OED*'s first instance of 'A person who follows a specified method; a person who is skilled in, or attaches importance to, method' (*A sb.* I 1a).
- mew** (mew-up) p. 125.33: 'To shut up, confine, enclose; to hide, conceal' (*OED* *v.*<sup>3</sup> 3, 3b).
- microcosm** p. 118.28: 'The "little world" of human nature; man viewed as an epitome of the "great world" or universe' (*OED* 1).
- militar** p. 132.39: 'Military, martial' (*OED* †).
- mill-post** p. 113.28: 'the type of something thick and massive' (*OED* 1).
- milt** p. 109.4 (see note).
- mingle-mangle** (mingle-mangles) p. 49.48: 'A mixture [...] Chiefly in contemptuous or disgusted use, a confused medley (of things or persons)' (*OED*).
- minion** <sup>A</sup> p. 56.6, p. 120.32: 'Dainty, elegant, fine, pretty, neat' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>1</sup>, *a.* B 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 105.2 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 125.37: 'favourite' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>1</sup>, *a.* A 1).
- mirror** <sup>A</sup> p. 13.15: 'A person or thing embodying something to be avoided; an example, a warning' (*OED* *sb.* I †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 32.21, p. 48.34, p. 94.41, p. 102.6, p. 114.47, p. 120.25, p. 127.10, p. 138.12, p. 150.29, p. 154.21: 'A model of excellence; a paragon' (*OED* *sb.* I 1 †b). <sup>C</sup> p. 108.45: 'That which gives a faithful reflection or true description of anything' (*OED* *sb.* II 4a).
- misbecome** (misbecommeth) p. 136.16: 'To fail to become; to suit ill; to be unsuitable or unbecoming to' (*OED*).
- miscarriage** p. 157.38: 'Misconduct, misbehaviour' (*OED* †1a).
- mischief** p. 26.36, p. 155.38, p. 155.39 (see note to first).
- miscreant** (miscreantest) p. 121.48: 'Depraved, villainous, base' (*OED* *A adj.* 2, citing this as the first instance).
- mitigate** <sup>A</sup> p. 64.24: 'To alleviate (physical or mental pain) [...] to lighten the burden of (an evil of any kind)' (*OED* *v.* 3a). <sup>B</sup> p. 109.33: 'In physical senses: To render mild; to free from acidity' (*OED* *v.* †9).
- mockage** p. 121.33: 'mockery, ridicule, derision' (*OED* 1a).
- modernist** p. 57.24, p. 124.4 (see note to first).
- modesty** p. 61.21: perhaps 'fastidiousness' – cf. *OED* 3a ('reserve or sense of shame proceeding from instinctive aversion to impure or coarse suggestions').
- mollify** p. 152.30: 'To soften in temper or disposition [...] From the 15th to the 17th c. very common in the phrase †to mollify (one's) heart' (*OED* *v.* 2).
- momentany** p. 149.5: an obsolete form of 'momentary': *OED* cites four examples 1508-1726.
- monomachy** (monomachies) p. 68.47: 'A single combat; a contest between two; a duel' (*OED*).

- monster** p. 118.51: 'a prodigy, a marvel' (*OED sb.*, *a.* A †1).
- monument** <sup>A</sup> p. 3.7, p. 10.1, p. 122.47: 'A written document or record' (*OED sb.* I †3a, citing as one of its examples the title of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, with which Harvey is playing in the second and third instances). <sup>B</sup> p. 13.32, p. 17.23, p. 101.33, p. 149.29: a memorial (*OED sb.* 4a).
- \*mood** (moodes) p. 78.42: *OED* defines *mood and figure* as 'due logical form', citing the relevant passage in *PWH* as the first instance (*OED mood sb.* <sup>2</sup> 2 †b).
- moody** p. 10.17, p. 107.41, p. 109.24: 'Angry, given to anger, wrathful' (*OED adj.* †3).
- moralize** p. 54.25: *OED* cites this as an example of 'To interpret morally or symbolically; to explain the moral meaning of; to point the moral of; to make (an event, etc.) the subject of moral reflection' (*OED* 1). It seems to have been used simply to mean 'interpret, expound': see *Rape of Lucrece* 104, *Taming of the Shrew* IV.4.79, *PWH* (Lyly 1902: 3.409.26), etc.
- mortification** p. 93.16: perhaps here 'humility' – cf. *OED* I 1, 'In religious use [. . .] the subjection or bringing under control of one's appetites and passions'.
- most-curious** see **curious**
- most-flourishing** see **flourishing**
- most-pregnant** see **pregnant**
- mot** p. 132.42, p. 132.47, p. 133.10, p. 133.14, p. 133.21: 'A motto' (*OED* †mot<sup>1</sup> 1).
- motespying** p. 5.19, p. 88.51: used to describe petty or hypocritical fault-finding, with reference to Matthew 7.3: 'Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brothers eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?' Not in *OED*, this was perhaps a dialect word: see *LG*, where Richard Harvey calls Puritans 'busie-bodies, mote-spiers', and 'frugall dainty mote-spyers', exhorting 'Let us leave the motespying of worldly men and hypocrites' (1590b: 55, 169, 189).
- mother wit** p. 154.43: 'Native or natural wit; common sense' (*OED*).
- motion** <sup>A</sup> p. 9.14, p. 80.42, p. 82.44, p. 87.44, p. 89.41, p. 94.23, p. 96.36, p. 156.21: 'A proposal, suggestion [. . .] an instigation, prompting' (*OED sb.* †7a). <sup>B</sup> p. 21.17, p. 99.37, p. 99.41, p. 105.18: 'An inward prompting or impulse; an instigation or desire from within [. . .] a stirring of the soul, an emotion' (*OED sb.* 9 †a). <sup>C</sup> p. 31.20: 'a desire or inclination' (*OED sb.* 9 †a). <sup>D</sup> (motioned) p. 84.47: 'To propose' (*OED v.* †1a). <sup>E</sup> p. (motions) 101.22, p. 124.20: *OED* defines a sub-sense as 'A working of God in the soul' (*OED sb.* 9 †b). <sup>F</sup> p. 104.14: perhaps 'a gesture' (*OED sb.* 3a).
- motioner** (motioners) p. 102.44: 'a proposer, instigator' (*OED* †).
- motive** p. 87.9, p. 92.50, p. 112.40, p. 151.42: 'a motion, proposition' (*OED sb.* †1).
- mouth, to carry meat in the** p. 16.26-27 (see note).
- move** p. 138.23, p. 154.6 (see note to first).
- mow** p. 107.29: 'To make mouths or grimaces' (*OED v.* <sup>3</sup> 1).
- \*mowing** p. 105.26: 'deriding or mocking' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> †1).
- mummer** p. 134.16: 'An actor in a dumb show' (*OED sb.* 2 †).
- murmurer** p. 121.24: cf. *OED* murmur *v.* 2 ('To complain or repine [. . .], to grumble').
- murmurings** p. 102.13: perhaps 'complaints' – see *OED* murmur *v.* 1a ('To complain [. . .] to grumble'); perhaps 'rumours' – see *OED* murmur *v.* 3 †a ('to put about, whisper (a rumour, etc.)').
- murr** p. 30.39 (see note).
- muster-master** p. 62.8: 'An officer who was responsible for the accuracy of the muster-roll of some portion of an army' (*OED* 1). *OED*'s earliest figurative instance is from 1600 ('Their ringleader, and muster-master').
- mutterer** p. 121.23: cf. *OED* mutter *v.* <sup>1</sup> 1b ('to murmur, complain, grumble').
- mutual** p. 151.26: perhaps *OED*'s closest sense is 'Intimate' (*A adj.* †3).
- mystery** <sup>A</sup> (mysteries) p. 126.4: 'religious truth known only from divine revelation' (*OED mystery* <sup>1</sup> 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 127.34: 'trade, profession, or calling' (*OED mystery* <sup>2</sup> 2a).
- napery** p. 131.5: 'Linen' (*OED* 1).
- nappy** (nappiest) p. 53.31, p. 73.18, p. 155.23: 'Of intoxicating liquors, chiefly ale: Having a head, foaming; heady, strong' (*OED a.* <sup>2</sup> 1a).
- nativity** (nativities) p. 64.12: 'a horoscope' (*OED* 4).
- natural** p. 128.24, p. 128.26: *OED* cites the former as an instance of 'Natural things or objects; matters having their basis in the natural world or in the usual course of nature' (*sb.* II †6a).
- naughty** <sup>A</sup> p. 49.20: 'Of persons: Morally bad, wicked' (*OED a.* 2 †a). <sup>B</sup> p. 158.17: 'Of actions, conduct [. . .] bad, wrong, blameworthy' (*OED a.* 3a).
- nearily** p. 101.18, p. 106.3 (neerelyest): 'In a special degree or manner; particularly' (*OED* 3).
- neat** <sup>A</sup> p. 92.28, p. 95.29 (neatest), p. 100.8: 'free from [. . .] impurities. [. . .] Also *fig.*' (*OED a.* II †7a). <sup>B</sup> p. 105.50: 'fastidious' (*OED a.* 4a). <sup>C</sup> p. 123.46: 'Of language or style: Well selected or expressed; esp. brief, clear, and to the point; cleverly or smartly put or phrased' (*OED a., adv.* A II 8a).
- neb** p. 156.13: 'The point or nib of a pen' (*OED sb.* 3a).

- neck-verse** p. 125.5 (see note).
- needeth, what** p. 100.26: 'what needs...? what need is there for (something)?' (*OED* need v.<sup>2</sup> 1 2 †b).
- needsly** p. 110.9: 'Necessarily, of necessity' (*OED* †).
- negotiation** p. 24.11, p. 122.46 (negotiations): *OED*'s first instance of 'A matter of private occupation or business' (†1a) is from Harvey, but 'A process or course of treaty with another (or others) to obtain or bring about some result, esp. in affairs of state' (2) would fit p. 122.46 better.
- Neptunist** p. 127.33: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'A nautical person' (†1).
- new** p. 44.42 (see note).
- nice** <sup>A</sup> p. 51.7: perhaps 'Entering minutely into details; attentive, close' (*OED* a. 12a). <sup>B</sup> p. 87.22: 'Minute, subtle' (*OED* a. 9b). <sup>C</sup> (nicest) p. 99.21: 'Particular, precise' (*OED* a. 7b). <sup>D</sup> p. 136.35: 'Unimportant, trivial' (*OED* adj. 10 †b).
- nice, to make** p. 11.39, p. 34.38, p. 113.46-47: 'to display reserve or reluctance; to make a scruple' (*OED* nice a. †6).
- nicely** p. 79.7, p. 95.32: 'Fastidiously' (*OED* 4 †b).
- nifle** (nifles) p. 155.15: 'A trifle; a thing of little or no value' (*OED* 1).
- nightingale** p. 105.39 (see note).
- nimble** p. 108.24: perhaps the most likely sense is 'Of persons: Quick or ready-witted' (*OED* 4b).
- nimbleness** p. 125.27: *OED* gives examples from 1561 relating to intelligence (b). See 'nimble' above.
- ninehole-nidgits** p. 78.48: *OED* cites this as an instance of phrases illustrating 'various games of skill involving nine target holes, spots, etc.'; many of the instances suggest associations with childishness or rusticity (*OED* nine holes sb. 1a).
- nipping** p. 56.2, p. 107.16, p. 152.50: This could mean 'sharp, stinging, sarcastic' (*OED* 1), the hand being used synecdochically for a writer in the first of these, but it is worth bearing in mind that 'nip' brought associations with Greene's 'coney-catching' pamphlets and their thieves' slang (see *OED* nip v.<sup>1</sup> 9c).
- \*nippitate** (nippitaty) p. 53.31, p. 54.28, p. 73.28, p. 155.23: 'Good ale or other liquor of prime quality and strength' (*OED* †sb.).
- nobility** p. 69.48: *OED*'s closest sense is 'The quality of being noble in respect of excellence, value or importance' (1a – the 1678 quotation discusses the relative 'nobility' of silver and gold).
- noddy** p. 139.1: 'A fool, simpleton' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1).
- noisome** <sup>A</sup> p. 105.47: 'Disagreeable, unpleasant, offensive' (*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 148.29: 'Harmful, injurious, noxious' (*OED* 1).
- noisomely** (noysomly) p. 73.25: the sense of 'noisome' in question is 'Offensive to the sense of smell; ill-smelling' (*OED* 2).
- non-proficient** p. 64.36-37 (see note).
- noovellists** see **novelist**
- nothing** p. 89.19, p. 98.17, p. 105.11, p. 106.13, p. 124.46, p. 133.30, p. 137.14, p. 151.18: 'Not at all, in no way' (*OED* sb., adv. B adv.).
- notoriously** p. 157.5: 'Manifestly, evidently, obviously' (*OED* †2).
- novelet** p. 21.8: *OED* cites this as the sole instance of 'novelet' in the sense of 'A short new book or pamphlet' (sb. †1).
- novelist** (Noovellists) p. 102.46: *OED* gives this as the first instance of the word, defining its sense here as 'An innovator (in thought or belief); someone who introduces something new or who favours novelty' (†1).
- novels** On p. 13.27 and p. 148.9 this is the plural of 'Something new, a novelty' (*OED* sb. 2); on p. 3.16 and p. 151.26 it may also mean 'News, tidings' (*OED* sb. 3a).
- noyous** p. 125.7: 'Causing annoyance; vexatious, troublesome, etc.' (*OED* †).
- object** p. 62.40: 'To bring forward or state in opposition; to adduce as a reason against something; to urge as an objection (*to, unto, against*)' (*OED* v. 4).
- oblation** p. 117.3: 'an offering, sacrifice' (*OED* 3).
- obloquy** <sup>A</sup> p. 55.40 (obloquies): 'An abusive or calumnious speech or utterance' (*OED* 1 †). <sup>B</sup> p. 63.24: 'evil fame, bad repute; reproach, disgrace' (*OED* 1b). <sup>C</sup> p. 111.18, p. 113.1: either sense B or 'abuse, detraction, calumny, slander' (*OED* 1).
- obnoxious** p. 19.48: 'Liable, subject, exposed, open' (*OED* 1a; the earliest instance is from 1597).
- obscure** <sup>A</sup> p. 10.30, p. 23.44 (see note to first). <sup>B</sup> (obscurer) p. 124.46: either 'Intellectually dark; unenlightened' or 'humble, lowly, mean' (*OED* a. (sb.) 1 †c, 6b).
- obscurity** <sup>A</sup> p. 86.4: here perhaps people who are 'obscurer' in the sense of 'not illustrious [. . .] humble' (*OED* A adj. 6a). *OED*'s first instance of 'obscurer' used nominally (to mean 'A lowly person') places it in apposition with 'noble' (*OED* B sb. †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 125.27, p. 126.24, p. 138.28: 'The

- quality or condition of being unknown, inconspicuous, or insignificant' (*OED* 2). Cf. *OED* obscure a. 6b ('humble, lowly, mean').
- obsequy** (Obsequies) p. 159.38: 'now always in pl. [...] Funeral rites or ceremonies' (*OED*).
- occasional** p. 144.10: possibly 'casual'; *OED*'s earliest instance of 'Of a [...] literary composition [...] Produced on, or intended for, a special occasion' is from 1687 (*a.*, *sb.* A †1, 2b).
- occasionet** p. 75.35: 'A small occasion' (*OED* †, citing this as the only instance.).
- occupationer** p. 127.34: 'one engaged in an occupation' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- occurrent** (occurents) p. 39.44: 'an event, an incident' (*OED* B *sb.* 1a).
- occursively** p. 13.24, p. 132.33: 'by the way' (*OED* †, citing these as the sole instances).
- odd** <sup>A</sup> (oddest) p. 51.3: perhaps 'Of material things: strange in appearance, fantastic, grotesque' (*OED* a. (*sb.*), *adv.* 10c: the earliest example is from 1613). <sup>B</sup> p. 54.30: 'eccentric' (*OED* a. (*sb.*), *adv.* 10b). <sup>C</sup> p. 92.34: 'Not even, accordant, or conformable; uneven, unequal, discrepant, diverse, different' (*OED* a. (*sb.*) and *adv.* II †8a). <sup>D</sup> p. 121.51 (exceeding-odd), p. 136.3: 'unique, remarkable; distinguished, famous, renowned; rare, choice' (*OED* *adj.* (*sb.*), *adv.* A II †7).
- oddly** p. 106.15: 'irregularly, in a haphazard way' (*OED* †4).
- oeconomer** p. 117.40: cf. *OED* economist †1: 'One who manages a household; a housekeeper'.
- offence** <sup>A</sup> p. 91.37: 'disfavour, disgrace' (*OED* *sb.* 5 †d). <sup>B</sup> p. 92.19: 'breach of law [...] transgression, sin' (*OED* 7a).
- officially** p. 106.40: either 'Dutifully, duteously' or 'With eagerness to serve, help, or please; attentively, obligingly, courteously' (*OED* †1, 3: *OED* cites no instances of the latter before 1604).
- old-excellent** p. 78.35: *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1602 (old a. V 18); Nashe also uses the phrase, in *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), where Jack Wilton says of the executioner torturing Cutwolfe, 'olde excellent he was at a bone-ach' (1958: 2.327.7). 'Old' here is used as an intensive.
- omnidexterity** p. 130.23: *OED* lists this among 'self-explanatory compounds, chiefly nonce-words' beginning with 'omni-': this is the sole instance.
- omnigatherum** p. 13.13: A corruption of *omnium gatherum*, meaning 'A gathering of all sorts; a miscellaneous assemblage, collection, or mixture of persons (or things); a confused medley' (*OED* 1).
- omniscian** p. 126.47: 'One who professes to know everything' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- onset** p. 113.15: '† to give the onset, to make an attack, or to commence the attack' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1a).
- open-mouthed** p. 115.46: perhaps 'speaking freely, clamorous, vociferous' (*OED* 3, but the earliest instance is from 1599).
- opiniative** (opiniotive) p. 80.20: 'Conjectural; of the nature of an opinion rather than fact' (*OED* †2, citing this as the sole instance – the spelling is Brydges's, his being the edition cited).
- opinion** p. 92.32: 'estimation [...] standing; reputation, repute' (*OED* *sb.* †6).
- optative** p. 139.13: 'Having the function of expressing wish or desire' (*OED* A *adj.* 1).
- oracle** (oracles) p. 69.37: 'An utterance of deep import or wisdom' (*OED* *sb.* III 8).
- order, take** p. 139.44: 'to take measures or steps, to make arrangements' (*OED* order *sb.* III 14).
- ordinary** p. 65.23: 'a regular daily meal or allowance of food' (*OED* III †13). It would appear that lunch was a 19th-century concept (*OED* *sb.* <sup>2</sup> 2a).
- Orient** p. 38.25, p. 125.50, p. 155.39, p. 155.40: 'a vague poetic epithet: Precious, excellent; brilliant, lustrous, sparkling' (*OED* *adj.* 2).
- Oriental** <sup>A</sup> p. 77.47, p. 120.17 (see note to first). <sup>B</sup> p. 115.3 (see note).
- orthodoxal** p. 83.30: cited by *OED* as the first instance of 'Maintaining, professing, or propounding beliefs which a particular religion, society, or culture holds to be correct' (*OED* †1).
- otherwhile** (otherwhiles) p. 111.17, p. 121.5, p. 130.43: 'At one time or other; at times; sometimes, now and then, occasionally' (*OED* 1).
- out-of-cry** see **cry**
- overcrow** p. 62.33, p. 110.48: 'To crow or exult over; to triumph over; to overpower' (*OED*).
- over-dissolute** p. 29.42: excessively indulgent with regard to other people's behaviour: cf. 'wanting firmness, strictness or assiduity' (*OED* a. †3).
- overplus** p. 113.26: 'That which is over in addition to the main amount, or to what is allotted or needed' (*OED* A a).
- over-sensibly** see **sensibly**
- overslip** p. 10.2 (see note).
- overthrow** p. 52.23 (see note).
- overtreat** p. 145.8: 'To prevail upon by entreaty' (*OED*, citing this as the second of only 2 instances, 1547-93).
- ox** p. 50.38 (see note).

- packing** p. 129.11: 'fraudulent dealing or contriving, plotting' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> a).
- pad** p. 23.29 (Inckehorne-pads), p. 112.31, p. 128.48, p. 157.35 (see note to first).
- pageant** p. 56.26, p. 56.27: 'A part acted to deceive or impose upon any one; a trick' (*OED sb.* 1 †c).
- painful** <sup>A</sup> p. 68.27: 'Of an action, occupation, etc.: performed with or involving great care or diligence' (*OED* 4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 100.33, p. 124.4 (painfullest): 'painstaking, assiduous, diligent' (*OED* 4b).
- paint** <sup>A</sup> p. 39.26, p. 58.7: 'To talk speciously; to feign; to fawn' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> †6a). <sup>B</sup> p. 154.51 (see note).
- painting** p. 123.49: cf. 'To depict or describe in words', 'to deck, beautify, decorate, ornament' (*OED* paint v.<sup>1</sup> 2b, 3c).
- painture** p. 74.28: 'The action or art of painting [. . .] style of painting' (*OED* †1, citing this as an example).
- paltering** (paulteringe) p. 68.1: 'Trifling, worthless, despicable, paltry' (*OED ppl. a.* †1).
- paltry** p. 4.20, p. 14.23, p. 26.33, p. 122.20 (palteries): Harvey is here using the word in its nominal sense of 'Refuse, rubbish, trash; anything worthless' (*OED* †).
- pandect** (Pandectes) p. 58.19: 'A complete body of the laws of any country or of any system of law' (*OED* 1b).
- pang** <sup>A</sup> p. 56.38, p. 151.51 (panges): 'A sudden access of keen feeling or emotion of any kind; a sudden transitory fit' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †3). <sup>B</sup> (panges) p. 114.9 (see note).
- pannier** (paniar) p. 117.20: 'A basket; *esp.* one of considerable size for carrying provisions, fish, or other commodities; in later use mostly restricted to those carried by a beast of burden (usually in pairs, one on each side, slung across the back), or on the shoulders of a man or woman' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1a).
- paper-book** p. 78.47, p. 122.38: 'A book of blank paper to write in' (†*OED* 1).
- paper-brabbling** p. 26.32 (see note).
- paradise** (Paradiseth) p. 120.29: 'To make a paradise of' (*OED* † v., citing this as the sole instance).
- Paradises** see **fool's Paradise**
- paragraph** p. 50.10, p. 82.4: 'A distinct article or section of a law' (*OED sb.* 2b).
- \*paranymph** (Paranymphes) p. 43.38: *OED* cites this as the earliest instance of 'A person or thing that woos or solicits for another: an advocate, or orator, who speaks in behalf of another' (*OED* 2).
- parbreak** p. 125.40: 'To spew, vomit' (*OED* † v. 1).
- parcel** p. 119.40: 'part, portion, or division of anything' (*OED sb.* A I 1a).
- parrot** p. 88.27, p. 105.39: 'Applied contemptuously [. . .] in reference to an unintelligent mechanical repetition of speech, or imitation of the actions and of others' (*OED sb.* 2).
- part** (partes) p. 57.34: 'A personal quality or attribute, natural or acquired, *esp.* of an intellectual kind [. . .] almost always in *pl.* Abilities, capacities, talents' (*OED sb.* II 12).
- partial** <sup>A</sup> p. 38.5, p. 40.48: 'prejudiced; biased' (*OED a. (sb.)* A I 1a). <sup>B</sup> p. 111.9: 'Favouring a particular person or thing excessively or especially; prejudiced or biased in some one's favour' (*OED a. (sb.)* I 1b).
- partiality** <sup>A</sup> p. 52.11: perhaps 'Party-spirit, rivalry; factiousness' (*OED* I †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 73.38: 'prejudice, bias, unfairness' (*OED* I 1). <sup>C</sup> p. 137.17: 'Excessive [. . .] preference for, or prepossession in favour of, a particular person or thing' (*OED* I 1b). <sup>D</sup> (partialities) p. 114.47: 'A party, a faction' (*OED* I †2b).
- partially** p. 28.27: a relevant sense might be 'with special favour or affection' (*OED* II 2 †b); but *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1633.
- particular** p. 158.11: '(One's) individual case; personal interest or concern; part. Chiefly in *phr.* *for, in, as to, etc.* (*one's*) *particular* = in (one's) own case, for (one's) own part, as far as (oneself) is concerned' (*OED a., sb. (adv.)* B †6a).
- particularise** p. 137.8: 'To mention or describe particularly' (*OED* 2, citing this as the first instance).
- particularity** (particularities) p. 103.9: 'a detail' (*OED* 1a).
- parturient** p. 16.8, p. 126.13: 'About to give birth' (*OED A adj.* 1, citing the first of these as its first instance).
- pasquil** p. 51.13, p. 90.23: 'any circulated or published lampoon' (*OED sb.* 2).
- pass** p. 53.27: 'To excel, to surpass' (*OED v.* †19a).
- passage** (passages) p. 135.6: perhaps 'journey' (*OED sb.* I 4a).
- pastoral** p. 131.14: 'Of or pertaining to a pastor or shepherd of souls; having relation to the spiritual care or guidance of a "flock" or body of Christians' (*OED a., sb.* A II 4).
- patch** p. 52.5: 'a clown, dolt, booby' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup>).
- patch panel** p. 124.39: '? a jobbing or botching carpenter: an abusive appellation' (*OED* † A *sb.*, citing this as the first instance).
- pathetical** <sup>A</sup> p. 4.48: 'Expressing, or arising from passion or strong emotion' (*OED* 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 15.15, p. 128.12, p. 139.4, \*p. 146.15: 'Arousing sadness, compassion, or sympathy' (*OED* 1). <sup>C</sup> p. 21.17: 'Of

- or relating to the emotions or passions' (*OED* †3). On p. 18.35, Harvey's sense might be either A or B. Each time he uses the word in *FL*, the context is the writings (or behaviour) of his enemies, and in the latter three examples there is a shading of irony.
- pathetically** p. 14.40, p. 127.50: 'So as to excite passion or emotion; movingly, affectingly' (*OED* 1, citing the first of these as an example).
- patient** p. 108.48: 'A person or thing that undergoes some action, or to whom or which something is done; [. . .] as correlative to *agent*, and distinguished from *instrument*; a recipient' (*OED* *a.*, *sb.* B 4a).
- patriarch** p. 10.49 (see note).
- pattern** <sup>A</sup> p. 68.25: 'Something formed after a model or prototype, a copy; a likeness, similitude' (*OED sb.* †4). <sup>B</sup> p. 72.47: 'A precedent' (*OED sb.* †7). <sup>C</sup> (patterned) p. 129.51: 'to give an example or precedent' (*OED v.* I †1b). <sup>D</sup> p. 150.49, p. 153.48: 'an example or model deserving imitation; an example or model of a particular excellence' (*OED* 1a).
- pausing** p. 102.19: perhaps 'examination', or 'reflection, contemplation' (see *OED* pause *v.*<sup>1</sup> 2a).
- \*payment** p. 113.45: 'infliction of punishment or retribution' (*OED* payment<sup>1</sup> 3).
- payment, go for** p. 57.46: cf. '*to run for good payment* (fig.): to "pass current", be generally accepted or believed' (*OED* payment<sup>1</sup> 2 †b).
- pea(k)-goose** p. 57.28-29 (pick-goose), p. 112.9 (Peagooses): 'A dolt, simpleton, ninny, poor creature' (*OED*, citing the first of these as an example).
- pelting** p. 5.35, p. 21.6, p. 23.17, p. 23.33, p. 72.22, p. 123.48, p. 155.33: 'Paltry, petty, contemptible; mean, insignificant, trumpery, inconsiderable; worthless' (*OED a.*).
- peltingly** p. 9.51: *OED* cites this as one of four instances 1555-1602 of 'in a paltry or mean manner' (†).
- pencil** p. 48.39: 'the instrument of art in painting, put for the painter's art, skill, or style' (*OED sb.* I 1b).
- penman** p. 123.26: 'A writer or composer of a book or other writing; an author, a writer' (*OED* 3a).
- pennyworths of, to have one's** p. 155.19: 'to have one's repayment or revenge on, be revenged on' (*OED* pennyworth 3 †f).
- pensioner** (pensionars) p. 87.44: 'a beneficed clergyman' (*OED* I 1 †d).
- peradventure** <sup>A</sup> p. 119.22: 'Perchance, haply; maybe, perhaps; not improbably, belike' (*OED adv.* B 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 124.28: 'uncertainty, doubt' (*OED sb.* 1).
- percase** p. 79.36, p. 92.2, p. 95.11, p. 112.3: 'perhaps' (*OED* 3).
- peremptorily** <sup>A</sup> p. 78.41: perhaps 'menacingly, threateningly'; see 'peremptory' below. <sup>B</sup> p. 153.23: 'So as to fix or settle the matter; so as to decide the question; decisively, conclusively; so as to leave no doubt; definitely, positively' (*OED* 1).
- peremptory** <sup>A</sup> p. 4.29, p. 96.49, p. 104.27, p. 107.35, p. 132.17, p. 160.20: 'Deadly, destructive' (*OED* A †II). <sup>B</sup> Harvey's sense may (mockingly) be the same as sense A, or (in a transferred epithet) 'imperious, dictatorial' (*OED* A I 5). <sup>C</sup> p. 74.1 (see note). <sup>D</sup> p. 84.25: 'over-confident, showing too much assurance' (*OED* A I 4). <sup>E</sup> p. 130.29: 'Obstinate, stubborn, self-willed' (*OED* A I †3).
- period** <sup>A</sup> p. 22.32, p. 53.34 (Periodes), p. 105.40, p. 154.24: 'A complete sentence [. . .] *in pl.*, rhetorical or grammatical language' (*OED sb.* III 10a). <sup>B</sup> p. 41.25: end (see *OED sb.* II 5 †b: 'final stage of any process or course of action'). <sup>C</sup> p. 123.46 (see note). <sup>D</sup> p. 123.51: this could mean both 'A full pause such as is properly made at the end of a sentence' and 'a full stop' (*OED sb.* III 11a, b).
- perk** p. 98.32: possibly 'To behave proudly, impudently, or conceitedly' (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> †1a). Harvey might also mean 'to perch', but most of *OED*'s instances are Scottish (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 1a).
- person** <sup>A</sup> p. 111.33: 'presence [. . .] "in person"' (*OED sb.* III 5 †b). <sup>B</sup> p. 136.35: perhaps 'the body with its clothing and adornment as presented to the sight of others; bodily frame or figure' (*OED sb.* III 4).
- personage** <sup>A</sup> p. 69.41: 'bodily frame, figure; personal appearance' (*OED* †2, citing this as the only figurative instance). <sup>B</sup> p. 137.7: 'identity' (*OED* †5).
- personal** p. 154.39: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Of, pertaining to, or characteristic of a person or self-conscious being, as opposed to a thing or abstraction', but its earliest example is from 1651 (*a.* (*sb.*) 5a).
- personize** p. 130.27: *OED* cites this as the sole instance of 'To assume a character; to act a part' (1).
- persons** p. 26.3 (see note).
- \*persuaded** p. 145.35: 'convinced; having an assured opinion' (*OED ppl. a.*).
- persuasion** (persuasions) p. 125.48: 'an argument or inducement' (*OED* 1 †b).
- pert** (pertest) <sup>A</sup> p. 77.14: 'Smart, spruce, dapper' (*OED a.* (*sb.*, *adv.*) A †2b). <sup>B</sup> p. 122.18: 'sharp, intelligent; adroit, clever' (*OED a.* (*sb.*, *adv.*) A II 3b). In both cases, Harvey is writing about enemies of his, and his use seems to be ironic.

