A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE COMPLEAT
GENTLEMAN (1622) BY HENRY PEACHAM

by

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This edition of The Compleat Gentleman (1622) by Henry Peacham comprises introduction, text, and commentary. The introduction describes Peacham's life and the literary and historical context of the book. The Compleat Gentleman is placed in the tradition of courtesy literature and Peacham's ideal of an enlightened, cultivated, and public-spirited gentleman is considered. In many ways the book sums up the earlier ideal of training of the Tudor humanists. Sir Thomas Elyot's Gouernour (1531) is revealed as both source and inspiration for Peacham; the more general influence of other sixteenth-century English and European humanists is discussed. Peacham's audience, the children of the gentry and the emerging middle classes, saw that social and economic advancement required education. Their needs are considered in the light of the many different subjects covered by The Compleat Gentleman. Particular attention is paid to Peacham's treatment of the 'inflation of honours' and to his chapter on antiquities which provides one of the earliest accounts of antiquarian concerns in England. Peacham's scholarship and literary style are treated in some detail. The reputation of The Compleat Gentleman is outlined and the introduction concludes with a bibliographical description of the book.

The present edition sets out a text as close as possible to the author's original intentions. Fifteen copies of the first edition have been collated against the copy-text and the second (1627) and third (1634) editions, which appeared in Peacham's lifetime and were revised and expanded by him, have been investigated. An apparatus criticus accompanies the text. Press-variants and historical collation are included in the appendix.

The Compleat Gentleman is full of quotations, many of them in Latin, and unacknowledged borrowings. His sources range from Virgil to Pindar, Scaliger to Puttenham. He draws on compilations, compendiums, and other forms of popular literature. The commentary identifies these sources and elucidates the book where necessary.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF SIGLA

The Compleat Gentleman, 1622 (A)

A1 University of London Library, [D-L.L.] K^O

A2 British Museum, C.124.c.8

A3 British Museum, G.16576

A4 Bodleian Library, Malone 582

A5 Hunterian Library, University of Glasgow

A6 Dulwich College Library

A7 Shakespeare Centre, 93. 02

A8 National Art Library, Clements C.30

A9 Trinity College Library, University of Dublin, Ee.1.34

A10 Henry E. Huntington Library

A11 Harvard University Library

A12 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Kn 83

A13 Newberry Library, Case B 69.659

A14 Library of Congress

A15 Folger Shakespeare Library, copy 1

A16 Cambridge University Library, Syn. 7.62.108

The Compleat Gentleman, 1627 (B)

B1 Society of Antiquaries, 90b

B2 British Museum, C.175.ff.21

B3 Bodleian Library, Malone 583

B4 Dulwich College Library

B5 Folger Shakespeare Library
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<td>University of London Library, K^O</td>
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<td>C4</td>
<td>University College Library, University of London, Ogden 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5</td>
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<td>C7</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, Vet. A2.e.292</td>
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<td>C8</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, 4^O. P. 49 (3) Art.</td>
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D1 The Compleat Gentleman (1661), British Museum, E.1088


CG The present edition of The Compleat Gentleman.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cleland</td>
<td>James Cleland, <em>The Institution of a Young Noble Man</em>, 1607.</td>
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<td>CS</td>
<td>Henry Peacham, <em>Coach and Sedan</em>, 1636.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNB</td>
<td><em>The Dictionary of National Biography</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elyot</td>
<td>Sir Thomas Elyot, <em>The boke named the Gouernour</em>, 1531</td>
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<tr>
<td>Erasmus, Opera</td>
<td>Desiderius Erasmus, <em>Opera Omnia</em>, edited by J. LeClerc, 9 vols, Leyden, 1703-6</td>
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<td>GE</td>
<td>Henry Peacham, <em>The Gentleman's Exercise</em>, 1612</td>
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<td>Hoby</td>
<td>B. Castiglione, <em>The Courtier ... Done into Englyshe</em> by Thomas Hoby, 1561</td>
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<td>JHI</td>
<td><em>Journal of the History of Ideas</em></td>
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<td>MB</td>
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</tr>
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<td>TA</td>
<td>Henry Peacham, <em>Thestylis Atrata</em>, 1634</td>
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<td>TT</td>
<td>Henry Peacham, <em>The Truth of our Times</em>, 1638</td>
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<td>Venn</td>
<td>J. and J.A. Venn, <em>Alumni Cantabrigienses</em>, part 1, 4 vols, Cambridge, 1922-7</td>
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<td>VV</td>
<td>Henry Peacham, <em>The Valley of Varietie</em>, 1638</td>
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<td>WP</td>
<td>Henry Peacham, <em>The Worth of a Peny</em>, 1641</td>
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INTRODUCTION

I. The Life of Henry Peacham

Henry Peacham was born in 1578 in the parish of North Mymms in Hertfordshire. He was the second son of a country clergyman, Henry Peacham, the author of a rhetorical treatise, The Garden of Eloquence (1577). The Peacham family, members of the rising middle class fostered by Tudor policy, has been traced to Burton Latimer in Northamptonshire. Peacham's father was ordained deacon in 1574 and shortly after became curate of the village of North Mymms, was presented to the living of St. Helena's, North Leverton, in Lincolnshire in 1578, and finally moved there in 1595 when he was granted the living of South Leverton as well. In this way, branches of the family spread to Scampton, Stamford and Boston. Inventories and legacies indicate the extent of their prosperity.

Peacham's childhood was spent in North Mymms, less than half a mile from the Great North Road. The church of St. Mary contains records of his father's benefactions to the poor and a battered sundial inscribed 'H. PECHAM FECIT' may be seen on the South wall. His mother (née Anne Fairclough) bore four other children, an elder brother Richard (1577-1623), a younger brother Thomas, and two sisters Jane and Anne. He went to school near St. Albans, and soon showed a talent for drawing and painting; although he was 'cruelly beaten by ill and ignorant schoolemasters' for drawing his fellow pupils, 'yet could they neuer', he says, 'beate it out of me'. When ten years old, he witnessed the celebrations of the defeat of the Armada and saw the actor Tarleton in London.
In 1592 he matriculated as a sizar of Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1593 became a scholar of Trinity. He proceeded B.A. in 1595 and M.A. in 1598. While at Cambridge he carved his name, age (19) and the date (1597) on the window-sill of a chantry chapel on the South side of the chancel at Leverton.

His life at the university followed a conventional and unremarkable pattern. The respectful warmth with which he referred to the college and its members shows that these years were contented and profitable. Trinity was traditionally devoted to learning and avoided controversy and so continued in the 1590's under the 'Master builder' Dr. Thomas Neville, characterized by Peacham as 'noble and worthy-minded'. His tutor was John Layfield, lector linguæ graecæ from 1593. Peacham mastered Greek and Latin and familiarized himself with French, Spanish and Italian. He later learned Dutch at first hand in the Low Countries. Peacham complained that he was 'rawlie torne' from 'my nurse ... Trinitie'; his favourite theme of children abruptly cast upon the world by parsimonious parents suggests that his father no longer expected to support him. The earliest surviving example of Peacham's aptitude for combining drawings and verses (which is also the only known illustration of an Elizabethan play) is his drawing of a scene from Titus Andronicus accompanied by two speeches, which dates from his years at Cambridge.

His reference to Orazio Vecchi of Modena as his music master has led Alan K. Young, like earlier biographers Thomas Park and Sir John Hawkins, to suggest that Peacham may have visited Italy between 1593 and 1603, but there is no other evidence for this and it is unlikely that one who was so free with his reminiscences and anecdotes of the Low Countries brought nothing out of Italy.

The accession of James I in 1603 prompted a project of which three
manuscript versions exist - to present the teachings of the king's Basilicon Doron (1599) in a series of emblems accompanied by Latin verses. The earliest version, which may be assigned to the year 1603, is dedicated to Prince Henry (but apparently not actually presented to him). Peacham says that he composed these emblems with the encouragement of James Montague, Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in moments snatched from the 'garritus et puerorum strepitus', and that he had presented one or two of them to the king himself in April, 1603, when James was staying with Sir Oliver Cromwell at Hinchingbrooke Priory in Huntingdonshire on his progress from Edinburgh to London. From this it is clear that Peacham was already engaged in the laborious calling of the schoolmaster. He was certainly teaching at the grammar school at Kimbolton, only eight miles from Hinchingbrooke, when he wrote the dedication to his first published book, The Art of Drawing with the Pen (1606), a manual 'fit for the capacity of the young learner'.

His instructions on painting, colour-mixing, and draughtsmanship are clear and practical, but the style is more lively when he turns to the use and making of stained glass. He was already deeply interested in heraldry and antiquities, and like John Aubrey spent much time as he travelled about England recording inscriptions and armorial devices:

There are many good pieces els in divers other places, as Canterbury, Lincolne, &c. : vnto which being drawne by their own antiquitye, and loue of arte, I haue in a manner gone in pilgrimage, neither, as I thought, loosing my labour, since I can shew almost 8 hundred severall auncient coates, which out of old and decaied windowes, I haue entertained from the iniury of rude hands, and fowle weather.

He also collected coins and manuscripts and perhaps the engravings of Northern artists, such as Goltzius, Wierix and Saenredam. Heraldry led
to the study of genealogy; the British Museum has some notes signed by Peacham on the history of a family called Cater.  

As well as drawing the illustrations for The Art of Drawing and literally hundreds of emblems, he painted a small equestrian portrait of Prince Henry as a frontispiece for James Cleland's manuscript Pourtraict de Monseigneur le Prince (1612). Two ink and wash drawings formerly in the Witt collection, Soldiers and Peasants in a Landscape (one signed 'HP'), have been ascribed to Peacham. The composition corresponds well with his ideas on landscape:

you shall please very well, if you shew in the same, the faire side of some goodly Citie, hauen, forrest, stately house with gardens, I euer tocke delight in those peces that shewed to the like a countrey village, faire or market, Bergamascas cookerie, Morrice dancing, peasants together by the eares, and the like.  

Horace Walpole claimed that Peacham engraved a portrait of Thomas Cromwell 'after Holbein' and later copies exist of such an engraving. He is also credited with engraving a group portrait of Henry VII and his family which, again according to Walpole, he sold to Sir Robert Cotton.

At Burton Latimer, home of his grandparents and many other members of his family, the church is decorated with a series of late sixteenth-century wall paintings of the twelve sons of Jacob above the nave arches. The ten surviving allegorical personages in architectural frames are so much in the style of Peacham's book illustrations, and so comparatively late in church ornamentation, that it is not unlikely that he was responsible for their design if not their execution. Similarly, twenty-one devices from his English emblem book, Minerva Britanna, were used in a fine plasterwork ceiling at Blickling Hall in Norfolk and a further four designs were to be found at Essex House, Houndsditch.

In 1608 Peacham came to London. At first he lived in Fetter Lane,
but complained of the 'loathed smels' and noise of the crowded city, where he felt 'Immured like a fish within a Well'. By 1612 he had shifted westwards to the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, a district which recurs frequently in his life and writings, where the ground was more open and healthy and where he was also close to the palace at Whitehall. He became acquainted with some of the king's craftsmen and servants, including the architect John Thorpe, Thorpe's father-in-law, Simon Greene, purveyor of the king's stables, and William Stallenget, 'searcher of the Port of London, and first Author of making Silke in our Land'. He observed the public ceremonies of the court and sketched King James at close quarters. 'I haue often', he says, 'taken his Maiesties [portrait], sitting at dinner, or talking with some of his followers'. He found work as a teacher, one pupil being Christopher Collard, son of his friends Mabel and Christopher Collard of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

The Sara Peacham who is recorded as having been baptised at St. Martin's on 27 April 1612 may be one of his 'two daughters'. About his wife nothing but her existence is known.

Other friends (not attached to the court) were the composer John Dowland and his son Robert. Peacham sympathized with Dowland's lack of recognition and addressed an emblem to him with the anagram Annos ludendo hausi, 'in regard hee had slipt many opportunities in advancing his fortunes'. Musical encyclopaedists have inferred that Peacham carried a letter from the Italian composer Luca Marenzio to Dowland, but for this we have no firm evidence. The madrigal referred to above displays a modest talent, but we can make no greater claims for his musical ability.

When in 1606 Peacham dedicated The Art of Drawing to Sir Robert
Cotton, their acquaintance was only slight, despite the proximity of Kimbolton to Cotton's country residence at Connington, Huntingdonshire. By 1612, however, they had become such firm friends that he was able to use Cotton's extensive collection of books, manuscripts, coins and inscribed statues, and even to reciprocate with 'a very faire manuscript' which 'Sir Robert Cotton my worshipfull friend had of me'. He also met Cotton's close friend William Camden the historian.

During these years in London, Peacham published three books: *The More the Merrier* (1608), a collection of epigrams; *Graphicce or The Gentlemans Exercise* (1612), which was in fact an enlarged version of the earlier work, *The Art of Drawing*; and *Minerva Britanna* (1612), a collection of English emblems. There were also commendatory verses to books by his friends, and the Minerva in its turn was prefaced by verses in four languages by, among others, William Segar, Garter King of Arms, and Thomas Heywood.

By 1612 Peacham was living in Richmond. The king sometimes resided at Richmond Palace, but more significant for Peacham was the proximity of the austere and disciplined court of Henry, Prince of Wales, at Nonsuch. Peacham was doing all he could to attract the notice of the prince, who was becoming a patron of the arts in a court devoted to learning. In 1610 he had presented to the prince a third manuscript emblem version of the Basilicon Doron, this time with the pictures limned in water colours. In 1611 he devised an emblem (the only drawing in the book) for *Coryats Crudities*; this was to appear again in the Odcombian Banquet (1611), a separate volume containing the commendatory verses for the Crudities and published at the express wish of the prince himself.

*Minerva Britanna* (1612) is in the strictest sense the first English
emblem book; Peacham said, 'except the collections of Master Whitney, and the translations of some one or two other else beside, I know not an Englishman in our age, that hath published any worke of this kind.' One emblem is dedicated to 'my singular good friend' Adam Newton, the prince's secretary. Other friends in Prince Henry's household were Inigo Jones (Surveyor of the Works), Edward Wright (Keeper of the Library) and Robert Peake (painter). The whole book was dedicated to the prince himself, Peacham 'hauing by more then ordinarie signes, tasted heeretofore of your gratious favour'. Henry's patronage, however, was short-lived, for he died on 17 November 1612. Peacham's response was an elegy, published the following year with four epithalamia on the marriage of the late prince's sister, Princess Elizabeth, to Frederick the Elector Palatine of Bohemia, as The Period of Mourning (1613).

At this point two very different motives may have caused Peacham to set out for the continent: the departure of the princess to Bohemia and the first rumblings of the case against Edmund Peacham, rector of Hinton St George in Somerset, who was accused of conspiracy against the king. From what we know of Henry Peacham's political views, it is unlikely that he was the man involved in this affair, but when Edmund Peacham was finally examined before the Chancellor, Francis Bacon, on 10 March 1615, he blamed the 'seditious papers' on 'one Peacham ... a divine, a scholar and a traveller ... tall of stature, and ... dwelleth some times at Honslow as a minister'. The identity of this man has not been established although the description fits Henry Peacham in certain respects.

Having reached the Low Countries, Peacham found his journey blocked by the skirmishing forces of the Protestant and Catholic armies. For
part of the time he was accompanied by a friend, Christopher Sherland of 'Graies Inne', but otherwise he travelled alone. Twenty years later, in an essay published in 1638, he told of his delight in travel:

The true taste of our lives sweetnesse is in travaile upon the way, at home, or abroad in other Countries; for not onely it affordeth change of aire, which is very availefull to health, but variety of objects and remarkable occasions to entertaine our thoughts, beside choise of acquaintance with able and excellent men in all faculties, and of all nations. (47)

In Utrecht he joined the followers of the English governor, Sir John Ogle, a Lincolnshire man who commanded a small band of Protestant volunteers. In Brabant, he met 'my honest louing friend', the engraver Crispin de Pas. At s'Hertogenbosch he read in the monastery library and exchanged Latin verses with the librarian. He found a 'witty and weighty' inscription Totus mundus regitur opinione in Breda and admired churches and paintings in Antwerp.

He did not take up arms himself but observed the movements of the Protestant troops commanded by Prince Maurice of Nassau in October, 1614. This experience was recorded in A Most True Relation of the Affaires of Cleve and Gulick, published in London after his return to England the following year. Meanwhile Princess Elizabeth had borne a son in Bohemia, and Peacham's nativity poem Prince Henrie revived, composed in Utrecht, was registered at Stationers' Hall in January, 1615.49

Once back in England Peacham had again to seek employment as a schoolmaster. He later complained that obtaining work as a teacher was as chancy as winning a prize in a lottery, but his appointment to the free grammar school at Wymondham in Norfolk was truly fortunate.50 At Ashwellthorpe, only three miles away, was the home of an influential Norfolk family, where Sir Thomas Knyvett (c. 1539-1618) had collected an impressive library of over 1400 printed books, with manuscripts,
pictures, antiquities, medals, and coins. Sir Thomas was a prime example of the cultivated country gentleman for whose children Peacham compiled his principal work *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622). In an epigram dedicated to Knyvett's grandson he states that:

"Your Great learn'd Grandsire to you at his death Accomplish'd Mars with Pallas did bequeath",

and a footnote describes "A goodly Armory as of any in all Norfolk, with an excellent furnished Library choise bookes, and very rare antiquities".\(^{51}\)

The library was catalogued soon after Knyvett's death and the contents remained at Ashwellthorpe until 1693.\(^{52}\) The catalogue may provide a key to the problem of the immediate sources of *The Compleat Gentleman*, for it includes the great majority of the books, both classical and modern, which Peacham not only quotes but recommends for further study.