- pettifogger** p. 13.12: 'A petty practitioner in any department; a tyro; an empiric, pretender' (*OED* 2).
- phantast** see **fantast**
- phantastical** see **fantastical**
- philippic** (Philippiques) p. 19.20 (see note).
- \*philosophical** p. 146.22: 'Pertaining to [. . .] natural philosophy, or some branch of physical science' (*OED* A 1b). *OED*'s first instance is from George Ripley's *Compound of Alchymy* (1471): see also 'philosophy' below.
- philosophy** p. 115.32, p. 117.35, p. 128.25: the range of possible meanings for the third of these is very wide, but the first and second seem to mean either 'The knowledge or study of nature, [. . .] now usually called *science*', or 'Magical or occult science; magic; alchemy' (*OED* sb. 3a, †b).
- phoenix** p. 159.19: 'of unique excellence' (*OED* phoenix<sup>1</sup> 2).
- physic** <sup>A</sup> p. 128.27, p. 139.10: 'knowledge of the human body [. . .] medicine' (*OED* sb. 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 148.31, p. 148.34: 'Medical treatment or regimen' (*OED* sb. 3 †c).
- picke-devant** (picker-devant) p. 116.8: 'A short beard trimmed to a point [. . .] fashionable in England in the latter part of the 16th and earlier part of the 17th c.' (*OED* †).
- pick-goose** see **pea(k)-goose**
- picklock** p. 134.5: 'An instrument for picking locks' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup>, a.<sup>1</sup> A 2).
- pickthank** p. 122.19: 'a flatterer, sycophant; a tale-bearer, tell-tale' (*OED* sb., a. A).
- piddling** p. 42.30, p. 53.4: *OED* cites the first of these as a specific instance of 'Trifling, insignificant, petty, paltry' (*OED* ppl. a. 1).
- piece** p. 108.4, p. 128.33, p. 154.7 (see note to first).
- pierce** p. 114.17: 'To reach or penetrate with the sight or the mind; to see thoroughly into, discern' (*OED* v. 4).
- piercing** <sup>A</sup> p. 52.7: 'Having a physical effect resembling or suggesting the action of a pointed instrument; sharp, keen and penetrating' (*OED* ppl. a. 1b, citing this as an instance). <sup>B</sup> p. 124.19, p. 138.45: *OED* gives examples in the sense of 'keenly or painfully affecting' the mind or emotions (*ppl.* a. 1c).
- pigeon** p. 114.1: 'One who lets himself be swindled [. . .] a simpleton, dupe, gull' (*OED* sb. B I 3b, citing this as an instance).
- pight** p. 72.33: 'Of a military encounter; fought at a predetermined time and place; planned; organized' (*OED* † *adj.*).
- pike sauce** p. 108.38: 'sarcasm, pungent wit' (*OED* † pike a., citing this as an example).
- pilch** p. 96.17: 'a leathern or coarse woollen outer garment' (*OED* sb. † 1).
- pin-dust** p. 112.15, p. 138.21: 'Dust formed of filings of brass or other metal produced in the manufacture of pins' (*OED*).
- pinch** (pincheth) p. 106.3: 'to afflict' (*OED* v. III 7a).
- pinching** p. 152.51: 'Causing pain or distress' (*OED* ppl. a. 2).
- pinson** (Pinsons) p. 154.44: '(*pl.*) Pincers, forceps' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> †).
- piperly** p. 6.2, p. 73.3, p. 106.18, p. 124.31: 'Resembling or befitting a piper; paltry, trashy, beggarly, despicable' (*OED*).
- pistol(e)** p. 108.39 (see note).
- pitch** p. 40.39, p. 62.11, p. 78.38: 'stage, status, level' (*OED* sb.<sup>2</sup> VI 24a).
- \*placard** p. 43.18: 'A piece of armour; a breast- or back-plate' (*OED* placard sb. II †3a).
- place** p. 119.20: 'A particular part, page, or other point in a book or writing' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> II 7a).
- platform** <sup>A</sup> p. 24.6, p. 80.7, p. 81.25, p. 128.41, p. 128.42, p. 153.44: 'A plan of action; a scheme, design, device' (*OED* sb. †4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 33.25, p. 96.1, p. 99.1, p. 126.12: *OED* lists the first of these as the first instance of 'To plan, outline, sketch, draw up a scheme of' (v. †1). <sup>C</sup> p. 82.36, p. 97.19 (platforms): 'A plan or draught of church government and discipline; a scheme of principles or doctrine, made by or on behalf of a religious party, church or sect' (*OED* sb. (a.) A II †4b). <sup>D</sup> p. 92.22, p. 93.8: 'A plan, design; something intended or taken as a pattern; a model' (*OED* sb. (a.) A II †3a).
- platformer** p. 21.35, p. 23.30, p. 98.26, p. 100.6, p. 150.48: 'a schemer, contriver, plotter' (*OED* †1; citing the first of these as the first of only 3 instances 1592-1606).
- platforming** p. 57.31: making plans, forming ideas. See platform sense B above.
- plausible** <sup>A</sup> p. \*43.13: 'Deserving of applause or approval' (*OED* A *adj.* †3). <sup>B</sup> \*p. 46.10, p. 127.48, p. 138.41: 'Expressing applause or approbation' (*OED* A *adj.* †2). <sup>C</sup> p. 77.15: 'fair-seeming, specious' (*OED* A *adj.* 3a). <sup>D</sup> p. 86.43: 'praiseworthy, laudable, commendable' (*OED* A †1). <sup>E</sup> p. 87.12: 'ingratiating' (*OED* A *adj.* †2b). <sup>F</sup> p. 92.32, p. 99.42: 'winning public approval [. . .] popular' (*OED* A *adj.* †2a). <sup>G</sup> p. 115.9 (see note).
- play** (ever-playing) p. 110.17: 'To be discharged or fired' (*OED* v. 7a).

**player** p. 13.13 (see note).

**pleasurable** p. 114.7, p. 116.47: 'Affording, or capable of affording, pleasure; agreeable, pleasant' (*OED* 1).

**pleasurably** p. 113.2: this might mean 'with pleasure' as well as 'pleasantly, agreeably' (*OED*).

**pleasure** <sup>A</sup> p. 98.39, p. 158.40: 'to please, gratify' (*OED* v. 1a). <sup>B</sup> \*p. 145.34: 'one's will, desire, choice' (*OED* sb. B 2).

**plight** p. 95.30: 'Condition, state [. . .] *orig.* neutral or good' (*OED* sb.<sup>2</sup> II 4a).

**pluckcrow** p. 42.13 (see note).

**pock** p. 54.3: the singular 'pock' is rare in the sense of 'A disease characterized by pustules or eruptive spots' (*OED* sb. 2 β). *OED* cites this as an example, although not a figurative one, and Harvey seems to mean a metaphorical pestilence.

**pocket** (pocket-it-up) p. 131.2: 'to submit to, endure meekly, "swallow". †Formerly with *up*' (*OED* v. 3a).

**poesie** see **posy**

**poinado** see **poniard**

**point** <sup>A</sup> p. 51.21, p. 123.48: 'A tagged lace or cord [. . .] often used as a type of something of small value' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> B II 5). <sup>B</sup> p. 104.27 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 151.17: 'an individual part, element, or matter, a detail, a particular' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> A II 5a).

**points, stand upon** p. 60.8: 'to insist upon details of conduct or manners which one has espoused; to be punctilious or scrupulous' (*OED* point sb.<sup>1</sup> II 5 †b).

**policy** (Distinguishing Harvey's sense is difficult: in some cases, the ambiguity may be deliberate.) <sup>A</sup> p. 56.27, p. 131.47, p. 134.48, p. 135.13: 'cunning, craftiness, dissimulation' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 84.7, p. 97.16: 'Government, administration' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> †2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 86.3, p. 110.47, p. 124.47, p. 127.30, p. 133.43, p. 139.10, p. 148.36, p. 148.42, p. 153.47: 'Prudent conduct [. . .] sagacity' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> I 5a). <sup>D</sup> p. 89.21, p. 157.50, p. 157.51: 'statecraft, diplomacy; in bad sense, political cunning' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> I 3). <sup>E</sup> p. 98.10: perhaps 'system or form of government or administration' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> I 1a, although the first ecclesiastical example is from 1759). <sup>F</sup> p. 109.25, p. 133.8: 'prudent or politic course of action' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> I 4a). <sup>G</sup> p. 156.21: 'A device, expedient, contrivance; a crafty device, stratagem, trick' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> I 4 †b).

**politic** <sup>A</sup> p. 71.27, p. 102.33, p. 117.46, p. 131.44, p. 148.36: 'sagacious, prudent, shrewd [. . .] Judicious' (*OED* a., sb. A 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 81.6, p. 122.51, p. 149.32: 'political' (*OED* a., sb. A †1a). <sup>C</sup> (Politiques) p. 84.10, p. 98.3: 'name of the treatise on political science, τὰ πολιτικά, by Aristotle' (*OED* adj., sb. B 3b; the first instance is from 1651). <sup>D</sup> p. 85.49 (see note). <sup>E</sup> p. 93.23, p. 93.25, p. 95.1, p. 115.9, p. 133.33: 'In a sinister sense: Scheming, crafty, cunning' (*OED* a., sb. A adj. 2d). It is hard to distinguish Harvey's use of sense A and sense E.

**politician** <sup>A</sup> p. 96.28: 'One versed in the theory or science of government' (*OED* 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 79.19: either as sense A, or 'one practically engaged in conducting the business of the state' (*OED* 2). <sup>C</sup> p. 129.32: senses B or D would fit. <sup>D</sup> p. 131.40, p. 156.15: 'schemer [. . .] plotter or intriguer' (*OED* †1).

**politically** (Politiquely) p. 114.33: 'with policy or skilful management' (*OED*).

**polymechany** p. 25.14: *OED* cites this as the only instance of a word it defines as 'Multifarious contrivance or invention' (†): this is one of the words Nashe cites as an instance of Harvey's 'inkehornisme' (1958: 1.316.17).

**pompous** p. 94.42: 'Characterized by pomp or stately show; magnificent, splendid' (*OED* 1).

**poniard** (poinado) p. 103.36, p. 108.12: 'A short stabbing weapon; a dagger' (*OED* 1).

**popular** <sup>A</sup> p. 81.8: 'open to all or any of the people' (*OED* A adj. 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 81.9, p. 85.42, p. 86.15, p. 86.19: 'carried on by the people' (*OED* A adj. 2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 85.27, p. 92.50, p. 98.21: 'Of, pertaining to, or consisting of the common people' (*OED* A adj. 2a). <sup>D</sup> p. 96.34: 'Attached or devoted to the cause of the people (as opposed to the nobility, etc.)' (*OED* A adj. †5b). <sup>E</sup> p. 96.35 (Populars): 'populars, the common people, the commons' (*OED* B sb. †b pl.).

**popularize** (popularise) p. 95.3: *OED* cites this as the sole use of the word in the sense of 'To act popularly; to court popular favour' (†1).

**popularly** p. 95.2: *OED* cites this as the first use of the word in the sense of 'In a way that wins popular favour' (†3).

**position** p. 83.12, p. 83.36, p. 95.38: 'A proposition or thesis laid down or stated; something posited; a statement, assertion, tenet' (*OED* sb. I 2). Perhaps Harvey's sense in the second instance might be 'Mental attitude; the way in which one looks upon or views a subject or question', but *OED* gives no instances of this before 1905 (*OED* sb. I 5b).

**positive** <sup>A</sup> p. 82.10, p. 84.11, p. 86.17: 'Formally laid down or imposed; [. . .] proceeding from enactment or custom; conventional' (*OED* A adj. I 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 151.20 (see note).

**possibility** p. 150.6: 'Capacity, capability, power, ability' (*OED* †3a).



- post** p. 126.14: 'with speed or haste' (*OED adv.*<sup>1</sup>).
- \*postamble** (Postambles) p. 46.5: the only instance of this word in *OED* (post-, *prefix* A 1).
- posteriorums** p. 73.13 (see note).
- posy** p. 13.10, p. 19.16, \*p. 78.25, p. 132.27, p. 132.43, p. 132.46, p. 132.50, p. 133.2, p. 133.14, p. 133.22: 'A short motto' (*OED* I 1).
- potestate** (Potestats) p. 98.27: 'A person who has power over others; a superior, a potentate' (†*OED* 1, citing this as an instance).
- pot-jest** p. 139.2, \*p. 146.34 (see note to first).
- pottle** (pottels) p. 65.22: 'A measure of capacity for liquids [. . .] equal to two quarts or half a gallon' (*OED* pottle<sup>1</sup> 1).
- poveretto** p. 18.16: Seemingly a coinage of Harvey's own, meaning 'a poor little one' (*OED*, citing no prior or subsequent instances).
- powder** <sup>A</sup> (powdred) p. 68.40: 'fig. To mix with some qualifying [. . .] ingredient; to "season"; to "alloy"' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> I †1b). <sup>B</sup> (poudring) p. 111.39: 'To reduce to powder; to pulverize' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> III 6).
- powerable** p. 49.10, p. 70.32, p. 112.10, p. 149.22, p. 151.35: 'powerful' (*OED* †1, citing the last of these as an instance).
- powerably** p. 94.21: 'powerfully' (*OED* †, giving this as the first instance).
- practic** (practiques) p. 107.17: 'with *a* and *pl.*, an art or kind of practical skill, *esp.* an artful device or contrivance, a stratagem, trick, or deception' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †5).
- practicable** p. 102.41: *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1670, and there is no sense similar to 'disputable'.
- practice** <sup>A</sup> p. 93.12 (practices), p. 129.21 (practise), p. 129.42 (practises), p. 131.46 (practises), p. 132.32 (practises), p. 135.11 (practises): this could mean simply 'An action, a deed; *pl.* doings, proceedings', but in the context 'scheme, plot, intrigue, conspiracy, stratagem' would be appropriate (*OED sb.* I 1b, 6c). <sup>B</sup> p. 136.8: 'performance, execution; working, operation' (*OED sb.* I 1a). <sup>C</sup> (Practise) p. 150.48, p. 150.49: 'action as distinguished from profession, theory, knowledge, etc.' (*OED* 2a). <sup>D</sup> (Practise) p. 153.48: proficiency (see *OED* 3, 5).
- practise** (practised) p. 148.48: 'To lay schemes or plans, *esp.* for an evil purpose; to use stratagem or artifice; to scheme, plot, conspire, intrigue' (*OED v.* 9).
- practitioner** p. 73.47: this could mean both 'learner, novice, beginner' and 'schemer, plotter, conspirator' (*OED* †2, †5); perhaps the former is more likely.
- pragmatic** (Pragmatiques) <sup>A</sup> p. 85.2: 'One versed in business; [. . .] cf. "man of business"' (*OED B sb.* †2). <sup>B</sup> (Pragmatique) p. 122.50: perhaps 'Relating to the affairs of a state or community' (*OED A adj.* 1: *OED* cites no adjectival instances in any sense earlier than 1616).
- pragmatical** <sup>A</sup> p. 122.45: 'Relating to the affairs of a state or community' (*OED A adj.* 1, citing this as an example). <sup>B</sup> p. 123.4: cf. sense A; here the word perhaps means 'belonging to legal or political vocabulary'. <sup>C</sup> p. 131.40: 'An officious or meddlesome person; a busybody; a conceited person' (*OED B sb.* 1, citing this as an example).
- prank** p. 25.24, p. 38.47, p. 112.29: 'To dress, or deck in gay, bright, or showy manner [. . .] dress oneself up' (*OED v.*<sup>4</sup> 1).
- precise** <sup>A</sup> p. 83.23, p. 92.5, p. 92.23 (precisest), p. 102.15 (precisest), p. 110.36: 'Strict or scrupulous in religious observance; in 16th and 17th c., puritanical' (*OED a. (adv.)* A 2b). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.28: 'scrupulous, particular [. . .] fastidious' (*OED a. (adv.)* A 2).
- precisely** p. 88.47: 'strictly, rigorously; minutely, punctually; punctiliously, ceremoniously; properly, with propriety' (*OED* 3).
- preciseness** p. 95.33: 'Strictness in behaviour, manners, morals, or religious observance; rigid propriety, primness; fastidiousness; scrupulousness, puritanical quality' (*OED* 2).
- precisian** p. 87.37, p. 88.47, p. 90.50, p. 99.43 (Precisians), p. 105.20: 'in the 16th and 17th c. synonymous with *Puritan*' (*OED a.*).
- predicament** p. 78.49 (Predicaments), p. 111.29 (Predicaments), p. 150.32: 'in *Logic*, (in *pl.*) the ten categories or classes of predications formed by Aristotle' (*OED* 1).
- preferment** p. 133.43: 'Advancement or promotion in condition, status, or position in life' (*OED* 2).
- preferred** p. 103.47: 'Put forward, advanced, promoted' (*OED* †1).
- pregnancy** <sup>A</sup> p. 25.33 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 41.3: perhaps 'potential, promise' – cf. *OED* pregnant *a.*<sup>2</sup> 3 †c ('full of promise, promising').
- pregnant** <sup>A</sup> p. 5.47, p. 150.47: 'Fertile or fruitful in results' (*OED a.*<sup>2</sup> II 5). <sup>B</sup> p. 11.37: '*esp.* of young persons, or their faculties: Apt to conceive or apprehend, quick-witted, of unusual capacity, full of promise, promising' (*OED a.*<sup>2</sup> II 3 †c). <sup>C</sup> p. 15.1, p. 114.36: 'Full of meaning, highly significant' (*OED a.*<sup>2</sup> II 4) (there is a pun involved). <sup>D</sup> p. 22.17, p. 91.50, p. 127.32: 'Of a person or his mind: Teeming with ideas, fertile, imaginative, inventive, resourceful, ready' (*OED a.*<sup>2</sup> II 3a). The uses on

- p. 28.19 and p. 30.4 could belong either to sense B or D, as could **pregnantest** (p. 31.46, p. 137.12).  
<sup>E</sup> p. 24.34, p. 64.45, p. 81.17, p. 83.26, p. 87.15, p. 96.46, p. 102.34, p. 117.50: 'Pressing, urgent, weighty; compelling, cogent, forcible, convincing' (*OED* *a.*<sup>1</sup>, citing the first of these as one of six instances 'though they are in some cases susceptible of being explained as *pregnant a.*<sup>2</sup>').<sup>E</sup> p. 51.36: two relevant senses might be imaginative, inventive, resourceful' or 'momentous' (*OED* *a.*<sup>2</sup> (*sb.*) II 3a, 5).<sup>F</sup> p. 124.5: 'Fertile, fruitful; prolific, teeming' (*OED* *a.*<sup>2</sup> (*sb.*) I †2b).
- pregnantly** p. 87.24: 'Cogently, forcibly, clearly' (*OED* *adv.*<sup>1</sup>).
- prejudicate** <sup>A</sup> p. 40.48: 'prejudiced, [. . .] biased' (*OED* † *ppl. a.* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 80.20: 'Formed (as an opinion) prior to knowledge or examination of the case; preconceived' (*OED* † *ppl. a.* 2).
- prejudice** <sup>A</sup> p. 12.49 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 110.15, p. 134.32: 'To affect injuriously or unfavourably' (*OED* *v.* I 1, citing an instance from Harvey).
- premeditate** p. 9.21: *OED* cites this phrase as the first of only two instances of 'premeditate' in its adjectival sense of 'Using premeditation or previous deliberation; considerate, deliberate' († *a.* 2).
- premises** <sup>A</sup> p. 11.35, p. 18.35, p. 22.44, p. 88.46, p. 106.46, p. 137.50, p. 139.50, \*p. 145.5: 'The matters or things stated or mentioned previously; what has just been said; the aforesaid, the foregoing' (*OED* *premise, premises sb.* II 2 *pl.*). <sup>B</sup> (Premisses) p. 93.32, p. 100.19, p. 112.35: 'A previous statement or proposition from which another is inferred or follows as a conclusion' (*OED* *premise, premiss sb.* I 1). <sup>C</sup> p. 156.7: perhaps 'grounds, basis' (see sense B).
- presently** p. 122.38, p. 156.3: 'at once, forthwith; immediately, instantly, directly, speedily, quickly, promptly' (*OED* *adv.* 3).
- prestigiously** p. 135.17: *OED* gives this as the first instance of the adverb. Cf. *OED* *prestigious* I ('cheating, deluding, deceitful; deceptive').
- pretend** (*pretendeth*) <sup>A</sup> p. 79.39: 'to profess to have, make profession of' (*OED* *v.* 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 152.32: this could mean 'claim' without necessarily implying falsity (see *OED* *v.* 3b).
- prettily** p. 79.15: perhaps 'Considerably, fairly, passably, moderately; = *PRETTY* *adv.* 1 (but also qualifying *vbs.*)' (*OED* †3).
- prevail** p. 133.46: 'To be of advantage or use; to profit' (*OED* *v.* †4).
- prevent** p. 39.11, p. 136.37 (*prevented*): 'To forestall, balk, or baffle by previous or precautionary measures' (*OED* II †5).
- prick-forward** p. 80.25: 'prick' could be used to mean 'to impel, incite, stimulate, provoke' (*OED* *v.* II 9a).
- principle** (*principles*) p. 101.37, p. 137.46: 'original or initial state' (*OED* *sb.* I †1).
- princecock** p. 38.47 (*Princockes*), p. 155.19: 'conceited young fellow' (*OED* †).
- private** p. 86.11 (see note).
- privilege** p. 71.25: 'A right, advantage, or immunity granted to or enjoyed by a person, or a body or class of persons' (*OED* *sb.* B 2a).
- privity** <sup>A</sup> p. 17.11: 'concurrence or consent; private knowledge or cognizance' (*OED* 5). <sup>B</sup> p. 39.18, p. 94.36 (*privities*): 'A secret matter, design, purpose or plan' (*OED* †1b).
- privy** <sup>A</sup> \*p. 43.30: 'privately cognizant or aware' (*OED* *A adj.* I 4). <sup>B</sup> p. 104.32: 'secret, clandestine' (*OED* *a., sb. (adv.)* A II 6). <sup>C</sup> p. 110.23 (see note). <sup>D</sup> p. 132.26, p. 133.32 (see note to first).
- privy coat** p. 152.3: 'a coat of mail worn under the ordinary dress' (*OED* *A adj.* III 8 †b).
- probatory** p. 64.8, p. 138.25: 'affording proof or evidence; demonstrative, evidential' (*OED* *a.* †2, citing the latter as its first instance).
- proctor** (*Proctors*) p. 95.28: 'An advocate, patron, defender, guardian' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>1</sup> A †5).
- profession** <sup>A</sup> p. 92.7: 'declaration, avowal. In later use often with implied contrast to practice or fact' (*OED* II 4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.46: 'the faith or religion which one professes' (*OED* II 5a).
- professo** see *ex professo*
- profound** p. 156.16: 'deeply-buried, hence concealed [. . .] (as a *profound secret*, etc.)' (*OED* *a. (sb.)* A 3b).
- promoter** p. 78.13: 'One whose business was to prosecute or denounce offenders against the law [. . .] a professional accuser, an informer' (*OED* II 3a).
- prompt** p. 150.44 (see note).
- proof** p. 87.19 (see note).
- proper** <sup>A</sup> p. 101.11, p. 119.18, p. 123.8: 'special, particular' (*OED* *a. (adv., sb.)* A I 2a). <sup>B</sup> p. 109.30, p. 154.29: 'Belonging to oneself or itself; (one's or its) own' (*OED* *a. (adv., sb.)* A I 1).
- prove** <sup>A</sup> p. 60.18: 'To make trial of; put to the test; [. . .] to try, test' (*OED* *v.* B I 1a). <sup>B</sup> (*prooved*) p. 118.42, p. 139.12: 'To find out, learn, or know by experience' (*OED* *v.* 3).
- provide** p. 55.13: 'To prepare, make preparation, get ready. Const. with *inf.*, or *absol.*' (*OED* *v.* II †4).
- provided** p. 131.27, p. 155.1: 'Prepared' (*OED* I 2).

- province** p. 120.9: perhaps the closest sense is 'duty, office, business' (*OED* II 7, citing no instances earlier than 1626).
- publican** p. 101.8 (see note).
- publish** p. 58.19: 'To make publicly or generally known; to declare or report openly or publicly; to announce; to tell or noise abroad' (*OED* B I 1a).
- pudding-prick** p. 113.29: 'A slender wooden skewer' (*OED*).
- puddle** p. 40.11: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'To make (water) muddy or dirty' (*OED* v. 3a).
- puddled** p. 151.47, p. 155.14: 'dirty, miry, foul' (*OED* 1).
- puffing** <sup>A</sup> p. 63.10: either 'haughty in demeanour' or 'Bombastic, "swelling"' (*OED ppl. a.* 2, †4). <sup>B</sup> p. 157.29: *OED*'s earliest instance of 'praising or extolling in inflated language' is from 1754 (*vbl. sb.* 4a).
- puling** p. 79.7: 'sickly' (*OED ppl. a.* †2).
- pull** <sup>A</sup> p. 84.45 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 107.7: 'a trial of strength of body, will, determination, argument, etc.; a bout, a set-to' (*OED sb.* I †3a).
- pump** p. 104.41, p. 126.25: 'The "well" or "sink" of a ship where the bilge-water collects' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> I †2a).
- puny** p. 73.29 (punies), p. 92.39 (Punyes), p. 126.49: 'An inferior, a subordinate; a person of small account' (*OED* †B *sb.* 4a; the first instance is from Harvey).
- purple-dying** p. 123.49 (see note).
- putrefy** p. 66.5 (putrify), p. 66.41 (putrifieth): 'To corrupt morally or socially; to destroy the purity or soundness of; to render corrupt' (*OED* 1 †c, citing the second of these).
- quadruplication** p. 72.30 (see note).
- quaime** p. 124.21 (see note).
- quaint** (queint) <sup>A</sup> p. 48.6: perhaps 'Dainty, fastidious, nice, prim' (*OED a.* †10, citing an instance from Harvey: 'overstale for so queynte and queasye a worlde'). <sup>B</sup> p. 77.26, p. 103.49, p. 150.49: 'Strange, unusual, unfamiliar, odd, curious (in character or appearance)' (*OED a. (adv.)* A I †7). <sup>C</sup> p. 98.27, p. 119.2, p. 124.1, p. 148.14: 'Wise, knowing; skilled, clever, ingenious' (*OED a. (adv.)* A I †1). <sup>D</sup> p. 107.17, p. 133.33, p. 135.6: 'Cunning, crafty' (*OED a. (adv.)* A I †1b). <sup>E</sup> p. 125.37 (queintest): 'Of persons: Beautiful or handsome in appearance; finely or fashionably dressed; elegant, foppish' (*OED a. (adv.)* A I †5). <sup>F</sup> p. 150.49: perhaps 'unique' (cf. sense B).
- quaintly** p. 129.33: 'Skilfully, cleverly, ingeniously' (*OED* †1).
- qualify** p. 102.36: 'To appease, calm, pacify (a person)' (*OED* II †9).
- quaver** p. 107.29, p. 139.35 (quavered): this seems to relate to singing – *OED* cites no examples in the sense of 'speak tremulously' before 1741.
- quean** <sup>A</sup> p. 6.15: 'harlot, strumpet' (*OED* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 56.28: 'A bold, impudent, or ill-behaved woman' (*OED* 1).
- quick** <sup>A</sup> p. 50.20, p. 126.37, p. 138.3 (see note to first). <sup>B</sup> p. 51.20 (quickest), p. 78.29: 'Mentally active or vigorous; of ready apprehension or wit; prompt to learn, think, invent' (*OED a., sb.* <sup>1</sup>, *adv.* A III 21a). <sup>C</sup> p. 107.37: 'living, alive' (*OED a., sb.* <sup>1</sup>, *adv.* A 2a).
- quick-scented** p. 73.10 (see note).
- quicken** p. 129.18: 'to stimulate, stir up, rouse, excite, inspire' (*OED* v. I 2).
- quiddity** p. 73.11: 'A subtlety or captious nicety in argument; a quirk, quibble. (Alluding to scholastic argument on the "quiddity" of things' (*OED* 2).
- quinquagenarian** p. 83.5 (see note).
- quintessence** p. 58.25, p. 58.27, p. 58.40, p. 58.41 (see note to first).
- quip** (quippeth) p. 71.2: 'To assail with a quip or quips' (*OED* 1a).
- rabblement** <sup>A</sup> p. 123.8: 'A long string or series of words, etc., having little meaning or value' (*OED* †3). <sup>B</sup> p. 124.34: 'a class or body of persons, imagined as collected in a mob' (*OED* 1 †b).
- rack** p. 49.13: 'A frame made [ . . . ] to hold fodder for horses and cattle' (*OED sb.* <sup>2</sup> 3a).
- rage** p. 58.3: 'Poetic or prophetic enthusiasm or inspiration' (*OED sb.* 8, although this gives no examples earlier than 1600).
- ragg** see **tag and rag**
- railipotent** p. 41.48: the first and last instance of a word defined by *OED* as 'Powerful in railing'.
- raines** see **reins**
- rakehell** (rakehells) p. 121.48: 'an utterly immoral or dissolute person' (*OED sb.* 1).
- ramp** p. 109.7: 'A bold, vulgar, ill-behaved woman or girl' (*OED* †ramp *sb.* <sup>1</sup>, citing an instance from Harvey).
- rampallion** p. 109.13: 'A ruffian, villain, scoundrel' (*OED*).
- ramping** p. 74.41: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Of persons, their actions, etc.: Violent, extravagant, unrestrained; †romping' (*ppl. a.* 2).

- rank** <sup>A</sup> p. 53.39 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 91.11: 'Vigorous or luxuriant in growth' (*OED* *a.* II 5). Harvey is perhaps punning.
- rannell** p. 109.8: 'A hussy, jade' (*OED*, citing this as the second of two instances 1573-92 (*sic*), both from Harvey).
- rare bird** p. 9.32, p. 77.25 (see note to first).
- rascal** <sup>A</sup> p. 48.26, p. 61.23: 'Wretched, mean, etc.' (*OED* *B adj.* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 120.39, p. 121.27, p. 143.5: 'rascally, knavish' (*OED* *B adj.* 1).
- ravished** p. 70.41: 'Transported, entranced, enraptured' (*OED* 2).
- reach** p. 57.127: this could mean generally 'Capacity or power', or specifically 'Capacity or power of comprehension; extent of knowledge or of the ability to acquire it; range of mind or thought' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 6, 7a).
- \***read** p. 37.22: Spenser's sense is either 'To declare' or 'To speak of or mention; to describe; to name or call' (*OED* *v.* I †14 a, b, citing instances from Spenser for both usages).
- rear** p. 107.39 (reared), p. 144.13 (rear'd): 'To make (a noise) by shouting; to utter (a cry)' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> †8b).
- reason** p. 64.27, \*p. 82.7, p. 87.17 (reasons), p. 96.28 (Reasons), p. 96.51 (reasons): 'A statement [. . .] employed as an argument' (*OED* *reason sb.* <sup>1</sup> I 1a, stating that this was 'In common use down to c. 1600; after that date somewhat rare').
- reastie** see **resty**
- receipt** p. 31.46: 'Mental capacity; power of apprehension' (*OED sb.* *V* †15b).
- reckoning** <sup>A</sup> p. 67.48, p. 110.27: 'Estimation, consideration, distinction' (*OED* †8; most of the examples cited use the form 'of reckoning'). <sup>B</sup> p. 103.29 (see note).
- reclaim** p. 23.39 (see note).
- recognizance** <sup>A</sup> p. 129.2: 'A bond or obligation [. . .] by which a person engages himself to perform some act [. . .] as [. . .] to pay a debt' (*OED sb.* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 135.42: 'Recognition or acknowledgement' (*OED sb.* 2, citing this as an instance).
- recount** (recoonted) p. 116.36: 'To reckon or mention *among* or *in* (a class)' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> †3b).
- recumbentibus** p. 131.25: 'a knock-down blow' (*OED* †).
- recure** p. 87.48: 'to heal, make whole' (*OED* † *v.* 2).
- redound** p. 86.48: 'To result in, have the effect of, contributing or turning *to* some [. . .] disadvantage for a person or thing' (*OED* *v.* I 6).
- regard** <sup>A</sup> (regarded) p. 130.12: 'To look to, have a care of or for' (*OED* *v.* I †3a). <sup>B</sup> p. 119.21: 'account, estimation, importance, or value' (*OED sb.* II †5b).
- regenerate** <sup>A</sup> p. 71.39: 'Re-born; brought again into existence; formed anew' (*OED ppl. a., sb.* A †1, citing this as an instance). <sup>B</sup> p. 92.5: 'Spiritually re-born' (*OED ppl. a., sb.* A 2).
- regiment** <sup>A</sup> p. 65.30: 'Rule of diet or mode of living' (*OED sb.* †5). <sup>B</sup> p. 80.47, p. 99.4: 'The time or period during which one rules; a reign' (*OED sb.* 2 †b). <sup>C</sup> p. 80.48, p. 80.50: 'A place or country under a particular rule; a kingdom, province, domain, district' (*OED sb.* †7). <sup>D</sup> p. 84.8, p. 84.15, p. 89.44: 'Rule or government over a person, people, or country; *esp.* royal or magisterial authority' (*OED sb.* 1). <sup>E</sup> p. 86.8: 'Control or influence exercised by one thing over another, or over a person' (*OED sb.* †3b).
- register** <sup>A</sup> \*p. 45.15 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 104.37, p. 157.15: 'The keeper of a register; a registrar' (*OED sb.* <sup>2</sup> a). <sup>C</sup> p. 111.16, p. 134.18 (see note to first).
- reins, the** (raines) p. 115.38, p. 148.24: 'The kidneys' (*OED sb. pl.* 1).
- religiously** p. 26.48: 'Faithfully, strictly, exactly, conscientiously, scrupulously' (*OED* 3).
- relish** p. 111.48, p. 150.14: 'A taste or flavour' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1b, citing the latter as the first figurative instance).
- remembrancer** <sup>A</sup> p. 81.21: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'a thing serving to remind one; a reminder; a memento, souvenir' (3a). <sup>B</sup> p. 111.16, p. 148.18 (see notes).
- repertory** p. 58.17: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'A storehouse, magazine, or repository, where something may be found' (*OED* 2).
- repine** (repining) p. 121.24: 'To feel or manifest discontent or dissatisfaction; to fret, murmur, or complain' (*OED* *v.* 1).
- report** p. 34.20 (see note).
- request** p. 62.15: 'demand; †vogue, fashion' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> I 1).
- resemble** p. 106.18: 'To compare or liken (a person or thing) *to* another. Now *arch.*' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> 2).
- respective** <sup>A</sup> p. 11.7, p. 61.17, p. 121.33: 'Respectful, courteous, civil' (*OED* *a.* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 39.39: 'careful' (*OED* *a.* †1). <sup>C</sup> \*p. 43.13, p. 134.21: 'Worthy of respect' (*OED* †4). <sup>D</sup> p. 81.42: 'Marked by regardful care or attention; heedful' (*OED* *a.* 2; the earliest instance is from 1598). <sup>E</sup> p. 88.2: 'Discriminating; partial' (*OED* *a.* 2 †b).

- respectively** <sup>A</sup> p. 9.15, p. 128.6, p. 137.10, p. 140.7: 'Respectfully; with becoming respect, deference, or courtesy' (*OED* 2; the second of 6 instances 1583-1962 is from *PS*). <sup>B</sup> p. 70.32, p. 113.24, p. 149.6: *OED*'s closest sense is 'With due consideration of facts or circumstances' (*OED* †1b).
- resplendishing** p. 124.41, p. 125.47, p. 139.42, p. 150.47: 'Resplendent' (*OED*).
- restorative** <sup>A</sup> p. 115.33, p. 144.42, p. 150.26: 'Pertaining to restoration (of strength or health); capable of restoring or renewing' (*OED A adj.*). <sup>B</sup> p. 128.38, p. 156.13: 'A food, cordial, or medicine, which has the effect of restoring health or strength' (*OED B sb.* 1a).
- resty** (reastie) p. 109.36: restive, applied to 'horses or other animals' (*OED a.* <sup>1</sup> 1).
- retail, in** p. 48.11 (see note).
- retain** (retained) p. 150.2: 'To keep [. . .] engaged in one's service' (*OED v.* 2b). Cf. also 'to engage, hire' (*OED v.* 2 †c).
- retrogradation** p. 108.27: '*Astr.* The apparent backward motion of a planet in the zodiac; motion of a heavenly body from east to west; a case or instance of this' (*OED* 1a).
- retrograde** p. 95.19, p. 152.4: 'Of the planets: Apparently moving in a direction contrary to the order of the signs' (*OED a., sb.* A 1a).
- revealed** p. 126.4: 'made known by divine or supernatural agency' (*OED* 1).
- revolting** p. 95.19: 'That revolts or rebels, insurgent, rebellious' (*OED ppl. a.* 1; the earliest example is from 1593).
- rex, to play the** p. 78.15: 'to act as lord or master, to domineer' (*OED rex* <sup>1</sup> †2b, citing this as the 2nd of 2 examples).
- ribald** p. 66.3, p. 66.48, p. 71.4, p. 121.46: either 'a wicked, dissolute, or licentious person' or 'one who jests or jeers in an irreverent or blasphemous manner' (*OED A sb.* †3, 4).
- rife** p. 82.17, p. 102.10 (too-rife): 'Of common or frequent occurrence; prevalent; widespread' (*OED A adj.* 1).
- riot** p. 109.30: 'Violence' (*OED sb.* 4a, citing this as an example).
- riotous** p. 2.18, p. 6.6, p. 13.28, p. 73.35, p. 152.17, p. 156.44: 'Wanton, dissolute' (*OED* 3).
- rod** p. 159.3: 'a symbol of power or tyrannical sway' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 4a).
- roinish** p. 109.8: 'scabby, scurvy, coarse, mean, paltry, base' (*OED* †a.).
- \*roister** p. 77.51, p. 78.13: 'A swaggering or blustering bully; a riotous fellow; a rude or noisy reveller' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1).
- roisterdoister** p. 20.40, p. 78.3: 'A roisterer or roistering fellow' (*OED* †, citing both of these out of only four instances).
- roisterdoisterly** p. 79.15: *OED* cites this as the sole instance.
- roisterdoistering** p. 106.36: *OED* cites this as the sole instance.
- roisterly** p. 77.11, p. 78.16, p. 99.42, p. 121.28: 'Roisterous, roistering' (*OED* †, giving 3 instances before 1670, of which two are from Harvey).
- roisting** p. 113.27: 'Blustering, boisterous; associated with noisy revelling; uproarious, wild' (*OED* †*ppl. a.* 1, citing this as an instance).
- rondelet** p. 154.32 (see note).
- root** p. 152.17: 'To take root; to settle, establish oneself' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> II 5b).
- rost** p. 28.21 (see note).
- rough** (rowghest) p. 133.8: 'Made in a general way without detailed minuteness [. . .] rudely sufficient' (*OED a.* IV 17a).
- round** (roundest) p. 55.16: this could mean 'Of delivery: Fluent, easy' and 'Of the tongue: Ready, prompt' (*OED a.* III †b, †c).
- roundly** <sup>A</sup> p. 53.3, p. 111.45, p. 157.44: perhaps 'Rapidly, smartly, briskly, promptly' (*OED adv.* 7, citing an instance from Harvey: 'He never made ani bones at it, but trudgd up roundely to work the feat'). <sup>B</sup> p. 56.47 (see note). <sup>C</sup> p. 79.8, p. 113.46: 'Plainly, outspokenly, without mincing the matter, bluntly' (*OED adv.* 3).
- rubbers, hold out** p. 61.9 (see note).
- rude** <sup>A</sup> p. 63.3, p. 158.37: 'unlearned, ignorant' (*OED a., adv.* I 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 98.14: both 'unlearned; ignorant' and 'uncultured, unrefined' (*OED a., adv.* I 1, 3a) would fit Harvey's context.
- ruff** p. 16.12: *OED* cites this passage as an instance of the word in its sense of 'The highest pitch or fullest degree of some exalted or excited condition' (†*sb.* <sup>6</sup> 1).
- ruffle** p. 158.4: 'To make a great stir or display; to hector, swagger, bear oneself proudly or arrogantly' (*OED v.* <sup>2</sup> 2).
- ruffler** p. 77.50: 'One who makes much stir or display; a proud swaggering or arrogant fellow' (*OED ruffler* <sup>2</sup> 2, citing this as an instance).

- ruffling** p. 99.38: *OED*'s first instance of the participial adjective is from 1596; the first of 'causing irritation or annoyance', the only sense to fit Harvey's context, is from 1708. Cf. *OED* ruffle v.<sup>2</sup> 2: 'To make a great stir or display; to hector, swagger, bear oneself proudly or arrogantly'.
- ruin** (ruines) p. 111.38: 'The downfall or decay of a person' (*OED sb.* II 6a).
- running**<sup>A</sup> p. 12.19, p. 51.2, p. 152.6: see note to first.<sup>B</sup> p. 65.39: 'Of persons: Fluent' (*OED ppl. a.* II 11 †b).
- rusty-dusty** p. 114.13, p. 127.17: 'characterized by rust and dust or fustiness' (*OED* rusty a.<sup>1</sup> 10b, citing these as the first two instances).
- ruth** p. 36.15, p. 42.16: 'Mischievous; calamity; ruin' (*OED* ruth<sup>1</sup> †4b).
- ruthful** p. 29.33, p. 99.9, p. 132.49, p. 152.9: 'That excites compassion or pity; lamentable, piteous, rueful' (*OED* 2).
- sagapenum** p. 108.33: 'A gum-resin, the concrete juice of *Ferula persica*, formerly used as an antispasmodic and emmenagogue, or externally' (*OED*).
- \***sancebell** p. 21.30: a corruption of 'sanctus bell', 'A bell, commonly placed in a "cote" or turret at the junction of the nave and chancel' (*OED*).
- satisfaction** p. 153.23, p. 158.12 (see note to first).
- Saturnist** p. 10.33 (see note).
- saunders** p. 158.32: *OED* cites this as an obsolete form of 'alexanders', 'An umbelliferous plant (*Smyrnium Olusatrum*), called also Horse-parsley, formerly cultivated and eaten like celery'.
- savage** p. 133.1 (see note).
- savour** (savoreth) p. 154.25: 'to show traces of the presence or influence of; to have some of the characteristics of; to have the appearance of proceeding from' (*OED* v. 4a).
- savoury**<sup>A</sup> p. 112.17, p. 153.44, p. 154.25: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Pleasant; acceptable' (*A adj.* 2a). Cf. 'Disagreeable or offensive to the sense of smell, or to refined feelings' (*OED* unsavoury 2b).<sup>B</sup> p. 128.22: 'Gratifying to the sense of smell; fragrant' (*OED A adj.* 1b).
- saying** p. 110.39 (see note).
- scab** p. 52.5: 'A mean, low, "scurvy" fellow; a rascal, scoundrel' (*OED sb.* 4).
- scammony** p. 148.29: 'A gum-resin [. . .] used in medicine as a strong purgative' (*OED* 1).
- scandal** p. 79.35: 'The utterance of disgraceful imputations; defamatory talk' (*OED* 5).
- Scarborough warning** p. 107.46, p. 132.16 (see note to first).
- scarecrow**<sup>A</sup> p. 42.12, p. 121.36: cf. 'Something (not really formidable) that [. . .] is intended to frighten: a "bogy"' (*OED* scarecrow sb. 2b). Here used adjectivally; cf. 'Bragging, bullying' (*OED* kill-cow B adj.).<sup>B</sup> p. 77.8 (scarre-crowed): *OED* gives this as the first instance of 'To frighten' (v. †1).
- school, set to** p. 57.5-6 (see note).
- school-butter** p. 109.40 (see note).
- school-point** p. 48.41: 'A point taught or debated in the schools' (*OED* †).
- science** p. 97.24: 'Knowledge acquired by study' (*OED* 2a; 1 †b gives, from 1620, examples of the word 'Contrasted or coupled with *conscience*, emphasizing the distinction to be drawn between theoretical perception of a truth and moral conviction').
- sconce**<sup>A</sup> p. 108.42: 'A small fort' (*OED sb.*<sup>3</sup> 1).<sup>B</sup> p. 155.20: *OED* cites this as an instance of 'The head [. . .] hence, 'head', ability, sense, wit' (*sb.*<sup>2</sup>).
- scope** p. 26.47, p. 56.10, p. 128.44: 'something which one wishes to effect or attain; an end in view' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2a).
- scorning-stock** p. 122.29: 'An object of scorn' (*OED* †, citing one instance from 1586).
- scrat** p. 120.15: 'A small portion or part of anything' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2, citing this as the first instance).
- \***scrattop** p. 109.17: neither McKerrow (see Nashe 1958: 4.180) nor *OED* give any other examples of the word, which *OED* calls 'a term of abuse'.
- scrivener** p. 108.39 (see note).
- scrupulosity** p. 88.10: see 'scrupulous' above.
- scrupulous**<sup>A</sup> p. 82.21, p. 92.24, p. 102.15: 'Troubled with doubts or scruples of conscience; over-nice or meticulous in matters of right and wrong' (*OED* 1).<sup>B</sup> p. 128.41: 'Careful to follow the dictates of conscience: [. . .] strict in matters of right and wrong'.<sup>C</sup> p. 156.29: 'Prone to hesitate or doubt; distrustful; cautious' (*OED* 1 †b).
- scrupulously** p. 88.51: 'with minute care or punctilious exactness' (*OED*).
- scummer** (skummer) p. 90.21: 'A shallow ladle or sieve for removing scum or floating matter from the surface of a liquid' (*OED sb.* 1).
- scurf** p. 71.6, p. 106.13, p. 111.1: *OED* gives figurative uses from c. 1533 (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3b).
- second** (seconded) p. 135.18: 'To support, back up (a combatant, a body of troops) in attack or defence. Also, to act as second to (a pugilist)' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 2).

- secrecy** (secrecies) p. 90.11: 'Something which is or has been kept secret' (*OED* 3a).
- secretary** <sup>A</sup> p. 25.12 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 50.21 (secretaryship), p. 58.31, p. 104.47, p. 105.2, p. 120.33, p. 123.29 (see note to p. 105.2). <sup>C</sup> p. 90.21, p. 133.32: 'One who is entrusted with private or secret matters' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> 1 †a).
- sectary** (sectaries) p. 108.22: 'follower or disciple [. . .] votary of a particular study, pursuit, etc.' (*OED A sb.* 3, citing this as an example).
- security** <sup>A</sup> p. 96.46: 'culpable absence of anxiety, carelessness' (*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.28: 'well-founded confidence, certainty' (*OED* 2). <sup>C</sup> p. 158.22: perhaps 'an assurance, guarantee', although *OED*'s earliest example is from 1623 (7a).
- seek, to** p. 51.19, p. 78.36, p. 81.27, p. 109.15-16, p. 126.4: 'absent; missing, lacking' (*OED seek v.* III 19a).
- self-conceit** p. 111.12, p. 121.19: 'high or exaggerated opinion of oneself' (*OED* 1).
- senior** <sup>A</sup> p. 83.3, p. 83.6, p. 84.6, p. 95.49, p. 98.27: 'In early translations of the New Testament, used to render L. *senior* [. . .] in various applications, where the later versions have *elder*. Hence occas. used as the designation of the class of ministers called "elders" or "presbyters" in the primitive church, or in communities professedly formed on the model of this' (*OED B sb.* †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 91.6: 'One superior or worthy of deference and reverence [. . .] one having pre-eminence in dignity' (*OED B sb.* 1a). <sup>C</sup> p. 97.51: possibly 'A senior fellow of a college', but *OED*'s earliest instance is from 1645 (*B sb.* 3b).
- seniorize** (seniorise) p. 85.30: 'To assume the position of a senior or superior, to have or exercise dominion, to rule, lord it' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- seniory** p. 83.7, p. 84.39, p. 96.36, p. 98.49: '*Eccl.* A body of "elders", a presbytery' (*OED* †2).
- senseless** p. 39.44: 'having no sense, feeling, or consciousness of something' (*OED a.* 2).
- sensible** p. 16.15: 'Such as is acutely felt; markedly painful or pleasurable' (*OED* 6).
- sensibly** <sup>A</sup> p. 23.38, p. 85.37: 'Acutely, intensely' (*OED* †2b). <sup>B</sup> p. 26.36 (over-sensibly), p. 99.38: 'So as to be keenly felt' (*OED* †3b; but the earliest instance is from 1655).
- sentence** <sup>A</sup> (sentences) p. 119.4: either 'apophthegm [. . .] aphorism, maxim' or 'The opinion pronounced by a person on some particular question' (*OED sb.* 4a, 2a). <sup>B</sup> p. 139.29 (see note).
- sententious** p. 49.19, p. 64.17, p. 68.40, p. 128.10: 'full of intelligence or wisdom' (*OED* †1).
- separate** p. 92.5 (see note).
- septentrional** p. 67.30: 'Belonging to the north, northern' (*OED A adj.*).
- sergeant** p. 116.14: 'one who is charged with the arrest of offenders' (*OED sb.* †4a).
- service** p. 123.22: 'a particular "dish" or kind of food' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> V 27 †c).
- serviceable** p. 136.44: 'willing to be of service' (*OED* 1).
- settled** p. 153.2: firm (*OED* 1).
- several** <sup>A</sup> p. 89.10, p. 103.9, p. 127.47, p. 142.1: perhaps 'various, divers, sundry' (*OED a., adv.* and *sb. A adj.* I 2c). <sup>B</sup> p. 92.40: 'separate, distinct' (*OED a., adv.* and *sb. A adj.* I †1).
- shadow** p. 91.46: 'to keep dark, conceal' (*OED v.* †6a).
- shame** <sup>A</sup> p. 105.42: 'To feel or conceive shame; [. . .] be ashamed' (*OED v.* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 112.44: a source of disgrace (see *OED sb.* 5: the sense seems to have weakened gradually since Harvey's time).
- shanked** p. 79.4: 'Furnished with, or having a shank or shanks (in any sense)' (*OED a.*, giving this as the first instance); the shanks in question are probably legs (*OED shank sb.* 1a).
- sharp** <sup>A</sup> p. 64.16, p. 84.25, p. 128.11: 'Intellectually acute, keen-witted, discerning, sagacious (*obs.*)' (*OED A adj.* 3a). <sup>B</sup> p. 89.18: 'Of reasoning or discourse: acute, sagacious' (*OED sharp A adj.* 3b – the first example cited is the title – from *3PL* – of 'Master H's short, but sharpe, and learned Iudgement of Earthquakes' (Spenser 1912: 616).
- sharp, at the** p. 78.23: 'to fight, play, etc. at the sharp [. . .] to fight with unbated swords' (*OED sharp B sb.* 1 †b). *OED*'s earliest instance in a figurative sense is from 1596 (1c).
- sharply** p. 134.26, p. 154.44: 'acutely, sagaciously, shrewdly' (*OED* †3a).
- sheep-biter** p. 16.5, p. 103.22: applied literally to 'A dog that bites or worries sheep' and figuratively to 'A malicious or censorious fellow' or 'A shift, sneaking or thievish fellow' (*OED* 1, †2a, b).
- shift** (shiftes) <sup>A</sup> p. 56.3, p. 64.36, p. 74.17, p. 119.11, \*p. 147.6: 'a stratagem' (*OED sb.* III 4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 65.1: 'to put or drive to a (or †the) shift or shifts (often with adj. as *hard*, *miserable*, etc.): to bring to extremity' (*OED sb.* 5e). <sup>C</sup> p. 108.1: 'To do one's best with (inferior means)' (*OED sb.* III 6d).
- shifting** p. 23.37: 'That uses shifts, tricks, deceit, expedients, subterfuges, or evasions' (*OED ppl. a.* 2).
- shipman's hose** p. 97.27-28: 'a statement of wide application that can be turned to fit any case' (*OED shipman* 3b).
- shittle** p. 121.26: 'Inconstant, variable, wavering; fickle, flighty' (*OED a.*).
- shot** p. 110.17: 'Projectiles (esp. balls or bullets, as distinguished from explosive "shells") designed to be discharged from a firearm or cannon by the force of an explosion' (*OED sb.* <sup>1</sup> II 14a).

- show** (showes) p. 145.10: among various senses relating to display, *OED* defines 'A sight, spectacle' (*sb.*<sup>1</sup> 10a).
- shrewd** p. 85.45: perhaps 'Severe, sharp, hard' (*OED a.* 8).
- shrewdly** p. 135.17, p. 152.45: perhaps 'Grievously, intensely, seriously' (*OED* 5).
- shrill** p. 124.18 (shrillest), p. 144.21 (shriller), p. 159.34: see note to first.
- shrimp** p. 52.4, p. 73.21: 'A diminutive or puny person' (*OED sb.* 2a).
- shrink** (shrinketh) p. 134.33: 'To fail' (*OED v.* 4 †b).
- sib** p. 130.51, p. 153.5: 'similar' (*OED a., sb.*<sup>2</sup> 2b).
- sillibub** see **syllabub**
- silly** p. 113.39, p. 153.14 (see note to first).
- simples** p. 105.23 (see note).
- simplicity** <sup>A</sup> p. 9.32, p. 77.10: 'Of language or style: Absence or lack of elegance or polish' (*OED* 4, citing the first of these as an instance). <sup>B</sup> (simplicities) p. 18.6, p. 112.40: concretely, an instance of 'lack of ordinary knowledge or judgement; ignorance' (*OED* 2b, citing the first of these as the first instance). <sup>C</sup> p. 79.40, p. 125.27, p. 137.17: 'ignorance' (*OED* 2a). <sup>D</sup> p. 108.35: perhaps 'absence of or freedom from luxury; plainness of life' (*OED* 3c), but cf. sense C. <sup>E</sup> p. 129.23: 'Freedom from artifice, deceit, or duplicity; sincerity, straightforwardness' (*OED* 3a).
- \*single** p. 147.2: 'Of beer, ale, etc.: Weak, poor, or inferior in quality; small' (*OED a.* II 13a).
- singularist** p. 90.50: *OED* gives this as the first instance of 'One who differs from others, or from what is generally accepted; one who affects singularity' (†1); the second, and last before 1641, is Nashe in *HWY*, mocking Harvey (1958: 3.45.25).
- singularity** p. 56.44: 'The fact or quality of differing or dissenting from others or from what is generally accepted, esp. in thought or religion; personal, individual, or independent action, judgement, etc., esp. in order to render one's self conspicuous or attract attention or notice. (Common from 1590 to 1700.)' (*OED* 7a)
- sinister** <sup>A</sup> p. 10.15 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 54.4: 'Prejudicial, adverse, unfavourable, darkly suspicious' (*OED* I †2, citing this as an example).
- sink** <sup>A</sup> p. 60.22: 'a receptacle for filth or ordure' and 'a sewer' are relevant senses (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 1a). <sup>B</sup> p. 105.1: 'A collective mass of unsavoury or objectionable matters' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 2 †c).
- siser** see **sizar**
- sith** p. 134.33: 'Seeing that' (*OED* C 2).
- sithence** <sup>A</sup> p. 55.31, p. 66.27, p. 67.24, p. 79.9: 'Ago; before now' (*OED* sith A †4). <sup>B</sup> p. 110.28: 'Seeing that' (*OED* sith C 2). In *3PL*, Harvey objects to the use of 'sithence, for since' as an example of 'corrupte Orthography' (Spenser 1912: 631). McKerrow singles out Harvey as an example of an author whose spelling was not followed by compositors, who often changed the form of words to justify lines of prose (1928: 247-48, 10-11).
- sizar** (siser) p. 18.26: 'In the University of Cambridge [. . .] an undergraduate member admitted under this designation and receiving an allowance from the college to enable him to study. The name probably indicates that the person so admitted received his "sizes" free. Formerly the sizar performed certain duties now discharged by the college servants' (*OED*).
- skill** p. 59.35, p. 98.21, p. 110.31: '*can* (or *could*) skill, to have discrimination or knowledge, esp. in a specified matter' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †5a).
- skummer** see **scummer**
- slampamp** (slaumpaump) p. 123.41, p. 155.2 (see note to first).
- slashingest** p. 112.12 (see note).
- sleep** p. 89.36 (see note).
- sleight** (slighes) p. 119.8: 'an artifice, ruse, stratagem, or wile' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 6).
- slender** p. 128.7, p. 136.19, \*p. 145.28: 'insignificant, trifling' (*OED a.* 7).
- slugplum** p. 125.30, p. 138.2: 'A sluggard' (*OED* †, citing these as the only two examples).
- sly** <sup>A</sup> p. 85.39: *OED*'s closest sense is 'Of actions [. . .]: Marked by or characterized by, displaying or indicating, artifice, craft or cunning' (*OED a., adv., sb.* A 4a). Perhaps, like 'dainty' in the same clause, it broadly expresses approbation (although Harvey is being ironic): several of *OED*'s examples in the sense of 'cleverly or finely made' (*OED a., adv., sb.* A †2) would fit this. <sup>B</sup> p. 135.5: 'clever, [. . .] knowing, wise' (*OED a., adv., sb.* A 1a).
- smack** p. 154.16: 'A trace, tinge, or suggestion of something specified' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 3).
- \*small** p. 147.2: 'Of low alcoholic strength; light, weak' (*OED a., sb.*<sup>2</sup> 12).
- smart** p. 84.25, p. 134.17: among possible senses is 'Of words, etc.: Sharp, severe; cutting, acrimonious' (*OED a.* 4a).



- smartly** <sup>A</sup> p. 92.29: *OED*'s closest sense is 'heavily, largely' (1c), but the earliest instance is from 1677. <sup>B</sup> p. 131.18: 'Sharply (in respect of treatment, language, etc.); severely; curtly' (*OED* 1b). <sup>C</sup> p. 139.16: perhaps Harvey means 'urgently': cf. *OED* 2 ('Promptly, quickly, briskly').
- smirking** p. 57.21 (see note).
- smooth** (smoothing) p. 129.29: 'To use smooth, flattering, or complimentary language' (*OED* v. I †5a).
- smooth up** p. 152.49: 'flatter' (*OED* v. II 9 †a).
- smoothing** p. 155.46: 'Plausible, blandishing, flattering' (*OED* †2).
- smoothly** p. 148.40: 'In a bland, mild, or plausible manner' (*OED* 3).
- smug** <sup>A</sup> p. 56.1, p. 131.8: *OED* cites the first of these as an example of 'Of the face [. . .] Smooth, sleek' (*OED* a. 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 57.14 (smuggest), p. 129.23: 'Trim, neat, spruce, smart' (*OED* a. 1).
- snaffle** p. 80.24, p. 139.30, p. 139.32: 'A simple form of bridle-bit' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 1a).
- snib** p. 74.40: 'To reprove, reprimand, rebuke, check sharply or severely' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> 1).
- snip-snap** <sup>A</sup> (snip-snapping) p. 134.33: 'To indulge in [. . .] smart repartee' (*OED* v. 1, citing this as the first instance). <sup>B</sup> p. 143.48: *OED*'s earliest instance in the nominal sense 'sharp repartee' is from 1727 (*sb.* 2): see sense A.
- snivel** p. 111.39: 'Mucus collected in, or issuing from, the nose' (*OED* sb. 1).
- snudge** p. 116.33: 'A miser' (*OED* 1).
- snuff** p. 154.50: 'rage, passion' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> 5).
- snuff, take in** p. 61.14: 'to take (a matter) amiss, to take offence at' (*OED* snuff sb.<sup>1</sup> II †4a).
- soaker** p. 129.8 (see note).
- sodden** p. 115.34: 'Boiled' (*OED* pa. pple. 1).
- solicitor** <sup>A</sup> (sollicitours) p. 80.43, p. 90.46, p. 102.49: perhaps 'One who urges, prompts, or instigates' (*OED* †1a) rather than the weaker 'One who entreats, requests, or petitions' (*OED* 4a). <sup>B</sup> p. 156.3: perhaps 'One who, or that which, draws on or entices' (*OED* †5).
- someddeal** p. 63.1, p. 63.2: 'Some part or portion' (*OED* A sb.).
- sometime** <sup>A</sup> p. 77.22, p. 98.39, p. 102.13: 'now and then; occasionally' (*OED* 1a). <sup>B</sup> p. 98.31, p. 104.11: 'At one time; in former times, formerly' (*OED* 2 †b).
- son** see **white son**
- soothe** <sup>A</sup> (sooth) p. 105.35: 'To smooth or gloss over (an offence etc.); to render less objectionable or offensive' (*OED* v. †6a). <sup>B</sup> (sooth-up) p. 121.15: *OED* defines 'soothe up' as 'To confirm, encourage, or humour', citing Harvey for its first instance (v. †4b).
- sophister** <sup>A</sup> p. 20.39, p. 50.44, p. 78.40: 'At Cambridge, a student in his second or third year' (*OED* 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 59.14: 'In ancient Greece, one specially engaged in the pursuit or communication of knowledge' (*OED* sophist 1). <sup>C</sup> p. 156.3: 'One who makes use of fallacious arguments; a specious reasoner' (*OED* sophist 3).
- sophistical** <sup>A</sup> p. 85.10 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 90.8: 'of the nature of sophistry or specious reasoning' (*OED* sophistic A adj. 2).
- sophistication** <sup>A</sup> p. 119.9 (Sophistications): 'falsification' (*OED* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 148.42: 'Adulteration' (*OED* 4a, citing this as the sole figurative instance).
- sophistry** p. 129.21: 'Cunning, trickery, craft' (*OED* †3).
- Sorbonist** p. 91.1, p. 113.42 (see note to first).
- sot** p. 74.11: 'A foolish or stupid person; a fool, blockhead, dolt' (*OED* sb.<sup>1</sup> †1).
- sound** (sounded) p. 156.17: 'To investigate, to search into, to seek to ascertain' (*OED* v.<sup>2</sup> 6b).
- souter** p. 51.9 (sowters): Literally 'a shoemaker or cobbler'; 'In the 16th and 17th cent. the word is freq. used with depreciatory force, esp. to denote a workman of little or no education' (*OED* 1).
- spagiric** <sup>A</sup> p. 59.22: 'The science of alchemy or chemistry' (*OED* A sb. †1, citing this as the first of only two instances). <sup>B</sup> (Spagiriques) p. 115.43: 'An alchemist' (*OED* A sb. 2, citing this as the first instance).
- sparkle** <sup>A</sup> p. 25.48: *OED* notes figurative uses 'freq. with allusion to the kindling of a fire or conflagration' (*sb.* 1d). <sup>B</sup> p. 126.40: 'A slight beginning, trace, indication, or manifestation of something' (*OED* sb. 2).
- special, in** p. 82.10, p. 153.3: 'Specially, especially, particularly' (*OED* special a., adv., sb. B †2).
- speed** p. 75.6: 'With advs.: To succeed or fare well, ill, etc.' (*OED* v. I 2a).
- spice** p. 83.49, p. 88.35, p. 111.5: 'A slight touch, trace, or share, a dash or flavour, of some thing or quality' (*OED* sb. 5b).
- spicknard** see **spikenard**
- spigot** p. 106.28, p. 123.51: 'A small wooden peg or pin [. . .] used to regulate the flow of liquor' (*OED* sb. 1).
- spikenard** (Spicknard) p. 118.9, p. 150.16: both 'An aromatic substance [. . .] obtained from an Eastern plant' and the plant that yields this (*OED* 1, 2).