After some years at Wymondham, Peacham published *Thalia's Banquet* (1620), which contains (as well as the epigram addressed to Thomas Knyvett) many references to his life and acquaintances in Norfolk. His disappointment at finding himself back in the noisy schoolroom is plainly stated:

\begin{verbatim}
Windham I loue thee, and I loue thy soile,  
Yet ever loath'd that never ceasing toile  
Of thy faire Schoole, which whiles that it was free,  
My selfe the Maister lost my libertie.  \(^{53}\)
\end{verbatim}

Yet in lines addressed to his 'towardly and hopeful Scholer Maister Edward Chamberlaine' he speaks of the schoolmaster's role with a genuine affection.\(^{54}\)

In 1621 Peacham returned to St Martin's-in-the-Fields and taught at the school on the South side of the church.\(^{55}\) He also produced an entirely new collection of emblems which survives in a manuscript addressed to Sir Julius Caesar, Master of the Rolls.\(^{56}\) The first edition of *The Compleat Gentleman* was published in 1622; the dedicatory epistle is signed from Hoxton, then a small village to the north east of the city.\(^{57}\)
The book is dedicated to William Howard (the future Lord Stafford), fifth son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. Peacham says of the earl that he was 'as great for his noble Patronage of Arts and ancient learning, as for his birth and place', and recalls that it was his 'good hap' to spend some hours with his son in Norwich, where the young nobleman lived in the care of Bishop Samuel Harsnett.58

It cannot be shown that Peacham had anything more than a tenuous connection with the Howard family, nor is there any evidence to support the legend that he accompanied the young Howards abroad as a travelling tutor.59 A more promising patron was Richard Sackville, third earl of Dorset, whose arms and genealogy in the chapter on blazonry were augmented while The Compleat Gentleman was in press.60 Peacham had clearly enjoyed Sackville's hospitality at Knole, but 1623 found him in Lincolnshire, teaching at the Free Grammar School at Boston, where his daughter Elizabeth was baptized on 13 November.61 His hopes of preferment were once more dashed by the earl's death on 28 March 1624. In a graceful elegy, An Aprill Shower (1624), he again laments the loss of a possible patron. Although Peacham persevered in addressing his dedications to courtiers and members of the gentry, ill-luck dogged his efforts to attract patronage. 'I never gained', he wrote, 'one halfe-penny by any Dedication that ever I made, save splendida promissa, (and as Plutarch saith) Ryssina verba'.62

For nearly ten years after the publication of his elegy on Sackville we get no more than a few brief glimpses of Peacham's life. Further editions of The Compleat Gentleman and The Gentlemans Exercise were published in 1627 and 1634. He designed a monument for Francis Rich, dowager Countess of Warwick, in 1629. It was intended for Snarford church in Lincolnshire but never erected. When the countess died in 1634, Peacham responded with an elegy, Thestylis Atrata, and the dedication to
her three nephews, Sir John, Sir Christopher and Edward Wray, indicates
that he was 'much bounden unto her, for her Honourable respect ever towards
me'. In the poem he has moved from the pastoral fancies of twenty years
earlier to more sophisticated conceits in the metaphysical style:

At that I said this wofull word, She was,
But she, and we, and all of flesh must passe:
We follow fast as Pilgrims, thou dost die,
Even reading this, and writing so doe I.  

The rhythm is stronger and the neat decasyllabic couplets resemble those
of Denham and Waller. Peacham's poems did not achieve the wide audience
which his prose works enjoyed, but his sometimes witty or elegant lines
revealed that he most certainly had a minor talent for verse, which is
seen to advantage in his original translations of passages from Virgil in
The Compleat Gentleman.

His last known teaching post, from 1632 to 1633, was at Heighington
Free School in Lincolnshire. Peacham was destined to spend the greater
part of his life in the school-room, and yet he managed to publish, apart
from fugitive poems, illustrated engravings and manuscript emblems, no
less than twenty-one books and pamphlets, three of which were well-enough
liked to be republished in his lifetime.

About 1633, Peacham returned to London, a 'great stranger' to the
city, 'both in people and building', after an absence of twelve years.

His poems, emblems and epigrams had failed to win favour and he decided
to abandon 'this folly and fruitlesse exercise ... those Arts and Sciences
which consist of proportion and number, as Painting, Musicke, and Poetry,
and the Mathematical Sciences' for a more popular and profitable type of
writing. In the period 1636-1644 he devoted himself to producing
pamphlets, broadsides, tracts and essays. Coach and Sedan, a lively
dialogue indicating the difficulties of getting about in London, appeared
in 1636, followed in 1638 by The Truth of our Times, a collection of
short, colloquial essays, and The Valley of Varietie, a compendium of 'selected rarities'. These range from 'incombustible flax' to a 'most pleasant manner of Choosing their Prince in Carinthia'. A Merry Discourse of Meum and Tuum (1639) is a short, picaresque novella ridiculing lawyers. The Worth of a Peny (1641), which was to prove Peacham's most popular work, is a good-humoured collection of anecdotes and aphorisms on how 'to keep money. With the causes of the scarcity and misery of the want hereof in these hard and mercilessse times'. Seven editions appeared between 1664 and 1704; a shorter version, A Caution to Keepe Money, was issued in 1642. Another pamphlet, The Art of Living in London (1642), offers more advice and comic anecdotes.

Peacham's political views were staunchly royalist. His position was most clearly stated in the pamphlet, The Duty of all True Subjects to their King: As also to their Native Countrey, in time of extremity and danger (1639), but his political orthodoxy found more humorous expression in A Dialogue Between The Crosse in Cheap, and Charing Crosse (1641) and Square-Caps turned into Round-heads: Or the Bishops Vindication, and the Brownists Conviction (1642), burlesques of the contemporary religious debates. With A Paradox in the Praise of a Dunce, to Smectymnuus (1642) he entered the Smectymnu/am pamphlet war. 68

It has been conjectured that Peacham may have married again, for a marriage licence in Guildhall Library dated 11 November 1636 records that 'Henry Peacham of Chelsey ... Clarke and a widower aged 50 yeares' intended to marry Anne Ammerson of the parish of St Martin's-in-the-Fields. 69 But the licence refers to a man eight years older than Peacham and this, combined with his own unequivocal remarks on the subject two years later ('For my part, I am not married; if I were, I should finde my wings clipt, and the collar too straight for my neck') seem to discount the suggestion
of a second marriage.

Despite his declared intention to forsake the 'fruitlesse exercise' of poetry, his last years saw a collaboration with Wenceslaus Hollar, the Bohemian engraver, who had come to England to record the Earl of Arundel's collection of antiquities and works of art. Together they produced six engravings with descriptive verses, the first of which is an illustration of Giulio Romano's sculpture, Seleucus and Son, in the Arundel collection (it carries the date 1637). There is also a view of Greenwich (1637), a diptych of Richard II and the Virgin Mary (1639), a broadside emblem En Surculus Arbor (1641), The World is ruled and governed by Opinion (1641), and a view of the interior of the Royal Exchange at Cornhill.

The last of these engravings is dated 1644 (two years after his last published pamphlet), but beyond this date Peacham slips from view completely. When and where he died remains a mystery, though there is an allusion to Peacham as still living in 1656 by William Webb of Chester in Daniel King's Vale-Royall of England. The outbreak of the civil war would have made his work unacceptable in London, and he may have followed the court to Oxford, or like Hollar he may have withdrawn to Europe, or perhaps he retired to his family and friends in the country.

II. The Book

The Compleat Gentleman sets out to instruct the young man of gentle birth, 'fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie that may be required in a Noble Gentleman'. The book belongs to the genre which came to be known as courtesy literature, a term embracing moral, cultural and civil treatises, ranging from classical accounts of education and ethics through the mediaeval specula regum to the Cortegiano of Castiglione.
defined courtesy literature as 'a practical body of writing on conduct',
discusses four main types: parental advice, polite conduct, policy, and
civility.\(^2\) Peacham's book may be described as a manual of polite conduct,
giving a coherent and logical theory of behaviour with an encyclopaedic
body of information mainly based on traditional authority, both biblical
and classical. He first describes the qualities and obligations of
nobility and then presents his educational scheme of study.

The old chivalric education had not aimed at producing a lettered
aristocracy. With the movement away from agrarian feudalism which took
place in the Tudor period, the traditional role of the nobility shifted
from military to civil service, so that the mediaeval knight was trans­
formed into the sixteenth-century gentleman.\(^3\) In response to this change,
authors turned from the education of the ideal prince to the instruction
of those who served the prince, and the cultivation not only of the personal
qualities of those destined to rule but also of the practical arts of
government. Their intention was to reconcile 'the old type with the new -
the knightly with the civic and the scholarly'.\(^4\) The new curriculum still
found a place for military training and feats of arms but to these were
added philosophy, law, and history. There were now three aspects of
training: 'exercises', 'manners', and 'studies'.\(^5\) The Italian Castiglione
emphasized the courtly graces whereas the English Sir Thomas Elyot
required the severer studies set out in his Boke named the Gouernour (1531).

Peacham's view of nobility is given in his first chapter as the
foundation of all that follows:

\begin{quote}
Nobilitie then (taken in the generall sence) is nothing
else then a certaine eminency, or notice taken of some one aboue
the rest, for some notable act performed, bee it good or ill;
and in that sence are Nobilis and Ignobilis usuallly among the
Latine Poets taken. More particularly, and in the genuine sence,
Nobilitie is the Honour of blood in a Race or Linage, conferred
Formerly vpon some one or more of that Family, either by the
Prince, the Lawes, customes of that Land or Place, whereby
either out of knowledge, culture of the mind, or by some
\end{quote}
glorious Action performed, they haue beene usefull and beneficiall to the Common-wealths and places where they live.6

He displays both the aristocratic and the democratic strands of the courtly tradition.7 His standard examples of classical personages who rose from lowly origins (Marcellus, Servius Tullius, Diocletian, and the Decii) are balanced by the social position conferred by birth:

Nobilitie, being inherent and Naturall, can haue (as the Diamond) the lustre but only from it selfe: Honors and Titles externally conferred, are but attendant upon desert, and are but as apparell, and the Drapery to a beautifull body.8

His chief source for this opening chapter is a Latin treatise, Nobilissimus (1545), by Hippolitus à Collibus.9 He follows the text closely, translating long passages, and giving much attention to the scandal of 'base nobilitie'. The attack on this category had become conventional in courtesy literature and Peacham is accordingly hard on those who 'staine their stocke with vice, and all base behau|our, relying and vaunting of their long pedigrees, and exploits of their Fathers,(themselves living in sloath and idlenesse), compared with those 'who by their vertuous endeauours are rising'.10

The idea of social distinction and the differentiation of the gentleman from the plebeian was a constant question in Peacham's day.11 He considers the claims of bastards, the nobly-born but corrupt, the poor, medical practitioners, lawyers, and merchants, and such 'mechanicall artists' as 'Painters, Stage-players, Tumblers, ordinary Fidlers, Inne-keepers, Fencers, Luglers, Dancers, Mountebancks, Bearewards, and the like'.12 Only poverty is discounted because 'Riches are an ornament, not the cause of Nobilitie'.13

The ideal character and conduct of noble persons had changed in succeeding centuries. Classical writers had honoured the civic figure of the orator, the Christian prince emerged in the middle ages, and the Italian renaissance regarded the courtier as the model of self-perfection.14
The English humanists conceived the ideal of the cultivated and responsible statesman who devoted himself to the tasks of government. By Stuart times this figure had become the public-spirited, accomplished gentleman.

Although Peacham dedicated his book to the most exalted youngster of his acquaintance - William Howard, fifth son of the Earl of Arundel - and referred to the 'certaine sparkes and secret seeds of vertue innate in Princes, and the Children of Noble personages; which (if cherished, and carefully attended in the blossom) will yeild the fruit of Industry and glorious Action', his true audience was the gentry and middle classes who had prospered in Elizabeth's reign, and were now eager for social advancement. The new men found the grammar schools inadequate to their aspirations and had begun to employ private tutors and seek entrance to the universities and the Inns of Court. They also required to study the practical arts, agriculture, architecture, navigation and commerce, and confidently undertook foreign travel and exploration. Training for public service, the ideal propounded by Erasmus, had become the most important political aim and a man's ambition could still be best served by gaining entry to court circles. The elegant, platonic model of the court of Urbino was translated to the more everyday, domestic style of the Stuart court. Castiglione's work had more influence in England for its literary than for its educational qualities. The only Italian courtesy book known to Peacham seems to be Pettie's translation (1581) of Stefano Guazzo's Civil Conversatione (1574), and from this he took only one anecdote. Peacham's models were the sixteenth-century humanists. He knew the works of Patrizi and acknowledges his debt to the continental humanist writers on education:

I am not ignorant (Judicious Reader) how many pieces of the most curious Masters have beene uttered to the world of this Subiect, as Plutarch, Erasmus, Viues, Sadolet, Sturmius,
The educational treatises of the humanists had their origins in the classics and the medieval specula. For his stories of eminent Christian rulers Peacham drew on Einhard and Panormita. Like Vives and Erasmus, he turned constantly to Plutarch's Vitae and the Moralia, which the humanists regarded as a storehouse of moral and political wisdom.

They were convinced that 'Moralitie and rules of well living' could be inculcated by reference to the great men of Greece and Rome as well as biblical heroes. Aristotle and Plato, Xenophon's Cyropaedia, and Cicero's De Officiis were of fundamental importance. Of De Officiis Peacham writes:

> Which booke let it not seeme contemptible vnto you, because it lyeth tossed and torne in euery Schools; but be precious, as it was sometime vnto the old Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England, before named: who, to his dying day, would alwaies carry it about him, either in his bosome or pocket, being sufficient (as one said of Aristotle Rhétoriques) to make both a Scholler and an honest man.

The Renaissance regarded Cicero as both philosopher and statesman. He above all embodied the idea that the primary task was action and service to the community. Quintilian also carried great authority. In writing of the 'Duty of Masters' Peacham cited his Institutio Oratoria:

> A second over-sight is indiscretion in correction, in vsing all natures alike, and that with immoderation, or rather plaine crueltie: true it is, Quo quisque est solertior & ingeniosior, hoc docet iracundior. But these fellowes beleue with Chrysippus in Quintilian, that there is no other Method of making a Scholler, then by seaiting him, for that understandeth not through their owne fault; wherein they saw themselves egregious Tyrants, for, Correction without instruction is plaine tyrannie.

Elyot's Gouernour had more influence on Peacham than any other native source. As an exposition of court humanism, the book is devoted to 'the education and vertue in maners' of the ruling classes (under the king). It is divided into three sections: the first deals with education from early childhood and the second and third discuss the virtues necessary to
a 'gouernour', such as magnanimity, humility, temperance, faith and liberality. Elyot's aim was to promote learning in those who were to become servants of the state to counteract the effects of an aristocracy that neglected or despised it. Writing nearly one hundred years after Elyot, Peacham still felt the need to censure 'the breeding in generall of our Gentlemen ... Which I can impute to no other thing, then the remisnesse of Parents, and negligence of Masters in their youth. Wherefore at my comming ouer, considering the great forwardnesse and proficience of children in other Countries, the backwardnesse and rawnesse of ours; the industry of Masters there, the ignorance and idlenesse of most of ours; the exceeding care of Parents in their childrens Education, the negligence of ours'.

There are many similarities between *The Compleat Gentleman* and James Cleland's *Institution of a Young Noble Man* (1607), which celebrated Prince Henry's court at Nonsuch, not because Peacham borrowed from Cleland but because they both borrowed from Elyot.

Peacham refers only once to Roger Ascham's 'excellent booke ... intituled *Toxophilus* (1545), but Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1570), with its condemnation of the 'fearefull beating' of children, his claims to encourage 'learning by ientilnes and loue', and his 'plaine and perfite way of teachyng children, to vnderstand, write, and speake, the Latin tong' was obviously familiar to Peacham who would have recognized the authority of an experienced and congenial master.

Another work which influenced Peacham directly was King James I's *Basilicon Doron*, written in 1599 for his 5-year-old son, Prince Henry. This is a typical manual for princes in the tradition of the *specula regum*, reminding Henry of his duty to God and his subjects, warning him against the snares of court life, and advising him on matters of private and public conduct. It derives from Xenophon and Plato but includes personal
observations on court behaviour. Peacham knew the book well and had illustrated it in three emblem books. His opening discussion of social order echoes the king's exhortation on the divine right of kingship.

James writes:

Remember then, that this glistering worldly glorie of Kings is giuen them by God, to teache them to preasse so to glister and shine before their people in all works of sanificati- cation and righteousnes, that their persones as bright lampes of godlines and vertue, maye (going in and out before their people) giue light to all their steps.  

Peacham follows with this passage:

For if a Prince be the Image of God, gouerning and adorning all things, and the end of all gouernment the obser- vation of Lawes, that thereby might appeare the goodnesse of God in protecting the good, and punishing the bad, that the people might bee fashioned in their liues and manners, and come neere in the light of knowledge wnto him, who must protect and defend them, by establishing Religion, ordaining Lawes; by so much (as the Sunne from his Crbe of Empire) ought he to out- runne the rest in a vertuous race, and out-shine them in knowledge, by how much he is mounted neerer to heauen, and so in view of all, that his least eclipse is taken to a minute.  