- spinner** p. 108.30: 'A spider' (*OED* I 1a).
- spin-up** p. 116.8 (see note).
- spittle-man** p. 125.34: an invalid (see *OED* †spittle *sb.*<sup>1</sup> 5b: this is cited as the first instance).
- spleen** p. 79.35: perhaps 'wit'; cf. 'Regarded as the seat of laughter or mirth' (*OED sb.* 1 †c).
- springals** p. 26.35 (see note).
- spritish** p. 122.15: 'Impish, malicious, mischievous' (*OED*).
- \*spur-gall** p. 17.46: 'fig. To gall severely' (*OED v.* 2).
- square** (squared) p. 133.46: 'To regulate, frame, arrange, or direct' (*OED v.* II 4a).
- square, break the** p. 2.34: 'it breaks no square, i.e. does no harm, makes no mischief, does not matter' (*OED break v.* 46).
- squib** p. 36.40: 'To assail or attack (a person) with squibs or witty sarcasm; to lampoon or satirize smartly' (*OED v.* 6). *OED*'s first instance is from 1631; its earliest instance of the verb when used intransitively is from Harvey (*v.* I 1).
- squire** p. 133.49 (see note).
- staid** (stayed)<sup>A</sup> p. 20.19: 'dignified and serious in [. . .] conduct' (*OED* 2).<sup>B</sup> p. 89.37, p. 114.49, p. 130.49: 'Sober, steady, well-regulated; free from extravagance or caprice' (*OED a.* 3).
- stain** (stayneth) p. 57.5: 'To throw into the shade by superior beauty or excellence; to eclipse' (*OED stain v.* †1b).
- stale**<sup>A</sup> On p. 13.5 and p. 79.27, Harvey means 'laughing-stock' (Onions, Skeat); on p. 16.40, he may also mean 'accomplice' – cf. *OED sb.*<sup>3</sup> †3, 'the accomplice of a thief or sharper'.<sup>B</sup> p. 108.45, p. 115.38: 'Urine' (*OED sb.*<sup>5</sup> 1).<sup>C</sup> p. 153.6: 'That has lost its freshness, novelty, or interest; hackneyed, worn out, out of date' (*OED a.*<sup>1</sup> 3a).
- stand**<sup>A</sup> p. 77.21, p. 99.33, p. 127.36: 'In a negative clause [. . .] To stay, stop, wait (in order to do something)' (*OED v.* B I 16 †a).<sup>B</sup> p. 86.48: 'To be consistent or consonant with, agree or accord with' (*OED v.* B V 79 e).<sup>C</sup> p. 95.32, p. 112.48 (const. with *upon*): 'to urge, assert, make the most of' (*OED v.* B V 78 i).<sup>D</sup> p. 137.10, p. 151.36, p. 153.12: 'to stand upon terms: [. . .] to be on a specified footing or in a specified situation or condition' (*OED v.* 78 f (a)).
- standing** p. 130.42 (see note).
- stark** (starkest) p. 124.38: 'Qualifying an unfavourable appellation of a person: Arrant, thorough, unmitigated' (*OED a., adv.* A 5b).
- startup** (startups) p. 134.35: 'Originally, a kind of 'high-low' or boot, worn by rustics; in later use, a kind of gaiter or legging. Chiefly in *pl.*' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup>).
- state, free** (states) p. 95.5: 'republic' (*OED* 1, citing no examples before 1646).
- \*stave** p. 59.39, p. 59.41, p. 59.43 (see note to first).
- stay**<sup>A</sup> p. 138.6: 'Delay, postponement' (*OED sb.*<sup>3</sup> †4).<sup>B</sup> p. 152.29: 'To stop, halt, pause [. . .] in order to (do something)' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> I †1b).
- stayed** see **staid**
- stern** p. 152.9: 'austere, gloomy' (*OED* 4).
- \*stew** p. 44.43: perhaps 'prostitute' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 4d), in a figurative sense.
- stews** p. 56.28, p. 106.22: 'brothel' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 4a).
- stick**<sup>A</sup> p. 62.21: 'To be grudging or stingy' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> II 15).<sup>B</sup> p. 84.5, p. 85.32, p. 98.39, p. 158.23: 'To hesitate, scruple, be reluctant or unwilling. Const. *to* (do something). Only with negative' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> II 15).
- stiff** p. 138.48: 'Obstinate, stubborn' (*OED a., sb., adv.* A 8b).
- still** p. 124.22: 'constantly [. . .] always' (*OED adv.* 3a).
- still-house** p. 154.30: 'a distillery' (*OED*).
- stinger** p. 108.9: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'An animal or plant that stings' (*OED stinger*<sup>1</sup> 2). The word could also mean 'something that causes sharp distress' (*OED stinger*<sup>1</sup> 3).
- stint** p. 158.26: 'An allotted amount [. . .] an allowance' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> II 4a).
- stipendiary** p. 87.44: 'a salaried clergyman' (*OED B sb.* 1).
- stir**<sup>A</sup> (sturr) p. 103.1 (see note).<sup>B</sup> (sturres) p. 155.33: 'Commotion, disturbance, tumult' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3).
- stoccado** p. 78.29: 'A thrust or stab with a pointed weapon' (*OED sb.*).
- stock** (stockes) p. 113.14: 'the lower part of a tree-trunk left standing, a stump' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> I 1a).
- stock-fish** p. 119.43: 'A name for cod and other gadoid fish cured by splitting open and drying hard in the air without salt' (*OED* 1a).
- stomach**<sup>A</sup> p. 44.43: 'Spirit, courage, valour, bravery' (*OED sb.* 8 †a).<sup>B</sup> p. 55.35, p. 78.51, p. 86.9 (see the note to first).<sup>C</sup> p. 61.26, p. 62.39, p. 72.10, p. 93.19, p. 121.19, p. 125.18: 'malice, ill-will, spite' (*OED sb.* 8 †c).<sup>D</sup> p. 72.45: 'Appetite or relish for food' (*OED sb.* 5a).
- stomachous** p. 10.3, p. 99.30: either (in an ironic sense) 'Spirited, courageous' or (literally) 'Resentful, bitter, irascible' (*OED* † *a.* a, b).

- stomachously** p. 149.9: *OED* cites this as the only instance of the adverb.
- store** <sup>A</sup> p. 49.21: 'Storage, reserve, keeping' (*OED sb.* 8a). <sup>B</sup> p. 121.27, p. 144.48, p. 151.13: 'abundance, large number or quantity' (*OED sb.* 4a).
- stored** p. 113.13: 'Stocked, furnished or supplied' (*OED ppl. a.* 2: the earliest instance is from 1612).
- stragglings** p. 112.24: 'Straying apart from companions or the main body; roving or wandering at random; †vagabond, vagrant' (*OED ppl. a.* a).
- stream** p. 70.30: 'Flow or current of a river; force, volume, or direction of flow' (*OED sb.* 2a).
- strike home** (struck-home) p. 160.20: 'To make an effective stroke or thrust with a weapon or tool' (*OED v.* IX 80).
- stroke, strike the** p. 148.28: 'to prevail, rule, have authority; to be highest in excellence' (*OED stroke sb.* <sup>1</sup> 3 †d).
- study** (studied) p. 133.43: 'To aim at, seek to achieve' (*OED v.* II 11). Harvey is punning.
- sty** p. 110.38: 'To ascend, mount up, rise or climb to a higher level' (*OED v.* <sup>1</sup> B 1).
- styng** p. 50.16: *OED* gives this as the sole instance of 'That ascends' (*ppl. a.*).
- sublime** p. 84.4 (see note).
- subornation** (subornations) p. 119.12: perhaps 'The act of procuring a person to give false evidence' (*OED* 2, citing four concrete examples). *OED*'s only instance meaning 'a lie under oath' is from 1737 (2 †c).
- substance** p. 117.42: 'Possessions, goods, estate; means, wealth' (*OED* 16a).
- substantially** p. 157.44: 'effectively, thoroughly, properly' (*OED* †2).
- subtle** <sup>A</sup> p. 127.24: 'Skilful, clever, expert, dexterous' (*OED a.* 7). <sup>B</sup> p. 129.42 (suttlelest), p. 156.3: 'Crafty, cunning' (*OED a.* †10a).
- subtlety** p. 135.21: 'Craftiness, cunning, esp. of a treacherous kind; guile, treachery' (*OED* 3).
- subtly** (suttelly) p. 129.15: 'ingeniously, artfully, cunningly' (*OED* 1).
- succade** p. 105.11 (succats), p. 154.24 (sucket): 'Fruit preserved in sugar, either candied or in syrup; *pl.* sweetmeats of candied fruit or vegetable products' (*OED*). *OED*'s earliest figurative sense is from 1607 (*OED* sucket b).
- succats** see **succade**
- sufficiency** p. 136.8: 'ability, competency' (*OED* 4).
- suffragan** (Suffraganes) p. 79.24: Harvey seems to mean a bishop of some kind (see *OED A sb.* 1, 2).
- suffrage** p. 83.25: 'A vote given by a member of a body, state, or society' (*OED sb.* 3a).
- sugar-work** p. 130.41, p. 130.42: 'Confectionery' (*OED* †1).
- Sugerloafe** p. 105.10 (see note).
- suitable** p. 145.31: 'accordant; corresponding; analogous' (*OED* †2).
- sullen** p. 113.47: 'Solemn, serious' (*OED a., adv., sb.* †2).
- summist** (Summists) p. 98.45: 'The author of a summa of religious doctrine' (*OED* 1).
- superabound** p. 136.16: 'To abound excessively; to be very, or too, abundant' (*OED* 2).
- superabundance** p. 120.14, p. 121.19: 'excessive abundance or plentifulness' (*OED* 1).
- superintendent** p. 86.27 (see note).
- supply** p. 135.18: 'An additional body of persons, esp. reinforcements of troops' (*OED sb.* II †5).
- surcease** <sup>A</sup> p. 140.4, p. 159.22: '*intr.* To leave off, desist, stop, cease' (*OED v.* 1). <sup>B</sup> p. 144.4, p. 152.21: '*trans.* To desist from, discontinue' (*OED v.* 3).
- surcharge** p. 38.26, p. 115.14: 'to weigh down, overburden' (*OED v.* 4).
- surmounting** <sup>A</sup> (surmountingest) p. 54.36, p. 58.3, p. 116.34: *OED* cites the first of these as an example of 'Surpassing, excelling, exceeding' (*ppl. a.* †1). <sup>B</sup> p. 157.24 (see note).
- surprise** p. 131.37: '*Mil.* The (or an) act of assailing or attacking unexpectedly or without warning, or of taking by this means: sudden attack or capture of a fort, a body of troops, etc. that is unprepared' (*OED sb.* 1).
- surprising** p. 149.45 (see note).
- surquidrous** p. 69.3: 'Overweening, arrogant, presumptuous, overbearing' (*OED* †surquidous).
- surquidry** p. 157.35, p. 160.15: 'Arrogance, haughty pride, presumption' (*OED* †1).
- surview** p. 56.15: 'to look upon, behold' (*OED v.* 1).
- swad** p. 111.27, p. 126.38, p. 126.39: 'a loutish or clownish fellow; a common term of abuse' (*OED sb.* <sup>2</sup>, citing the first of these as an example).
- swaddish** p. 122.26: 'Clownish, loutish' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- swaddle** p. 137.6: 'To beat soundly' (*OED v.* †3).
- swap** (swapped-downe) p. 109.41: 'To drink *off* quickly, toss off; to eat *up*, devour' (*OED v.* †5, citing this as an instance).
- swash** <sup>A</sup> p. 42.28: 'Swagger; swashbuckling' (*OED int., adv., sb.* <sup>1</sup> B II 8, citing this as the first instance). <sup>B</sup> p. 139.1, p. 144.6: 'A swaggerer; a swashbuckler' (*OED int., adv., sb.* <sup>1</sup> B II 7, citing the

- first of these). <sup>C</sup> p. 144.12: 'To dash or move violently *about*' (*OED* v. 2). <sup>D</sup> p. 155.34: this might mean a drum or trumpet, although all *OED*'s instances are Scots (*sb.*<sup>2</sup>).
- \***swasher** p. 43.41: 'A swashbuckler; a blustering braggart or ruffian' (*OED*<sup>2</sup>).
- swash-pen** p. 113.12: 'A literary braggadocio' (*OED*, citing this as the sole instance).
- sweat** p. 99.1 (see note).
- sweating** <sup>A</sup> p. 53.18: *OED* cites this as an instance of 'Exuding or condensing moisture'; 'Toiling' would also make sense (*ppl.* a. 2, 3). <sup>B</sup> p. 98.46: 'toilsome, laborious' (*OED ppl.* a. 3). <sup>C</sup> p. 102.51: 'Toiling' (*OED ppl.* a. 3).
- sweepstake** p. 72.21: 'The act of sweeping everything away; a clean sweep' (*OED* †2).
- sweltering** p. 155.11: 'of the heat of feeling' (*OED ppl.* a. 2b).
- swing** <sup>A</sup> p. 29.25: 'Freedom of action, free scope' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> I 5). <sup>B</sup> p. 84.20: Harvey's sense is perhaps 'to rule, sway'; *OED* gives no instances, but cf. <sup>C</sup> p. 96.25 **bear a swing** – *OED* glosses 'to bear the swing' as 'to have full sway or control' (*OED swing sb.*<sup>2</sup> †3). <sup>D</sup> p. 109.23: possibly 'a movement describing a curve, such as that made in flourishing a weapon, raising the arm or hand to give a blow, etc.' (*OED sb.*<sup>2</sup> 7a, although the earliest instance is 1635). <sup>E</sup> p. 122.37: perhaps 'scope, range' (cf. sense A).
- swinge** <sup>A</sup> p. 5.27, p. 22.31, p. 26.26, p. 67.12: 'Freedom of action, free scope, licence; liberty to follow one's inclinations' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †2). <sup>B</sup> (swinged) p. 52.10: 'To bear sway over' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> †5, citing this as the sole instance). <sup>C</sup> p. 55.1: 'Sway, power, rule, authority, influence' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> †1).
- swish-swash** p. 122.27, p. 144.24: 'A violent or swaggering person' (*OED* †2, citing the latter of these as an example).
- sycophant** p. 49.17, p. 49.19, p. 49.20: '*Gr. Hist.* One of a class of informers in ancient Athens' (*OED sb.* (a.) 1).
- syllabub** (sillibub) p. 155.4: 'A drink or dish made of milk (freq. as drawn from the cow) or cream' (*OED* 1).
- sympathy** p. 124.19 (see note).
- synedrion** p. 82.38, p. 93.12, p. 93.46, p. 94.7, p. 94.24, p. 98.49: 'A judicial or representative assembly, a council, consistory; *spec.* the Jewish sanhedrim' (*OED*).
- table** <sup>A</sup> p. 80.7 (Tables): 'a sketch, plan, scheme' (*OED sb.* I 10 †c). <sup>B</sup> p. 93.8 (see note).
- tabor** p. 155.20: 'A small kind of drum, used chiefly as an accompaniment to the pipe or trumpet' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1).
- tache** p. 62.31: '*fig.* A moral spot or blemish; a fault or vice; a bad quality or habit' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2 †a).
- tack, to hold** p. 109.51: '*to hold* (a person, etc.) *tack* (*to tack*): to be a match for; to hold at bay' (*OED tack sb.*<sup>1</sup> IV †11b).
- tag and rag** p. 97.9: 'The rabble, the riff-raff' (*OED tag-rag A sb.* a.).
- take on** (taketh-on) p. 107.51, p. 114.15: 'To assume authority or importance; sometimes in good sense, to behave bravely or valiantly [. . .]; usually in bad sense, [. . .] to behave presumptuously' (*OED take v.* 18 †e).
- take upon oneself** p. 50.32, p. 90.43–44: 'to behave presumptuously or haughtily, assume airs' (*OED take v.* III 18 †e).
- talara** p. 116.17: 'Winged sandals or small wings attached to the ankles of some of the deities, esp. Mercury' (*OED*, citing this as the first instance).
- talion, law of \***p. 143.27 (Loy de Talion), p. 153.14: 'in the Mosaic, Roman, and other systems of Law, the *Lex talionis*, or †*talion law*, the principle of exacting compensation, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth"' (*OED talion*<sup>1</sup>).
- tall** p. 59.39, p. 78.29: 'stout or strong in combat; doughty, brave, bold, valiant' (*OED* †3).
- tares** p. 90.2 (see note).
- tatter** p. 155.18: 'reduce to tatters; to make ragged; to tear in pieces, mangle' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> a).
- teen** p. 155.48: 'Irritation, vexation, annoyance; anger, wrath, rage; spite, ill-will, malice' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 2).
- temporize** p. 130.25 (see note).
- temporizer** p. 130.16 (see note).
- tend** (tendes) p. 142.32: 'To have a specified result, if allowed to act; to lead or conduce *to* some state or condition' (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 3a).
- tender** <sup>A</sup> p. 50.7, p. 74.35, p. 117.29, p. 130.8 (tendering): 'to offer, proffer' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 2). <sup>B</sup> p. 52.13 (tendereth), p. 57.33, p. 60.23, p. 71.27 (tendereth), p. 104.18: 'to hold dear; [. . .] to regard, care for, value, esteem' (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 3a). <sup>C</sup> (tendered) p. 75.22, p. 88.21, p. 101.19: 'to cherish, foster; to take care of, look after' (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 3d). <sup>D</sup> p. 90.4 (tendereth): 'To regard or receive favourably; to attend or comply with (a request) graciously' (*OED v.*<sup>2</sup> 3 †b).
- terms, stand upon**: see 'stand' above.
- testiveness** p. 130.4: *OED* gives 'testive' as one of the variant forms of 'testy'.

- theoric** (Theorick(e)s) p. 102.3, p. 126.12, p. 150.49: 'theoretical statements or notions' (*OED sb.*, *a.*<sup>1</sup> A 1 †c).
- theurgy** p. 65.31: 'A system of magic, originally practised by the Egyptian Platonists, to procure communication with beneficial spirits, and by their aid produce miraculous effects; in later times distinguished as "white magic" from goety or "black magic"' (*OED* 1).
- thorough** p. 149.15: 'Indicating intermediation, means, agency, instrumentality; = THOROUGH' (*OED prep.*, *adv.* B 6).
- though** p. 57.7, p. 70.45, p. 89.13, p. 116.42, p. 152.1: 'if or that' (*OED* II *conj.* 4 †a).
- Thrasonical** p. 6.2, p. 74.40: Thraso is 'a braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuchus*', and 'Thrasonical' 'bragging, boastful, vainglorious' (*OED*).
- thumb** (thumbed) p. 155.21: 'To play (a wind instrument, an air) with or as with the thumbs' (*OED* v. 2, citing this as the first instance).
- thwittle** (thwitled) p. 113.28: 'To pare down or away, to whittle' (*OED* v., citing this as the first of only two instances 1593-1874).
- tickle** p. 55.17, p. 85.44: 'changeable, inconstant, capricious, fickle' (*OED* *a.* 5).
- tickling** <sup>A</sup> p. 99.39: to 'tickle' here is either 'to please, gratify' or 'to stir up, incite, provoke' (*OED* v. II 3, †7b). <sup>B</sup> p. 138.46, p. 156.3: perhaps 'charming' (see *OED* tickle v. II 3).
- tidily** p. 148.10: among *OED*'s definitions are 'betimes, seasonably, duly [. . .] skilfully, neatly'.
- tidy** p. 108.10: 'an indefinite epithet of admiration or commendation [. . .] (Also ironically.)' (*OED* *a.* (*sb.*, *adv.*) 3 †a).
- timpany(e)** see **tympany**
- tinkerly** p. 78.19, p. 124.32: 'clumsy, bungling, unskilful; of poor quality; mean, low, disreputable' (*OED*).
- tinsel** p. 137.7, p. 154.18 (see note to first).
- tirl** (turled) p. 85.1: *OED* cites this as an instance of 'to turn over (and over); to move by rolling' (v.<sup>3</sup> I 1).
- toast** p. 92.10 (see note).
- too-apparent** see **apparent**
- too-rife** see **rife**
- tooth** p. 123.49: 'taste, liking' (*OED* *sb.* I 2).
- tossing** p. 31.7 (see note).
- tosspot** (tospots) p. 105.43, \*p. 146.36, p. 155.13: 'drunkard' (*OED*).
- totum** see **domine fac totum**
- touch** <sup>A</sup> p. 18.5, p. 20.27, p. 92.2, \*p. 120.41, p. 137.30 (touched), p. 144.18: 'To take to task, rebuke, reprove, censure' (*OED* v. †19a). <sup>B</sup> (touched) p. 107.38, p. 127.3: 'to mention briefly, casually, or in passing' (*OED* v. 18a). <sup>C</sup> (toucheth) p. 116.3: 'to injure, hurt, in any or the least degree' (*OED* v. 12b).
- \*toward** p. 43.34: 'Of young persons: Promising' (*OED* *A adj.* 3).
- toy** <sup>A</sup> p. 71.24, p. 106.7, p. 136.31: 'A fantastic or trifling speech or piece of writing' (*OED* *sb.* I 3a). <sup>B</sup> (toy, toyes) p. 73.22: *OED* gives examples 'Applied to a person [. . .] slightly or contemptuously' (*OED* *sb.* II 8a).
- toyish** p. 106.18: 'Trifling, trivial, of no importance, worthless; foolish, senseless, nonsensical' (*OED* 1).
- tractable** (tractablest) p. 111.8: 'docile, compliant' (*OED* 1).
- traffic** p. 97.8, p. 124.41: 'dealings, business' (*OED* *sb.* 3).
- train** <sup>A</sup> p. 41.7: 'Training, education' (*OED* *train sb.*<sup>1</sup> †4). <sup>B</sup> p. 58.28, p. 108.13: 'a body of attendants, retainers, or followers: a retinue' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>1</sup> III 9a). Harvey is being figurative. <sup>C</sup> p. 99.46: 'To instruct and discipline' (*OED* v.<sup>1</sup> III 6a). <sup>D</sup> p. 132.6 (traines): 'trick, stratagem, artifice, wile' (*OED* *sb.*<sup>2</sup> 1b).
- training** p. 99.46: 'Discipline and instruction' (*OED* *vbl. sb.* 2a).
- transcendent** <sup>A</sup> (transcendentes) p. 54.35, p. 110.37: *OED* cites the first of these as the first instance of 'a person or thing of great eminence' (*OED* B †2). <sup>B</sup> p. 150.31: 'A predicate that transcends, or cannot be classed under, any of the Aristotelian categories or predicaments' (*OED* B *sb.* 1 †a).
- transmew** (transmewed) p. 85.9: 'transmute' (*OED*).
- travailer** p. 13.12 (see note).
- treacle** (triacle) p. 154.2: 'a sovereign remedy' (*OED* *sb.* I †1b).
- treaty** p. 139.35: 'discussion of terms, conference, negotiations' (*OED* 2).
- trey** p. 135.39: 'The three at dice or cards' (*OED* *sb.* 1).
- triacle** see **treacle**

- trial** p. 112.43: 'The determination of a person's guilt or innocence, or the righteousness of his cause, by a combat between the accuser and accused' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 1b).
- tricksy** (tricksiest) p. 105.41: figuratively, 'Artfully trimmed or decked; spruce, smart, fine' (*OED a.* 1).
- trim**<sup>A</sup> p. 48.27, p. 108.30 (trimmest), p. 108.37, p. 123.48: *OED* states in a headnote, 'In many early quotations it is difficult or impossible to infer the exact shade of meaning intended', but notes that it was used as 'a vague term of approval' (*a. (adv.)* 1).<sup>B</sup> p. 50.25 'In ironical use: cf. "fine", "nice", "pretty", in similar use' (*OED a. (adv.)* A †3).
- trimly** p. 12.22: 'finely, well' (*OED adv.* †1).
- trim-tram** (trim-trammes) p. 106.1: 'An absurd or silly device or practice; an absurdity; a piece of nonsense' (*OED I* †2).
- triobolar** (triobular) p. 13.14: '*lit.* Worth three obols; [. . .] vile, paltry, mean, contemptible' (*OED*).
- triplication** p. 72.30 (see note).
- triplicity** p. 135.40: 'A combination or group of three things, beings, or attributes; three things collectively; a triad, trio, triplet' (*OED* 2).
- tromper** see **trumpery**
- tront** (Trontes) p. 42.8: Presumably meaning 'coward', 'tront' is not in *OED*, Skeat or Onions, and eluded Grosart (Harvey 1884-85: 3.199), McKerrow (Nashe 1958: 5.357), and Stern, who suggested that it might be dialect (1979: 107 *n.*).
- truant** p. 18.38 (see note).
- trumpery** p. 16.46, p. 42.28 (trompery), p. 56.30, p. 61.24: 'worthless stuff, trash, rubbish' (*OED A* 2).
- truss** p. 106.28: 'a bundle, pack' (*OED sb.* 1a).
- truly** (trulyer) p. 108.47: either 'truthfully' or 'accurately' (*OED* 3, 4a).
- try** (tryed) p. 131.18: 'test' (*OED v.* 7a).
- \*tub, tale of a** p. 78.36, p. 104.27: 'an apocryphal tale; a "cock and bull" story' (*OED tub sb.* 9 †a).
- tuck** p. 155.7 (see note).
- tug** p. 42.16 (see note).
- tumbler** p. 125.35 (see note).
- tumultuous**<sup>A</sup> p. 110.44: 'acting in a disorderly and noisy way; turbulent, riotous' (*OED* 2).<sup>B</sup> p. 119.6: 'Tending to excite tumult; seditious' would be appropriate, but *OED* cites no instances earlier than 1619 (1 †b).
- turkess** (turkessing) p. 89.26: *OED* notes the possibility that the verb 'turkess' came from 'F. *torquer*, ad. L. *torquere* to twist', but gives priority to the alternative etymology, that it was an English formation 'from TURK and TURKEYS, Turkish', noting that it was 'often associated with these words, this verb being actually in 17th c. spelt *turkize*'. When used intransitively it means 'to change, modify, refashion' (*OED* † 2, giving an instance from Harvey's *Marginalia*). *OED*'s earliest instance of *turkessing* is from 1612.
- Turkish** p. 94.1: here it means 'Muslim' – the sense is not in *OED* although cf. *OED Turk sb.*<sup>1</sup> 3a ('Often used as = Muslim [. . .] The Turks being to Christian nations the typical Muslim power from c. 1300').
- turled** see **tirl**
- twang** (twangd) p. 104.10: *OED* gives instances of '*the worst that, as good as, ever twanged*' (twang *v.*<sup>1</sup> 3 †b).
- twigg** p. 78.40: perhaps 'contentious, sharply censorious' – cf. *OED twig v.*<sup>1</sup> 1 ('to reprove').
- twitch** p. 103.33, p. 114.10: 'to nip; to hurt or pain' (*OED v.*<sup>1</sup> 4).
- tympany** p. 17.4, p. 61.28, p. 160.7: 'A swelling, as of pride, arrogance, self-conceit, etc., figured as a disease; a condition of being inflated or puffed up; an excess of something figured as a swelling; something big or pretentious, but empty or vain; inflated style, turgidity, bombast' (*OED* 2).
- type** p. 92.22, p. 102.9 (Types), p. 122.2 (Types): 'a perfect example or specimen of something; a model, pattern, exemplar' (*OED sb.*<sup>1</sup> 7b, but the earliest instance is from 1847).
- unadvised** p. 84.45: 'Imprudent, indiscreet, thoughtless' (*OED* 2).
- unapproved** p. 26.29: untested (see 'approved').
- unbacked** p. 103.30: 'Not backed or supported; not endorsed' (*OED* 2; the earliest instance is from 1609).
- unbridled** p. 23.40, p. 109.36 (see note to first).
- uncontrollable** p. 94.22: *OED* cites this as the first instance of 'Not subject to control from a higher authority; absolute' (*OED* 2).
- uncouth** p. 30.38, p. 103.49: 'unusual, uncommon, strange; marvellous' (*OED A adj.* 3). Harvey regarded the word as a Spenserian archaism (1913: 169.27), so it is noteworthy that it first appears here in verse.

- undefeasible** p. 158.22: 'not liable to be "defeated", made void, or done away with' (*OED* indefeasible).
- underlie** p. 9.6, p. 39.16, p. 136.23: 'To submit or be subjected to' (*OED* v. 2, citing the second of these).
- underminer** p. 129.14, p. 131.37: literally 'One who undermines; a sapper' and figuratively 'A secret or insidious assailant, subverter, destroyer, etc.' (*OED*).
- unguent** p. 62.22, p. 62.23: 'ointment or salve' (*OED*).
- universal** p. 119.7 (see note).
- university** p. 129.50: 'The whole body, aggregate, or number of creatures, persons, things, etc.' (*OED* †2a).
- unkind** p. 90.1: 'unnatural; contrary to the usual course of nature' (*OED* a. 2 †b).
- \*unmaterial** p. 145.22: 'Immaterial' (*OED*).
- unpartial** p. 137.49: 'Impartial, unbiassed, fair' (*OED* 1 †a).
- unstayed** p. 152.6: 'unstable' (*OED ppl.* a.<sup>2</sup> †).
- unswaddle** p. 137.6: 'To free from, take out of, swaddling bands or clothes' (*OED*).
- uprear** (Uprear'd) p. 158.47: perhaps 'rouse, stir up, excite' (*OED* 3). *OED*'s earliest intransitive instance, 'rise up' is from 1828 (4).
- uprightly** p. 140.1: 'with strict observance of justice' (*OED* 1).
- urchin** <sup>A</sup> p. 52.4 (urcheon): *OED* cites this as an example of 'hedgehog' when 'Applied allusively to persons' (*A sb.* 1b). It could also mean 'a brat' or 'a boy or youngster; †a child or infant' (*OED* 4a, 5a). <sup>B</sup> p. 112.6: possibly 'porcupine' (*OED* 2 †a): see note.
- urge** p. 40.36: 'allege, affirm, or state, esp. in justification, extenuation, or defence' (*OED* v. 1 1).
- urinal** p. 108.40, p. 108.42, p. 108.44, p. 108.49, p. 110.2: 'A glass vessel or phial employed to receive urine for medical examination or inspection' (*OED sb.* †1).
- usance** p. 21.43, p. 133.45: interest, in the financial sense (*OED* †4b, citing the first of these as an example).
- use** <sup>A</sup> p. 71.12: 'usefulness, utility' (*OED sb.* IV 20a). <sup>B</sup> (useth) p. 152.19: 'To do a thing customarily; to be in the habit of so acting or doing; to be wont to do' (*OED* v. IV 20).
- ut infra** see **infra**
- ut supra** p. 125.9, p. 156.32: 'As previously, as before (in a book or writing), as above' (*OED*).
- utterly** p. 65.18: 'Without reserve [. . .] plainly; straight out' (*OED adv.* †1).
- valour** p. 120.25, p. 138.43: 'Value or worth' (*OED* †2).
- vanity** p. 150.43: 'A vain, idle, or worthless thing; a thing or action of no value' (*OED* 4a).
- variable** p. 6.19, p. 85.36: 'Apt to change from one opinion or course of action to another; inconstant, fickle, unreliable' (*OED* a. 2a). Hence **variablest** p. 10.6.
- variation** p. 67.41: 'variation of the compass, (†lodestone) or needle, the deviation of the magnetic needle from the true north and south line' (*OED* II 5a).
- vendible** p. 54.16, p. 134.18: 'saleable, marketable' (*OED* A 1).
- venereous** p. 66.8: 'libidinous, lustful' (†*OED* 1).
- vengeable** p. 73.31, p. 109.34: 'cruel, dreadful' (*OED* 2).
- vent** p. 54.14 (see note).
- ventosity** p. 148.30: 'flatulence' (*OED* 1).
- venture** p. 51.28 (see note).
- verbal** p. 88.33, p. 94.17, p. 133.10: 'Consisting or composed of words' (*OED* a., sb. 2a); in each case there is a contrast with 'real' or 'actual'.
- vertical** p. 120.27 (see note).
- vertue** see **virtue**
- vertuous** see **virtuous**
- violently** p. 139.3 (see note).
- virginal** p. 150.11: 'A keyed musical instrument (common in England in the 16th and 17th centuries), resembling a spinet' (*OED sb.* 1).
- virtue** <sup>A</sup> p. 43.9 (vertue). p. 112.11 (vertue), p. 128.25 (vertues): 'Of plants, waters, etc.: [. . .] strengthening, sustaining, or healing properties' (*OED sb.* II 9b). <sup>B</sup> (Vertue) p. 149.42, p. 157.30: *OED* lists various senses not specifically moral, including martial valour (*sb.* 5-7).
- virtuous** <sup>A</sup> (vertuous) p. 40.5, p. 41.10: 'heroic' (*OED* I †1b). <sup>B</sup> p. 40.14: *OED* gives specific examples of 'having potent medicinal properties or qualities; efficacious or beneficial in healing' with regard to herbs (*OED* II 6c). <sup>C</sup> p. 59.21, p. 126.2 (most-vertuous): 'Endowed with, or possessed of, inherent or natural virtue or power (often a magical, occult, or supernatural kind)' (*OED* II 6). <sup>D</sup> p. 148.33: 'having potent medicinal properties or qualities; efficacious or beneficial in healing' (*OED* II 6c).
- visibly** p. 154.7: 'evidently, plainly; manifestly, obviously' (*OED* 2, citing examples from 1631).

- Vulcanist** p. 93.20, p. 127.33 (see note to first).
- vulgar** p. 12.50, p. 58.13, p. 69.39, p. 124.17, p. 126.31, p. 127.41: 'vernacular' (*OED* *a.* I 3).
- vulgarly** p. 123.1: 'In common or everyday speech' (*OED* 1).
- wage** (waged) p. 68.9: 'To engage or employ for wages; to hire' (*OED* *wage* *v.* †II 7).
- waits** p. 68.22: this could mean musicians of various kinds (*OED* *wait* *sb.* 8 †a, †c).
- wand** p. 139.32: 'A rod, stick, or switch for chastisement' (*OED* *sb.* †4a).
- want** <sup>A</sup> p. 54.30, p. 54.33, p. 63.3: 'Deficiency, shortage, lack' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>2</sup> 2a). <sup>B</sup> p. 49.36, p. 51.36, p. 51.46, p. 54.41 (wanteth), p. 57.19, p. 64.4, p. 66.11 (wanteth): 'to be without, to lack' (*OED* *v.* 2a). <sup>C</sup> p. 63.2: 'penury, destitution' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>2</sup> 3a). <sup>D</sup> p. 68.42, p. 97.37 (wanteth): 'there wants, something is lacking' (*OED* *v.* 1 †c). <sup>E</sup> p. 136.16, p. 136.24 (wanteth): 'To be lacking or missing' (*OED* *v.* 1a).
- warden** p. 133.15: 'An old variety of baking pear' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>2</sup>).
- warly** p. 70.9: *OED* cites this as an instance of 'Of a horse: Equipped and trained for war' (*OED* †warly *A* *adj.* 2).
- warning-piece** p. 144.2: 'A signal-gun discharged to give notification of arrival, danger, time, etc.' (*OED* 1).
- warranties** p. 155.51: 'guarantee' (*OED* †*v.* 2).
- watch** p. 89.36, p. 96.44: 'To be or remain awake' (*OED* *v.* I †1a).
- wayment** p. 159.38: 'To bewail, lament for' (*OED* †*v.* 2, citing this as an instance).
- weather-wise** p. 54.12: literally 'Skilled in prognostics of the weather'; *OED* cites figurative examples from 1581.
- weed** (weedes) p. 58.30: 'a garment' (*OED* *sb.* <sup>2</sup> 1).
- welfare** p. 155.30: an 'expression of good wishes (= 'May it go well with', 'good luck to')' (*OED* †*phr.*).
- well-advised** p. 131.31, p. 148.42: 'Prudent, wary, cautious, circumspect' (*OED* 1).
- well-affected** see **affected**
- wellaway** p. 149.30: 'cause of lamentation' (*OED* *B* *sb.* 2, citing this as its sole instance).
- well-favoured** p. 60.24-25: 'Handsome or attractive in appearance, good looking' (*OED*).
- well-worth** p. 83.33, p. 108.41: 'Used predicatively to denote a state of good fortune, welfare or happiness' (*OED* *well* *a.* 1 †a).
- what** p. 49.7, p. 51.46, p. 58.21, p. 60.1, p. 66.30, p. 68.28, p. 115.14, p. 120.30, p. 132.12, p. 136.30, p. 152.22: 'why?' (*OED* *A* III *adv.* †).
- whether** p. 68.13: 'Which of the two' (*OED* *B* I).
- whetstone** p. 5.1, p. 103.48, p. 103.51, p. 104.48: Used 'in allusion to the custom of hanging a whetstone around the neck of a liar' (*OED* 2b).
- whilom** p. 20.7, p. 30.20: 'At some past time; some time before or ago; once upon a time' (*OED* *A* *adv.* 2). Perhaps it is significant that both these examples appear in verse: Harvey regarded this as an archaism revived by Spenser (1913: 169.27).
- whim-wham** (whimwhams) p. 51.23: *OED*'s closest sense is 'A fantastic notion, odd fancy' (2).
- whip-dog** p. 139.2 (see note).
- whipster** (whipsters) p. 57.21: 'A lively, smart, reckless, violent or mischievous person' (*OED* 1, citing this as an example).
- whist** p. 62.10, p. 65.19 (whuist), p. 124.6 (whuist): 'An exclamation to command silence: Hush!' (*OED* *int.* <sup>1</sup>, citing the latter as an example).
- white son** p. 103.31: 'a beloved or favourite son; a boy or man who is specially favoured or petted' (*OED* *white* *a.* 11e) – possibly Harvey has only chosen this for the contrast with 'black art'.
- whittled** p. 155.4: perhaps 'excited by drink, drunk, intoxicated' (*OED* *whittle* †*v.* <sup>1</sup>). See 'whittling' below.
- whittling** p. 65.28: *OED* cites this as an instance of the verbal noun of 'to make drunk, to intoxicate' (*OED* †*whittle* *v.* <sup>1</sup>).
- \*wide-mouthed** p. 146.38: this is *OED*'s first instance of 'speaking [. . .] loudly or without restraint' (*OED* 2a).
- wight** p. 155.14, p. 159.48: 'human being, man or woman, person' (*OED* *sb.* 2).
- winch** p. 112.4, p. 114.11 (winching): 'In allusive and proverbial *phr.*, [. . .] with reference to the "winching" of a "galled" horse' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> †2b).
- windy** p. 150.39: "'airy", intangible, empty, unsubstantial, flimsy' (*OED* *a.* II 5, citing this as the first instance).
- wink** (winketh) p. 151.30: 'To close one's eyes' (*OED* *v.* <sup>1</sup> †1a).
- wink at** p. 40.34: 'To be complaisant with (an offending or contumacious person)' (*OED* *wink* *v.* <sup>1</sup> 6 †c).
- \*wisp** p. 109.18, p. 112.26 (see note to first).



- wispen** p. 109.2: 'Made of a wisp or wisps' (*OED* †, citing this as the sole instance).
- withal** p. 137.10: 'Substituted for *WITH prep.* in postposition, esp. at the end of a relative clause' (*OED B prep.*).
- witness, with a** p. 53.3, p. 128.1, p. 129.10, p. 156.8: 'without a doubt, "with a vengeance", "and no mistake"' (*OED* witness *sb.* II 14).
- wits, five** p. 125.41-42, p. 155.23: 'the five (bodily) senses' (*OED* wit *sb.* †3b).
- wizard** (*wisardes*) p. 119.2: 'A philosopher, sage [. . .] Often *contemptuous*' (*OED sb., a.* A †1).
- wonder** p. 58.46 (*wondred*), p. 58.48 (*woondred*), p. 122.51 (*woondred*): 'To feel or be affected with wonder' (*OED v.* 1).
- wonderclout** p. 121.36, p. 144.14: *OED* suggests 'Something showy but worthless', citing these as two of only three examples 1570-93.
- wonderment** p. 129.42: 'An object of or a matter for wonder; a wonderful thing' (*OED* 2).
- woodcock** p. 50.31, p. 77.21, \*p. 146.43: the sense 'fool, simpleton' (*OED* 2) is in play.
- wooden** <sup>A</sup> p. 106.7 (see note). <sup>B</sup> p. 124.31, p. 126.7: 'Of inferior character, poor, worthless' (*OED* 2 †c).
- world** <sup>A</sup> p. 86.45: perhaps 'A period or age in human history' (*OED sb.* I †5b). <sup>B</sup> p. 95.22, p. 95.50 (see note to first).
- worldling** (*worldlinges*) p. 90.30: 'worldly or worldly-minded person' (*OED* 1).
- worm-tongued** p. 54.12: Perhaps 'lacking eloquence'. *OED* classifies this (the sole instance) as related to 'worm' in the sense of 'object of contempt, scorn or pity' (*worm sb.* IV 17f, II 10a).
- wormwood** p. 155.49: 'An emblem or type of what is bitter and grievous to the soul' (*OED* 2, citing this as an instance).
- would** p. 60.8, p. 66.17, p. 79.40, p. 80.43, p. 80.47, p. 81.40, p. 82.46, p. 85.14, p. 87.32, p. 94.25, p. 96.30, p. 98.45, p. 99.48, p. 108.45, p. 139.21, p. 142.34, p. 148.5, p. 149.43, p. 151.50, p. 157.40, p. 158.22: 'ought to, should' (*OED* will *v.* <sup>1</sup> III 40 †c).
- yarking** p. 51.25: see 'yerk' below.
- yerk** p. 51.16: 'To beat, lash, flagellate (as with sharp words or treatment); hence, to stir up, excite' (*OED* *yerk, yark v.* 3, citing this as the first instance).
- yoke-fellow** p. 107.8: 'A person "yoked" or associated with another, esp. in some work or occupation' (*OED* 1).
- youngerly** (*yonkerly*) p. 99.9: cited by *OED* as one of only 4 instances of 'befitting or characteristic of a younker, juvenile' (†).
- ypocras(e)** see **hippocras**

## APPENDIX B: *Pappe with an Hatchet* (1589)

If this will not make *Martin* mad, malicious and melancholie (ô brave letter followed with a full crie) then we will be desperate, & hire one that shall so translate you out of French into English, that you will blush and lie by it. And one wil we conjure up, that writing a familiar Epistle about the naturall causes of an Earthquake, fell into the bowells of libelling, which made his eares quake for feare of clipping, he shall tickle you with taunts; all his works bound close, are at least sixe sheetes in quarto, & he calls them the first tome of his familiar Epistle; he is full of latin endes, and worth tenne of those that crie in London, *haie ye anie gold ends to sell*. If he give you a bob, though he drawe no bloud, yet are you sure of a rap with a bable. If he joyne with us, *periisti Martin*, thy wit wil be massacred: if the toy take him to close with thee, then have I my wish, for this tenne yeres have I lookt to lambacke him. Nay he is a mad lad, and such a one as cares as little for writing without wit, as *Martin* doth for writing without honestie; a notable coach companion for *Martin*, to drawe Divinitie from the colledges of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to Shoemakers hall in Sainct *Martins*. But we neither feare *Martin*, nor the foot cloth, nor the beast that weares it, be he horse or asse; nor whose sonne he is, be he *Martins*, sonne, *Johns*, sonne, or *Richards*, sonne; nor of what occupation hee be, be a ship-wright, cart-wright, or tiburn-wright.

*The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. by R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), III, 400

## APPENDIX C: *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier* (1592)

I both wondred and laught to heare Clothbreeches make this discourse, when I saw two in the valley together by the eares, the one in leather, the other as blacke as the Devill: I stept  
5 to them to part the fray, and questioned what they were, and wherfore they brawled: Marry, quoth he, that lookt like Lucifer, though I am blacke I am not the Devill, but indeede a Collier of Croyden, and one sir that have sold many a man a false sacke of coales, that both wanted measure and was halfe full of dust and drosse. Indeed I have beene a lieger in my time in London, and have plaied many mad pranks for which cause  
10 you may see I am made a curtall, for the Pillorie hath eaten off both my eares, and now sir this ropemaker hunteth me here with his halters, I gesse him to be some evill spirit, that in the likenesse of a man woulde since I have past the pillory perswade me to hang my self for my old offenses, and therefore sithe I cannot blesse mee from him with *Nomine patris*, I laye *Spiritus sanctus* about his shoulders with a cudgel, that he may get  
15 out of my companie. The ropemaker replied, that honestly journeyeng by the way, he acquainted himselfe with the Colliar, & for no other cause pretended. And whether are you a going qd. I? Marry sir qd. he, first to absolve your question, I dwel in Saffron Waldon, and am going to Cambridge to three sons that I keep there at schoole, such apt children sir as few women haue groned for, and yet they have ill lucke. The one sir is a Devine to comfort my soule, & he indeed though he be a vaine glorious asse, as divers youths of his age bee, is well given to the shew of the world, and writte a late the lambe of God, and yet his parishioners say he is the limb of the devill, and kisseth their wives with holy kisses, but they had rather he should keep his lips for madge his mare. The  
20 second sir, is a Physitian or a foole, but indeed a physitian, & had proved a proper man if he had not spoiled himselfe with his Astrological discourse of the terrible conjunction of Saturne and Jupiter. For the eldest, he is a Civilian, a wondrous witted fellow, sir reverence sir, he is a Doctor, and as *Tubulcain* was the first inventer of Musick, so he Gods benison light upon him, was the first that invented Englishe Hexamiter: but see how in these daies learning is little esteemed, for that and other familiar letters and proper  
25 treatises he was orderly clapt in the Fleet, but sir a Hawk and a Kite may bring forth a coystrell, and honest parents may have bad chyldren. Honest with the devil qd. the Colliar, How can he be honest, whose mother I gesse was a witch. For I have heard them say, that witches say their praiers backward, and so doth the ropemaker yerne his living by going backward, and the knaves cheefe living is by making fatal instruments, as  
30 halters and ropes, which divers desperate men hang themselves with. Well qd. I, what say you to these, shal they be on the Jury? Velvet breeches said nothing, but Cloth breeches said, in the ropemaker he found no great falshood in him, therfore he was willing he should be one, but for the Colliar he thought it necessary that as he came he should depart, so then I bad the ropemaker stand by til more came, which was not long.

Robert Greene, *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier*, 1st edn (London: John Wolfe, 1592; repr. Menston: Scholar Press, 1971), sigs E3<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>r</sup>.

## APPENDIX D: *Kind-Harts Dreame* (1592)

Robert Greene to  
*Pierce Penilesse.*

Pierce, if thy Carrier had beene as kinde to me as I expected, I could have dispatched long since my letters to thee: but it is here as in the world, *Donum à dando derivatur*: where there is nothing to give, there is nothing to be got. But having now found meanes to send to thee, I will certifie thee a little of my disquiet after death, of which I thinke thou either hast not heard or wilt not conceive.

Having with humble penitence besought pardon for my infinite sinnes, and paid the due to death, even in my grave was I scarce layde, when Envie (no fit companion for Art) spit out her poyson, to disturbe my rest. *Adversus mortuos bellum suscipere, inhumanum est.* There is no glory gained by breaking a deade mans skull. *Pascitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit.* Yet it appeares contrary in some, that inveighing against my workes, my povertie, my life, my death, my burial, have omitted nothing that may seeme malicious. For my Bookes, of what kind soever, I refer their commendation or dispraise to those that have read them. Onely for my last labours affirming, my intent was to reprove vice, and lay open such villanies, as had beene very necessary to be made knowne, wherof my *Blacke Booke*, if ever it see light, can sufficiently witnesse.

But for my povertie, mee thinkes wisdomes would have bridleed that invective; for *Cuius potest accidere, quod cuiquam potest.* The beginning of my dispraisers is knowne, of their end they are not sure. For my life, it was to none of them at any time hurtful: for my death, it was repentant: my burial like a Christians.

*Alas that men so hastily should run,  
To write their own dispraise as they have done.*

For my revenge, it suffices, that every halfe-eyd humanitian may account it, *Instar belluarum immanissimarum sævire in cadaver.* For the injurie offred thee, I know I need not bring oyle to thy fire. And albeit I would dissuade thee from more invectives against such thy adversaries (for peace is nowe all my plea) yet I know thou wilt returne answer, that since thou receivedst the first wrong, thou wilt not endure the last.

My quiet Ghost (unquietly disturbed) had once intended thus to have exclaimd.

*Pierce*, more witlesse, than pennilesse; more idle, than thine adversaries ill imployde; what foolish innocence hath made thee (infantlike) resistlesse to beare, what ever injurie Envie can impose?

Once thou commendedst immediate conceit, and gavest no great praise to excellent works of twelve yeres labour: now, in the blooming of thy hopes, thou sufferest slaunder to nippe them ere they can bud: thereby approving thy selfe to be of all other most slacke, beeing in thine owne cause so remisse.

Colour can there be none found to shadowe thy fainting, but the longer thou deferst, the more greefe thou bringst to thy frends, and givest the greater head to thy enemies.

What canst thou tell, if (as my selfe) thou shalt bee with death prevented? and then how can it be but thou diest disgrac'd, seeing thou hast made no reply to their twofold Edition of Invectives?

It may bee thou thinkst they will deale well with thee in death, and so thy shame in tollerating them will be short: forge not to thy self one such conceit, but make me thy president, and remember this olde adage: *Leonem mortuum mordent Catuli.*

Awake (secure boy) revenge thy wrongs, remember mine: thy adversaries began the abuse, they continue it: if thou suffer it, let thy life be short in silence and obscuritie, and thy death hastie, hated, and miserable.

All this had I intended to write, but now I wil not give way to wrath, but returne it unto the earth from whence I tooke it: for with happie soules it hath no harbour.

*Robert Greene.*

Henry Chettle, *Kind-Harts Dreame* (London: William Wright, [n.d.]), sigs E<sup>r</sup>-E2<sup>r</sup>

## APPENDIX E: *The Art of Iugling or Legerdemaine* (1612)

*To the curteous Reader.*

5 There goeth a prety Fable of the Moone: On a time she earnestly besought her mother  
to provide her a garment, comely and fit for her body: how can that bee sweete  
daughter (quoth the mother) sith that your body never keepes it selfe at one staye, nor  
at one certaine estate, but changeth every day in the month, nay every houre? The  
application heereof needes no interpretation: Fantasie and foolery who can please?  
10 and desire who can humour? no Camelion changeth his coulour as affection, nor any  
thing so variable a *Populus Chorus Fluvius*.

I would with all my heart, every Author that had done no better then I have,  
had done no worse: and it were to be wished that some capricious Coxcombes, with  
their desperate wits, were not so forward to disbowell the entrails of their own  
15 overweening, singular, infectious, & pestiferous thoughts, as I knowe some.

But I cannot stand all day nosing of Candlestickes: meane time beare with a  
plaine man: whatsoever I have now done, I hope no exception can be taken, it is for  
your mirth and recreation (and I pray you so take it:) for such as will needes barke at  
the Moone, will till their hearts ake: Gentle and Gentlemens spirits, wil take all  
20 kindly that is kindly presented.

*Yours in love*

S.R.

25 S[amuel?] R[id?], *The Art of Iugling or Legerdemaine* (London: [Edward Allde] for  
T. B[ushell] and are to be solde by Samuel Rand, 1612), sig. [A2]<sup>v</sup>.

## APPENDIX F: TEXTUAL VARIANTS

The reading before the bracket is the reading which appears in this edition: the one after is the one which appears in the edition(s) specified. When several readings appear after the bracket, these are separated by a colon. I have tried to be sparing in noting accidentals, particularly in Brydges's and Collier's editions and the passages printed by Smith, as they do not attempt to reproduce the text in every particular. Since Ingleby appears to have used the second edition of *FL* as his copy-text, rather than the first, or Brydges's or Collier's edition, and he shares very few variants with other editions, very few variants of his are noted. Grosart retains the long 's' ('ſ'), and Collier inserts it into the text where it is not in the original: I have not noted this. '*Wolfe*' denotes the original text (as printed by John Wolfe): the individual copy-text used is specified in the textual introduction to each tract. Substantive variants between the first and second editions of *FL* are given in the textual introduction.

### Abbreviations used in the sigla

<i>Bryd.</i>	Egerton Brydges
<i>c.w.</i>	The reading of the catch-word, when it differs from the reading at the head of the following page.
<i>Coll.</i>	J.P. Collier
<i>Err.</i>	This denotes the reading prescribed in the list of ' <i>Errours escaped in the Printing</i> ' in <i>PS</i> (sig. Ff <sup>r</sup> )
<i>Gros.</i>	Alexander B. Grosart
<i>Harr.</i>	G.B. Harrison
<i>Ing.</i>	C. M. Ingleby
<i>New par.</i>	Paragraph break, with indentation.
<i>om.</i>	Omitted.
<i>Saints.</i>	G.E. Saintsbury
<i>Smith</i>	G. Gregory Smith

### Fovre Letters, and certaine Sonnets

- p. 2.1 courteous] Courteous *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 2.1 mindes] Mindes *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 2.10 Herostratus] Herostratus, *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 2.15 profeßion] profession *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 2.16 poßibly] possibly *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 2.30 paßion] passion *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 3.5 bearer] bearer, *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 3.20 read. Wherein] read: wherein *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 3.21 any other] any *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 3.39 raving] razing *Coll.*  
p. 3.40 reverence,] Reverence; *Bryd.*  
p. 3.43 shortest] sho<sup>t</sup>test *Wolfe*: sho[r]test *Coll.*  
p. 3.46 Greenesleeves.] Greenesleeves, *Coll.*  
p. 4.8 pockes] pocke *Coll.*  
p. 4.8 pickle] picklet *Coll.*  
p. 4.15 but,] but *Coll.*  
p. 4.16 wish] wishe *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 4.24 other.] other *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 4.31 I] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 4.44 Hubbard] Hubbard, *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 4.47 exceeding-much] exceeding much *Bryd., Gros., Harr.*  
p. 4.50 tale;] tale: *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 5.3 such] suchlike *Bryd.*  
p. 5.16 *Plutarch*] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 5.23 taunted.] taunted *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 5.36 published] pubished *Wolfe*  
p. 5.38 Whiles] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 5.50 I] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 6.17 order?] order. *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 6.17 Compare] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 6.24 beene] been *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 6.34 came,] came, [it was] *Gros.*  
p. 6.37 I] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 6.43 and] and, *Bryd., Coll., Gros.*  
p. 6.43 sir reverence] Sir Reverence, *Bryd.*  
p. 6.45 dublet,] dublet. *Wolfe*  
p. 6.50 kindly] kindly kindly *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 7.10 mind] mind, *Coll., Gros., Harr.*  
p. 7.38 relisheth] relisheth *Coll., Gros., Harr.*  
p. 7.51 They] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 8.1 Humanity,] Humanity *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 8.1 in] or *Gros.*  
p. 8.9 advised,] aduised *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 8.11 England;] England: *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 8.13 hast] hath *Harr.*  
p. 8.14 thee:] thee; *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 9.5 twelve] tuelue *Ing.*  
p. 9.6 my selfe] myselfe *Ing.*  
p. 9.11 effectual] effecual *Wolfe, Harr.:*  
effec[t]ual *Ing.*  
p. 9.13 brothers] brother's *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 9.20 schollers] schollets *Wolfe*  
p. 9.32 are learned] are, learned *Ing.*  
p. 9.33 ill-lucke] ill lucke *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 9.34 *Foe*] foe *Harr.*  
p. 9.35 Arte] [h]art *Coll.*  
p. 9.39 divulged:] divulged. *Coll.*  
p. 9.42 worlde,] world: *Coll.:* world, *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 9.46 untoward] vntowerd *Gros., Harr.*

p. 9.49 credite] credite, *Ing.*  
 p. 9.50-51 high Chauncelors] High-Chancellor's *Bryd.*: High Chauncellor's *Coll.* high Chauncellors *Gros.*  
 p. 10.1 slye] shy *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 10.1 Fox] Foxe *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.1 monumentes] monuments *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.2 dislike,] dislike *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.2 overslip] ouerfly *Gros.*  
 p. 10.2 hot:] hot; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.6 &] and *Ing.*  
 p. 10.10 Signor] Seignior *Bryd.*: *New par.* Seignior *Coll.*  
 p. 10.11 still] still. *Ing.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.13 indifferent] iudifferent *Wolfe*  
 p. 10.13 Demonstrative] Demonstratiue *Wolfe*: Demo[n]stratiue *Ing.*  
 p. 10.13 communications,] communications *Ing.*  
 p. 10.14 speech,] speech *Ing.*  
 p. 10.17 jest,] iest *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.19 When] *New par.* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 10.19 patience:] patience; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.20 Table:] Table; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.23 Apology] *Apology Coll.*  
 p. 10.24 Mother:] Mother; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.24 Apology] *Apology Coll.*  
 p. 10.28 in passion] in a passion *Bryd.*  
 p. 10.28 conceit] conceit, *Ing.*  
 p. 10.30 famous] Famous *Ing.*  
 p. 10.32 comparison,] comparison: *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*: comparison; *Smith*  
 p. 10.32 admirable] admirable *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Smith*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.38 flouted:] flouted; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.39 Latine] Latin *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.39 Autors?] autors! *Coll.*: Autors! *Smith*  
 p. 10.40 majesty,] maiesty *Ing.*, *Smith*  
 p. 10.40 ashamed:] ashamed; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.41 accompted] accounted *Bryd.*  
 p. 10.42 too-good] too good *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.44 Rimes] Rhimes *Coll.*  
 p. 10.45 Epitaphed, The Inuentour of the English Hexameter:] epitaphed the *Inuentour of the English Hexameter*, *Coll.*  
 p. 10.45 whome] whom *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.46 Virgill:] *Virgill*, *Coll.*: Virgill, *Ing.*  
 p. 10.46 Phillip] Philip *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.47 Arcadia] *Arcadia Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.47 chronicled, The greene maister of the Blacke Arte:] chronicled the *Greene Maister of the Blacke Arte*, *Coll.*  
 p. 10.48 oathes:] oaths; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.49 him] him. *Ing.*, *Gros.*, *Smith*, *Harr.*  
 p. 10.50 sinnes,] sinnes: *Gros.*, *Smith*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.1 Indeede] *New par.* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: Indeed *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.7 duetifull] dutifull *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.7 sorte] sort *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.7 honourable] houourable *Wolfe*

p. 11.11 As] *New par.* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 11.17 meanest,] meanest *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.22 protest,] protest *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.24 mee] me *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.28 Joviall] joviall *Coll.*  
 p. 11.28 paltery, stil] paltery stile, *Coll.*: paltery stil *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.30 But] *New par.* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 11.33 living:] liuing; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.35 premisses] premises *Bryd.*  
 p. 11.39 nice] me *Bryd.*  
 p. 11.48 an other?] another. *Bryd.*: another? *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 11.48 nothing] *New par.* Nothing *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 11.51 with me] we me *Wolfe*  
 p. 12.1 bucklers:] bucklers; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.3 duetie,] duetie. *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.4 nature,] nature: *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.9 Levity] lenity *Bryd.*  
 p. 12.11 part] part[y] *Coll.*  
 p. 12.13 villanies,] *om.* *Coll.*: villanies *Ing.*, *Gros.*  
 p. 12.19 lust. Is] lust. *New par.* Is *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.22 beside. *Green.*,] besides Greene: *Coll.*  
 p. 12.24 three.] three! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.24 borrowed,] borrowed *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.25 bravery:] brauery; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.26 I] *New par.* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.28 him:)] him.) *Coll.*  
 p. 12.28 Gentlemen] Gentleman *Bryd.*  
 p. 12.29 Yeomen] Yeoman *Wolfe*, *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.30 whome] whom *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.31 other?] other. *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.32 not, to] not to *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.34 Northfolke] Norfolk *Bryd.*  
 p. 12.37 That is] That his *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
 p. 12.40 frater,] frater *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.41 best] best, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.44 Wee] *New par.* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.46 report:] report; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.47 Vanity?] vanity! *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
 p. 12.47 oh] oh, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.48 miserie?] misery! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.48 such?] such! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 12.51 honest] honest, *Ing.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.51 anyway] any way *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 12.51 him? Let] him, Let *Bryd.*: him, let *Coll.*  
 p. 13.1 Lord] Lorde *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 13.1 hee? What] he! What *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 13.2 makeshift,] makeshift! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: makeshift. *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 13.2 Conny-catchers] conny-catchers *Coll.*  
 p. 13.3 Phantasticallitye] Phantasticalitye *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 13.3 Autor,] author! *Bryd.*: Autor? *Ing.*: Autor. *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
 p. 13.10 Poesie] poesy *Bryd.*