One of the chief tenets of the humanists was the need to suit education to the individual pupil, invita Minerva, according to one's natural bent.

In the words of Vives:

Nihil tum tractabitur praue an sinistre a coactis & repugnantibus, de quibus consilium est prudentis poetae:  
Tu nihil invita dices faciesue Minerva.

Elyot says the same and Peacham repeats it:

The first and maine Error of Masters, is want of discretion, when in such varietie of Natures as different as their countenances, the Master neuer laooureth to try the strength of euery capacity by it selfe, which (as that Lesbian stone Aristotle speaketh of) must haue the rule fitted to it, not that brought to the rule.  

Vives and Erasmus agree in seeking 'a reciprocall and mutuall affection betwixt the Master and Scholler'. Peacham regrets that 'a Fathers affection' is rarely found in the schoolroom:

many of our Masters for the most part so behaue themselves, that their very name is hatefull to the Scholler, who trembleth at their comming in, reioyceth at their absence, and looketh his Master (returned) in the face, as his deadly enemy.
That seventeenth-century school life was rigorous is evident from accounts of the curriculum at Winchester, Westminster, and Saint Paul's. This intensive discipline would have been tempered by enlightened masters, for there were many who, like Peacham, treated their charges humanely. Referring to the work of Sturmius, Peacham notes that 'in Germanie the Schoole is, and as the name importeth, it ought to be meerely Ludus literarius, a very pastime of learning, where it is a rare thing to see a Rodde stirring'. Here too Elyot is his guide:

Peacham recommends a similar method:

So may a discreet Master, with as much or more ease, both to himselfe & his Scholler, teach him to play at Tennise, or shoot at rouers in the field, and profit him more in one moneth, beside his encouragement, then in halfe a yeare with his strict and severe vsage.

Turning to the question of practical instruction, The Compleat Gentleman comprises three main parts. Manners and behaviour are covered by chapters five and seventeen, exercise by sixteen and nineteen, and study by six to fifteen. This last section, from 'stile in speaking and writing' to 'Of Armorie', forms the core of the book.

Latin, the necessary foundation of all school work, is briefly dealt with in chapter three. Peacham recommends the method of double translation propounded by Ascham. Lily's grammar, prescribed by Royal authority in 1549, was still the standard text book but when Peacham refers in passing to the current dispute on the teaching of grammar, with conservative schoolmasters like Brinsley and Mulcaster advocating one method for all, he characteristically favours 'the discretion of the iudicious Master':

Nor is it my meaning that I would all Masters be tyed to one Methode, no more then all the Shires of England to come vp to London by one high way; there be many equally alike good.
The sixteenth-century humanist educators had included the subjects associated with the quadrivium (history, natural philosophy, mathematics, music, geography, and modern languages) whereas the grammar schools and universities followed the narrow curriculum of the trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric). Because the trivium did not meet modern needs, the humanists had sought to enlarge the scope of education, as we find not only in the writings of Elyot and Ascham but also in such schemes as Queene Elizabeth's Achadery, written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert before 1562, and Sir Francis Kynaston's Museum Minervae, established by royal patronage nearly eighty years later in 1635. By the late sixteenth-century the curriculum proposed by Elyot had been generally expanded and Peacham followed this trend. He includes his own list of English historians. Vernacular authors had been recommended by Vives and Peacham is the first English educationalist to discuss the study of history in detail and to recommend his native literature as a suitable subject:

be not a stranger in the Historie of your owne Countrey, which is a common fault imputed to our English Travellers in forreine Countries; who curious in the observation and search of the most memorable things and monuments of other places, can say (as a great Peere of France told me; nothing of their owne our Countrey of England, being no whit inferior to any other in the world, for matter of Antiquitie, and rarities of every kinde worthy remarke and admiration.

The place of cosmography, geography, mathematics, and geometry had been debated in the sixteenth century, but Peacham has no doubt of their value, his own brief descriptions being supplemented by books recommended for further study. The young student is also to be encouraged to take part in outdoor activities, as 'the mind from the Ability of the Body gathereth her strength and vigor ... Hereby you are ennabled for command, and the service of your Country'.

Chapter nineteen 'Of Militarie Observations' furthers the idea of service to one's country by a technical exposition of 'The Postures of
each weapon', the musket and the pike. This chapter was added in 1627 to meet the reform of the militia introduced soon after Charles I's accession to counteract the decline in the martial arts which occurred in the peaceful years of James' reign. The gentry were obliged by law to engage in military exercises in their own counties and so required a knowledge of drill and weaponry. Many manuals were produced to cater for this need, and Peacham was able to use two recent pamphlets by Gervase Markham, *The Souldiers Accidence* (1625) and *The Souldiers Grammar* (1626).

For recreation Peacham recommended music and painting. His chapter on music contains a personal estimation of contemporary European and English composers, sometimes with such valuable biographical material as his account of Luca Marenzio. Music had attained the status of a liberal art by Tudor times and had a place in the curriculum of such schools as Westminster. There was a strong musical tradition at Oxford where a chair was established in 1626. The 'golden age' of Elizabethan music is exemplified by the composers Christopher Tye, Thomas Tallis, William Byrd, and Thomas Morley, and by Peacham's time, music was a required accomplishment in social life, as Morley shows in his *Flaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597); the most popular works on the bookstalls were collections of rounds and catches for home use and manuals of instruction for the lute and other instruments. However, although music was acceptable as a private entertainment, Peacham still bore earlier strictures in mind, and trod carefully in introducing it as a gentlemanly pastime:

I might runne into an infinite Sea of the praise and use of so excellent an Art, but I onely shew it you with the finger, because I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman should (saue his priuate recreation at lesasurable houres) prooue a Master in the same, or neglect his more weightie imployments: though I auouch it a skill worthy the knowledge and exercise of the greatest Prince.
About painting he shows equal caution. Drawing, in the sense of 'draughtsmanship', was needed for blazonry, architectural designs, surveying and the construction of fortifications but painting had been regarded as base and messy. Elyot had written that 'if a childe be of nature inclined (as many haue ben) to paint with a penne or to fourme images in stone or tree: he shulde nat bee therfrom withdrawn or nature be rebuked', but had warned against making 'a noble man a mason or peynter'. Peacham gives a full description of the practical details of painting but still seems unsure that the art is entirely suitable for a gentleman:

Painting in Oyle is done I confesse with greater judgement, and is generall of more esteeme then working in water colours; but then it is more Mechanique and will robbe you of over much time from your more excellent studies ... beside oyle nor oyle colours, if they drop vpon apparell, will not out; when water colours will with the least washing. But lest you should think me ignorant or envious, I wil not conceale from you the manner of working herein, and though it may bee you shall not practise it, it may profit others.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the fine arts were cultivated by the nobility and gentry as 'amateur' pursuits, and this led to the collection of pictures, natural curiosities and antiquities. Apart from his practical instructions, Peacham's chapter is remarkable in that it contains the first account in English of Italian painting, which occupies more than sixteen pages. The length of the chapter reflects his personal enthusiasm for drawing and limning and recalls that his first publication had been The Art of Drawing (1606), a practice to which he had been 'addicted' since childhood.

Peacham's particular interests are further revealed in his chapter on blazonry. Heraldry had formed a regular part of chivalric education, but Peacham is the first courtesy writer to accord it a place in a scheme of studies. By 1634 his description of 'the stately Palace of Armorie' runs to 54 pages, longer than any other chapter and, like painting, out
of proportion to its importance in the curriculum. It has been remarked that, within the framework of *The Compleat Gentleman*, the space given to heraldry and painting disturbs 'the general balance' of the book, but because these chapters indicate so clearly their author's personality and preoccupations and because they lift the book far above similar works of its time, this material should be seen as a worthwhile section of the whole.  

Fishing, added to the second edition in 1627, is again one of Peacham's favourite pastimes, which had not figured in previous courtesy books.  

I haue taken so much delight in the Art of Angling that I may well terme it the honest & patient mans recreation, or a Pastime for all men to recreate themselfes at vacunt howers.  

There was already a considerable body of fishing 'literature', starting with *The Boke of St. Albans* (1496), and Markham had included fishing in *The Pleasure of Princes* (1615). Nearly thirty years later, in *The Compleat Angler* (1653) Isaak Walton echoed Peacham's opening words, linking his short, simple chapter to the creed of rustic, humble quietude which later seventeenth century writers made their ideal of the happy life.  

In Elizabethan and Jacobean times many popular handbooks were provided for the middle classes on practical subjects ranging from astronomy to husbandry. These manuals gave only simplified accounts, but had the merit of offering information in an easily assimilated form. They were particularly useful to the commercial classes, but all men of affairs, whether amateur or professional, found themselves increasingly concerned with the technical details of their various enterprises, and turned more and more often to these printed manuals. The later courtesy books brought together a number of subjects in order to provide a systematic survey of education and behaviour. In *The Compleat Gentleman* this tradition of 'handbook learning' can be traced in Peacham's use of such sources as
Gervase Markham's manuals of military drill, Blundeville's *Exercises* (1594), Mexio's *Treasure of our Times* (1613), and Yonge's *Music Trans-alpina* (1588). This enabled him to achieve the encyclopaedic range of his 'compleat' compendium, touching on everything that a young gentleman should know about.

Works like Bishop Burnet's *Thoughts on Education* and Clarendon's *Dialogue*, both published in 1668, indicate that this sort of compendious courtesy book was still being produced towards the end of the century, but the tendency was to treat a single aspect - a gentleman's creation, character, letter-writing, and so on - and the genre gradually declined into accounts of the modes and manners of the eighteenth century.  

Another trend was the 'anti'-aristocratic movement which began in the seventeenth century. An example is Richard Braithwaite's *English Gentleman* (1630) which specifically censures *The Compleat Gentleman*. Braithwaite was concerned not with aristocratic culture but with the ideal of service to mankind as a religious obligation. The interest in utilitarian studies and the associated Puritan notions of useful activity and the virtues of work were also inimical to the spirit of courtesy literature. A call for reform in schools and universities, which became strong about 1640, demanded that modern scientific studies should replace the abstract amateur learning. A model for the advancement of learning and piety was provided by the Czech educator John Amos Comenius, who visited England in 1641. He formulated a universal, mechanist, vocational scheme which disregarded 'the whole world of man and the human personality as a proper object of study'. This concern with materialism lacked 'humanist' ideals and was far removed from the cultivated liberalism of Elyot or Peacham.

When *The Compleat Gentleman* was first published in 1622 England was still in an apparent state of stability but many latent political and
social tensions already existed. It is therefore not surprising that
Peacham avoids politics. He very occasionally shows his hand, as when
he enters the field of religious controversy by criticizing 'our Sectaries'
who wished to abolish music and singing in church services. He roundly
refutes them by pointing to the practice of 'David, the Priests and
Leuites', which is imitated by 'our practise of singing and playing with
Instruments in his Maiesties Chappell, and our Cathedrall Churches'. (The
movement for reforming the church and the debates it engendered were dealt
with by Peacham at a later stage in his career.)

Peacham's interest was aroused by the abuse which has been labelled
'the inflation of honours'; he more bluntly terms it 'the ordinary
purchasing of Armes and Honors for Money, very prejudiciall to true
Nobilitie and politique gouernment'. The lavish distribution of honours
by James I (and later by Charles I) and particularly the sale of titles
by Buckingham and other court favorites was to have a disruptive effect
on the social structure of England. During Elizabeth's reign honours were
bestowed so sparingly that new money and new blood were often denied proper
recognition; but nothing could excuse the recklessly prodigal distribution
that followed. By the end of 1604 the order of knighthood had increased
three-fold and by 1606 it was openly for sale. From its inception in
1611 the hereditary dignity of baronet required the payment of £1039 to
the Treasury (ostensibly for the upkeep of the army in Ireland), and by
the end of 1622 James had created 198 baronets. The peerage retained
its dignity until 1615 when it too became subject to malpractice.80

These abuses were felt at all levels and the older country families resented
the debasement of their rank and the precedence bought by upstarts. Knight-
hood fell into contempt and the low birth and character of the new nobility
was difficult to disguise.81

The intense competition for proper recognition promoted a frantic
interest in genealogy and heraldry, met by Peacham in his chapter
'Of Armorie, or Blazon of Armes'. Here he shows himself to be
knowledgeable and he treats the subject with appropriate seriousness:

How should we give Nobilitie her true value, respect, and title, without notice of her Merit: and how may we guess her merit, without these outward ensignes and badges of Vertue, which anciantly have beene accounted sacred and precious; withall, discerne and know an intruding vpstart, shot vp with last night's Mushrome, from an ancient descended and deserving Gentleman.

These 'outward ensignes' were bestowed and regulated by the College of Armes. Pride of ancestry and the exact status, rank and qualities of families and individuals were all jealously maintained.

It is meete that a Noble or Gentleman who beareth Armes, and is well descended, bee not onely able to blazon his owne proper Coate; deriue by pedegree and descent of his family from the originall, know such matches and allies as are ioyned to him in blood: but also of his Prince, the Nobilitie, and Gentry where he liueth, which is not of meere ornament, as the most suppose, but diversly necessary and of great consequence.

Genuine genealogy was assiduously studied by the older gentry to distinguish themselves from the newer families in the same locality. The newcomers often resorted to falsified genealogies. Peacham was particularly contemptuous of the 'vndeserwing and base Peasant ayming at Nobilitie', whose 'miserable ambition hath so furnished both Towne & Country with Coates of a new list.' Nevertheless, new coats of arms were granted to those newly ennobled or of sufficient standing to be called 'gentlemen', and Peacham would know that such men would be some of his readers. Accordingly, of the 29 escutcheons he himself chose as illustrations, two belonged to merchants, five were Norfolk gentlemen whom he knew, seven were of the old peerage, and only one was a 'new' gentleman.

A new addition to the concept of the gentleman in the seventeenth century was the idea of the virtuoso. This form of cultural refinement was a sophisticated and satisfying activity with the advantage that one could pursue it at first hand, since it involved collecting works of art,
rare and curious objects, ancient coins and new scientific contrivances. The 'virtuosi' enjoyed travel because it allowed them to study antiquities by visiting sites and collecting abroad. Peacham was one of the first to write on the subject and his is the earliest recorded use of the term in English (1634). The chapter on antiquities added to the third edition of The Compleat Gentleman is the most thorough technical treatise on virtuoso collecting to have been published up to that date. He describes the acquisitions of Thomas Howard, 'great for his noble Patronage of Arts and ancient Learning ... To whose liberall charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greeke and Romane Statues with whose admired presence he began to honour the Gardens and Galleries of Arundel-House about twentie yeeres agoe, and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England', and those of Charles I, who 'ever since his comming to the Crowne, hath amply testified a Royall liking of ancient statues, by causing a whole army of old forraine Emperours, Captaines, and Senators all at once to land on his coasts, to come and doe him homage, and attend him in his palaces of Saint James and Sommerset-house'.

Another virtuoso, 'that noble and absolutely compleat Gentleman', was the versatile Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), who brought antique pieces for the king from Delos in 1628 and later became a member of the Royal Society.

Peacham even regarded himself as a gentleman-virtuoso; he too collected coins and manuscripts and kept records of antiquities, but he was aware that 'the possession of such rarities, by reason of their dead costlinesse, doth properly belong to Princes, or rather to princely minds'. Appropriately, therefore, most of the chapter comprises a catalogue of Hebrew, Greek, and Roman coins. These at least were within the reach of a needy schoolmaster, as he makes clear in a characteristically practical aside:
They are much easier to come-by, than either Statues or Inscriptions: first, in regard of their numerous quantities; and secondly, by reason of their small bulk, which makes the purchase cheaper, and the carriage lighter.

The virtuosi developed by a gradual transformation of the accomplished courtier of the humanists into the independent man of wealth and leisure. This development is only just beginning in The Compleat Gentleman, for Peacham is, in many ways, still loyal to the ideals of the Renaissance. He describes English virtuoso activities at a very early stage and had not come to regard them as distinct from other aspects of education, being carried on purely for the delectation of the collector or connoisseur. He does not separate the pleasurable from the profitable, but emphasizes the 'learned pleasure and delight' they afford.

The use of these old memorials tend to the illustration of Historie, and of the antiquitie of divers matters, places, and Cities, which otherwise would be obscure, if not altogether unknowne to us.

The Arundel Marbles provide 'a world of learned Lectures':

Now beside the pleasure of seeing, and conversing with these old Heroes, (whose meere presence, without any farther consideration, reared on their severall Pedestals, and ranked decently, either sub dio, where they shew best, or in a stately Gallery, cannot but take any eye that can but see:) the profit of knowing them, redounds to all Poets, Painters, Architects, and generally to such as may have occasion to imploy any of these, and by consequent to all Gentlemen.

Most of Peacham's information on ancient coins is extracted from Edward Brerewood's De ponderibus et pretiis veterum nummorum (1614). Other sources are even more recent. Pasquier's Recherches de la France (1621) and Savot's Discours sur les Medalles Antiques (1627) indicate that the study of antiquities was comparatively modern when he was compiling this chapter. He was the first courtesy writer to recommend these scientific and antiquarian studies and by the end of the century the skills and interests of the virtuosi had become an important concern of the genre. That this material should have been so readily integrated into courtesy
literature is not remarkable because so many readers of such books would themselves be virtuosi, and the study of curiosities complemented the standard subjects especially travel.  