- p. 13.11 crochets: a] crotchets: A *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.12 Travailer] traveller *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 13.12 Merchaunt] a merchaunt *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.13 Gay-nothing] gay nothing *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: Gay nothing *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.15 fantasticalitie:] fantasticalitie; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.16 Vanitatum] vanitatum *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.16 Alasse,] *New par.* Alas! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: *New par.* Alase *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.21 over passe] ouer-passe *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.23 over-runne] ouerrunne *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.26 corruption] corruptioun *Wolfe*  
p. 13.31 Euripides] *Euripides: Ing.: Euripides, Gros., Harr.*  
p. 13.32 perused? yet] perused! Yet *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Smith*: perused? Yet *Ing.*  
p. 13.35 queasie] greasy *Bryd.*  
p. 13.36 beleeeue,] beleeeue *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.45 wherin] wherein *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 13.45 Mercury,] Mercury; *Ing.*, *Gros.*  
p. 13.46 Gallant] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 13.48 them selves] themselues *Ing.*  
p. 14.6 be like] *Wolfe, Ing.*  
p. 14.10 I] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 14.12 greene] green *Bryd.*  
p. 14.17 a sleepe] asleepe *Ing.*  
p. 14.18 adventures.] aduentures! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 14.20 together:] together; *Ing.*  
p. 14.21 M.] *M. Ing.: Mr. Smith*  
p. 14.22 wittes, Loe] wittes. Loe *Wolfe*: wits, lo! *Bryd.*: wittes, loe! *Coll.*  
p. 14.29 quiently] queintly *Gros.*, *Smith, Harr.*  
p. 14.29 Supplication To] supplication, to *Bryd.*  
p. 14.32 most-deadly] most-dealy *Wolfe*: most dealy *Bryd.*: most-dea[d]ly *Ing.*, *Gros.*: most dea[d]ly *Smith*  
p. 14.35 manner; By] manner: "By *Coll.*: manner: By *Gros.*, *Harr.*: manner, 'By *Smith*  
p. 14.35 M.] Mr. *Coll.*  
p. 14.36 stage.] stage: *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 14.36 world &] world. & *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 14.37 frends] friend's *Bryd.*  
p. 14.43 Tarleton] Tarlelon *Wolfe*  
p. 14.45 Particulars] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 14.46 is. He] is. He *Wolfe*: is, he *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Smith*: is He *Harr.*  
p. 14.47 Grammer-schoole] Grammar-schoole *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 14.49 notes; consorted] notes consorted *Gros.*, *Smith, Harr.*  
p. 14.49 conclusion. That] conclusion. That *Wolfe.*: conclusion, that *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: conclusion that *Smith*  
p. 14.50 ad] add *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 14.51 flintly] flinty *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Smith*  
p. 15.2 Niobe?] *Niobe: Coll.*  
p. 15.8 most-hideouslie. For] most-hideouslie; for *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: most-hideouslie, for *Smith*  
p. 15.9 Glosse: and] gloss. And *Bryd.*: glosse. And *Coll.*: Glosse. And *Smith*  
p. 15.10 Farewell:] Farewell. *Wolfe, Harr.*: farewell: *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 15.12 unkinde,] vnkinde! *Coll.*, *Smith*  
p. 15.13 Then to] Than to *Bryd.*: Then, to *Gros.*: then to *Smith*  
p. 15.14 Hei] Heu *Ing.*  
p. 15.15 crie.] crie, *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 15.20 Gulph] Gulf *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 15.22 Hope: and] Hope; and *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 15.24 thee; and] thee: and *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 15.28 languisheth] lanquisheth *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 15.33 everie] euery *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 15.34 Nocte] Nocta *Ing.*  
p. 15.35 requickeneth] requickneth *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 15.39 sive] sieve *Coll.*  
p. 15.51 And] *New par. Bryd.*  
p. 16.1 Now] *New par. Coll., Ing.*  
p. 16.5 sheepe-biter:] sheep-biter. *Coll.*  
p. 16.14 hostisse] bostisse *Wolfe*: bostiesse *Coll.*  
p. 16.16 Poets,] Poets *Ing.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.18 youthes,] youthes *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.19 Modestie,] Modestie. *Gros.*  
p. 16.20 of] or *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.20 The] *New par. Bryd.*  
p. 16.21 lying,] lying; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.23 pollicie] policie *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.27 Tales] tales *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.28 Apuleius] Apuleius' *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.28 It] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 16.30 and] & *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.34 and] an *Ing.*  
p. 16.35 intrailes:] intrailes; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.37 for:] for. *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 16.37 o] *New par. Oh, Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 16.37 done,] done: *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.38 Aretine, gramercy] Aretine: gramercy *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.39 Artique] Artique, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.40 Jests] jest is *Bryd.*: jest's *Coll.*  
p. 16.42 ballats:] ballats, *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 16.43 least)] least), *Bryd., Coll.*: least, *Gros.*  
p. 16.43 beard] heard *Wolfe*: herd *Bryd.*  
p. 16.44 Nash,] Nash,) *Gros.*  
p. 16.45 him,] him,) *Harr.*  
p. 16.47 print,] print? *Bryd., Coll.*: print. *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 16.48 Monstrous:] monstrous! *Bryd.*: Monstrous! *Coll.*  
p. 16.48 But] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 17.2 Greenesse] Greeness *Bryd.*  
p. 17.3 prettily] pretty *Coll.*  
p. 17.3 penne:] penne. *Wolfe, Coll., Harr.*: penne, *Gros.*



- p. 17.11 privity)] priuity), *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 17.13 gayest-flower] gayest flower *Ing., Gros., Harr.*  
p. 17.16 difference?] differences *Ing.*  
p. 17.21 Some] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 17.27 Aretine] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 17.28 very-well] very well *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 17.28 Politicke] Piliticke *Wolfe, Ing.*  
p. 17.28 Comonwealths] Common wealths *Ing.*  
p. 17.33 fancy.] fancy. *Ing., Harr.*  
p. 17.35 world] worlde *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 17.38 railing:] railing *Coll.*  
p. 17.40 hoat spurres] hotspurs, *Bryd.: hoat spurres, Coll., Gros.*  
p. 17.40-41 Earth-wormes] Earthwormes *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 17.43 shal] shal. *Harr.*  
p. 17.48 Herastratus] Herostratus *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 17.49 Would] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 18.1 rewarde] reward *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 18.2 Wisedome] Wisdom *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 18.4 maine-shot] maine; shot *Wolfe: main shot Bryd.: maine shot Coll., Ing.*  
p. 18.5 Alasse;-] *New par. Bryd.: Alasse! Coll.: Alasse, Ing., Gros., Harr.*  
p. 18.7 abaseth] abuseth *Bryd.*  
p. 18.16 poveretto] poverty *Bryd.*  
p. 18.17 Thoemes] Thormes *Coll.*  
p. 18.18 povertie:] pouertie; *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 18.22 poules] pools *Bryd.*  
p. 18.22 beggar.] beggar, *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 18.23 A] a *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 18.24 estat,] estat: *Coll.*  
p. 18.25 &] and *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 18.31 gratefull.] gratefull: *Coll.*  
p. 18.33 downe] down. *Bryd.: downe. Ing., Gros.*  
p. 18.35 very-patheticall] very-pathetical *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 18.35 me] me, *Ing.*  
p. 18.35 Premisses] premises *Bryd.*  
p. 18.45 And] *New par. Bryd., Coll., Gros., Harr.*  
p. 18.49 thrise-and thrise-learned sonne] thrise-and-thrise-learned sonne *Ing., Harr.: thrise-and-thrise learned-sonne Gros.*  
p. 19.5 Complices] 'complices *Bryd.*  
p. 19.8 Ah] Ah, *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.13 Thersitæ] Thersitæ *Ing.*  
p. 19.13 gallant,] gallant *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.16 Poesy] poesy *Bryd.*  
p. 19.17 iudgemente:] iudgemente; *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.18 longe,] longe *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.26 mouth] mouths *Ing.*  
p. 19.27 lowest:] lowest; *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.28 Death.] Death? *Bryd.*  
p. 19.29 matter:] matter; *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.30 blisse] bless *Bryd.*  
p. 19.30 And] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 19.33 moates?] motes! *Bryd.: moates! Coll.*  
p. 19.35 Gilbert,] Gilbert *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.36 adventurous:] adventurous! *Bryd.: aduenturous! Coll.*  
p. 19.40 follies] follies, *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 19.43 Earth: hee] earth! He *Bryd.: earth! Hee Coll.*  
p. 19.50 A] a *Coll.*  
p. 20.7 thatsame] that same *Ing., Harr.*  
p. 20.7 bewtifi'd] beautifi'd *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.8 advanced:] aduanced, *Ing.: aduanced; Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.8 Hatred:] Hatred; *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.11 unknowen:] vnknown; *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.13 What] *New par. Bryd., Coll., Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.15 heures.] heures? *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 20.27 unwilling,] vnwillinge. *Wolfe*  
p. 20.31 Had] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 20.33 hoat-spurres] Hotspurs *Bryd.: hoatspurres Coll.*  
p. 20.34 Poules] Paul's *Bryd.*  
p. 20.35 Church yarde] Churchyarde *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.35 Privilegio] priuilegio *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.36 white,] white *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.39 raylingest] railingest *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 20.39 sett] sit *Bryd.*  
p. 20.39-40 mad braynest] mad-braynest *Ing.: madbraynest Gros.*  
p. 20.47 Good] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 20.49 selfe] self *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 21.1 Rakehells:] Rakehells *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 21.4 Howbeit] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.5 exercises:] exercises *Bryd.*  
p. 21.7 themselves:] themselves *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.8 specially] especially *Ing.*  
p. 21.12 say)] say), *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 21.13 friendes,] friends *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 21.13 familliar] familiar *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 21.25 Aqua Fortis] Aquafortis *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 21.25 The] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.27 in steede] insteede *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 21.32 devotion:] devotion, *Coll.*  
p. 21.32 Pray] Pray, *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 21.33 Good] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.41 Good] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.42 indeede:] indeede! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.42 indeede:] indeede! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.43 indeede:] indeede! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.44 indeede:] indeede! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 21.47 bring-foorth.] bring-foorth: *Ing.*  
p. 21.50 fantastical] fantastical *Gros., Harr.*  
p. 22.1 flowed] floweth *Smith*  
p. 22.4 translated:] translated. *Bryd., Coll., Smith*  
p. 22.4 but] *New par. But Bryd.: But Coll., Smith*  
p. 22.4 Buchanans?] Buchanans! *Coll., Gros.*

- p. 22.5 witte:] witte, *Coll.*  
p. 22.10 embellished,] embellished *Gros.*, *Smith*, *Harr.*  
p. 22.10 Honorable] honourable *Bryd.*  
p. 22.14 Gentle] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 22.20 wit:] wit; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 22.20 few:] few; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 22.26 I] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 22.44 premisses] premises *Bryd.*  
p. 23.5 Honest] HONEST *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.5 leave] leaue, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.9 who] who, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.12 AEsops] AEsops *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.13 For] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 23.14 Legge] legges *Coll.*  
p. 23.16 elvish] eleuish *Harr.*  
p. 23.23 somthing] something *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.23 howsoever] howsoever, *Bryd.*:  
howsoever, *Gros.*  
p. 23.27 plain] plaine *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.27 Eies,] eies *Gros.*: Eies *Harr.*  
p. 23.32 too-much] too much *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.32 writer,] writer, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.34 Were] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 23.37 cast-away] cast away *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 23.51 profefiion] profession *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.10 A] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 24.18 as] as that *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.19 Let] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 24.20 crosbite] crossbite *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.20 finde] find *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.21 That] that *Coll.*  
p. 24.22 apparance] appearance *Coll.*  
p. 24.28 chinne:] chinne; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.29 landes:] landes; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.29 worth:] worth; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.34 Pregnant] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 24.34 much:] much; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.41 darkesome] darksome *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.42 To] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 24.47 Must] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Smith*  
p. 24.47 rest.] rest *Gros.*, *Smith*  
p. 24.48 seme] seeme *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 24.50 Arte] Art *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 25.5 but] and *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 25.7 private,] priuate *Gros.*, *Smith*  
p. 25.7 The] *New par. Coll.*, *Smith*  
p. 25.7 Discouser] discourser *Coll.*: Discourser  
*Gros.*, *Smith*  
p. 25.10 Mathematikes,] Mathematikes *Gros.*,  
*Harr.*  
p. 25.10 Magie:] magic *Coll.*: Magie; *Gros.*,  
*Harr.*: Magic; *Smith*  
p. 25.10 beeing] being *Gros.*, *Smith*  
p. 25.17 himself] himselfe *Gros.*, *Smith*, *Harr.*  
p. 25.19 He] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 25.25 allwayes,] allwayes? *Coll.* allwayes?  
*Smith*  
p. 25.27 Churchyard] churchyard *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 25.28 Taylor.] taylor? *Coll.*  
p. 25.29 beare] bear *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 25.29 and] and, *Coll.*, *Smith*  
p. 25.30 Excellent] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 25.38 My] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 25.38 albeit] albeit, *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 25.39 my selfe] myselfe *Coll.*  
p. 25.45 Howbeit] Howbeit, *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 25.49 hoatspurres] Hotspurs *Bryd.*  
p. 25.49 none:] none. *Coll.*  
p. 26.3 God-night] God night *Coll.*  
p. 26.4 Hercules] Hercules's *Coll.*  
p. 26.6 Great-Maister] Great Maister *Gros.*,  
*Harr.*  
p. 26.7 God] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 26.15 they] *New par. They Bryd.*: They  
*Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Smith*, *Harr.*  
p. 26.17 surpaßing] surpassing *Gros.*, *Smith*  
p. 26.21 publike] public *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 26.21 Oh-is,] oyez *Bryd.*: 'Oh-is,' *Smith*  
p. 26.26 swinge] swing *Bryd.*  
p. 26.30 exceßively:] excessively. *Bryd.*,  
*Gros.*, *Coll.*: excessiuely. *Harr.*  
p. 26.30 that] *New par. That Bryd.*, *Coll.* : That  
*Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 26.31 Mallice] Mallice, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 26.35 hißing] hissing *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 26.41 shoulders: my] shoulders. *New par.*  
*My Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 26.46 Plaudite] plaudit *Bryd.*  
p. 26.47 wish] with *Harr.*  
p. 26.49 Wolfes] wolf's *Bryd.*  
p. 27.4 injury] injure *Bryd.*  
p. 28.10 come,] come *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 28.14 say:] say, *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 28.16 heare] hear *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 28.18 worst] worst, *Bryd.*  
p. 28.18 list] list, *Bryd.*  
p. 28.21 rost] roast *Bryd.*  
p. 28.22 man,] man *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 28.26 injured] injured *Bryd.*  
p. 28.41 Malice] Malice, *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 29.12 harme,] harme *Gros.* *Harr.*  
p. 29.12 Heaven] heaven *Gros.*  
p. 29.15 Six:] Six; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 29.20 wilfull] wilful *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 29.22 selfe:] selfe; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 29.25 swing,] swing *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 29.27 thatsame] that same *Coll.*, *Gros.*,  
*Harr.*  
p. 29.37 SONNET V] Sonnet 5. c.w.  
p. 29.41 exhort,] exhort; *Coll.*  
p. 29.44 good:] good; *Gros.*, *Harr.*  
p. 29.45 Gentle] Gentle, *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 29.45 wight?] wight! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 30.2 illfavordnesse] illfauourdness *Gros.*,  
*Harr.*  
p. 30.2 Godnight] good-night *Bryd.*: God-night  
*Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 30.10 Pallace] Palace *Gros.*, *Harr.*

p. 30.13 Ale-house-daggers] Alehouse-daggers *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 30.20 stones emperc'd] stonesemp<sup>rc</sup>'d *Wolfe*  
 p. 30.23 sweetenes] sweetnes *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 30.42 hoony-dewes] hooney-dewes *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 31.4 peevishnes:] peeuishnes; *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 31.5 fell; Thou] fell, "thou *Bryd.*, fell, Thou *Coll.*  
 p. 31.7 toßing] tossing *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 31.9 Humour] Humour, *Coll., Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 31.11 Joviall] iouiall *Gros.*  
 p. 31.17 gall.] gall!" *Bryd.*  
 p. 31.35 Sun,] Sun. *Wolfe: sun, Coll.*  
 p. 32.4 azur Dy] azure dye *Bryd.*  
 p. 32.11 perfections] Perfections *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 32.12 An other] Another *Coll., Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 32.25 impossibillities] impossibilities *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 32.30 SONNET XII] Sonnet 12. c.w.  
 p. 32.37 Idee] Ida *Bryd.*  
 p. 32.37 Abyesse] Abyesse, *Harr.*  
 p. 32.43 Idees] Idas *Bryd.*  
 p. 33.5 Live ever] Live ever, *Coll.: Liue euer, Gros.*  
 p. 33.6 Live ever] Live ever, *Coll.: Liue euer, Gros.*  
 p. 33.7 Live ever] Live ever, *Coll.: Liue euer, Gros.*  
 p. 33.8 Live ever] Live ever, *Coll.: Liue euer, Gros.*  
 p. 33.21 repetition] Repetition *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 33.24 inflame] inflame. *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 33.26 atchieve,] achieue *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 33.29 shine,] shine. *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 33.34 concurr.] concurr, *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 33.39 A continuation of the same Petition] *om. Coll.*  
 p. 34.30 exhortation] Exhortation *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 34.40 Magnes] Magne[t]s *Gros.: Magnets Harr.*  
 p. 34.45 smarts] smartes *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 35.7 over-lowd] ouer-loud *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 35.15 and] and a *Coll., Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 35.31 Defence] Defence *Coll.*  
 p. 35.35 Avaunt] Avaunt! *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 35.43 discredite] discredit *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 36.3 Mault] Malt *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 36.4 Truth] Truth, *Coll.*  
 p. 36.9 SONNET XXI] Sonnet 21. c.w.  
 p. 36.17 impoßible] impossible *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 36.30 Brave] braue *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 36.35 even-now] euen now *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 36.33 be.] be; *Coll.*  
 p. 36.41 cleere] clere *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 36.43 Gibeline:] Gibeline: *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 37.1 utriusque] vtriusq. *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 37.18 right] Right *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 37.18 worshipfull] Worshipfull *Gros., Harr.*

p. 37.23 thisworldes] this worlds *Coll.: this worldes Harr.*  
 p. 37.31 Good] good *Gros., Harr.*  
 p. 37.32 dy.] dy; *Gros., Harr.*

### *Pierces Supererogation ('Precursor')*

p. 38.15 wish] wish [me] *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 38.28 confessed insufficiency] cōfessed insufficiēcy *Wolfe: cōfessed insufficiency Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 38.30 intendiment] intendment *Bryd., Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 38.42 Icarus.] Icarus? *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 38.46 new,] new *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 38.46 Idoll.] Idol. *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 38.48 themselves:] themselues, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 38.49 confesse,] confesse *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.7 Ambition] Am. bition *Wolfe (the full stop should be a hyphen: the first part of the word comes at the end of the line)*  
 p. 39.11 egrenesse] egreness *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.18 complementes:] complementes: *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.18 readier to] readier, to *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.20 thesame] the same *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.26 deedes:] deedes, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.30 Supererogation):] Supererogation:) *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.30 Letters,] Letters *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.38 Plutarch,] Plutarch *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.38 Homer,] Homer *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.38 other] other, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.38 Valuing] valuing *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.43 credit:] credit, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 39.44 occurrents] occurents *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.3 Tongue,] Tongue *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.3 Hart,] Hart *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.4 aunswereable] answerable *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.6 sturring)] sturring), *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.10 harme,] harme *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.15 Gouvernement] Gouernment *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.28 Or] Or, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.30 anouth] another, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.31 Proverbe:] Prouerbe: *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.33 and] and, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.36 urge,] vrge *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.41 Censure:] Censure, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.49 so,] so *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 40.51 hart),] hart) *Gros.*  
 p. 41.1 Parthenophil,] Parthenophill *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.1 Inglished:] Inglished, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.1 wife] Wife *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.3 Meleager] Meleager, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.4 thou] thou, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.5 thy] thy *Gros., Saints.*

p. 41.6 thou] thou, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.14 you:] you, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.15 May] *New par. Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.17 leysure,] leysure *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.20 or at-least] or, at-least, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.23 Howbeit] Howbeit, *Bryd.*  
 p. 41.26 quarrell] quarrel *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.27 Angell] Angell, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.30 July.] July, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.40 fo-confounding] *Bryd.:* so-confounding *Saints.*  
 p. 41.46 braine:] braine. *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.47 super-dominering] super domineering *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 41.48 most] most, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.3 Scorne,] *Scorne Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.3 Verse,] *Verse Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.5 Urany,] *Vrany Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.8 whiteliverd] whiteliuer'd *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.11 hobling] hobbling *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.24 Superrogation] Supererogation *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.27 Shame:] Shame, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 42.29 newfounde] new-founde *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.10 woonderfull] woonderful *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.13 plausible,] plausible *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.14 you,] you *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.16 divinist] diuine *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.17 conjure you,] coniure you *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.18 them,] them *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.20 That] That, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.22 note,] note *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.22 shrowde] shroude *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.25 mutinous,] mutinous *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.26 Senatours,] Senatours *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.27 and] and, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.30 Catharres;] catharres *Bryd.:* Catharres *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.31 bene] been *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.31 withall)] withall), *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.31 suerly] seurlly *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.33 Oxford,] Oxford *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.34 such,] such *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.36 Invectives,] Inuectives *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.36 would,] would *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.38 such,] such *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.42 honeste,] honeste *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 43.43 hartely,] hartely *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.11 baulmes] baulms *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.19 heales] Heales *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.20 One] one *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.25 Barnabe] Barnabé *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.27 you] you, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.28 frends, *Parthenophil*] frends *Parthenophil Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.31 selfe] self *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.33 Asse,] Asse *Gros., Saints.*

p. 44.39 Confuting] confuting *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 44.45 stumbling block] stumblingblock *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 45.2 Bodine] *Bodine Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 45.3 toomuch] too much *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 45.14 Mars-his] Mars's *Bryd.*  
 p. 45.16 Fraunce's] Fraunces *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 45.24 somuch,] somuch *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 45.25 vaine] vaine as *Saints.*  
 p. 46.4 brevity-sake] brevity sake *Bryd.*  
 p. 46.4 bicause] because *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 46.5 Discourses] discourses *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 46.7 neverthelesse] neverthelesse, *Gros., Saints.*  
 p. 46.11 two,] two *Gros., Saints.*

### **Pierces Supererogation Book I**

p. 47.12 Confuters] confuters' *Bryd.*  
 p. 47.12 enemies] enemies' *Bryd.*  
 p. 47.19 errantest] errantist *Gros.*  
 p. 47.20 safeconduct] safe conduct *Bryd., Gros.*  
 p. 47.25 howsoever] however so *Bryd.*  
 p. 47.27 Scoggin] scoggin *Bryd.*  
 p. 48.4 reviled] ruled *Bryd.*  
 p. 48.13 and I] I was *Bryd.*  
 p. 48.15 Table-Philosophy] table, philosophy *Coll.*  
 p. 48.31 militar] *Bryd.*  
 p. 48.37 valour?] valour! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 49.7 What] What, *Coll.*  
 p. 49.13 the old Asse] the old ass *Bryd.*  
 p. 49.13 the young dog] the young dog *Bryd.*  
 p. 49.18 an other] another *Gros.*  
 p. 49.32 brucke] brook *Bryd.*  
 p. 49.33 Greene, or Motley] *Greene, or Motley Bryd.*  
 p. 49.34 of a Proverbe] of proverb *Bryd.*  
 p. 49.41 Apuleius.] Apuleius? *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 49.43 describe the particular] describe particular *Bryd.*  
 p. 49.46 Invention,] inventions! *Bryd.:* invention! *Coll.*  
 p. 50.1 Nature.] nature! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 50.9 Ideas] ideas *Bryd.*  
 p. 50.13 hackster] huckster *Bryd.*  
 p. 50.17 creature?] creature. *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 50.19 looked] look *Bryd.*  
 p. 50.24 adversary.] adversary! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 50.26 enginer] engineer *Bryd.*  
 p. 50.41-42 Straunge Newes] strange news *Bryd.*  
 p. 50.44 affecte raylinge] affect a railing *Bryd.*  
 p. 50.45 howte] hoot *Bryd.*  
 p. 51.8 Crateva] *Crateua Wolfe: Cratena Coll.*  
 p. 51.14 Age] Asse *Gros.*  
 p. 51.14 Rhetor] Retor *Coll.*  
 p. 51.15 Arrius] Arius *Bryd.*  
 p. 51.24 & careers] and his careers *Bryd.*

- p. 51.25 as Peerelesse, as Pennylesse] as *Peerless* as *Pennylesse* *Bryd.*
- p. 51.27 Supererogation] *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 51.28 at a venture] *Coll.*
- p. 51.36 defence:] defence, *Smith*
- p. 51.39 alas] alas! *Bryd., Coll.*
- p. 51.42 new-found land] New-found-land *Bryd.*
- p. 51.46 What] What, *Coll.*
- p. 52.2 minion?] minion! *Bryd., Coll.*
- p. 52.4 urcheon] urchin *Bryd.*
- p. 52.5 bable] *Coll.*: bauble *Bryd.*
- p. 52.5 Cuiacius] Cujacius *Coll.*
- p. 52.5 Termagant] termagant *Bryd., Coll.*
- p. 52.8 ordinaunce] ordnance *Bryd.*
- p. 52.24 moderatour] moderation *Bryd.*
- p. 52.28 Superarrogation] *Supererogation* *Bryd.*: *Supererogation* *Coll.*, *Smith*
- p. 52.28 Howbeit] Howbeit, *Coll.*, *Smith*
- p. 52.36 Sadolet] Sandolet *Gros.*
- p. 52.42 obstinacy:) you] obstinacy). You *Coll.*
- p. 52.43 alone:] alone *Smith*
- p. 52.45 Martin] *Martin* *Bryd.*
- p. 52.45 meacocke] mea-cocke *Coll.*
- p. 52.45 Papp-hatchet] *Pap-hatchet* *Bryd.*
- p. 53.2 Straunge Newes] strange news *Bryd.*
- p. 53.2 foure Letters] four letters *Bryd.*
- p. 53.8 revolution] resolution *Smith*
- p. 53.11 troupe] troop *Bryd.*
- p. 53.12 an other] *Gros.*
- p. 53.16 budd] but *Bryd.*
- p. 53.19 Pierce Pennillesse] *PIERCE PENNILESS* *Bryd.*
- p. 53.25 gambolds] gambols *Bryd.*
- p. 53.25 gagliards] galliards *Bryd.*
- p. 53.36 complements] compliments *Bryd.*
- p. 53.42 Supererogation] *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 53.43 name:] name *Smith*
- p. 53.47 Arte] arts *Bryd.*
- p. 54.5 superiours] superiours. *Bryd.*
- p. 54.8 Antickes] antiques *Bryd.*
- p. 54.15 Conny-catcher] *Coney-catcher* *Bryd.*
- p. 54.19 for] of *Bryd.*
- p. 54.20 Supererogation] *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 54.32 carrion?] carrion. *Bryd.*
- p. 54.35 lines] liues *Smith*
- p. 54.37 incarnate?] incarnate! *Bryd., Coll.*, *Smith*
- p. 54.48 throssher] thresher *Bryd.*
- p. 55.18 Cutter] cutler *Coll.*
- p. 55.25 can] Can *Bryd., Coll.*
- p. 55.27 what] What *Bryd., Coll.*
- p. 55.30 whatchicaltes] what-do-ye-call-it's *Bryd.*
- p. 55.31 sithence] sethence *Smith*
- p. 55.33 hotchpott] hotchpot c.w.
- p. 55.36 Philip] Philip, *Coll.*, *Gros.*, *Smith*
- p. 55.38 honoureth,] honoureth *Coll.*
- p. 55.39 facility] facility, *Coll.*
- p. 55.39 finely] finally *Bryd.*
- p. 55.41 Antoninus] Antonius *Coll.*
- p. 55.43 as great a] a great *Bryd.*
- p. 55.46 that] om. *Bryd.*
- p. 56.1 slicke] sleek *Bryd.*
- p. 56.3 betters] better, *Bryd.*
- p. 56.13 Hande] Handle *Gros.*
- p. 56.16 Emprese] empress *Bryd.*: Empress *Coll.*
- p. 56.23 but a] but with a *Gros.*
- p. 56.27 an] om. *Bryd.*
- p. 56.29 straunge newes] Straunge Newes *Coll.*
- p. 56.30 Pierce] *Pierce* *Bryd.*
- p. 56.30 Penniles] *Penniless* *Bryd.*
- p. 56.31 with out] without *Gros.*
- p. 56.32 Pierce] *Pierce* *Bryd.*
- p. 56.37 Astronomy: holla sir,] astronomy. Holla, sir! *Coll.*
- p. 56.38 S. Fame] *S. Fame* *Bryd.*
- p. 56.41 Pierces Supererogation] *Pierce's* *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 56.41 Penniles] *Penniless* *Bryd.*
- p. 56.45 Nashe] *Nash* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.4-5 worke of Supererogation] work of *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.8 lawing] lowing *Bryd.*
- p. 57.9 sturring] slurring *Bryd.*
- p. 57.16-17 of Pierces Supererogation] of *Pierce's* *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.18 pole,] pole *Coll.*, *Smith*
- p. 57.22 Mercuriall] mercuriall *Coll.*
- p. 57.23 of Supererogation] of *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.25 of Pierces Supererogation] of *Pierce's* *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.27 with Pierces Supererogation] with *Pierce's* *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.28-29 pick-goose] *Bryd.*
- p. 57.29 one] on *Coll.*
- p. 57.30 cutt] *Gros.*: out *Bryd.*: outt *Smith*
- p. 57.33 of Supererogation] of *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.36 foresaid Supererogation] foresaid *Supererogation* *Bryd.*
- p. 57.38 aswell] as well *Coll.*
- p. 57.43 aswell] as well *Coll.*
- p. 58.3 attonce] att once *Smith*
- p. 58.4 agony] *Err.*, *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*: angoy *Wolfe*
- p. 58.8 a new] *Smith*: anew *Gros.*
- p. 58.9 a new] *Smith*: anew *Gros.*
- p. 58.13 Messias] *Bryd.*
- p. 58.14 Pyromachy] *Bryd.*
- p. 58.16 Riccobonus] *Niccobonus* *Coll.*
- p. 58.19 Basill] Basil *Bryd.*
- p. 58.19 Pandectes] *Pandects* *Bryd.*
- p. 58.26 Apollonius] *Appolornus* *Coll.*
- p. 58.28 Pierce,] *Pierce!* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 58.30 apparaunce] appearance *Bryd.*
- p. 58.34 discharged] charged *Smith*