Travel had not been regarded as necessary to the training of the aristocracy in the late sixteenth century, but fifty years later the European tour was established as a customary part of education. From the beginning, the Grand Tour was immensely popular. As Stone points out, 'five overlapping cultural ideals, those of the man of war, the man of learning, the statesman, the polished cavalier, and the virtuoso all demanded educational training abroad, and thus contrived to stimulate a reasonable growth of foreign travel among the English nobility and gentry.' Peacham characteristically links pleasure with profit, 'your owne priuate, or the publique; your priuate, as the recovery of your health, by some outlandish meanes, as the water of the Spaw, some Ihisitian, famous for his cure in such & such kinds, change of aire, or gaining as a Merchant by trafique, or some profession wherein you excell others. The publique is the generall good of your Countrey for which we are all borne, it challenging a third part of us.' His contemporaries express the same idea. Thomas Palmer's Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into Forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable (1606) gives an elaborate diagram (table I) which charts the two aspects of travel. Thirty-six years later James Howell's Instructions for Forreine Travell (1642) insists that 'one should eventuate himselfe to bring something home, that may accrue to the publique benefit and vantage of his Countrey, and not to draw water to his own Mill only.' Peacham devotes his chapter to France (relying on Dallington's book published in 1604) and Spain, which he had probably not visited himself although his sources for this section have not been traced. It was conventional to begin a tour with France, 'most requisite for the English to know', but unusual to describe Spain at
length at the expense of Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Peacham apologizes for omitting these countries, 'by reason they haue beene so exactly described by Master Sands' (Sandys' Relation, 1610).

By 1605 it had become politically safe for Englishmen to travel in Spain, but it was expensive and notoriously uncomfortable. Peacham is the first courtesy writer to describe the country (perhaps encouraged by the projected marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta). He retains the traditional prejudice against 'those Serpents, Erreur and Atheisme' and 'the Inquisition and the danger thereof', echoing Ascham's century-old warnings against Italy and more recent cautions against Spanish 'blasphemie, and contempt of al holinessse and Religion'.

The description of France concentrates on the chief buildings 'they being the best Architects of the world'. Writing as a virtuoso, he selects those with 'goodly galleries ... all manner of Histories ... the rarest Antiquities'.

Although the chapter on antiquities did not appear until 1634, Peacham's interest in the subject is apparent in the first edition, with its guide to Italian and Northern painters and account of famous mechanical contrivances which 'contend even with natures selfe, in infusing life as it were, into the senselesse bodies of wood, stone, or metall'. These curiosities find a place in the chapter on geometry. Archytas' wooden dove and Scaliger's self-propelling ship belong to the field of experimental science, which was associated with virtuoso studies besides art and antiquities.

The virtuoso's 'cabinet of curiosities' was the proper home of such exhibits. By the 1660's the figure of Charles II, the experimental scientist, replaced that of Charles I, the collector-king; the foundation of the Royal Society in 1662 has been attributed to the wider interests of the virtuosi and the broadening scope of courtesy literature directly
stimulated this movement. The virtuoso's attitude to the new scientific ideas assisted the separation of the arts from the sciences, emphasizing the critical and empirical at the expense of traditional learning. The Puritan middle classes fostered the technical, utilitarian subjects astronomy and geography, the latter being especially relevant to merchants and politicians. As early as 1605 Bacon had called men to study the world about them, craft and industry rather than philosophical speculation. From 'a small globe of the intellectual world', he urged 'a laborious and sober inquiry of truth', combining the rational and empirical methods of investigation 'as in nature, the more you remove yourself from particulars the greater peril of error you do incur'. Peacham mentions only 'the Essays and other pieces of the excellence Master of Eloquence, my Lord of S. Albanes'; Bacon's influence as a scientific thinker was not widely felt until after 1640, and even then was general rather than specific.

There are glimmerings of the new scientific approach in Peacham's chapter on geometry. The humanists had dismissed mathematics and preferred ancient learning to natural philosophy. The Aristotelian tradition had included the sciences but the humanists thought them inadequate to prepare a man for political life, and the shift in academic interests took place gradually in the seventeenth century. Peacham glances briefly at classical and biblical precedents before considering the functional aspect of geometry:

By the benefit likewise of Geometrie, we haue our goodly Shippes, Galleies, Bridges, Milles, Charriots and Coaches ... She also with her ingenious hand reares all curious roofes, and Arches, stately Theaters, the Columnes simple and compound, pendant Galleries, stately Windowes, Turrets, &c. and first brought to light our clockes and curious Watches (vrknowne to the ancients:) lastly our kitchin Lackes, even to the wheele-barrow.

Characteristically, Peacham regards applied science as the most important:
The use you shall have of Geometry, will be in surveying your lands, affording your opinion in building anew, or translating; making your miles aswell for grinding of corne as throwing foorth water from your lower grounds, bringing water farre off for sundry uses. Seeing the measure of Timber, stone and the like (wherein Gentlemen many times are egregiously abused and cheated by such as they trust) to contrive much with small charge and in lesse roome. Againe, should you follow the warres ... you cannot without Geometry fortifie your selfe, take the advantage of hill or leuell, fight, order your Battaglia in square, triangle, crosse ... leuell and plant your Ordinances, undermine, raise your halfe Moones, Bulwarkes, Casamates, Hauelins, with many other meanes as of offence and defence, by fortification. So that I cannot see how a Gentleman, especially a Souldier and Commander may be accomplished without Geometrie.113

In writing of cosmography and geography Peacham keeps to traditional theories. He mentions Copernicus but only as one name in a list of cosmographers that includes Ptolemy. The Copernican theory of a heliocentric universe had been generally accepted in England since 1610 but it did not have an immediate, dramatically disturbing effect.114 Peacham still reproduces the description given in Blundeville's Exercises, which was the last, popular English textbook of cosmography to describe the Ptolemaic system without any essential modifications.115 Peacham's physical world is compounded of the old and new, his authorities ranging from Acosta, Burton, and Scaliger to Varro, Aristotle, and Augustine. 'To understand the severall parts and Regions of the world, with their scitation', he instructs the reader, 'observe Ptolomies Method', but he warns against 'infinite errors among the ancients', revealed by improved navigation.116 He still clings to the traditional idea that cosmography is needed to illustrate 'the Labyrinth of Historie' and the 'incredible varietie' of Nature. Cosmography is, above all, 'necessary for the understanding of Historie ... and the fables of the Poets ... that without it we know not how the most memorable enterprises of the world haue bin carryed and performed'.117 It also has a practical purpose, to ensure that the young nobility of England are aware of its value in trade and exploration for determining 'the government, and commodities of other nations ... the strength of our
enemies, distinguish the limits betweene kingdome and kingdome, names of places from names of people'.

The critical and empirical spirit of the new learning was complemented by the various collections of books and works of art which assisted the preservation and investigation of the past. Besides the Bodleian Library which opened in 1602, there was Sir Robert Cotton’s great repository of books and antiquities and the more modest libraries of the gentry like Sir Thomas Knyvett, Nathaniel Bacon, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Henry Spelman. Peacham also knew the rare, ancient marbles and modern paintings and sculpture assembled by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. The Duke of Buckingham acquired Rubens’s collection in 1625 and the king was an enthusiastic collector, who purchased the gallery of the Duke of Mantua between 1627 and 1628. Charles I was both connoisseur and patron, encouraging foreign artists like Le Sueur, Rubens, and Van Dyck to work in England. Although Peacham belongs to the old order he was strongly influenced by the inquiring spirit of the new, so that the traditional assumptions of the past are seen against a developing background of science and philosophy in an expanding universe.

With twenty years’ experience of teaching behind him, Peacham’s first edition was specifically designed for the youth and the schoolboy; five years later he added advice on the leisure pastime of fishing and the physical requirements of military drill, and after another seven years the study and pleasures of antiquities had become for him an essential pursuit for the educated gentleman. Meanwhile the chapter on blazonry was successively enlarged as he widened the range of his interests and acquaintances.
III. Peacham's Scholarship

In his own time, Peacham was praised for his breadth of learning and wide interests; in a commendatory poem prefixed to The Gentleman's Exercise (1612) his friend John Thorpe the architect described him as:

Grammaticus, Pictor, dum Musicus, atque Poeta,
His cunctis mira dexteritate valens;
Instruis atque alios his cunctis, nemo meretur,
De patria melius, iudice Aristotele.

Forty-four years later, William Webb, under-sheriff of Chester, wrote of genealogies 'learnedly collected' by his 'kinsman' Peacham. In 1657 William London borrowed from The Compleat Gentleman for his introductory 'Essay upon the Value and Benefits of Learning and Knowledge', in his Catalogue of the most vendible Books in England.

Peacham himself devotes an entire chapter to 'the dignitie and necessity of Learning in Princes and Nobilitie'. Learning, he writes, 'is an essentiall part of Nobilitie', 'the Fountaine of all Counsell and Instruction'. This emphasis on learning derives of course from the humanist view of the purpose of education, which was to fit a man for civic responsibility, so that scholarship was first of all a useful thing and certainly not to be acquired merely for its own sake. The early humanists, Colet, More, and Erasmus, had been public men and their system of education was based on the belief that the study of ancient history, the classical languages, and the art of eloquence was the key to excellence in every sphere of life.

His academic method is founded on the traditional scholastic and humanist way of teaching through reading and disputation. Books, writes Peacham, 'apparell your minde with the ornaments of knowledge', and he adds the warning, 'suffer them not to lie neglected, who must make you regarded'. He advises 'a care of keeping your bookes handsome, and
well bound ... spare them not for noting or interlining ... neither
suffer them ... to mold & be moth-eaten, or want their strings or couers'.
He rejects false and empty displays of knowledge, reserving his severest
scorn for 'pretenders to ... knowledge and learning', in particular
'Dunsticall Schoole-Masters' whose ignorance blights the ability of his
young scholars. His concern for 'the knowledge of good learning' and
his criticism of 'grosse Ignorance and in-sufficiency' establish his status
as a diligent and precise scholar, and his extensive and varied reading is
demonstrated by the great abundance of quotations in The Compleat Gentleman.
The marginal references are very nearly all accurately cited. A few
printer's errors occur in the later editions but there are also some
corrections of earlier inaccuracies.

In his practice of profuse quotation Peacham exemplifies the didactic
methods of his day; the humanist concept of 'originality' involved a return
to the true sources away from the intervening logical and rhetorical systems
of scholasticism. The influence of the mediaeval writers who felt obliged
to adduce copious evidence for every statement was however still strong.
It reinforced both the humanist search for the pure authority of the
earliest classics and the protestant insistence on sound documentation in
the defence of the reformed church. It was customary to quote extensively
by way of proof and illustration, not only in books but also from the
pulpit (as Peacham's father makes plain in The Garden of Eloquence) and
even in ordinary conversation. Peacham advises that table talk should be
'seasoned' with 'concepts of wit and pleasant inuention, as ingenious
Epigrammes, Emblemes, Anagrammes, merry tales, wittie questions and answers,
Mistakings'. The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621) took the fashion to extremes;
its elaborate and concentrated compilation of quotation, allusion and
citation ended in 'apologizing for the intrusions of its own English into
its mosaic of Latin quotations'. Peacham does not quote so intensively
as Burton but is much more closely bound to the quoted word than was, for example, Bacon in his *Essays*.

Peacham is reasonably frank about his borrowing, giving his sources in marginal notes or in the text and referring the reader to other books for further information, but he is sometimes less than explicit about his transcriptions. For example, he reproduces almost verbatim whole paragraphs from Elyot's *Gouernour* without acknowledgement and fails to mention Markham's *Pleasures of Princes*, which provides most of his chapter, 'Concerning Fishing'. Other unnamed sources of long passages are Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), Markham's *Souldier's Accidence*, Brerewood's *De ponderibus et pretiis veterum numrumorum* and Blundeville's *Exercises*. These extensive and piecemeal borrowings are not to be seen as mere plagiarism but as an expression of the need to provide authority for every statement and, as Spingarn notes in his discussion of Peacham's use of Scaliger, they conform to 'Jacobean ideals of scholarship'.

Peacham's quoting is not to be regarded as a pedantic affectation in a time when citation was apt to be equated with learning. It ensured that his young readers would gain at least a passing acquaintance with most of the ancient and modern authors whose books should have been found in an educated gentleman's library. His display of scholarship is limited by his purpose. *The Compleat Gentleman* is intended to be no more than 'the first and plainest Directions (though but as so many keys to leade you into far fairer rooms)', and 'the plaine and shallow current of the Discourse' is deliberately 'fitted to a young and tender capacitie', but he goes far beyond the three texts with which every schoolboy was familiar - *Lily's Grammar*, the Bible, and the Book of Common Prayer.

There is no chapter specifically devoted to theological studies, but Peacham, like all his contemporaries, refers constantly to the ultimate authority of the scriptures and the need to ally godliness with good
learning in every department of life: 'since learning, then ioyned with the feare of God, is so faithfull a guide, that without it Princes undergoe but lamely (as Chrysostome saith) their greatest affaires'.

He praises Henry, Earl of Dorset, in a dedication dated 1638, 'as a true lover of the Church of God, as also of learning, and all vertuous Farts'. The Bible is quoted in the Authorized Version, but he also uses the Vulgate. In chapter twelve, 'Of Antiquities', he cites Genesis 32.16 in Latin (this may, however, be taken from B. Arias Montanus's Antiquitatum Judaicarum, 1593), and chapter two, 'Of the dignitie and necessity of Learning in Princes and Nobilitie', contains the Vulgate version of Psalm 1.1. The most frequently cited books of the Bible are the Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy) and the histories (Joshua, Judges and Samuel). Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, singled out by King James as 'a storehouse of prēc-pts of naturall wisedome' also appear. Job, another favourite with the homilists, is joined by many verses from the Psalms, familiar because of their daily use in the reformed liturgy. The Apocrypha is represented by Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. The New Testament is quoted only four times (Matthew, Acts, Timothy, and Titus).

Peacham cites the patristic authors but it is difficult to be sure whether he was always familiar with their works at first hand; St. John Chrysostom appears four times, St. Augustine three times, and Ignatius, Hilary of Poitiers, Lactantius, and Nicephorus once each. St. Jerome is quoted but Peacham seems to be unaware that Jerome's words come from Lucretius. The Christian and late classical historians Philo Judaeus, Eusebius, Justinus, Chalcocondyles, and Einhard are also referred to as authorities and the biblical exegetists Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos are mentioned briefly. The suggestion that Seneca the younger was a Christian and an associate of St. Paul had arisen from the mediaeval scholars' need to justify the study of pagan authors by crediting them
with Christian attributes. Seneca's reputed conversion (not to mention Plutarch and Virgil) had become less important by the sixteenth century, but Peacham, although he believed with the humanists that the highest ethical virtues could be discovered in the works of the noble Greeks and Romans, continued to honour Seneca for 'that Spirit, wherewith so many rules of Patience, Humilitie, Contempt of the world, are refined and exempt from the dregges of Paganisme'.

Of the Roman authors quoted at first hand, Cicero is supreme and after him Quintilian. The historians, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, Pliny the elder (also in Holland's translation), Suetonius, and the writers of the Historia Augusta, are often used. Virgil is cited as the chief epic poet, closely followed by Horace; Lucretius, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Martial, Juvenal, and Claudian appear at least once. The list is completed by Terence, Cato, Varro, Quintus Curtius, Pliny the younger, Eutropius, Macrobius, and Justinian. In general, practice and precept go hand in hand; the Roman authors Peacham preferred in his own writings are those given priority for study and imitation in chapter six, 'Of stile'.

The Greek classics, cited sometimes in the original and sometimes in Latin or English translation, are less prominent. Plutarch is important both in Greek and in North's translation, together with Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon. Other sources are Homer, Pindar, Euripides, Socrates, Herodotus, Diphilus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Arrian, Appian, Ptolemy, Dio Cassius, and Proclus of Byzantium.

Among the Latin writers of the Renaissance, Erasmus is the chief, being quoted in a wide variety of contexts. Others include Vives, Lipsius, Budaeus, Sturmius, J.C. Scaliger, Collibus, Patrizi, and Panormita. French vernacular writers are represented by the historians Comines and Bodin. The Italian Vasari supplies long passages through Van Mander's Dutch version and Guazzo's Civil Conversatione appears in George Pettie's English
translation. The following miscellaneous Latin and vernacular authors are used at least once: Wimpheling, Warnefridus, Philiponus, Joseph de Acosta, Rhodiginus, Petrarch, Junius, Surius, Langius, Quercetan, Giovio, Firmicus Maternus, Camerarius, Albertus Magnus, Beccatelli, Sabellicus, Sleidan, Theodorus Gaza, Brerewood, William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Guicciardini, and Poliziano. Peacham also cites several university plays, and a further literary influence is seen in his description of emblems from Alciati, Valerianus, and Paradin.

All the English authors Peacham uses, including Elyot, Ascham, Camden, Puttenham (and even King James) belong to the sixteenth century. He mentions many closer contemporaries, such as Hooker, Sir John Hayward, Daniel, and Selden, and praises them as historians, but does not quote them; nor is Bacon, 'the excellent Master of Eloquence', quoted directly, although his influence is clear on Peacham's later prose essays. Peacham cites Thomas Milles, Brinsley, Joseph Webbe, Guilliém, Ferne, Thomas Morley (as a musical theorist), and Bedingfield and Haydocke's translations of Macchiavelli and Lomazzo respectively. His roll-call of the English poets from Chaucer onwards is taken mainly from Puttenham, but he adds his own commendation of Joseph of Exeter, More's verses and translations of the Greek epigrams, Sir Thomas Challoner, and King James's tutor, George Buchanan. Harington's translation of the Orlando Furioso is quoted and Du Bartas's epic La Semaine (probably in Sylvester's version as well as the original) is referred to several times. Sidney's Defence of Poesie (1595) is not directly quoted but Peacham echoes his words on Chaucer.