- p. 58.42 simply] simple *Bryd.*  
p. 58.48 Supererogation] *Supererogation Bryd.*  
p. 59.4 Coweherds] coward's *Bryd.*  
p. 59.9 bewraieth] betrayeth *Bryd.*  
p. 59.22 Spagirique] spagirique *Bryd.*  
p. 59.23 Magique] magic *Bryd.*  
p. 59.26 mouth of] *om. Bryd.*  
p. 59.29 Mongibello: now] Mongibello. Now *Coll.*  
p. 59.30 Alarme:] alarm, *Bryd.*  
p. 59.30-31 thou...enough] thou...enough *Bryd.*  
p. 59.33 proved?] proved! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 59.33 geere] geer *Bryd.*  
p. 59.39 out-of-cry] out of-cry *Coll.*  
p. 59.39 about] *Gros.*: a bout *Bryd.*  
p. 59.46 promisse] promises *Bryd.*  
p. 60.1 What] What, *Coll.*  
p. 60.7 schooleth] *Err., Gros.*: scholeth *Wolfe, Coll.*  
p. 60.15 sentences] sentence *Bryd.*  
p. 60.21 case] ease *Bryd.*  
p. 60.26 I ever] *euer I Gros.*  
p. 60.32 toward] towards *Gros.*  
p. 60.42 Heaven] heaven *Bryd.*  
p. 60.45 greenest] *greenest Bryd.*  
p. 61.3 Grotes-worth] *grotes-worth Gros.*  
p. 61.4 Supererogation] *Supererogation Bryd.*  
p. 61.9 hould-out] hould-hout *Coll.*  
p. 61.23 Superarrogatory] *Supererogatory Bryd.*  
p. 61.45 Leripup] *Bryd.*  
p. 62.17 aweary] weary *Bryd.*  
p. 62.18 a skin] asking *Bryd.*  
p. 62.18 indistillation] in distillation *Bryd.*  
p. 62.22 unguent] *Vnguent Gros.*  
p. 62.24 Poggius.] *Poggius Coll.*  
p. 62.26-27 Pierce Penniles] *Pierce Penniless Bryd.*  
p. 62.27 spurt] spirt *Bryd.*  
p. 62.32 Letters] letters *Bryd.*  
p. 62.35 S. Fame] *S. Fame Bryd.*  
p. 62.35 cole] *om. Gros.*  
p. 62.36 chalke.] chalk! *Bryd.*: chalke! *Coll.*  
p. 62.43 judgment] indgment *Gros.*  
p. 62.44 any thing] anything *Gros.*  
p. 63.1 somedeale] *Gros.*  
p. 63.2 some deale] *Gros.*  
p. 63.7 Mælius] *Melius Bryd.*  
p. 63.11 bable] babble *Bryd.*  
p. 63.22 utterly] uttery *Coll.*  
p. 63.22 imprinted] vnprinted *Gros.*  
p. 63.31 Bartholmew] Bartholomew *Coll.*  
p. 63.40 smal] si[g]nal *Coll.*  
p. 64.7 it. There] it There *Gros.*  
p. 64.10 high waye] highwaye *Gros.*  
p. 64.19 Quem] *Quem, Coll.*  
p. 64.19 For] *New par. Coll., Gros.*  
p. 64.25 of a] of *Bryd.*  
p. 64.32 are] are, *Bryd.*  
p. 64.33 Fleete] fleet, *Bryd.*  
p. 64.33 intimate] imitate *Bryd.*  
p. 64.36-37 non proficient] non-proficient *Bryd.*  
p. 64.37 matters,] matters,; *Wolfe*  
p. 64.37 Arte of Cunnychatching] arte of cunny catching *Coll.*  
p. 64.44 in] into *Gros.*  
p. 65.3 Kilprickes] Kilpricks *Bryd.*  
p. 65.9 Counter] Compter *Bryd.*  
p. 65.10 les] les[t] *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 65.15 S. Fame] *S. Fame Bryd.*  
p. 65.24 Epicures] the epicure's *Bryd.*  
p. 65.27 Kenols] Kenol's *Bryd.*  
p. 65.31 Theurgy,] theurgy; *Bryd.*  
p. 65.32 muchgoditch-them] much good itch them *Bryd.*  
p. 65.37 Lumbardy] Lombardy *Bryd.*  
p. 65.38 thy selfe] thyselfe *Gros.*  
p. 66.1 Confuter of Letters] confuter of letters *Coll.*  
p. 66.17 it selfe] *Smith*  
p. 66.18 it selfe] *Gros., Smith*  
p. 66.40 Dyamant] diamond *Bryd.*  
p. 66.41 Dyamant] diamond *Bryd.*  
p. 66.45 Ferrara] Ferrara *Bryd.*  
p. 67.7 it selfe] *Smith*  
p. 67.12 infections] infectious *Bryd., Gros., Smith*  
p. 67.14 Travail] travel *Bryd.*  
p. 67.17 an other] *Smith*  
p. 67.27 Humfrye] Humflye *Coll.*  
p. 67.30 travail] travel *Bryd.*  
p. 67.30 Forbisher] *Bryd.*  
p. 67.37 betwixt] *Err.*: bewixt *Wolfe*  
p. 67.38 Grinvile] Granville *Bryd.*  
p. 67.39 fury: for] fury. *New par. For Bryd.*:  
fury. For *Coll., Smith*  
p. 67.43 beholding] beholden *Bryd.*  
p. 67.45 Travail] travel *Bryd.*  
p. 68.1 cry?] cry, *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 68.2 faddles] fadles *c.w.*  
p. 68.7 valorous] valarous *Coll.*  
p. 68.11 an other] another *Gros.*  
p. 68.12 in so much] *Gros.*  
p. 68.18 Militare] militare *Bryd.*  
p. 68.31 Court of Honour] court of honour *Coll.*  
p. 68.36 him,] him *Coll., Smith*  
p. 68.45 Zelmane,] Zelmane. *Gros.*  
p. 69.8 Odysse] *Bryd.*  
p. 69.11 himselfe] him selfe *Smith*  
p. 69.22 Martial] Martiall *Coll.*  
p. 69.23 a] *om. Bryd.*  
p. 69.23 Lepanto] *Lepanto Coll.*  
p. 69.26 accompt] account *Bryd.*  
p. 69.26 their July] July *Coll.*  
p. 69.27 travaile] travel *Bryd.*  
p. 69.35 Urany] Urania *Bryd.*  
p. 69.37 Bartas] Bartis *Coll.*

p. 69.44 maturest] *om. Smith*  
 p. 69.48 Magnes] magnet *Bryd.*  
 p. 70.8 resolute] a resolute *Bryd.*  
 p. 70.8 aëry] *Bryd.*  
 p. 70.9 Warlie] warlike *Coll.*  
 p. 70.14 a] *om. Bryd.*  
 p. 70.14 emproved] improved *Bryd.*  
 p. 70.24 Argonauticall] argonauticall *Coll.*  
 p. 70.25 Nimble Entelechy] Nimble Entelechy *Coll.*  
 p. 70.40 emproveth] improveth *Bryd.*  
 p. 70.43 Seraphicall] seraphicall *Coll.*  
 p. 71.4 him] *hm Wolfe*  
 p. 71.12 report; a] report, and *Gros.*  
 p. 71.21 Mercuriall] mercuriall *Coll.*  
 p. 71.21 Martiall] martiall *Coll.*  
 p. 71.25 somuch] *Gros.*  
 p. 71.25 impunitie] impunities *Bryd.*: impuritie *Coll.*  
 p. 71.28 &] *om. Bryd.*  
 p. 71.31 itsel[e] *om. Bryd.*  
 p. 71.41 graffes] grafts *Bryd.*  
 p. 71.41 grand] graund *c.w., Gros.*  
 p. 71.45 Follie] Folly *Bryd.*  
 p. 72.7 justifie] justice *Bryd.*  
 p. 72.14 Pandare] pandar *Bryd.*  
 p. 72.18 emprooveth] improveth *Bryd.*  
 p. 72.27 æger] eager *Bryd.*  
 p. 72.27 æger] eager *Bryd.*  
 p. 72.34 sprite of] *Bryd., Coll., Gros.*: sprite or *Wolfe*  
 p. 73.14 Emprese] impress *Bryd.*  
 p. 73.18 of the world] of [the] world *Gros.*  
 p. 73.18 suttelliest] subtlest *Bryd.*  
 p. 73.27 scurrilitie, or] scurrilitie *Gros.*  
 p. 73.29 lentre stuffe] *Lenten Stuff Bryd.*  
 p. 73.32 wrinch] wrench *Bryd.*  
 p. 73.32 hale] hail *Bryd.*  
 p. 73.33 times;] times! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 73.33 pastimes;] pastimes! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 73.34 knaverie.] knavery! *Bryd.*: knaverie! *Coll.*  
 p. 73.34 residue] residue, *Coll.*  
 p. 74.1 arread] read *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.5 stie] flie *Gros.*  
 p. 74.6 arreare] arrear *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.7 travaill] travel *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.9 Supererogation] *Supererogation Bryd.*  
 p. 74.18 many] *om. Gros.*  
 p. 74.18 phah.] pha! *Bryd.*: phah! *Coll.*  
 p. 74.23 perforce. Subscribed] perforce: subscribed *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.23 a wait] *Coll., Gros., Smith:* a wait *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.29 Venus] Venus' *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.33 woorkes] wookes *Coll.*  
 p. 74.34 Path)] path): *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.35 A wait] *Coll.*: Await *Bryd.*  
 p. 74.39 reacquite] reacquit *Bryd.*  
 p. 75.1 pore-blind] *Bryd.*

p. 75.2 fordead] foredead *Bryd.*  
 p. 75.3 Welfare] Well fare *Bryd.*  
 p. 75.5 nature, or undertaketh incredibilities in] *om. Bryd.*  
 p. 75.10 materiall] a material *Bryd.*  
 p. 75.17 A.] A *Gros.*  
 p. 75.24 thesaid] the said *Gros.*  
 p. 75.28 of a new] of new *Gros.*  
 p. 75.28 Martinisme] *Bryd.*  
 p. 75.30 Martinisme] *Bryd.*  
 p. 75.30 railing] *Err., Coll.*: railing: *Wolfe*  
 p. 75.35 occasionet] *Bryd.*  
 p. 75.41 this] his *Bryd.*

#### An Advertisement for Pap-hatchet, and Martin Mar-prelate

p. 77.4 Euphues] *Euphues Bryd.*  
 p. 77.5 Euphues] *Euphues Bryd.*  
 p. 77.6 Euphues] *Euphues Bryd.*  
 p. 77.6 Pap-hatchet] *Pap-hatchet Bryd.*  
 p. 77.7 lullabied] lubbabied *Gros.*  
 p. 77.7 Papp] *Papp Bryd.*  
 p. 77.8 hatchet] *Hatchet Bryd.*  
 p. 77.14-15 holly-water] holy water *Bryd.*  
 p. 77.18 Euphues] *Euphues Bryd.*  
 p. 77.19 Lilly] *Lilly Bryd.*  
 p. 77.20 frend;] frend *Coll., Smith*  
 p. 77.20 Papp] *pap Bryd.*  
 p. 77.21 hatchet] *hatchet Bryd.*  
 p. 77.24 happly] happily *Bryd.*  
 p. 77.31 Barthol] Barthol. *Smith*  
 p. 77.31 Saxoferrato;] Saxo ferrato; *Gros.*: Saxoferrato, *Smith*  
 p. 77.34 young-man:] young man; *Smith*  
 p. 77.40 cætera] *cetera Gros., Smith*  
 p. 77.46 devise] *Bryd.*  
 p. 77.47 wittnesse] witness *Bryd.*  
 p. 77.49 hoony like] hoony is like *Smith*  
 p. 77.49 papp:] Papp, *Smith*  
 p. 78.1 Ile make] He makes *Bryd.*  
 p. 78.5 marveilous] maruellous *Gros.*: maruellous, *Smith*  
 p. 78.12 no Ho. So,] no Ho! So, *Bryd.*: no 'Ho So,' *Smith*  
 p. 78.13 Promotour: roome] Promotour. *Roome Smith*  
 p. 78.17 hairebrain'd] haire brain'd *Gros.*  
 p. 78.17-18 or wearied his reader with more thread-bare jestes;] *om. Gros.*  
 p. 78.20 Absolon] Absalon *Bryd.*  
 p. 78.21 pert-conceited] pert conceited *Smith*  
 p. 78.23 Euphues] *Euphues Bryd.*  
 p. 78.23 Simile] *simile Bryd.*  
 p. 78.24 Ile, Ile, Ile] I'le, I'le, I'le *Bryd.*  
 p. 78.38 Similes] *similies Bryd.*  
 p. 78.38 Bulles] bull's *Bryd.*  
 p. 78.46 papp] *pap Bryd.*  
 p. 78.46 hatchet] *hatchet Bryd.*  
 p. 78.48 haply] *Bryd.*

p. 78.50 *Ile, Ile, Ile*] *I'le, I'le, I'le Bryd.: Ile, Ile, Ile Gros.*  
 p. 78.3 *alas*] *alas, Bryd., Smith*  
 p. 78.5 *thatsame*] *that same Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 78.7 *Euphuisme*] *Euphuism Bryd.*  
 p. 78.9 *sithence*] *since Bryd.*  
 p. 79.11 *afterclappes*] *after clapps Gros.*  
 p. 79.11 *Hatchet*] *Hatchet Bryd.*  
 p. 79.25 *odd*] *odd, Gros.*  
 p. 79.36 *percase*] *per case Coll.*  
 p. 79.40 *nor*] *not Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 79.41 *glicking*] *Bryd.*  
 p. 79.49 *travaile*] *travel Bryd.*  
 p. 80.5 *incredible-great*] *incredible great Bryd.*  
 p. 80.5 *exceeding-much*] *exceeding much Bryd.*  
 p. 80.6 *Councils*] *councils Bryd.*  
 p. 80.11 *gouvernement*] *governments Bryd.*  
 p. 80.20 *opiniotive*] *opiniative Bryd.*  
 p. 80.26 *reane*] *rein Bryd.*  
 p. 80.26 *be*] *he Bryd.*  
 p. 80.27 *newfangled*] *unfangled Bryd.*  
 p. 80.34 *greater*] *great Bryd.*  
 p. 80.39 *Hierusalem*] *Bryd.*  
 p. 80.44 *Hierusalem*] *Bryd.*  
 p. 80.51 *how many*] *many, Coll.*  
 p. 81.22 *someway*] *some way Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 81.31 *converted*] *conquered Gros.*  
 p. 81.32 *travailed*] *traveled Bryd.*  
 p. 81.33 *howsoever*] *howsoever, Bryd.*  
 p. 81.35 *The*] *Our Bryd.*  
 p. 81.38 *reverend*] *reuerent Gros.*  
 p. 81.42 *of*] *for Coll.*  
 p. 81.45 *dissolutest*] *dissolutest of Bryd.*  
 p. 81.50 *thesame*] *the same Gros.*  
 p. 82.29 *Princes*] *prince's Coll.*  
 p. 82.43 *linne*] *leave Bryd.*  
 p. 82.50 *52000.*] *5200. Gros.*  
 p. 83.1 *thesayd*] *the sayd Gros.*  
 p. 83.15 *ἐν πρὸς ἐν ἐνκρος ἐν Gros.*  
 p. 83.16 *attonce*] *att once Gros.*  
 p. 83.25 *Apostles:] Apostles. Bryd.*  
 p. 83.26 *afewe*] *a few Gros.*  
 p. 83.30 *Orthodoxall*] *orthodox all Coll.*  
 p. 83.33 *afewe*] *a few Gros.*  
 p. 83.43 *and every Minister within the precinct of his territorie.] om. Gros.*  
 p. 83.44 *Presbiter*] *presbiter Coll.*  
 p. 83.46 *thesayd*] *the sayd Gros.*  
 p. 83.47 *Roome*] *room Bryd.: roome Coll.*  
 p. 83.48 *Stoiques*] *stoiques Coll.*  
 p. 83.49 *Junius Brutus*] *Junius Brutus, Coll.*  
 p. 83.50 *somway*] *some way Bryd.*  
 p. 84.8 *thesame*] *the same Gros.*  
 p. 84.10 *Politiques*] *politics Bryd.*  
 p. 84.12 *gouvernement?] government! Bryd.: gouvernement! Coll.*  
 p. 84.14 *that Pamflet of*] *that Pamflet of Coll.*  
 p. 84.15 *regiment*] *regimen Bryd.*  
 p. 84.34 *middest*] *Bryd.*

p. 84.41 *inextinguible*] *inextinguishable Bryd.*  
 p. 84.47 *Elder-tree*] *Alder-tree Bryd.*  
 p. 85.7 *Elder-trees*] *alder trees Bryd.*  
 p. 85.9 *Elders*] *alders Bryd.*  
 p. 85.9 *Good*] *Good, Bryd.*  
 p. 85.12 *I*] *om. Bryd.*  
 p. 85.17 *Ramus*] *Remus Bryd.*  
 p. 85.17 *Erastus*] *Erastius Coll.*  
 p. 85.19 *Apostataes*] *apostates Bryd.*  
 p. 85.42 *Democracy*] *democrity Coll.*  
 p. 85.42 *rost*] *roast Bryd.*  
 p. 85.45 *Sea*] *See Bryd.*  
 p. 85.46 *Democracy*] *democracy Coll.*  
 p. 85.47 *Aristocracy*] *Bryd.*  
 p. 85.50 *Councils*] *counsels Bryd.*  
 p. 86.24 *respectes: as*] *respectes? As Coll.*  
 p. 86.25 *Dioces*] *dioceses Bryd.*  
 p. 86.29 *Evodius*] *Coll.: Euodius Wolfe, Bryd.*  
 p. 86.33 *Thesame*] *The same Gros.*  
 p. 86.39 *it.] it! Coll.: it? Gros.*  
 p. 87.13 *could*] *would Bryd.*  
 p. 87.39 *Anarchie.] Anarchy Bryd.*  
 p. 87.39 *Ataxie*] *Bryd.*  
 p. 87.40 *Thatsame*] *That same Gros.*  
 p. 88.14 *sweetest*] *sweet Bryd.*  
 p. 88.29 *Est Amen*] *est amen Bryd.: eft amen Coll.*  
 p. 88.30 *veales*] *veils Bryd.*  
 p. 88.38 *is.] is Bryd.*  
 p. 88.42 *afewe*] *a few Gros.*  
 p. 88.50 *wide: as*] *wide. As Coll.*  
 p. 88.51 *intelligerent.] intelligerent, Coll.*  
 p. 89.6 *indeede*] *in deed Bryd.: in deede Coll.*  
 p. 89.7 *Howbeit*] *Howbeit, Bryd.*  
 p. 89.19 *prejudicatly*] *prejudicially Bryd.*  
 p. 89.22 *Browne*] *Brown Bryd.*  
 p. 89.22 *complices*] *'complices Bryd.*  
 p. 89.25 *Gorge*] *George Coll.*  
 p. 89.26 *Turkesing*] *Bryd.*  
 p. 89.26 *what:] what. Bryd.*  
 p. 89.37 *stayed*] *Bryd.*  
 p. 89.41 *alteration*] *alteratiō Wolfe: altercatiō Gros.*  
 p. 89.41 *wall:] wall. Bryd.*  
 p. 90.9 *the forme*] *forms Bryd.*  
 p. 90.10 *other: what*] *other. What, Coll.*  
 p. 90.11 *wrinched*] *wrenched Bryd.*  
 p. 90.12 *What*] *What, Coll.*  
 p. 90.13 *What*] *What, Coll.*  
 p. 90.15 *saintified*] *be sanctified Bryd.*  
 p. 90.15 *Browne*] *Brown Bryd.*  
 p. 90.16 *Familistes*] *familistis Bryd.*  
 p. 90.27 *Nabuchodonosor*] *Nebuchodonosor Coll.*  
 p. 90.29 *apostataes*] *apostates Bryd.*  
 p. 90.32 *Copia Verborum*] *copia verborum Coll.*  
 p. 90.36 *Hydras*] *hydras Coll.*  
 p. 90.37 *later*] *late Bryd.*  
 p. 90.38 *scismatique*] *scismatique Coll.*



p. 90.39 Gorge] *Coll.*  
 p. 90.41 Browne] Brown *Bryd.*  
 p. 90.43 assertions?] assertions! *Bryd.*:  
 assertions! *Coll.*  
 p. 90.44 Zuinglius] *Bryd.*  
 p. 90.44 Oecolampadius] Æcolampadius *Bryd.*  
 p. 90.46 Traverse] *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.1 not] no *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.1 Rabi Alphes] Rabi-Alphes *Coll.*  
 p. 91.2 Gorge] *Coll.*  
 p. 91.3 Church. Superhappy] Church:  
 superhappy *Coll.*  
 p. 91.8 Hydras] *Coll.*  
 p. 91.8 shoulders] shouldiers *Gros.*  
 p. 91.9 Christall,] crystal *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.10 exaltation] exultation *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.14-15 best-advised. *New par.* Even] *Run*  
*on in Gros.*  
 p. 91.15 Poole] *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.18 Condy] Conde *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.18 Reuclin] *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.26 Bodine] *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.33 itselfe] it selfe *Gros.*  
 p. 91.37 Syren] *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.46 Iamblicus] Jamblicus *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.46 vayle] veil *Bryd.*  
 p. 91.47 Melancton] Melanc[h]ton *Gros.*  
 p. 92.4-5 holly-holly-holly] *Bryd.*  
 p. 92.15 unto] to *Gros.*  
 p. 92.24 thatsame] that same *Gros.*  
 p. 92.25 thatsame] that same *Gros.*  
 p. 92.28 divorced, or] divorced, *Coll.*  
 p. 92.38 followed?] followed *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 92.47 Gorge] *Coll.*  
 p. 92.49 Browne] Brown *Bryd.*  
 p. 93.1 fooles Paradises] fools of Paradise  
*Bryd.*  
 p. 93.4 Discipline:] discipline, *Bryd.*  
 p. 93.5 Reformation:] reformation *Bryd.*  
 p. 93.7 affect] effect *Bryd.*  
 p. 93.9 know] know, *Gros.*  
 p. 93.21 Howbeit] Howbeit, *Bryd.*  
 p. 93.33 scantly] scantily *Bryd.*  
 p. 93.33 thesame] the same *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
 p. 93.34 thesame] the same *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
 p. 93.38 Proselites?] Proselites. *Gros.*  
 p. 93.41 Jurie] jury *Bryd.*  
 p. 93.46 whither] whether *Gros.*  
 p. 93.48 methinkes] me thinkes *Gros.*  
 p. 93.50 somuch] *Coll.*  
 p. 94.1 any thing] anything *Gros.*  
 p. 94.4 one] on *Coll.*  
 p. 94.8 holly] holy *Bryd.*  
 p. 94.16 thesame] the same *Gros.*  
 p. 94.25 meerly] merely *Coll.*  
 p. 94.26 meerly] *Coll.*  
 p. 94.41 their] the *Bryd.*  
 p. 94.41 too-magnificall] too magnificent  
*Bryd.*  
 p. 94.45 moother-sea] mother See *Bryd.*

p. 94.49 Roome] Rome *Bryd.*: roome *Coll.*  
 p. 95.2 Popularly] popularity *Bryd.*  
 p. 95.11 percase] per case *Bryd.*  
 p. 95.13 What] What, *Coll.*  
 p. 95.15 with the wind] with wind *Bryd.*  
 p. 95.20 Apostata] apostata *Bryd.*  
 p. 95.23 case] cases *Bryd.*  
 p. 95.29 please. Yet] please; yet *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 95.40 greatest] great *Bryd.*  
 p. 95.41 ἀνυπέδυνον] ἀνυμέννον *Gros.*  
 p. 95.41 neede] neede to *Gros.*  
 p. 96.3 corruptions] corruption *Gros.*  
 p. 96.15 Bartholmew] Bartholomew *Bryd.*,  
*Coll.*  
 p. 96.20 scantly] *Bryd.*  
 p. 96.35 interested] interested *Bryd.*  
 p. 96.46 nusled] misled *Bryd.*  
 p. 96.50 æger] eager *Bryd.*: ægar *Gros.*  
 p. 97.18 a hundred, and] *om.* *Bryd.*  
 p. 97.25 publique] publique *Coll.*  
 p. 97.47 the map of] *om.* *Bryd.*  
 p. 98.1 Alas,] Alas! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
 p. 98.3 Politiques] politiques *Coll.*  
 p. 98.13 quire] *Bryd.*  
 p. 98.16 Delphical] delphical *Coll.*  
 p. 98.22 artisan] artisan's *Bryd.*  
 p. 98.36 carrieth] carries *Bryd.*  
 p. 98.45 Summists] Sumnists *Bryd.*  
 p. 98.45 whiles] whilst *Bryd.*  
 p. 98.46 such sweating] such a sweating *Gros.*  
 p. 99.1 Drowt] draught *Bryd.*  
 p. 99.6 ending:] ending. *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
 p. 99.7 scit] sciat *Bryd.*  
 p. 99.8 honour:) what] honour.) What *Coll.*  
 p. 99.10 water?] water. *Gros.*  
 p. 99.12 Cumque] Cumq; Wolfe: Cumq.; *Gros.*  
 p. 99.17 wottest] knowest *Coll.*  
 p. 99.18 Blisse] bliss *Bryd.*  
 p. 99.21 platforme] plat-forme *Gros.*  
 p. 99.30 overlashing] everlasting *Coll.*  
 p. 99.35 someway] some way *Gros.*  
 p. 100.8 hard,] hard; *Bryd.*  
 p. 100.21 distinction; We] distinction. We  
*Coll.*  
 p. 100.36 Wheresoever] Where soeuer *Gros.*  
 p. 100.38 in somuch] *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
 p. 100.42 wonders] won. ders Wolfe (*the full*  
*stop should be a hyphen; the first part of the*  
*word comes at the end of the line*)  
 p. 101.15 Scythians] Scythions *Coll.*  
 p. 101.22 consort] concert *Bryd.*  
 p. 101.23 whiles] whilst *Bryd.*  
 p. 101.25 in] of *Gros.*  
 p. 101.31 Bartholmew] Bartholomew *Coll.*  
 p. 101.35 an other] *Coll.*  
 p. 101.44 maioraltie] *Coll.*: mayoralty *Bryd.*  
 p. 101.44 fiercely] sweetly *Bryd.*  
 p. 101.51 at] *om.* *Bryd.*  
 p. 102.3 Ideas] ideas *Bryd.*  
 p. 102.7 scantly] *Bryd.*

p. 102.9 marke] marke, *Gros*.  
 p. 102.10 good] good, *Gros*.  
 p. 102.16 perfection] imperfection *Bryd*.  
 p. 102.25 prejudicate] *Bryd*.  
 p. 102.26 conceit] conceits *Bryd*.  
 p. 102.37 Browne] Brown *Bryd*.  
 p. 102.39 the Senate] Senate *Gros*.  
 p. 102.44 graver] grave *Bryd*.  
 p. 102.44 nodoubt] no doubt *Coll.*, *Gros*.  
 p. 102.45 M. Travers, M. Cartwright] Mr. Travers, M. Cartwright *Bryd*.  
 p. 103.2 hoise-up] hoise up *Bryd*.  
 p. 103.9 particularities] particulars *Bryd*.  
 p. 103.17 his] this *Bryd*.  
 p. 103.27 face.] face. *Coll*.  
 p. 103.28 itwere] it were *Coll.*, *Gros*.  
 p. 103.37 No-boddy] Nobody *Bryd*.  
 p. 103.37 some boddy] somebody *Gros*.  
 p. 103.40 No-boddy] nobody *Bryd*.  
 p. 103.43 fordead] for dead *Gros*.  
 p. 103.44 of] *om.* *Bryd*.  
 p. 103.46 *Epistle*] *Epistle[s]* *Coll*.  
 p. 104.6 something, when] something yet *Gros*.  
 p. 104.7 losers] *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.11 bable] babble *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.13 Art: I] art. *New par.* I *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.14 Bable] *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.15 Bables] *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.24 *chafing penne*] *chafing-penne* *Gros*.  
 p. 104.24 *realmes*] *reams* *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.25 aventure] a venture *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.36 *Corinthian*] *a Corinthian* *Gros*.  
 p. 104.39 affirmed?] affirmed, *Bryd.*, *Coll*.  
 p. 104.39 *hele*] *he* *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.39 *dye*] *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.39 *deceit*:] *deceit?* *Coll*.  
 p. 104.45 Errant Knights] *Bryd*.  
 p. 104.49 haply] happily *Bryd*.  
 p. 105.2 savour] favour *Coll*.  
 p. 105.2 thesame] the same *Smith*  
 p. 105.6 Darcyes] Darcye's *Bryd*.  
 p. 105.10 comfites] cōfites *Wolfe*: confits *Bryd*.  
 p. 105.12 Electuaries] electuaries, *Bryd*.  
 p. 105.13 Amber.] amber *Bryd.*: Amber *Smith*  
 p. 105.16 Comfortatives] comformatives *Bryd*.  
 p. 105.22 upon a] upon *Bryd*.  
 p. 105.31 Affections:] affections! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: Affections! *Smith*  
 p. 105.42 Muses.] Muses, *Wolfe* Muses *Smith*  
 p. 106.2 *Il'e, Il'e, Il'e*] *I'le, I'le, I'le* *Bryd.*: *Ile, Ile, Ile* *Coll.*, *Smith*  
 p. 106.3 harebraind] hair-brained *Bryd.*: hare braind *Gros.*: harebrained *Smith*  
 p. 106.5 any] any of *Gros*.  
 p. 106.6 condemnation] commendation *Bryd*.  
 p. 106.10 Realmes] realms *Bryd*.  
 p. 106.10 Wast-paper:] Wast-paper, *Gros.*, *Smith*

p. 106.12 fome] sum *Bryd*.  
 p. 106.16 Overflowe] Ouer flowe *Gros*.  
 p. 106.21 thatsame] that same *Gros*.  
 p. 106.25 or a discourser] *Err.*: or Discourser *Wolfe*: or a discourse *Bryd.*: or discourse *Coll*.  
 p. 106.25 thatsame] that same *Coll.*, *Gros*.  
 p. 106.27 not] *Bryd.*, *Coll.*: no *Wolfe*: no[t] *Gros*.  
 p. 106.35 spannel] *Coll.*: spānel *Wolfe*: spaniel *Bryd*.  
 p. 106.37 asmuch] as much *Coll*.  
 p. 106.39 Babees] babe's *Bryd*.  
 p. 106.43 Bumcarde] Bumbarde *Gros*.

### *Pierces Supererogation Book III*

p. 107.3-4 Pierce Penniles] *Pierce Pennyless* *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.4-5 Greene, Greene] *Greene, Greene* *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.5 Euphues, Euphues] *Euphues, Euphues* *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.5 Envie] *Envy* *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.8 yokefellowes] yoke fellowes *Coll*.  
 p. 107.9 Howbeit] Howbeit, *Bryd.*, *Coll*.  
 p. 107.10 *Suffenus*] *suffenus* *Coll*.  
 p. 107.10 *Shakerly*] *shakerly* *Coll*.  
 p. 107.12 bravure] bravery *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.13 bondman] bondsman *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.15 confederacie] confedracie *Coll*.  
 p. 107.17 Crosbiting] *Crossbiting* *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.21 Dunsmore heath] Dunsmoor-heath *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.24 Pap] *Pap* *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.29 mowgh] *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.30 thesaid] the said *Coll.*, *Gros*.  
 p. 107.33 unworth] unworthy *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.34 emprooved] emproved *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.36 squised] squeezed *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.37 sallat] salad *Bryd*.  
 p. 107.39-40 or banning Virgill reared against Arius, that spoiled him.] *om.* *Gros*.  
 p. 107.47 Homericall] homericall *Coll*.  
 p. 107.49 foled] foaled *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.1 botchers] brother's *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.3 Where] Were *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.3 Rodomont.] Rodomont *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.7 *dye*,] *die*; *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.7 He] *New par.* *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros*.  
 p. 108.8 contemne] continue *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.10 tidy] tiny *Gros*.  
 p. 108.12 poinado] poinardo *Gros*.  
 p. 108.14 fauchon] faulchion *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.15 greene-motley] *green-motley* *Bryd*.  
 p. 108.15 desolate. Ah,] desolate! Ah! *Bryd.*, *Coll*.  
 p. 108.16 Fame] fame *Coll*.  
 p. 108.17 Sainct] saint *Coll*.  
 p. 108.22 Proffit:] Proffit. *Gros*.  
 p. 108.23 troupe] troop *Bryd*.

- p. 108.24 festively] festinatly *Coll.*  
p. 108.29 dote] doat *Bryd.*  
p. 108.32 Iwis] *Bryd.*: I wis *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 108.37 flowers: now] flowers. None *Bryd.*  
p. 108.45 stale] state *Coll.*  
p. 108.47 anyway] any way *Gros.*  
p. 109.2 Hallyday] holiday *Bryd.*: a hallyday *Coll.*  
p. 109.5 Phy,] Fie! *Bryd.*: Phy! *Coll.*  
p. 109.7 rampe] romp *Bryd.*  
p. 109.9 gillian-flurtes] gallian-flurtes *Bryd.*  
p. 109.17 scrattop] scrattap *Bryd.*  
p. 109.20 asteepe] asleepe *Coll.*  
p. 109.25 the] *om.* *Bryd.*  
p. 109.30 possessions] possessions, *Coll.*  
p. 109.30 by] *Err.*: thy *Wolfe*, *Coll.*  
p. 109.32 incase] in case *Gros.*  
p. 109.32 Rhetorique] Rhetorique *Wolfe*  
('Rheto-' appears at the end of a line)  
p. 109.33-34 He-or She-drabs] He- or She-drabs *Gros.*  
p. 109.34 dyed] died *Bryd.*  
p. 109.35 croking] *Bryd.*  
p. 109.36 jade] aid *Bryd.*  
p. 109.37 longtaild] long taid *Gros.*  
p. 109.38 arrant] errant *Bryd.*  
p. 109.41 that] thou *Gros.*  
p. 109.45 Butterwhore] Butter whore *Gros.*  
p. 109.45 butterwhore] butter whore *Gros.*  
p. 109.49 Tonges] tongues *Coll.*  
p. 110.4 terme] term, *Bryd.*  
p. 110.6 maine-chaunces] many chances *Bryd.*  
p. 110.6 loose;] lose; *Bryd.*  
p. 110.9 needesly] needlessly *Bryd.*: needlesly *Gros.*  
p. 110.20 reencounter] rencounter *Bryd.*  
p. 110.23 Bordello] *Bryd.*  
p. 110.25 soile] *Coll.*, *Gros.*: foile *Wolfe*: foil *Bryd.*  
p. 110.28 sithence] since *Bryd.*  
p. 110.35 Scogginisme] Scrogginisme *Coll.*  
p. 110.38 sty] fly *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 110.45 sawe] *om.* *Gros.*  
p. 110.45 famous arrogant conceited] famous, arrogant, conceited *Bryd.*  
p. 110.48 mought] might *Bryd.*  
p. 111.8 mought] *Bryd.*  
p. 111.11 bravure] *Bryd.*  
p. 111.15 Howbeit] Howbeit, *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 111.19 brucked] *Bryd.*  
p. 111.26 greene] green *Bryd.*  
p. 111.26-27 hare-braind] hair-brained *Bryd.*  
p. 111.28 courage] carriage *Coll.*  
p. 111.31 displing] disciplining *Bryd.*  
p. 111.35 thy] my *Bryd.*  
p. 111.36 Gawins] *Bryd.*  
p. 111.38 squise] squeeze *Bryd.*  
p. 111.40 Ropemaker] Rope maker *Gros.*  
p. 112.1 Homer,] Homer *Coll.*  
p. 112.13 clawbacke] claw back *Bryd.*  
p. 112.34 thesame] the same *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 112.50 prowes] Prowess *Bryd.*  
p. 113.2 Tomumboius] *Bryd.*: Tomüboius *Wolfe*, *Gros.*: Temunboius *Coll.*  
p. 113.3 Almannus] Almānus *Wolfe*: Almanus *Coll.*  
p. 113.12 swash-pen] swash pen *Bryd.*  
p. 113.23 Anatome] Anatomy *Bryd.*  
p. 113.24 Anatome] anatomy *Bryd.*  
p. 113.26 yet] but *Bryd.*  
p. 113.28 thwitled] *Bryd.*  
p. 113.38 writings] Writings *Bryd.*  
p. 113.42 Dunse] dunse *Coll.*  
p. 113.43 pulchrè] pulchré *Bryd.*  
p. 113.43 meherculè] merherculé *Bryd.*: me herculè *Gros.*  
p. 113.43 Lautè] Lauté *Bryd.*  
p. 113.43 lepidè] lepidè *Bryd.*  
p. 113.47 prowdest] soundest *Bryd.*  
p. 113.49 Anatome] anatomy *Bryd.*  
p. 113.50 finder;] finder, *Bryd.*  
p. 114.2 Joviall] jovial *Coll.*  
p. 114.7 frise] *Bryd.*  
p. 114.11 winching] wincing *Bryd.*  
p. 114.12 Dunse] dunse *Coll.*  
p. 114.12 Dorbell] dorbell *Coll.*  
p. 114.12 Gibaltar] Gibalter *Coll.*  
p. 114.20 ypocrase] ypocras *Bryd.*  
p. 114.23 Poggius] Poggins *Coll.*  
p. 114.28 eares] cares *Bryd.*  
p. 114.28 Magnes] magnet *Coll.*  
p. 114.36 Apulius] *Bryd.*: Apul[e]ius *Coll.*  
p. 114.37 thesame] the same *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 114.40 Ptolomy] Ptolemy *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 114.42 bookes, or such an] bookes, or such, or such an *Gros.*  
p. 114.43 Cumane] Cuname *Coll.*  
p. 114.45 Varro,] *Coll.*  
p. 114.49 Countryman] Country man *Coll.*  
p. 115.3 worthy?] worthy! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 115.16 Rabbines] Rabbin's *Bryd.*  
p. 115.21 Agrippa] New par. *Bryd.*, *Coll.*  
p. 115.29 Menæchmi] Menæchmi *Coll.*  
p. 115.33 flixe] flux *Bryd.*  
p. 115.36 the same] the same *Coll.*, *Gros.*  
p. 115.38 stale] tail *Bryd.*  
p. 115.38 raines] reins *Bryd.*  
p. 115.42 Homericall] Homerial, *Bryd.*  
p. 115.48 soaring] souring *Coll.*  
p. 115.48 feudist] feudist; *Coll.*  
p. 115.48 Ægle:] aegle *Coll.*  
p. 116. 9 Spicknard] spikenard *Bryd.*  
p. 116.10 Vitalis de Furno] Vitalis de Furno *Coll.*  
p. 116.11 liniment] lineament *Bryd.*  
p. 116.14 sixfooted] six footed *Gros.*  
p. 116.27 Calisto] Calistro *Coll.*  
p. 116.27 drad] dread *Bryd.*  
p. 116.29 grandfather] the grandfather *Bryd.*  
p. 116.31 Astrophill] Astrophel *Bryd.*

- p. 116.35 Astrophil] Astrophel *Bryd.*  
p. 116.38 Arcadians,] Arcadians? *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 116.39 Astris] *New par. Wolfe: run on in Gros.*  
p. 116.41 sugarcandy] *Gros.: sugar candy Coll.*  
p. 116.41 bagpipe] bag pipe *Gros.*  
p. 116.44 at] as *Coll.*  
p. 116.45 complements] compliments *Bryd.*  
p. 117.4 in mensa] in *Mensa Coll.*  
p. 117.16 foles] foals *Bryd.*  
p. 117.19 mought] might *Bryd.*  
p. 117.19 richer] rich *Bryd.*  
p. 117.20 paniar] pannier *Bryd.*  
p. 117.24 travaile] travel *Bryd.*  
p. 117.35 higher] high *Bryd.*  
p. 117.40 effectual] effectually *Bryd.*  
p. 118.4 Golden] *om. Bryd.*  
p. 118.20 Syrinx] syrinx *Coll.*  
p. 118.27 Potentia] potentio *Coll.*  
p. 118.50 Paradoxes] paradoxes *Coll.*  
p. 119.2 Libbard] libbard *Bryd.*  
p. 119.2 wisardes] wizzards *Bryd.*  
p. 119.4 Stoicall] stoicall *Coll.*  
p. 119.5 Apothegs] apothegs *Bryd.*  
p. 119.5 Saturnistes] saturnistes *Coll.*  
p. 119.15 Asse.] asse? *Coll.*  
p. 119.20 him] him, *Bryd.*  
p. 119.20 two,] two *Bryd.*  
p. 119.20 hath] have *Bryd.*  
p. 119.24 an other] *Coll.*  
p. 119.24 thesaid] the said *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 119.25 redoubted] renowned *Bryd.*  
p. 119.25 Kind-hart] Kind-heart *Bryd.*  
p. 119.29 thesaid] the said *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 119.37 thesaid] the said *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 119.40 beau-desert] bean-desert *Bryd.*  
p. 120.1 Asse-bone] asse-bones *Coll.*  
p. 120.2 jawe] iawe *Wolfe: lawe Gros.*  
p. 120.3 Ypocrase] *Bryd.*  
p. 120.22 Cheeke] Cheek *Bryd.*  
p. 120.34 nusled] nursled *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 120.36 Hell.] Hell? *Bryd.: hell? Coll.*  
p. 120.44 thy selfe] thyselfe *Coll.*  
p. 120.45 Pallace of Honour] pallace of honour *Coll.*  
p. 120.45 nigh-hand] right-hand *Gros.*  
p. 120.50 staunch] *Bryd.*  
p. 121.3 *Rerumpublicarum*] *Rerum publicarum Gros.*  
p. 121.10 greenest] greenest *Bryd.*  
p. 121.18 lest] least *Bryd.*  
p. 121.23 an other] *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 121.26 rennegate] runagate *Bryd.*  
p. 121.30 Gibridge] gibridge *Bryd.*  
p. 121.31 Dunse] dunce *Bryd.: dunce Coll.*  
p. 121.31 Beelzebub] Belzebub *Bryd.*  
p. 121.35 Atheisme,] Atheism! *Bryd.: atheisme! Coll.*  
p. 121.49 awhitt] *Coll.: a whitt Gros.*  
p. 121.50 Elogies] *Bryd.*  
p. 122.2 Ideas] ideas *Bryd.*  
p. 122.4 Bacchanall] bacchanall *Coll.*  
p. 122.8 Unico?] Unico! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 122.11 note: but] note? But *Coll.*  
p. 122.12 Leviathan] leviathan *Coll.*  
p. 122.13 ryme? He] ryme, he *Coll.*  
p. 122.18 dorre] dorse *Bryd.*  
p. 122.22 Bawewawe] baw-waw *Bryd.*  
p. 122.28 shrichowle] shrich-owle *Gros. ('shrich-' appears at the end of a line)*  
p. 122.38 paperbooke] paper booke *Gros.*  
p. 122.39 thesame] the same *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 122.42 Dunsery] duncery *Bryd.: dunsery Coll.*  
p. 122.43 Cabalisme] cabalisme *Coll.*  
p. 123.5 idiot] idiot *Bryd.*  
p. 123.8 newfangled] new fangled *Smith*  
p. 123.12 fiactionate] fictionate *Smith*  
p. 123.22 for] of *Coll.*  
p. 123.23 Commentaries,] Commentaries *Coll.*  
p. 123.24 Prayses?] Prayses. *Smith*  
p. 123.28 Eccho] eccho *Coll.*  
p. 123.30 Italian] Italy *Bryd.*  
p. 123.31 rowte] route *Bryd.*  
p. 123.31 ranke] rāke *Wolfe: rake Gros.*  
p. 123.31 affecteth] affected *Smith*  
p. 123.43 Secretary. Which] secretary, which *Bryd., Coll. Secretary: which Smith*  
p. 124.1 lively] live *Coll.*  
p. 124.9 teach] reach *Gros.*  
p. 124.12 adore] adore, *Gros.*  
p. 124.16 Paradise:] Paradise! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 124.18 notes:] notes! *Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 124.19 Sympathy] Sympathhy *Coll.*  
p. 124.21 quaime] qualm *Bryd.*  
p. 124.21 quaime! *Smith*  
p. 124.22 But] *New par. Bryd., Gros., Smith*  
p. 124.26 indeede] *om. Smith*  
p. 124.31 shewe me any] shew-any *Coll.*  
p. 124.31 piperly] pipery *Bryd.*  
p. 124.37 Presse,] Presse, *Gros.*  
p. 124.37 emproove] emprove *Bryd.*  
p. 124.38 Supererogation] Supererogation *Bryd.*  
p. 125.1 my] thy *Bryd.*  
p. 125.1 eyesight] eye sight *Gros.*  
p. 125.1 any thing] *Coll.: anything Gros.*  
p. 125.5 famous] famous, *Coll.*  
p. 125.11 Supposes] Supposes *Bryd.*  
p. 125.12 coony-caught] coney-caught *Bryd.*  
p. 125.13 Prognostication] Prognostication *Bryd.*  
p. 125.17 thatsame] that same *Coll., Gros.*  
p. 125.24 Supererogation] Supererogation *Bryd.*  
p. 125.37 divorced] devoured *Bryd.*  
p. 125.38 aeger] eager *Bryd.*  
p. 125.39 hicket] hiccup *Bryd.*  
p. 125.41 five] fiue *Wolfe: fine Gros.*

- p. 125.45 devises] *Bryd.*  
p. 125.46 that] the *Bryd.*  
p. 125.49 greene] *green Bryd.*  
p. 125.50 achates] *Achates Bryd.*  
p. 126.12 Idees] *ideas Bryd.*  
p. 126.14 Supererogation] *Supererogation Bryd.*  
p. 126.25 scorched] *scotched Gros.*  
p. 126.26 S. Fame] *S. Fame Bryd.*  
p. 126.31 foure Letters] *Four Letters Bryd.*  
p. 126.37 Vestall] *vestall Coll.*  
p. 126.44 Royall Exchaunge] *royal exchange Bryd.*  
p. 126.38 *Nescia stare*] *Nesciastare Coll.*  
p. 126.43 hath] *has Gros.*  
p. 126.46 Sysarion] *Bryd.: Syssarion Coll.*  
p. 127.8 orchyard] *orchard Bryd., Gros.*  
p. 127.17 Waines] *names Bryd.*  
p. 127.20 merle] *marl Bryd.*  
p. 127.22 Matthew] *Robert Coll.*  
p. 127.23 ship wright] *Smith: shipwright Bryd., Coll.: ship-wright Gros.*  
p. 127.33 enginer] *engineer Bryd.*  
p. 127.36 specifie] *specific Smith*  
p. 127.39 Gowge] *Bryd.*  
p. 127.40 Floide] *Bryd.*  
p. 127.40 Ritch] *Bryd.*  
p. 127.42 somethings] *Smith: some things Coll.*  
p. 127.45 Cartwright.] *Cartwright; Bryd.*  
p. 127.46 Reinolds] *Reynolds Bryd.*  
p. 128.5 Synodals] *synodols Coll.*  
p. 128.10 Curtes] *Bryd.*  
p. 128.12 Doove] *Bryd.: Doone Coll.*  
p. 128.13 afew] *a few Coll., Gros., Smith*  
p. 128.19 any thing] *Smith: anything Gros.*  
p. 128.33 Rattesbane] *Rattes-bane Gros. ('Rattes-' appears at the end of a line)*  
p. 128.39 life] *like [life?] Coll.*  
p. 128.41 nodoubt] *no doubt Coll., Gros.*  
p. 128.49 kight] *kite Bryd.*  
p. 128.49 O.K.; if] *O.K. New par. If Bryd.*  
p. 129.1 some thing] *Coll.*  
p. 129.7 Gregories] *Gregorie's Bryd.*  
p. 129.9 greene] *green Bryd.*  
p. 129.17 greenest] *greenest Bryd.*  
p. 129.31 Iwis] *Coll.: I wis Gros.*  
p. 129.40-41 any thing] *Gros.*  
p. 129.44 mought] *might Bryd.*  
p. 129.49 Actes and Monuments] *Acts and Monuments Bryd.*  
p. 130.1 an other] *Gros.*  
p. 130.2 an other] *Gros.*  
p. 130.12 curred] *curried Bryd.*  
p. 130.14 indeede] *in deede Gros.*  
p. 130.23 thesame] *the same Coll., Gros.*  
p. 130.29 Stoicall] *stoicall Gros.*  
p. 130.40 spannels] *spaniels Bryd.*  
p. 130.40 libbards] *Bryd.*  
p. 131.5 napry] *napery Bryd.*  
p. 131.5 Aprill.] *Aprill: Coll.*  
p. 131.5 young:] *young Coll.*  
p. 131.6 September.] *September Coll.*  
p. 131.6 elder:] *elder Coll.*  
p. 131.9 mought] *might Bryd.*  
p. 131.23 bable] *Bryd.*  
p. 131.23 thatsame] *that same Coll., Gros.*  
p. 131.29 äery] *aery Coll., Gros.*  
p. 131.49 Mercuries] *Mercurius Bryd.*  
p. 132.3 Sylla] *Bryd.*  
p. 132.8 surprises] *Err.: suprizes Wolfe: surprizes Coll.*  
p. 132.10 oppresseseth] *opposeth Bryd.*  
p. 132.12 greatest] *great Bryd.*  
p. 132.14 *Herôes*] *Heroes Coll.: Heroes Gros.*  
p. 132.23 Roome, occursively] *Roome occursively, Coll.*  
p. 132.25 Cause] *Causar Gros.*  
p. 132.34 Borgiaes.] *Borgias. Gros.*  
p. 132.39 Empreses] *Empress Bryd.: empresses Coll.*  
p. 132.42 mott] *motto Bryd.*  
p. 132.43 awhit] *a-whit Gros. ('a-' appears at the end of a line)*  
p. 132.45 I never] *New par. Gros.*  
p. 132.49 Imprese] *impress Bryd.: impresse Coll.*  
p. 133.3 horses] *Horse Bryd.*  
p. 133.4 Verse?] *verse, Coll.*  
p. 133.5 *Equorum.*] *equorum? Coll.*  
p. 133.6 Statius? *Serviet*] *Statius serviet Coll.*  
p. 133.6 *Equus.*] *Equus? Coll.*  
p. 133.7 devise?] *devise, Coll.*  
p. 133.8 *asello.*] *asello? Coll.*  
p. 133.9 Termagant] *termagant Bryd., Coll.*  
p. 133.11 Imprese] *imprese Coll.*  
p. 133.12 crake] *Bryd.*  
p. 133.18 fruite.] *fruite Coll.*  
p. 133.18 emblemes.] *emblemes Coll.*  
p. 133.21 mottes] *motts Bryd.*  
p. 133.27 plaine men] *place-men Bryd.*  
p. 133.28 Apothegs] *apophthegms Bryd.*  
p. 133.30 or] *Err.: at Wolfe, Coll.*  
p. 133.39 Celarent] *celarent Coll.*  
p. 133.41 an other] *another Coll.*  
p. 133.41 noman] *no man Coll., Gros.*  
p. 133.49 squire] *square Bryd.*  
p. 134.8 practise.] *practise. Gros.*  
p. 134.20 nomans] *no mans Gros.*  
p. 134.20 outward] *ontward Wolfe*  
p. 134.20 nomans] *no mans Gros.*  
p. 134.29 thesame] *the same Coll., Gros.*  
p. 134.31 injured] *injured Bryd.*  
p. 134.35 startups] *stirrups Bryd.*  
p. 134.36 mought] *Bryd.*  
p. 134.47 Iodocus] *Jodocus Bryd.*  
p. 135.7 Cabale] *cabale Coll.*  
p. 135.13 Or] *Bryd., Coll., Gros.: Os Wolfe*  
p. 135.17 undermined] *vnderminded Gros.*  
p. 135.21 thesame] *the same Coll., Gros.*

p. 135.25 equilater] *Bryd.*: equilater[al] *Gros.*  
 p. 135.26 *sequuntur*] *sequunter Gros.*  
 p. 135.48 canvasses] canvastes *Coll.*  
 p. 135.48 cooven] coercion *Bryd.*  
 p. 136.3 thatsame] *Gros.*: that same *Coll.*  
 p. 137.3 hers] others *Bryd.*  
 p. 137.9 beaudesert] *Bryd.*  
 p. 137.22 he] she *Gros.*  
 p. 137.30 Supererogation] *Supererogation Bryd.*  
 p. 137.30 Benet] *Bryd.*  
 p. 137.30 Collect] *Bryd.*  
 p. 137.31 alittle] a little *Gros.*  
 p. 137.32 any thing] anything *Gros.*  
 p. 137.50 Nashes S. Fame] *Nash's S. Fame Bryd.*  
 p. 138.11 Cassiopea] Cassiope[i]a *Coll.*  
 p. 138.12 S. Fame] *S. Fame Bryd.*  
 p. 138.13 blindfolde] *Gros.*: blindfold *Bryd.*: blindfilde *Wolfe, Coll.*  
 p. 138.18 Toy] *Coll.*  
 p. 138.21 Pindust] Pin dust *Gros.*  
 p. 138.30 glimze] glimpse *Bryd.*  
 p. 138.34 if] *om. Bryd.*  
 p. 138.35 glose] gloss *Bryd.*  
 p. 138.37 thesame] the same *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 138.37 thesame,] the same *Coll.*  
 p. 138.37 favour,] favour *Coll.*  
 p. 139.2 (for] *New par. Gros.*: *New par. (For Coll.*  
 p. 139.3 thesame] the same *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 139.4 thesame] the same *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 139.14 thesame] the same *Gros.*  
 p. 139.26 alittle] a little *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 139.31 noman] *Coll.*  
 p. 139.41 sweet?] sweet! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 139.42 Orient] *Err., Gros.*: Orientall *Wolfe:* oriental *Coll.*  
 p. 139.42 resplendishyng] resplendyshng *Gros.*  
 p. 139.44 an other] *Gros.*  
 p. 140.8 writ] write *Bryd.*  
 p. 141.8 &] *om. Gros.*  
 p. 142.38 the same] THE SAME *Coll.*  
 p. 142.43 would] wish *Gros.*  
 p. 143.9 bread] bred *Bryd.*  
 p. 143.28 Juste] Just *Gros.*  
 p. 143.33 par tout] *Gros.*: partout *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 143.38 raßise] rassise *Gros.*  
 p. 144.10 An other] *Gros.*  
 p. 144.13 howt] *Bryd.*  
 p. 144.18 tuch,] tuch. *Gros.*  
 p. 144.21 Ecchos] *Coll.*  
 p. 144.39 throne,] throne. *Gros.*  
 p. 144.43 Deigne zeale] Deigne, zeale, *Coll.*  
 p. 145.12 Supererogation] *Supererogation Bryd.*  
 p. 145.12 blase] blaze *Bryd.*  
 p. 145.22 unwilling] vnwilling either *Gros.*  
 p. 145.30 would] would, *Gros.*

p. 145.48 Demosthen's] Demosthenes *Bryd.*  
 p. 145.48 thorough] through *Bryd.*  
 p. 145.49 amazed.] amazed *Gros.*  
 p. 146.1 egall] equal *Bryd.*  
 p. 146.1 passed] *Bryd.*  
 p. 146.9 shall] *qsall Gros.*  
 p. 146.19 chappes] chops *Bryd.*  
 p. 146.31 Stilliard] stilliard *Coll.*

#### *A New Letter of Notable Contents*

p. 148.9 of the sicknesse] of sicknesse *Coll.*  
 p. 148.11 Since] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 148.12 of accorde] of *Accorde Coll.*: of *Accorde Gros.*  
 p. 148.21 almighty majesty] Almighty Majesty *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 148.22 say,] say *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 148.24 Agarick,] agarick *Coll.*: Agarick *Gros.*  
 p. 148.24-25 stomacke; the stomacke] stomacke *Coll.*  
 p. 148.27 body; the body] body *Coll.*  
 p. 148.28 Take-away] *New par. Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 148.31 Triumph:] triumph, *Coll.*: Triumph, *Gros.*  
 p. 149.5 Truce:] truce, *Coll.*: Truce, *Gros.*  
 p. 149.5 momentany] momentary *Bryd.*  
 p. 149.9 say?] say, *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 149.9 angry] angry? *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 149.9-10 Turkish. Whose] Turkish; whose *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 149.15 thorough] through *Bryd., Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 149.17 or] and *Coll.*  
 p. 149.24-25 cause: and in his owne cause,] cause *Coll.*  
 p. 149.26 of joy] and joy *Coll.*  
 p. 149.31 triumphant.] triumphant! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 149.33 Tyrannyes:] tyrannies, *Bryd.*  
 p. 149.36 and with] and, with *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 149.37 bit,] bit. *Bryd.*  
 p. 149.37 Lord] *New par. Bryd.*  
 p. 149.38 Turke.] Turk! *Bryd.*: Turke! *Coll.*  
 p. 149.45 Bollen] Bouillon *Bryd.*  
 p. 149.49 gallant] *om. Coll.*  
 p. 149.51 unto] *om. Coll.*  
 p. 150.8 most-noble] most noble *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 150.14 One] one *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 150.19 Tasso: and] Tasso! and *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 150.20 endenisoned.] endenisoned! *Bryd., Coll.*  
 p. 150.23 an other] *Coll.*  
 p. 150.24 enchantment?] enchantment. *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 150.25 Electuary of Gemmes] *Coll.*  
 p. 150.30 sake,] sake *Coll., Gros.*  
 p. 150.35 sent] scent *Bryd.*  
 p. 150.38 aswell] as well *Coll.*

- p. 150.41 *Milk-way*] milk-way *Coll.*: milk-way *Gros.*
- p. 150.43 without] without the *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 150.46 fiery] *om. Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 150.49 Theorickes] heroickes *Coll.*: Theroickes *Gros.*
- p. 151.3 *Argonauticall*] Argouanticall *Coll.*
- p. 151.9 domesticall.] domesticall *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 151.11 an other] *Coll.*
- p. 151.17 use.] use *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 151.17 exceeding] *Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*: exceeping *Wolfe*
- p. 151.31 *Libbard*] *Bryd.*
- p. 151.32 awket] awk[ward]est *Gros.*
- p. 151.42 *Treaty, or motive*] *Treaty or Motive Coll.*
- p. 151.44 an other] another *Coll.*
- p. 151.46 Every] *New par. Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 151.46 signe] sign *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 151.47 pudled waters] puddle-waters *Bryd.*
- p. 152.2 legierdemaine] legerdemaine *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 152.9 After] *New par. Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 152.14 *Funerall Teares of Mary Magdalen*] Funeral Tears of Mary Magdalene *Bryd.*: *Funerall Teares of Mary Magdalen Coll.*
- p. 152.16 Earth; Jesu, what] earth. Jesu! what *Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 152.22 An other] *New par. Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 152.22 of a sharper] of sharper *Gros.*
- p. 152.26 it?] it *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 152.28-29 *rapt and Seraphicall*] rapt seraphicall *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 152.35 holly] holy *Bryd.*
- p. 152.35 holly-hock] holy-hock *Bryd.*
- p. 152.35 But] But, *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 152.37 Pierce] *Pierce Bryd.*
- p. 152.41 thesame] the same *Coll.*
- p. 152.42 in steade] insteade *Coll.*
- p. 152.43 one] a *Coll.*
- p. 152.47 that] what *Coll.*
- p. 152.47 Socrates] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 153.4 any thing] *Coll.*
- p. 153.14 *Talion*] *talion Bryd.*
- p. 153.16 *Pierces*] *New par. Bryd.*: *New par. "Pierces Coll.*
- p. 153.16 a clogg] or clogg *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 153.17 launcelet] *Bryd.*
- p. 153.24 be] bee *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 153.29 The] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 154.2 triacle] *Bryd.*
- p. 154.5 flashing] fiery *Bryd.*
- p. 154.10 *sweet*] *Gros.*: *sweet Wolfe*
- p. 154.15 minde. Concerning] minde concerning *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 154.21 the *sweetest*] *sweetest Gros.*
- p. 154.28 fine] *Err.*: fine, *Wolfe*
- p. 154.32 What] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 154.42 that] what *Coll.*
- p. 154.44 hap] haply *Bryd.*
- p. 154.45 nose Autem up] nose, *autem*, up *Bryd.*
- p. 154.50 Picture] feature *Coll.*
- p. 155.1 none] nine *Gros.*
- p. 155.2 slaumpaump] slaum-paump *Bryd.*
- p. 155.18 girke] jerk *Bryd.*
- p. 155.36 vernished] varnished *Bryd.*
- p. 155.41 then a] then the *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 155.46 I] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 155.46 glosing] glossing *Bryd.*
- p. 156.2 trapp, or] trapp and *Coll.*
- p. 156.15 emproveth] improveth *Bryd.*
- p. 156.18 Some] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 156.32 ut supra] *ut supra Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 156.38 Shall] *New par. Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 156.38 alittle] a little *Coll.*
- p. 156.41 be] were *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 156.46 holy-holy] holy *Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 156.46 Lord] *New par. Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 157.3 Conversation.] conversation! *Coll.*: Conversation! *Gros.*
- p. 157.5 could] would *Bryd.*
- p. 157.6 some his] some of his *Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 157.6 Doinges: ô] doings. O *Bryd.*: doinges. O *Coll.*
- p. 157.11 *jest: ô Christ,*] *jest. O Christ! Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 157.16 Though] *New par. Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 157.23 witt.] witt! *Bryd.*, *Coll.*
- p. 157.24 *peius*] *pejus Bryd.*: *pejus Coll.*
- p. 157.38 happy] happy, *Coll.*
- p. 157.39 of Christ] *of Christ Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 158.1 hath] had *Bryd.*
- p. 158.30-31 &...well] *om. Bryd.*
- p. 158.33 can] *om. Coll.*
- p. 158.35 braine, or] braine and *Coll.*
- p. 158.46 Fame] Fame, *Coll.*
- p. 158.49 ballanceweight] ballance weight *Coll.*
- p. 159.22 *Wonder*] wonder, *Bryd.*
- p. 159.30 Sonet.] *om. Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 159.34 Eccho] eccho *Coll.*
- p. 160.7 Timpany] Tempany *Coll.*, *Gros.*
- p. 160.19 tamberlaine] Tamerlane *Bryd.*: Tamberlaine *Coll.*
- p. 160.31 hugyer] huger *Bryd.*

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## Abbreviation of journals

ELR	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HLQ	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MP	<i>Modern Philology</i>
NQ	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
PP	<i>Past and Present</i>
PQ	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
RN	<i>Renaissance News</i>
RQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
SEL	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900</i>
SP	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
SQ	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
TLS	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>

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# INDEX

This index is only to Gabriel Harvey's text (volume I), not my introduction or explanatory notes. Nashe and, to a lesser extent, Greene, Lyly and Harvey himself (and their respective works) are so often the subject that I have noted only specific references to them. In order to overlap as little as possible with the Glossary, I have listed only proper names. For instance, I have noted when Harvey uses 'Dunse' to mean the scholastic theologian, but not when he uses same word to mean 'idiot': I have noted when 'Bedlam' the place is mentioned, but not when the word is used nominally to mean a lunatic, etc. All spellings of Biblical names are as they are given in Cruden.

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