During this time all students compiled commonplace or 'copie' books to assure the flow of their discourse. The material would be drawn from every possible source, classical and contemporary, and the systematic scholar would group his examples into appropriate sections: witty sayings, rhetorical ornaments, moral stories and aphorisms, fables, allegories,
laws and customs. Milton's commonplace book is well known, and Nashe, in Lenten Stuffe (1599), excuses his lack of illustration on the grounds that he is writing from the country without his 'note-books'. Peacham's habit of spot-quotation and his ability to pile up sayings and exempla to support every argument indicate constant reference to some such miscellany; he tells us that Prince Henrie Revived (1615) was written 'without other helpe then a bad memorie and my Table booke'. Personal collections of noteworthy passages would be supplemented by the florilegia and compendia of ancient and modern writers. Erasmus's Adagia (an anthology of Greek proverbs and sayings drawn from ancient grammarians, major classical authors, the Christian fathers, and the Bible) was an important source book. Many of Peacham's apparently direct quotations from the classics are to be found there and in similar compilations, so that it is difficult to determine whether he has taken them from the original works or at second hand. Peacham quotes from Publius Syrus' moral maxims; regularly used in sixteenth-century schools, his sententiae were wrongly ascribed to Seneca and Peacham follows this attribution. He recommends his scholars to use Manutius's Phrases linguae latinae, Erasmus's popular rhetorical textbook, De dupliciti copia verborum et rerum, and Thomas Draxe's Calliepeia: or, a rich storehouse of proper, choise, and elegant Latin words and phrases. Besides these phrasebooks many dictionaries were available, most of which were partly encyclopaedic in that they gave factual summaries as well as definitions. Henri Estienne's standard Dictionarium (1593, but repeatedly re-edited and expanded) is quoted by Peacham, and he was also familiar with Suidas and the dictionary of Stephanus of Byzantium. The classical miscellanies of Aulus Gellius, Diogenes Laertius, Aelian, and Athenaeus' Deipnosophistai provided further anecdotes and excerpts, but these could be had in modern versions - the popular vernacular compilations which comprised the 'literature of vulgarisation'. Moral, philosophical, and scientific ideas culled from the classics were thus accessible to the middle classes who were increasingly
anxious to improve their educational standing. Peacham borrows extensively from *Rerum Memorabilium* (1599), Salmuth's Latin version of Guido Panciroli's lost Italian collection, and also from *The Treasure of our Times* (1613), Thomas Milles's English version (made up of the 'learned collections, judicious readings and memorable observations, not only Divine, Moral and Philosophical, but also Poetical, Martial, Political, Historical, Astrological') of Pedro Mexio, Sansovino, du Verdier, Guyon, and Gruget.

Other popular literature that supplemented Peacham's reading includes the utilitarian handbooks of Blundeville and the industrious Gervase Markham, the travel narratives of Sandys and Dallington, and such jest-books as Tabourot's *Sieur Gaulart* and the squibs of Pasquin. His musical sources were the common anthologies of Nicholas Yonge and Thomas Watson. He also knew the topical pamphlets and the old romances. It is surprising, when we remember how they had been summarily dismissed by the early humanists, that he does not totally condemn those lighter pieces which by his time were appearing in chap-book form for lower class readers, saying 'there is no booke so bad, euin Sir Beuis himselfe, Owleglasse, or Nashes herring, but some commoditie may be gotten by it'.

These copious lists of individual authors and compendia by no means exhaust Peacham's citations, nor has it been attempted to include every book and author mentioned in *The Compleat Gentleman*; they merely serve to indicate the extent of his eclectic tastes and the literary influences that helped to form his ideas. Although his reading is so wide, there are in fact some large gaps, particularly in the fields of philosophy and law. Nor does he enter into contemporary theological disputations, although he occasionally refers to the works of Melancthon, Beza, Bishop Jewel, and the French Calvinist, Lambertus Dannaeus. The classics apart, the books quoted are mainly standard works from the preceding century, many of which appear in grammar school and university curricula. Although appropriate to
the didactic purpose of *The Compleat Gentleman*, they testify to the essential conservatism of Peacham's scholarship. The close investigation of his reading, both at first and second hand, throws up little that is recondite or unfamiliar by contemporary standards and leads to the conclusion that Peacham, although so well-informed, contributed nothing new to moral or literary thought. He deserves recognition for the skill with which he organized his great mass of material and for his practical application of the liberalizing theories of the best renaissance educators.

His closest contact with true scholarship was his acquaintance with the 'learned and Honourable' Sir Robert Cotton, 'being most free and communicative to all men of learning and quality', who had allowed Peacham the use of his library of 'rare Manuscripts and other monuments of venerable Antiquity'. Peacham tells of his genealogical researches into Cotton's manuscript collection of English civil history, and Cotton is known to have owned a fine cabinet of coins.

Of more practical use in compiling *The Compleat Gentleman* would have been the Knyvett library at Ashwellthorpe, which contained a remarkable number of the books Peacham needed, especially in the fields of cosmography, geography, numismatics, history, and antiquities, as well as the accepted classical and patristic authors, commentaries, and the standard sixteenth century writers in Latin and English, including (for example) Lipsius, Sturmius, Vives, Patrizi, Budaeus, Elyot, and Bacon. There were moreover English versions of such authors as Machiavelli (in Bedingfield's translation), Guicciardini, and Sleidan. The existence of this extensive library close at hand enabled Peacham's volume and range of references to go far beyond the scope of the commonplace book. A close comparison of his sources and marginal notes with the Knyvett catalogue reveals that more than two-thirds of his citations could have been derived from the shelves at Ashwellthorpe. Furthermore, in at least two instances, Peacham took long passages from
editions owned by Knyvett: Scaliger's Poetices (1561) and Blundeville's Exercises (1594).

Peacham is commendable not so much for his depth of learning as for this wide range. In one role he writes as the practical professional schoolmaster; in another he continues the amateur tradition of the Renaissance which recommended the cultivation of poetry, music, and painting, and the collection of antiquities and natural curiosities for the complete education of the gentleman. To these he brings an imposing array of information and a comprehensive survey of the generally available books on his chosen subjects which justify the claim, set out in the Dedicatory Epistle, to furnish a 'guide to knowledge'. The sheer number of his references is formidable, yet the argument of The Compleat Gentleman is not submerged by an undisciplined flood of ill-digested quotation. The book follows a neatly conceived and deceptively simple plan, the chosen subjects being presented in a logical and well-balanced order, in which the material, whatever its source, is aptly arranged to illustrate each point. He was well aware that 'writers now a-days (like Cooke's) dresse but the same meate after another manner, which in substance is but one and the same', and he admitted that 'all the Libraries of the world have been ransack'd and toss'd over and over', but his own work is no mere random assembly of the 'dictes and sayings' of the ancients. Many ostensible quotations are not in fact direct references but arise from his close familiarity with the current language of scholarship. Such phrases as armis et consilio and ad voluptatem vel ad utilitatem would have come instinctively from his pen. Certain favourite allusions occur again and again from 1606 onwards, and these parallel passages have proved the authorship of various minor works. When quoting authors he knew very well, Peacham seems at times to be working from memory. This is particularly the case with some of his quotations from Cicero and Quintilian, which
have been so altered from their original version that only one key word identifies the source. For example, Quintilian advises:

Quare et pueri statim, ut praecepi, quam plurima ediscant, et, quaecunque aetas operam invandae studio memoriae dabit, devoret initio taedium illud et scripta et Lecta saepius revolendi.\(^9\)

In Peacham, this appears as:

Istud ediscendi taedium protinus a pueris deuorari.\(^40\)

He may be paraphrasing an imperfectly remembered passage or translating from English back into Latin; because the two quotations are so different it seems unlikely that he was working from the direct source or even his commonplace-book. He sometimes treats the Psalms, which would have been even more familiar, in a similar way, either citing them incorrectly or mixing up the verses. His comparison, 'as the righteous man to a baie tree', confuses Psalms 37.35 and 92.12.\(^41\)

By 1638 Peacham had decided that 'multiplicity of Knowledge' had been 'rather an hinderance' than 'trending to advancement'.\(^42\) For the gentleman virtuoso with money and leisure the age offered every opportunity to develop his artistic, antiquarian, and scientific interests. For Peacham, with a living to earn, concentration on such matters was impossible, so that he gives only a superficial survey of antiquarianism, painting, and related virtuoso subjects, most of which is taken from other authors. When he does present some original material in chapter twelve, 'Of Antiquities', it is a personal expression of pleasure rather than a detailed scholarly assessment:

Finally there is also much learned pleasure and delight in the contemplation of the severall figures stamped on each side of these Antique Coynes. I will let passe the content a man has to see, and handle the very same individuall things which were in use so many ages agoe: for bookes and histories and the like are but copyes of Antiquity bee they never so truly descended unto us: but coynes are the very Antiquities themselves. But would you see a patterne of a Mogus or funerall pile burnt at the canonization of the Romane Emperors? would you see how the Augurs Hat, and Lituus were made? Would you see the true and undoubted modells of their Temples, Alters, Deities, Columnes, Gates, Arches ... and a thousand things more; Repare to the old
coynes, and you shall find them, and all things else that ever they did, made, or used, there shall you see them excellently and lively represented. Besides, it is no small satisfaction to an ingenuous eye to contemplate the faces and heads, and in them the Characters of all those famous Emperours, Captaines and illustrious men whose actions will bee ever admired, both for themselves, and the learning of the pennes that writ them. 

Because it embraces such a wide compass and draws on so many standard sources, The Compleat Gentleman epitomizes renaissance scholarship and habits of thought. At heart Peacham, for all his limitations, was a true humanist for whom the literature of Antiquity (with due reverence to the holy scriptures) provided the ultimate and perfect expression of all aspects of experience.

IV. The Style of The Compleat Gentleman

The idea that language is the image of truth and the mirror of the speaker, summed up by Jonson as 'language most shews a man: Speak, that I may see thee', opens Peacham's chapter 'Of stile in speaking and writing, and of Historie':

Since speech is the Character of a man, and the Interpreter of his mind, and writing, the Image of that; so often as we speake or write, so oft we undergoe censure and judgement of our selues.

First of all Peacham advises 'the habit of a good stile in speaking and writing, as well English as Latine', not separating literary diction from that suited to conversation. Pragmatic Tudor humanism had required statesmen to be educated to serve the public weal and to be capable in oratory and rhetoric, 'nat ... constrayned', as Elyot had written in 1531, 'to speake wordes sodayne and disordred, but shal bestowe them aptly and in their places'. Following Elyot, Peacham requires above all clarity and sententiousness, as 'nothing drawes our attention more than good matter, eloquently digested, and vtttered with a gracefull, cleere, and distinct pronunciation'. He respects the 'solid matter' of a discourse more than
the presentation, 'since our speech ought to resemble Plate, wherein neither the curiousnesse of the Picture, or faire proportion of Letters, but the weight is to be regarded', and he warns against 'speaking, or writing such words, as men shall rather admire then understand'. Even in the chapter on poetry, he looks for a 'moderate and well tempered style', censuring equally the 'bigge sounding words' of Lucan and the 'broken, froward' obscurity of Persius.

Critics of English prose writings of the seventeenth century have described the reaction against the grand, oratorical Ciceronian style exemplified by Hooker in favour of the plain, less formal anti-Ciceronian or Senecan style. Peacham's remarks, especially his jibe at the fanatically Ciceronian Longolius 'for his so apish and superstitious imitation of Tullie', and his description of Sallust, 'commended most for breuitie', indicate his central position in this debate. The writers (ad puriores illos scriptores) he lists as most worthy of imitation include exponents of both styles; he appreciates the 'sweetnesse, grauitie, richnesse, and vnimitable texture' of Cicero as well as the 'pleasing breuitie' of Tacitus; like the Book of Common Prayer, he seeks 'to keep the Mean between the two Extremes'.

His catalogue of classical prose writers (orators and historians) follows Elyot, repeating his descriptive phrases but rearranging the material and changing the emphasis. Elyot wished the study of Livy to be followed by Xenophon, Quintus Curtius, Caesar and Sallust, but Peacham chooses to begin with Cicero, 'whose words and stile (that you may not be held an Heretique of all the world) you must preferre aboue all other'. Caesar, the favourite of the anti-Ciceronians, comes next and Peacham not only quotes the commendations of Cicero and Quintilian but also notes with approval the useful information to be gained from Caesar's writings:

- the diversitie of Countries, Tracts, Places, Riuers, People, names of ancient Cities and Townes ... of materials in building ... strange names and formes of warlike Engines and wsepons ... sundry formes of fortification, water-workes, and the like.
The silver Latin historian Tacitus is praised for his terse, epigrammatic style and Peacham draws directly from Elyot in describing Livy, 'whom like a milky Fountain, you shall everywhere finde flowing, with ... such banquet-like varietie, that you would imagine other Authors did but bring your mouth out of taste'. Quintus Curtius is briefly mentioned in Elyot's terms and Peacham then gives a full and independent account of Sallust, a writer he particularly favours. In him he finds both brevity and abundance; the first in 'shutting up whole and weightie Sentences in three words, fetching nothing afarre, or putting in more then needs' and the second in generous descriptions of 'matter and persons ... circumstance and preparation, counsels and deliberations'.

Turning to English authors of Latin prose, he first names the historian William Camden, for 'the puritie and sweet fluence of his Latine style', and with him, 'the rising Starre of good Letters and Antiquitie, M. John Selden', who had himself declared a preference for 'Breuity, and Plainnes'. Dismissing the earlier chroniclers, Giraldus Cambrensis, Higden, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the rest, and deploring the depredations of Polydore Virgil, Peacham voices the discontent commonly felt in the late sixteenth century with the early historians' rude style and inadequate skills. His contemporary Edmund Bolton, quoting Sir Henry Savile, in Hypercritica: or A Rule of Judgement for writing, or reading our History's (1621), concurred:

Our Historians ... being of the dregs of the common People, while they haue endeavou'rd to adorn the Maiesty of so great a Work, haue stain'd and defiled it with the most dusty Foolery's.

In recommending the prose authors who speak the best and purest English, Peacham's choice follows the same pattern as his selection of classical writers, from Sir Thomas More's Richard III, a mixture of prolixity and succinctness, Sidney's elaborate Arcadia, and Hooker's grand periods, to Bacon's precise 'Senecan' manner.
Peacham's own style is homely and easy, conveying the impression of fluent speech. He is hardly a memorable 'stylist', but his phrases echo the native English tradition which lies at the root of the direct simple vocabulary and balanced rhythms of the English versions of the Bible. His father, Henry Peacham the rhetorician, had been concerned to establish the Bible as a treasury of rhetoric, and his textbook, *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577, 1593), gathers examples of figures and tropes 'out of the most eloquent Orators, and best approved authors, and chieflie out of the holie Scriptures'. The version he used, which his son came to know intimately during his childhood, was the Bishops' Bible of 1568, but Peacham is demonstrably familiar with the Authorized Version and his explicit quotations come from the text of 1611. Not only is the language of the Bible embedded in his prose, but the influence of *The Book of Common Prayer* is also heard. The following passage recalls the antiphonal structure and sonorous phrases of the collects:

Moreouer since the Ciuill end of our life is, vt in Honore cum dignitate vivamus, you shall withall finde good Learning and the Artes to conferre a great helpe and furtherance hereunto, being a polisher of inbred rudenesse and our informitie, and a curer of many diseases our minds are subject vnto: for we learne not to begge to our selues admiration from other, or boastingly to lay to view so rich and pretious furniture of our minds, but that we may be usefull to others, but first to our selues; least (as some pretious receipt) while we keepe that in a boxe which can cure another; our selues lie lame and diseased.

One is also aware of Peacham's familiarity with the careful, strongly constructed and truly English prose of such sixteenth-century writers as Elyot and Aschara, so that his style may be said to be the fruit of his upbringing in the late Elizabethan period.

The English tradition informs the imagery of *The Compleat Gentleman*; the similes are simple and direct and arise naturally from the matter in hand:

This tender Age is like water spilt vpon a table, which with a finger wee may draw and direct which way we list; or like A young Hop, which, if wanting a pole, taketh hold of the next hedge: so that now is the time (as Waxe) to worke it plyant to any forme.
The tender young hop and the pliable wax derive from actual proverbs and are matched by Peacham's own simile of spilt water. Some of his wise saws and modern instances are popular adages or culled from other writers, but many are his own and they are always personal and immediate no matter how exalted the subject. In some places 'those wretched fetters of proverbs', as Ascham put it, have tied up his work, and 'learned' proverbs with biblical and classical figures abound, as in the following paragraph:

How many excellent wits have we in this Land, that smell of the Cask, by neglecting their young time when they should have learned! Horace his Quo semel, once fit for the best Wine, since too bad for the best Vinegar, who grown to yeares of discretion, and solid understanding, deeply bewail their misspent, or misguided youth, with too late wishing (as I have heard many) that they had lost a joynt, halfe their estastes, so that they had beene held to their Bookes when they were young. The most (and not without cause) lay the fault upon bad Masters; to say truth, it is a generall plague and complaint of the whole Land; for, for one discrèete and able Teacher, you shall finde twenty ignorant and careless, who (among so many fertile and delicate wits as England affocrdeth) whereas they make one Scholler, they marre ten.

The quotation from Horace (Epistolae, I.ii.69-70), which had attained the status of a proverb or 'common verse', is alluded to in the opening sentence and rephrased in the next, with a characteristic antithesis between 'fit for the best Wine' and 'too bad for the best Vinegar'. The patterns of comparatio and contrarium present antithesis of sense as well as sound and the mechanical balance of the euphuist is avoided. This is a typical example of Peacham's sentence structure, the thought turning back on itself as the idea is restated and expanded.

Even Peacham's longest sentences are composed of short members, with frequent colons and semi-colons. The argument advances in a logical sequence. The arrangement of ideas is ordered and thoughtful. Sentence and paragraph division are important, because the unit of expression is the passage or short discourse which expounds and amplifies a single idea, as for example in the chapter 'Of Reputition, and Carriage in generall':
For Moderation of the minde and affections, which is 
the Ground of all Honestie, I must giue you that prime receipt 
the kingly Prophet doth to a yong man, teaching him wherewith 
to cleanse his way, that is; by keeping, saith he (oh Lord) 
thy Statutes, meaning the feare of God in generall, without 
which (hee ever/striking at the head) our Judgements are 
depraued, and left to ou^selves we are not able to giue any 
thing his true esteeme and value. Therefore first to be truly 
Honest is to bee truly Religious, for if the feare of men be a 
great motiue to keepe our selues within compasse, much more 
will be the Feare of God, recall vs from our lusts and interm­
perance. Hereby the minde getteth the dominion and vpperhand, 
wisely gouerning that goodly kingdome Nature hath allotted her. 
And if it was sometime said of Fabius, Citius Solem e sua 
sphaera diuelli, quam Fabium ab honestate potuisse, how heedfully 
ought a Christian who carrieth the lanterne in his hand, looke 
to his feete, when an Heathen could goe so directly in the darke, 
onely by the glimpse of Nature and without stumbling?24

Here the rhythm is gentle, slowed but not broken up by the biblical references 
and classical quotation. The opening sentence refers to Psalm 119. 8-9;
the last sentence returns to the same psalm but freely adapts a later verse 
(119. 105: 'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path').

This allusion generates the metaphor of the sure-footed heathen who walks 
by the light of Nature without stumbling, so completing an antithesis which 
runs naturally from the author's pen, closely imitating the rhythms of the 
Old Testament.

When Peacham embarks upon a passage of sustained 'eloquence', his 
unaffected language still appears to advantage. He produces an elegant 
exercise in amplificatio, carefully balanced and controlled and enlivened 
by a series of telling similes:

For as the young Virgin to make her fairest Garlands, 
gathereth not altogether one kind of Flower; and the cunning 
Painter, to make a delicate beautie, is forced to mixe his 
Complexion, and compound it of many Colours; the Arras-worker, 
to please the eyes of Princes, to be acquainted with many Histories: 
so are you to gather this Honey of Eloquence, A gift of heauen, out 
of many fields; making it your owne by diligence in collection, 
care in expression, and skill in digestion. But let me leade you 
forth into these all-flowrie and verdant fields, where so much 
swete yarrietie will amaze, and make you doubtfull where to gather 
first.25

This passage displays a style of some art, 'flowing at one and the selfe 
same height'; it avoids both the brusquely simple and the elaborately
ornate, 'neither taken in and knit vp too short, that like rich hangings of Arras or Tapistry, thereby lose their grace and beautie ... nor suffered to spred so farre like soft Musicke in an open field, whose delicious sweetness vanisheth, and is lost in the ayre, not being contained within the walles of a room'. These similes are neither precious nor recondite; they are not superficial embellishments but an integral part of his prose. In his choice of similes Peacham was remembering his own advice to follow the example of Plutarch, one of the ancient authors who most influenced him, whom he had singled out for 'sententious grauitie, weight of reason, so sweetened with lively & apt similitudes'. Another important mentor was Erasmus, the satirist of extreme Ciceronianism, whose popular rhetorical text book, De copia verborum et rerum (1512), maintained that exempla should be not only ornamental but functional.

Peacham's images display a characteristically renaissance affection for the visual and emblematic. They are actively perceptible and can be physically pictured; being taken from ordinary life they are visually arresting like the Gospel parables:

heere we heape vp riches, at perpetuall warre and strife among our selues, who (like the Toad) shal fall asleepe with most earth in his paws.

a cheating Steward, or craftie Bailiffe, who in few yeares (like the young Cuckow) are ready to deuoure their feeder; and themselves like sleepie Pilots hauing no eye to the compassé, or sounding their Estates, are runne on ground ere they be aware.

His interest in emblem literature appears in The Compleat Gentleman as from time to time he describes the emblems of Alciati and Valeriano; he also quotes Lucian's personification of Eloquence in some detail.

Peacham's vocabulary is wide and varied. Colloquial terms appear side by side with learned words, the language of the old science, and the occasional latinism. He is no neologist and his lexicon is not inventive. As one might expect, he has a sure mastery of the technical terms of heraldry,
painting, music, fishing, and military drill, which he uses figuratively as well as literally. Greek and Latin phrases often occur and Spanish, French, Dutch and Italian make their contribution.

In discussing Peacham's use of language one must bear in mind that the book contains many borrowings (almost verbatim) from other authors, classical and contemporary. This was bound to render the general style somewhat uneven, because he did not always rephrase the interpolated material. For example, chapter ten, 'Of Poetrie', includes long passages on the theory of criticism translated from the Latin of Scaliger with Peacham's own renderings of lines from Virgil, short, descriptive paragraphs transcribed from the English of Puttenham, an anecdote from Surius, and Peacham's own assessment of the modern Latin poets.

Other minor defects can be found: inexact grammar, excessive amplification, repetition, even monotony, in the long lists of coins, colour recipes and weaponry. Taken as a whole, however, Peacham's direct, spontaneous manner is well suited to his purpose - the education of the young. He conveys information straightforwardly, explains ideas with vigour and clarity, and avoids the heavy pedantry usual in contemporary manuals of conduct. Although many passages in The Compleat Gentleman are indeed 'furnished with solid matter, and compact of the best, choise, and most familiar words', it was not until the later essays and pamphlets appeared that Peacham displayed at its best the pithy, familiar manner most akin to that of Francis Bacon, 'who possesseth not onely Eloquence, but all good learning'.

Peacham nowhere cites King James as a guide to the use of language, but there can be no more apt description of his own style than the following words from the Basilicon Doron:

In your language be plaine, honest, naturall, comely, cleane, short and sententious; eschewing both the extreamities as well in not vsing ... booke-language, and Pen and Ink-horne
tearmes: but least of all, mignarde and effeminate
tearmes: but let the greatest parte of your Eloquence
consist in a naturall, cleare, and sensible forme of the
deliuerie of your minde, buylded ay vpon certaine and good
groundes, tempering it with grauitie, quickenes or merines
according to the subiect, and occasion of the time.\textsuperscript{32}

V. The Reputation of The Compleat Gentleman

The sequence of editions indicates that The Compleat Gentleman was
well-known during the seventeenth century, and that it had even achieved
a modest popularity. However, the few brief references give little evidence
of Peacham's reputation with his contemporaries.

The first comment is uncomplimentary. Richard Braithwaite, future
deputy-lieutenant of Westmoreland, in the preface to The English Gentleman
(1630), made this pronouncement:

Now for the title I am not ignorant how a subject entitled
the Compleat Gentleman was heretofore published; which (I can
assure you Gentlemen) consorts with this rather in Title then
Tenor, name than Nature.\textsuperscript{1}

Professional rivalry and his superior social status would have prompted
this censure. The tenor and nature of Braithwaite's own work, soberly
pious and severely didactic, are far removed from Peacham's genial humanism.\textsuperscript{2}

In 1642 Edward Browne included, 'that ancient Writer Mr. Henry Peacham'
in a list of approved authors in A Potent Vindication for Book-Making (1642).\textsuperscript{3}
William London listed The Compleat Gentleman, together with The Gentleman's
Exercise and The Truth of our Times, in his Catalogue of the most vendible
Books in England (1657), but Peacham's work was bound to lose favour during
the Commonwealth.\textsuperscript{4} The address to the reader in the 1661 edition (signed
M.S.) refers to the 'envy, and unkind censures which the Book it self hath
already vanquisht.'\textsuperscript{5} It has been suggested that this harks back to
Braithwaite's criticism of thirty years before, but it seems more likely
that The Compleat Gentleman had been attacked rather more recently because
the author was a known royalist.\textsuperscript{6} Its reputation revived with the
Restoration and the edition of 1661 contains many additions, among them the genealogy of notable royalist families, showing that the book was regarded as more than a mere literary curiosity. As 'M.S.' predicted, 'this Edition cannot fear of as happy and welcome success as it hath gained formerly'.

In 1663, at the trial of Sir Charles Sedley for riotous behaviour, the judge cited Peacham's book. The affair was recounted by Anthony à Wood:

Sir Charles Sedley, Bt., sometime of Wadham coll. Charles lord Buckhurst (afterwards earl of Middlesex) S. Thom Cgle &c. ... being all inflam'd with strong liquors ... excrementized in the street. Which being done, Sedley stripped himself naked, and with eloquence preached blasphemy to the people.

This frollick being soon spread abroad ... the said company were summoned to the court of justice in Westminster hall, where being indicted of a riot before Sir Robert Hyde, lord ch. justice of the Common Pleas, were all fined, and Sir Char. Sedley being fined 500 li. he made answer, that he thought he was the first man that paid for shiting. Sir Rob. Hyde asked him, whether he ever read the book, called, The Compleat Gentleman, &c? to which Sir Charles made answer, that 'set aside his lordship, he had read more books than himself'.

His question shows that for Hyde's generation at least, The Compleat Gentleman still carried moral authority.

It was hardly to be expected that Peacham would be remembered in the eighteenth century when so many of his contemporaries were forgotten, but he was saved from oblivion by a growing interest in rescuing the English arts from 'casual mention and uncertain tradition'. Historians of the arts, including Johnson, Walpole, Burney and Hawkins, gleaned information from earlier works containing remarks on music, painting, and poetry, using odd fragments and passing references as well as more sustained accounts. Horace Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England (1762, 1764) was compiled from George Vertue's earlier notes towards a 'History of the Art of Painting and Sculpture in England from 1500 to 1700'. He drew freely from The Compleat Gentleman and The Gentleman's Exercise for his observations on English artists, but he presented only anecdotes or factual oddities.
However, Walpole did add some critical remarks on Peacham and his fellow writers:

HENRY PEACHAM author of The Compleat Gentleman, was certainly a judge of those arts which are the subjects of this work ... The writers of that age, though now neglected for their uncouth style, their witticisms, and want of shining abilities, are worth being consulted for many anecdotes and pictures of manners, which are to be found nowhere else. ¹²

This passage reveals more about Walpole himself than about his subject. His particular interest in the Gothick style was confined to architecture, and when writing on literature he reflected the neoclassical taste of his own day. When Shakespeare's style was regarded as 'the style of a bad age', small literary merit was discernible in Peacham's work. ¹³ His value lay in the scraps of history, the 'many anecdotes and pictures of manners', which he provided.

For the great musical historians of the eighteenth century, notably Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Charles Burney, the chapter on music in The Compleat Gentleman comprised a significant source. In A General History of the Science and Practice of Music (1776) Hawkins described Peacham's work as 'abounding with a great number of curious particulars, and ... in high esteem with the gentry even of the last age'. ¹⁴ His preference for the music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and his intention to write a truly English history, using materials gathered at home, ensured that Hawkins would find Peacham's work congenial. ¹⁵

Burney's treatment of The Compleat Gentleman is more selective and critical. He accepts Peacham's musical judgement, especially of the madrigals of Luca Marenzio and Ferrabosco, but categorically rejects his story of Marenzio and Pope Clement VIII:

When he [sic] asserts that he was Organist of the Pope's Chapel, at Rome, a good 'while' [sic], he loses all credence with me: as there never yet was an Organ in the Pope's Chapel ... Indeed, the whole account savours of hear-say evidence and absurdity; and is so much the more incredible, as no other musical writers who were eager to
record every memorial they could procure concerning Luca
Marenzio, have ventured to relate these circumstances. 16

Dr. Johnson certainly knew The Complete Gentleman but his only
reference is a note in his edition of Love's Labour's Lost (1765) on the
entry of Holofernes (IV.i.i.). After rebutting Warburton's identification
of Holofernes with John Florio, Johnson suggests that he may derive from
the schoolmaster in 'the Rhombus of Sir Philip Sidney, ... a kind of
pastoral entertainment ... Sidney himself might bring the character from
Italy; for as Peacham observes, the Schoolmaster has long been one of the
ridiculous personages in the farces of that country'. 17

The definition of several heraldic terms in Johnson's Dictionary (1755)
were taken not from The Complete Gentleman but from The Gentleman's Exercise. 18

Other fields of antiquarian research in the second half of the
eighteenth century served to keep The Complete Gentleman in view but offered
little in the way of criticism. When Gough described The Cross at Cheap,
and Charing Crosse in 1780, he stated that The Complete Gentleman had
remained Peacham's best known work. 19 James Dallaway's Inquiries into
the Origins and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England (1793)
presented a favourable appreciation of Peacham:

Peacham wrote the 'Complete Gentleman', and is allowed
to have been a good proficient in the arts and sciences [sic],
of which he recommends the attainment as necessary to form that
character ... Lord Arundel, the Mecaenas of the arts, patronised
him and retained him in his family, and he is said by Mr. Walpole
to have been the engraver of one good portrait, who regrets that
he is not furnished with further anecdotes concerning him. He
possessed great ingenuity, extensive literature, and excellent
judgement in the fine arts. 20

The emerging interest in the minor figures of earlier English literature
in the late eighteenth century furthered the investigation of Peacham's
life and works. Edmund Malone possessed copies of The Complete Gentleman
which he annotated with details of Peacham's life. 21 In 1817 the physician
and essayist Nathan Drake (1766-1836) offered what appears to be the only
estimation of Peacham to be published in the nineteenth century:

English style more rapidly improved during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, than has been the case in any previous, or subsequent period of our annals. To establish this assertion, we have only to appeal to the great writers of this era, and among these, it will be sufficient to mention the names of Raleigh, Hooker, Bacon and Daniel, masters of a style at once vigorous, perspicuous, and often richly modulated. If to this brief catalogue ... we add the prose of Ascham, Sidney, Southwell, Knolles, Hakewell, and Peacham, still omitting many authors of much merit, it may justly be affirmed, that no specimens of excellence in dignified and serious composition could be wanting as exemplars. That the good sense of the age was aware of the value of the writers, in point of style, though surrounded by innovations supported by rank and fashion, may be concluded from the admonitions of Peacham, who in his chapter, 'Of stile, in speaking and writing', not only describes the style which ought to be adopted, but enumerates the best examples of it for the student.  

After Drake, various bibliographical dictionaries mention Peacham, but mainly by way of establishing the canon. He was characterized as 'a writer of considerable note in the seventeenth century' and The Compleat Gentleman was described as 'the standard authority in etiquette'. A series of letters about Peacham appeared in Notes and Queries in 1855; among the writers was the Norfolk historian Pishey Thompson, who quoted a letter to Malone from the antiquarian and bibliographer, Thomas Park, which sets out some particulars of Peacham's life.  

The American writer Washington Irving mentioned Peacham in his popular collection of essays, Sketch Book (1820); the 'old English country gentleman' Squire Bracebridge is characterized by his choice of 'honest Peacham for his text book, instead of Chesterfield'. In Chorus Vatum, a manuscript series of literary biographies compiled about 1845 which contained the first account of Peacham's life to approach accuracy, Joseph Hunter told of his early liking for The Compleat Gentleman:

This has always been a very favorite author of mine, since when I was little more than a schoolboy I bought at an auction in Sheffield the copy of the Complete Gentleman which I now possess.
George Grove's Dictionary of Music (1879-1889) accepted Peacham's account of Luca Marenzio which had been dismissed by Burney. In A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music (1927), Pulver described Peacham as 'a celebrated early seventeenth-century writer ... better known as the author of the Compleat Gentleman (1622), - a work which is often quoted by the musical historians of the present day, - than as a practical musician'.

With the publication of G.S. Gordon's edition of The Compleat Gentleman in 1906, Peacham's place in 'that great literature of Courtesy' was firmly established, and since then his literary reputation has steadily increased. J.E. Singarn included chapter ten, 'Of Poetrie', in his Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (1908-9).

VI. The Date of Composition

No external evidence indicates exactly when Peacham wrote the sixteen chapters that form the first edition. The address 'To my Reader' asserts that:

Being taken through change of ayre with a Quartane Feuer, that treasure I had παροξυσμον, as I may truly say, by fits I employed upon this Discourse for the priuate use of a Noble young Gentleman my friend. The 'Noble young Gentleman' was William Howard, fifth son of the Earl of Arundel, who had arrived in Norwich on 17 August 1620 when six years old to be educated in the household of Bishop Samuel Harsnett. Peacham, who had been teaching nearby at Wymondham, spent some hours with the boy 'at his book' and dedicated The Compleat Gentleman to him, although it was not published until after his return to London in 1622.

The wide scope of the book with its detailed marginal notes and the numerous source-books from which Peacham drew his material show that he had been working on it for some time. The years between his return to
England in 1615 and the publication of Thalia's Banquet in 1620 were mainly spent in Norfolk where Sir Thomas Knyvett's library at Ashwellthorpe was so easily available close to Wymondham.

There are, however, several late allusions and quotations which were not available until shortly before The Compleat Gentleman was registered at Stationers' Hall in July 1622. In chapter fifteen, 'Of Armorie', Peacham mentions 'that exact, just and elaborate worke of my singular and learned friend Master Augustine Vincent, Rouge-croix, very shortly to be published'; A Discouerie of Erroours, Vincent's contribution to the quarrel between Ralph Brook, York Herald, and William Camden, Clarenceaux King of Arms, was published in 1622. It was not registered. Vincent had been made Rouge Croix pursuivant by patent on 29 May 1621. In this chapter Peacham also refers to the 'late published Vrania' by Lady Mary Wroth (née Sidney), which was registered on 13 July 1621 and published as The Countess of Montgomery's Urania later that year. In the dedication he gives Thomas Howard the title 'Earle Marshall of England', which was granted on 21 July 1621. A marginal note in chapter three, 'Of the time of Learning', refers to Joseph Webbe's Appeale to Truth, registered at Stationers' Hall on 11 January 1622 and published soon after. In chapter six, 'Of stile', there is a marginal reference to Bacon's 'late published life of Henrie the seauenth', registered on 9 February 1622 and printed and ready for publication on 20th March. Again in the chapter, 'Of Armorie', he describes 'the Right Honourable Sir Edward Barkham Knight'; Barkham was knighted on 16 June 1622. It is only reasonable to conclude from this evidence that the text of the first edition was receiving attention right up to the time of publication.

The later editions of The Compleat Gentleman also appear to have been revised shortly before publication. Chapter nineteen, 'Of Millitary
Observations', one of two chapters added to the second edition (1627), draws heavily upon Gervase Markham's pamphlet, The Souldiers Accidence (1625). Internal evidence also indicates that the heraldic section in this edition was revised in 1626. Alterations were made to one passage in order to record the recent death of William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, who died on 3 March 1626. From a newly inserted mention of the daughters of Sir William Cokayne, clearly written during Cokayne's lifetime, it can be inferred that the revisions were made before his death later in that year. Cokayne was an important figure and it seems likely that, had he been dead at the time of writing, Peacham would have noted the fact in his corrections. That he did not do so suggests that these revisions were made some time after Cavendish's death on 3 March and before the death of Sir William Cokayne on 20 October 1626.

In the third edition of 1634, the newly inserted chapter, 'Of Antiquities', mentions Hubert Le Sueur's series of bronze models of famous antique statues, cast between 1631 and 1634, so presumably it was written during this time. To chapter fifteen 'Of Armorie', Peacham adds the arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, who had been appointed on 6 August 1633. He also refers to William Juxon as Dean of the Chapel Royal and Bishop of London, titles conferred on 3 October 1633, which indicate that the chapter was revised some time after this date.

VII. The Text

The four editions of The Compleat Gentleman printed between 1622 and 1661 testify to Peacham's continuing popularity during the seventeenth century. The history of publication is not complicated. The first edition of The Compleat Gentleman was entered in the Stationer's Register on 30 July 1622. It was published in the same year in a slim quarto volume made up as follows:
Engraved title. [Johnson; Francis Delaram, 6]

THE / Compleat Gentleman / Fashioning him absolute in the / most necessary & commendable / Qualities concerning Minde or / Bodie that may be required / in a Noble Gentlemā. / By / Henry Peacham. / M. of Arts / Sometime of Trinity Coll: / in Cambridge. / [rule] inutilis olim / Ne videar vixisse [rule] / Anno 1622 / Imprinted at London / for Francis Constable / and are to bee sold at / his shop at the white liō / in Paules churchyard

Collation. 4to : (engr. tit. +) A^4(-A1) B-V^4 X^4(-X4+X4'+X5') \ Y(Y4+Y4'+Y5) Z^4 2A-2D^4 2E^2 [A3 signed (+ 'X4' 'X5' 'Y4' 'Y5';-2E2); B1 C3 M3 in italic]; 122 leaves.

Pagination. A1^r-B2^v not paged; B3^r-2E2^r paged 1 to 211 (1-124, 129-162, 161-172, 169-211; 110 numbered 100; 154, 155 numbered 150, 151; 169 numbered 166).

Contents. Insert, engraved title (verso blank); A1, missing (blank?); A2^r, table of contents; A2^v, 'Ad optime spei, generousissimaeq indolis adolescentem D. Gulielmum Howard' with woodcut of Howard arms; A3^v-A4^v, 'TO THE TRVLY NOBLE AND MOST HOPEFUL M. WILLIAM HOWARD', signed 'HENRY PEACHAM', dated May 30th; B1^r-B2^r, 'To my Reader'; B2^v, blank; B3^r-2E2^r, text; on 2E2^r, 'FINIS'; 2E2^v, blank.


Gathering X exists in three states, gathering Y in two, in this edition. One state, represented by a copy in the National Art Library (Clements C.30), lacks the insertions in X and Y and retains the original unsigned leaf X4(X-Y^4). A second state, represented by the University of London Library copy described above, has the insertions in X and Y but lacks the original leaf X4. A third state, represented by the Grenville copy (G.16576) in the British Museum, preserves the original leaf X4 and the cancel fold 'X4'.'X5' as well as the signed inserted folds in gathering Y. A clear
priority emerges from literary and bibliographical evidence and indicates that the state of gatherings X and Y in the National Art Library copy is probably the earliest. This state has gatherings X and Y in fours only; the unsigned leaf in gathering X constitutes X4 of the original quarto gathering. In the state of the University of London Library copy, the leaf X4 is cancelled and a signed fold is substituted, together with an additional fold inserted after gathering Y. The cancellans fold greatly expands the original accounts of William Cavendish, first Earl of Devonshire and, in particular, Richard Sackville, third Earl of Dorset. The additional fold inserted after gathering Y contains a description of the Constable and Crow families. It seems that Peacham had this material inserted in acknowledge­ment of the patronage of Richard Sackville and his wife Anne Clifford, who was lineally descended from the Constable family. Evidently Peacham was either suddenly anxious to seek the earl's patronage or had just been in receipt of it. Consequently, he was obliged to alter the text after printing-off had begun. Copies which contain these changes constitute the final state of the first edition of The Compleat Gentleman. Another state is created by some imperfect copies which contain the corrections but which do not have the cancellandum excised.

The cancellandum has a blank space at the bottom of the recto side. The compositor probably decided that the space was not big enough for the Sackville coat-of-arms and, leaving the gap, set it up on the verso. In resetting the cancellans fold, the compositor took the opportunity to regularize the appearance of the page by fitting the coat-of-arms at the bottom of 'X4'. Apart from these variations in gatherings X and Y, the three copies are identical.

By the standards of the time the first edition is competent but typographically undistinguished. It is notable only for a late use of woodcuts. The text is clean and appears to have been proofed with some
Care. Collation of fifteen copies of this edition has discovered twelve variant readings; these owe chiefly to the correction of printer's errors noticed while printing was in progress. The clean state of the text and the late cancellation and insertions suggest that this edition was printed with Peacham's full authorization and possible attendance.

A copy with a signed presentation inscription on the flyleaf in Peacham's fine Italian hand is preserved in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. The dedication is addressed to 'S^r Henry Parker knight of y^e Bath Lord Morley and Mount-Eagle Baron of Rie'. Parker succeeded to the titles of fifth Baron Monteagle and eleventh Baron Morley on July 1, 1622.

The next appearance of The Compleat Gentleman is the second edition of 1627: it is made up as follows:

**Engraved title.** As in 1622 but with 'The second Impression much Inlarged' added, the last two lines of imprint altered to 'his shoope in pauls / Church yeard at y^e crane' and date 1627.

**Printed title.** THE / COMPLEAT / GENTLEMAN. / Fashioning him absolute, in the most neces-/sarie and commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie, that may be required / in a Noble Gentleman. / Whereunto is annexed a description of the order / of a Maine Battaile, or Pitched Field, eight / seuerall wayes : as also certaine necessarie In-/struuctions concerning the Art of Fishing, / With other Additions. / By HENRY PEACHAM, Master of Arts, / Sometime of Trinitie Colledge in / CAMBRIDGE / [rule] inutilis olim / Ne videar vixisse [rule] / [rule] / LONDON, / Printed for FRANCIS CONSTABLE, and / are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, / at the Signe of the Crane. / 1627.

**Collation.** 4to: (engr. tit. +): A-2^f_4 2H^2 [f^3 signed (-Y3 2A3 2C3; 2A3 signed 2A4)]; 122 leaves.

**Pagination.** A^1^-B^2^V not paged; B3^-2G^4^F paged 1-301 (1-124, 129-164, [165], 166-221, 302-303, 224-227, [2], 300-301; 110 numbered 100; 180,
Contents. As in 1622. A1r, printed title; A1v, blank; B3r-2H2v, text.

Copy described. Society of Antiquaries, 90b.

The text has been set up from a copy of the final state of the first edition as a line-by-line, page-by-page reprint. The woodcuts of the first edition are used again. This edition is carelessly punctuated, clumsily justified and negligently proofed. This and other evidence suggests that it had been rather hastily printed. It reproduces almost all the errors of the parent edition and adds many new ones of its own. The corrections that were made are mainly of spelling and printer's errors.

The text has been enlarged by the addition of two new chapters, 'Of Millitary Observations' and 'Concerning Fishing'; at ten locations in chapter thirteen ('Of Armorie') the text has been expanded or brought up to date. The textual revision was done only very selectively: for example, the deaths of Richard Sackville (28 March 1624) and of Sir Thomas Lucas of St. John's Abbey, Colchester (15 September 1625), personages who were important to Peacham, are directly noted, but elsewhere out-of-date material is left uncorrected. An obvious lack of attention to detail is the retention at the end of chapter sixteen 'Of Trauaile' (sixteen pages from the end of the book), of these formal words of conclusion, 'and so I conclude, wishing all happinesse to your selfe, and prosperous successe to your studies'. The preservation of these anomalies may have been due to Peacham's enforced absence from London in 1624-1632, when he had employment as a schoolmaster at Boston in Lincolnshire. At that time he may not have been in a position to give the work his close attention, and he may have been concerned only to have the additional chapters included in the new edition.

The additional chapters themselves were prepared rather cursorily;
they were set up hastily and imposed crookedly. Almost all the writing is taken verbatim from two works by Gervase Markham, *The Pleasures of Princes* (1615) and *The Souldiers Accidence* (1625), and except for the odd linking paragraph in Peacham's style, there is no reason to believe that he wrote any of it himself. The ampersand and spelling forms which favour 'y' over 'i' (for example, 'dutye', 'entyre', 'tyll' and 'flye') occur far more frequently in the new chapters than elsewhere in the text. We can only guess at the reasons for these spelling anomalies. They could simply reflect the nature of the copy or they could be due to a different compositor. If a separate compositor were employed, it may have been in order to speed up the printing, or this part of the printer's copy might have been late in arriving from Boston and had to be assigned to another compositor. Although the new material is textually complete, it cannot have been printed independently. It commences on 2F3 and the printing is continuous. The signatures are continuous throughout the volume, but the pagination becomes particularly erratic with the additional chapters and finally stops altogether.

While the textual revisions can be dated no later than 1626 the variant dates on the engraved title and the constant dating of the printed titlepage must be considered. There are copies of this edition in which the date and imprint on the engraved titlepage have been altered, although the printed titlepage in all copies remains unchanged. The three states of the engraved titlepage are as follows:

1. Date 1625 on righthand plinth and central panel; imprint concludes "his shop at y^e Greene man in Leaden / hall street right ouer Billeter lane". 10
2. Date 1626 on righthand plinth and central panel; imprint concludes "his shoope in pauls / Church yeard at y^e crane".
3. As in preceding but with date 1527 in central panel.

In each case the original plate of the first edition was used but the alterations are far from skilful and of a clumsiness that one would hardly
expect of the engraver, Francis Delaram. The lettering in the first state is cramped and smaller than before and, despite an attempt to integrate the lettering, traces of the previous imprint can be detected in the second state.

All that can be deduced from these variant states is that on two occasions Constable anticipated publication. The engraved titles dated 1625 and 1626 were prepared in advance of printing which was delayed presumably until 1627 when the edition appeared with a printed titlepage bearing that date. One explanation for the apparent discrepancy between the 1625 date of the first state and the later date of textual revision is that Constable originally had intended to publish a new edition before the end of the legal year of 1625. As authorial revision seems to have been completed not long after 3 March 1626 (New Style), the date of the latest correction, it is not improbable that an edition was planned to appear at about this time. When the edition finally was published, copies were indiscriminately bound with any one of the three states of the engraved titlepage.

The third edition of *The Compleat Gentleman* was published in 1634 made up as follows:

**Engraved title.** As in 1627 but with date 1634.

**Printed title.** THE / COMPLEAT / GENTLEMAN. / Fashioning him absolut, in the most necessa-/ry and commendable Qualities concerning / Minde or Body, that may be required / in a Noble Gentleman. / WHEREVNTO IS ANNEXED A DE-/scription of the order of a Maine Battaile or / Pitched Field, eight severall wayes: with the / Art of Limming and other Additions / newly enlarged. / BY / Henry Peacham Master of Arts: Sometime / of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge. / / inutilis olim, / Ne videar vixisse / / LONDON, / Printed for Francis Constable, and are to bee sold at his / shoppe in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the / the [sic] Crane. 1634.
Collation. 4to: (engr. tit. +) A-V\(^4\) X\(^4\)(*-X3' X3'-X6' X4' X5') Y-2K\(^4\) \(=2L^2\) [X3 signed (+'X4' 'X5';-2L2); B1 C2 M3 in italic ]; 137 leaves.

Pagination. A1^-B2\(^v\), not paged; B3\(^r^-2L2\(^r\) paged 1-255 (1-152, 6, 154-255; 164 numbered 154).

Contents. As in 1627. B3\(^r^-2L2\(^r\), text; 2L2\(^r\), 'FINIS'.

Copy described. British Museum, 721. e. 17.

Gathering X exists in three states in this edition. The earliest, represented by the Grenville copy (G. 16575) in the British Museum, has gathering X in fours only. In the later state, described above, X3 is cancelled and replaced by two signed but unnumbered folds. X3' and part of X3\(^v\), which in the first state contained the closing part of chapter thirteen ('Cf Drawing and Painting in Cyle') and the opening paragraphs of chapter fourteen ('Cf Armory'), are reset with the original text from chapter thirteen. The remainder of X3\(^v\) and the rest of the insertions contain a new chapter, 'Of sundry Blazons, both Ancient and Moderne', together with the opening lines of the subsequent chapter, 'Of Armory', now renumbered chapter fifteen. When resetting X3\(^r\), the compositor followed the text of the cancellandum very closely. However, on the twentyfifth line some letters are brought up from the following line and as a result the cancellans has the catchword 'ever' whereas that on the cancellandum is 'world'. A third state is created by copies which contain the uncancelled leaf X3 together with the inserted folds. An example of this state is a copy (Ogden 328) in the D\(^l\)S. Watson Library, University College.

The text is set up from the second edition. Although some of the errors of the previous edition are perpetuated and in some placed emended incorrectly many more have been rectified. These are mainly printer's errors but some of the emendations made better sense of the text. Because
this edition appears to have been printed and proofed with some care; few new errors are created. As in previous editions, the original plate for the frontispiece is used, but its condition is deteriorating. The engraved frontispiece itself remains unchanged from the 1627 state except that the date on the central panel is altered to 1634. Some of the original woodcuts have been replaced by clumsier versions. The woodcut of the Howard arms which appeared below the Latin poem in earlier editions is omitted here.

Peacham's continuing willingness to revise is demonstrated by further additions to the sections on heraldry and the insertion of two new chapters, 'Of Antiquities' and 'Of sundry Blazons'; the text has been fairly conscientiously updated in several places. The address to the dedicatory epistle has been corrected to acknowledge William Howard's new title of Knight of the Bath which he had received on February 1, 1626 on the coronation of Charles I. In the letter itself, however, Samuel Harsnett, who had supervised Howard's education, is still described as the former Bishop of Norwich, although he had been made Archbishop of York in 1628, prior to his death in 1631.

In the printed titlepage, the reader is offered 'the Art of Limming and other Additions newly enlarged' and this obviously refers to The Gentleman's Exercise (1634), a separately signed and paginated work also by Peacham, which is bound in with most copies of this edition. The Gentleman's Exercise first appeared in 1612 under the title Graphice; the 1634 edition was printed by John Harriot and the publisher was Francis Constable, who handled all editions of The Compleat Gentleman published in Peacham's lifetime. Constable's career spanned thirty-three years until his death in 1647. He is best known for a group of fourteen plays which he published between 1615 and 1640.

The 1634 edition of The Compleat Gentleman was the last to appear in
the author's lifetime. In 1661 a posthumous edition was published by Richard Thrale. This edition descends directly from an uncorrected copy of the 1634 edition. There are fiftytwo instances where the text has been expanded, in some cases by the insertion of a few sentences, elsewhere by the addition of a whole chapter, and some of the writing has been altered or rephrased. There is also abundant editorial intervention, particularly in the punctuation; semi-colons are introduced frequently and the punctuation of complicated grammatical structure is occasionally altered, resulting in slight shifts of meaning.

For our present purpose, this edition is without any authority, because it is posthumous and because all the additions and alterations are by another hand. All commentators up to the present, among them W.T. Lowndes and Robert Watts, are agreed that it was Thomas Blount who revised and expanded the text, and there seems no reason to disagree with this.

Since no holograph or manuscript copies of The Compleat Gentleman seem to have survived, we can look only to the first three editions to establish an authoritative text. The second and third depend upon their immediate predecessor and form an ancestral series from the first edition. Taking the work as a whole, the first presents a much better text than any that follow, and in general it is probably as near as we can get to what Peacham originally intended.

The Compleat Gentleman did not have another printing between 1661 and 1906, when the first modern editions began to appear. G.S. Gordon published an edition based on 'an imperfect copy in private hands of the 1634 edition of The Compleat Gentleman, supplemented by a perfect copy in the Bodleian Library. The edition of 1634 was collated throughout with that of Blount published in 1661'. These principles allow the text little authority. Although the punctuation received special attention, it is not consistent
throughout. Some incorrect readings are preserved but there are also several quite perceptive emendations. A modern-spelling version by Virgil B. Heltzel for the Folger Shakespeare Library was published in 1962. The text was based on the 1634 edition; it was sweepingly modernized and great parts of the chapters on heraldry, drawing and painting, the entire chapter on military drill and some marginal comments from other parts of the book were omitted. To the footnotes, which are not numerous, the editor adds translations of foreign phrases. As far as it goes, it is a useful and readable edition but the modernized spelling, punctuation and capitalization render it of little textual value. A facsimile of a copy of the 1622 edition in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, is available in the English Experience in Printing Series, number 59 (Amsterdam and New York, 1968).

The copy-text for the present edition is the first edition of 1622 (A). The copy used is University of London, [D-L.L.] K \(^0\) (A1), which has been collated against fifteen copies listed in Appendix III. For those sections which were added after A, the first printed edition in which each appears has been taken as copy-text; the copy used for the 1627 edition is Society of Antiquaries, 90b (31), and for the 1634 edition British Museum. 721. e. 17 (C1).

The text of the printed editions has been followed, with these exceptions: long 's' has been printed as 's', wrong-fount letters and irregular spacing have been silently corrected and vowel contractions have been expanded. The ligature 'ae' has been printed as 'Æ' when occurring as capital letters. Turned letters have been noted in the apparatus criticus and the ampersand has been retained. Peacham's marginal references have been numbered in the body of the text and are placed at the end of each chapter. When he intends a heading rather than a marginal reference, a side-heading has been inserted in the text at the most appropriate place. Greek forms
generally follow the readings of the first edition, with accents and aspirates silently corrected from Gordon's edition. Emendations and variant forms in Greek have not been noted. In all other cases, emendations to the copy-text are listed in the *apparatus criticus*. Substantive variants in the three earliest editions, with selected variants from the texts of later editions, are recorded in the Historical Collation. There is a list of press-variants, identified by the copies collated, for each edition. A copy disagreeing with all others in any one reading is recorded in brackets after a minus sign; e.g. A(-A12) implies that A12 has its own reading.
I. The Life of Henry Peacham


3. Pitman, pp. 72-9, reproduces two wills made by members of the family.

4. Arthur Mee, Hertfordshire: London's County Neighbour, 1939, p.160, gives the first mention of the sundial. He claims that it was set up in 1584 on a buttress of the nave.

5. GG, p.140.

6. CS, sig. E2r; TT, p.103.


8. Ibid., p.24.


10. TR, epigram 51.


13. These manuscripts are discussed by Young, Peacham, pp. 38-42. See also K. Freeman, English Emblem Books (1948), pp. 73-5.


15. MS Harleian 6855, Art. 13, which finishes with a four-part madrigal, King James his quier, signed by Peacham. The madrigal opens with the lyric 'Awake softly with singing Oriana sleeping'. The king's reception at Hinchingbrooke is described in A Narration of the Progress and Entertainment of the King's most exalted Majesty in An English Garner, edited by E. Arber, 8 vols (1877-96), VIII, 513-15. See also Thomas Fuller, The History of the University of Cambridge (1655), pp. 157-8, and Alan R. Young, 'Henry Peacham, Ben Jonson and the cult of Elizabeth-Oriana', Music and Letters, 60 (1979), 305-11.

16. AD, sig. A3v. The grammar school at Kimbolton had been founded in 1600 (C.H. Lewis, Kimbolton School 1600-1950 (Kimbolton, 1950), pp. 4-6). The school-house, a half-timbered building at the edge of the churchyard, was recently demolished.

17. AD, pp. 63-4.

18. MS Harleian 1500.

19. British Museum, MS Royal 16E XXXVIII.

20. Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Works of British-Born Artists of the Seventeenth Century (1938), item 107; H.V.S. and M.S. Ogden, English Taste in the Seventeenth Century (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1955), p. 34, plate 17. The drawing, which the Ogden's place in the "village-environs" kind of landscape, is also entitled Travellers on the Road. The second ink and wash drawing, Travellers at a Village, has been attributed to Peacham (Ogden, p. 34) but its present location is unknown. See also G. Kirby, 'A Consideration of the Early English Aesthetic: a study of Renaissance art treatises, 1563-1660' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1972), p. 8.

21. GE, p. 45. See Ogden, pp. 5-8.

I, 85, reproduces the engraving with the comment, 'this print is very rare'. Granger's copy was not included in the sale of his collection on 18-27 January 1809 (A Catalogue of the Extensive and Truly Valuable Collection of Engraved British Portraits Illustrative of Granger's Biographical History of England, 1809) and its location is unknown.

23. Walpole, I, 32.


25. MB, epigram 33.

26. GE, p.166.

27. Ibid., pp.172-3; MB, sig. N4v.

28. GE, p.25.

29. Ibid., pp. 171-3; MB, sig. G2r.

30. Young, 'Biographical Note', p.216, n.18. Pitman (p.60) first noted that 'Henry Peacham my sonne' and 'his two daughters' received bequests in the will of Peacham's father in 1634.

31. Pitman, pp. 59-60, discusses the single reference to Peacham's wife; it occurs in the will of Jane, widow of his brother Richard Peacham, proved in 1628.

32. CG, p.236. See also MB, sig. M1r. Dowland (1563-1626) spent his early years as a musician in Rome (where he underwent a Catholic conversion), Brunswick and Nuremberg. In 1595 he recanted and in the same year was appointed lutenist to Christian IV of Denmark. In 1606 he was dismissed from this position and he returned to London to live in Fetter Lane. He finally achieved recognition when, on 28 October 1606, he was appointed to the King's Musicians for the Lutes.
33. Hawkins, I, 430.


36. GE, p.73.

37. Pitman (p.36) mentions a 'Thomas Haywarde', who was master of St. Albans Free Grammar School between 1595 and 1600, as well as Thomas Heywood the dramatist.


39. British Museum, MS Royal 12A LXVI. See Young, Peacham, pp.40-1, and his note to the facsimile version of the manuscript (English Emblem Books, 30, 1976).

40. Two poems, one 'in the Utopian tongue', accompany the emblem (The Odcombian Banquet, 1611, sigs. P1r-P2r). Peacham also produced poems for Robert Dowland's Musical Banquet (1610) and Arthur Standish's Commons Complaint (1611).

41. MB, sig. A3r.


45. The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon, edited by J. Spedding, 7 vols (1861-72), V, 126.

46. TB, epigram 34.

47. TT, p.127.
48. Ibid., pp. 53-4; CG, p.149.

49. Arber, III, 258.


51. TB, epigram 29.

52. The history of the library and an account of its contents are given by D.J. McKitterick, The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe c.1539-1618 (Cambridge, 1978).

53. TB, epigram 30.

54. Ibid., epigram 70.


56. Caesar resided at Hackney, close to the village of Hoxton where Peacham was living in 1622. See William Robinson, The Histories and Antiquities of Hackney, 2 vols (1842-3), I, 302.

57. CG, p.6.

58. Ibid., p.4.

59. Pitman, pp.4-11, corrects these details.

60. See above, p. 71.


62. TT, p.39.

63. TA, sig. A2r.

64. Ibid., sig. C2r.

65. Young, 'Biographical Note', pp.216-17. See also The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln, edited by William Page, 2 vols (1901-6), II, 487.

66. CS, sig. E2r.

67. TT, pp. 41-2.

II. The Book


6. CG, p. 11.
7. Stephens, p.11.
8. CG, p.11.
9. Collibus, in turn, borrows extensively from Osorius's *De nobilitate civili et christiani* (1542).
12. CG, p.20.
13. Ibid., p.17.
19. Wright, p.121.
22. CG, p.8.
24. CG, p.55.
26. CG, p.52.
27. For Peacham's borrowings from Elyot, see D.T. Starnes, "Elyot's "Governour" and Peacham's "Compleat Gentleman"", Modern Language Review, 22 (1927), 319-22.


29. CG, p.9.

30. For Cleland's use of Elyot, see M. Molyneux's introduction to his edition of The Institution of a Young Noble Man, Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints (New York, 1948).

31. K. Ascham, The Scholemaster (1570), sig. E 1\textsuperscript{v}.

32. James I, Basilicon Doron (1599), sig. B 3\textsuperscript{r-v}.

33. CG, p.27.


35. CG, p.32.

36. Ibid., p.33; Vives, p.263.

37. CG, p.34.

38. See Charlton, pp.89-130.


40. CG, p.33.

41. Elyot, sig. C2\textsuperscript{r-v}.

42. CG, p.34.

43. Ascham, sig. C 1\textsuperscript{v}.

44. H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1603 to 1640 (Cambridge, 1970), pp.131-2; CG, p.36.


49. CG, p.60.
50. Ibid., p.216.
52. Ibid., p.7.
54. Costello, p.143.
55. Charlton, p.211; Bennett, p.158.
56. CG, p.111.
58. Elyot, sig. C8v.
59. CG, p.143.
60. Kristeller, p.204.
62. CG, p.140.
63. Kelso, p.141; Watson, p.175.
64. Young, Peacham, p.82.
66. CG, p.263.
68. See L.B. Wright, 'Handbook Learning of the Renaissance Middle-Class', Studies in Philology, 28 (1931), 58-86. Bennett (pp.92-198) describes the range of manuals.
69. Charlton, p.195.
70. Mason, pp.289-90.
71. Richard Braithwaite, The English Gentleman (1630), sig. ¶ 2v.

73. Ibid., pp.93-4.

74. CG, p.110.

75. L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641 (Oxford, 1965), chapter three (pp.65-128), 'The Inflation of Honours'.

76. CG, p.23.

77. Stone, p.74.

78. Ibid., pp.74-81.

79. Ibid., pp.84-5, 94.

80. Ibid., p.103.


82. Stone, Crisis, pp.24-6.

83. CG, p.170.

84. Ibid., p.170.

85. Ibid., p.22.


87. CG, pp.120-1. The most recent account of Thomas Howard as patron and connoisseur is given by Graham Parry, The Golden Age restor'd. The culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42 (Manchester, 1981), pp.108-34.

88. CG, p.118.

89. Ibid., p.125.


91. CG, p.124.

92. Ibid., pp.122-3.

93. Caudill, p.20.
94. See the subject index in Noyes, pp.109-11.


96. Stone, Crisis, p.693.

97. CG, p.241.


100. CG, p.249.


102. Cleland, p.268.

103. CG, p.245.

104. Ibid., p.65.


106. Kristeller, p.204.


108. CG, p.62.


112. CG, p.65.

113. Ibid., p.88.


115. Johnson, p.207.

116. CG, pp.73-4.

117. Ibid., pp.66-7.

118. Ibid., p.67.
III. Peacham's Scholarship

1. GE, sig. B1r.
2. King, p. 145.
4. CG, pp. 27, 5.
5. Ibid., p. 64.
6. Ibid., p. 64.
7. FFD, sig. A2r.
8. CG, pp. 5, 35.
9. Ibid., p. 234.


14. CG, p. 29.

15. WW, sig. A4v.

16. King James, Basilicon Doron (Edinburgh, 1603), sigs. C4v-C5r, added to the second edition (1603).


On renaissance attitudes to Virgil as both pastoral and epic poet, see E. Nitchie, *Virgil and the English Poets* (New York, 1919), pp. 8-76.

For Plato and Plutarch, see Shackford, pp. 5-24.


Thomas Nashe, *Works*, edited by R.B. McKerrow, 5 vols (1904-10),III,175-6:

> of my note-books and all books else here in the countrey I am bereaused, whereby I might enamell and hatch over this deuice more artificially and masterly, and attire it in his true orient vernish and tincture.


See Bennett, p. 134.


See Pitman, p.219.

L.B. Wright, 'The Renaissance Middle-Class Concern over Learning', *Philological Quarterly*, 9 (1930), 273-96 (p.296).
32. CG, p. 63.
34. CG, p. 200.
35. See McKitterick's analysis of the Knyvett library, pp. 25-33.
36. CG, p. 5.
37. TT, p. 27.
38. See Pitman, p. 234, for the attribution of Dialogue; pp. 268-9, for WP; p. 272, for ALL; pp. 201-3, for MM.
39. Quintilian, Institutiones Cratoriae, XI. ii. 41.
40. CG, p. 34.
41. Ibid., p. 92.
42. TT, sig. A5f-v.
43. CG, p. 136.

IV. The Style of The Compleat Gentleman

2. CG, p. 53.
4. CG, p. 54.
5. Ibid., p. 53.
7. The standard account is George Williamson, The Senecan Amble: A Study in Prose Form from Bacon to Collier (1951), pp. 1ff.
8. CG, pp. 54, 58.
11. CG, p. 55.
12. Ibid., p. 56.
13. Ibid., p. 57.
15. Ibid., p. 61; John Selden, 'From the Author of The Illustrations', in Michael Drayton, Poly-Olbion (1612), sig. A2r.
17. Edmund Bolton, Hypercritica: or A Rule of Judgement for writing, or reading our History's, ii. 2 (A. Hall, Nicolai Triveti Annalium Continuatio, Oxford, 1722, p. 218).
20. Ibid., p. 31.
21. Roger Ascham, The Whole Works, edited by J.A. Giles, 3 vols (1864-5), I, 192, in a letter of 1530 to Sturmius on the style of Queen Elizabeth I:

Ineptos illos Erasmi imitatores, qui latinam linguam in miseras proverbiorum compedes illigant, ferre non potest.

See Taylor, p. 4, on the tradition of the 'learned' proverb, and Crane, pp. 35-48, for the role played by adage, sentence, and proverb in theories of wit and rhetoric.
22. CG, p. 31.
25. Ibid., pp. 54-5.
27. Ibid., p. 61.
29. CG, p. 81.
30. Ibid., p. 228.
31. Ibid., p. 62.
32. King James (1599), sig. S4r.
V. The Reputation of The Compleat Gentleman

1. Braithwaite, sig. Q1². The English Gentleman ran to three editions by 1652 and its companion, The English Gentlewoman (1631), was republished ten years later with The Turtle's Triumph, a treatise on marriage.


5. The Compleat Gentleman (1661), sig. A4³.


7. Sig. A4³.


11. 'George Vertue's "Autobiography"', Walpole Society, 18 (1929-30), 1-21 (p. 6).


18. Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language (1755), s.v. blazon, eschutcheon, fesse.


21. Malone 582, 583, 584, now in the Bodleian Library.


24. Watt, II, 739; Allibone, II, 1535.

25. NG, 1st series, II (1855), 217-18, 296. See also NG, 2nd series, 6 (1858), 406-7.


27. British Museum, Addit. MS 24490 fo. 257.


VI. The Date of Composition

1. CG, p. 9.

2. See the letter dated 17 August 1620 from Inigo Jones to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, quoted in M.F.S. Hervey, The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (Cambridge, 1921), pp.168-9.


4. CG, p. 213.


6. CG, p. 196; Arber, IV, 19.

7. CG, p. 4; DNB.

8. CG, p. 39; Arber, IV, 25.

9. CG, p. 65, n.19; Arber, IV, 26; DNB.

10. CG, p. 207.

VII. The Text

1. I have not been able to trace the following: the 1626 edition dedicated
to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and with gathering H in sixes,
described by W.C. Hazlitt (Collections and Notes 1867-1876, 1876, p. 324);
Edmund Malone's reference to an edition of 1654 in a note on the binder's
leaf of Malone 528 in the Bodleian Library (John Besly, 'Malone's own Notes
in Copies of Peacham's various Publications', NQ, 1st series, 11 (1855),
p.218): the Haigh Hall copy of a 1622 edition with a frontispiece properly
belonging to the next edition (Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of the
Printed Books preserved at Haigh Hall, Wigan (Aberdeen, 1910), III, col. 6923.

2. Master Constable Entred for his Copie under the handes
of master Doctor GOAD and maister Knight, A booke Called
The Compleate gentleman by HENRY PEACHAM.
(Arber, IV. 35).

3. Gatherings X and Y in an aberrant copy (Malone 528) in the Bodleian
Library collate: X^4, Y^4, 'X4', 'X5', 'Y4', 'Y5'.

4. See The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature 1475-1700, 3 vols
(New York, 1940), III, 789

5. Sackville's patronage was cut short by his death on 28 March 1624. In
the elegy, An Aprill Shower, published later that year, Peacham directly
acknowledges the bounty that he received from Sackville.


7. Copper-plate engravings were replaced by woodcuts as the principal means
of book illustration by the end of the sixteenth century (A.W. Pollard, 'Some
Notes on English Illustrated Books', Transactions of the Bibliographical
Society, 6 (1901), 29, 31; R.B. McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices
in England and Scotland, 1485-1640, 1913, pp. xli-xlii). James D. Clark

8. A facsimile of the leaf appears in Pforzheimer Library, III, plate xxxvii.

9. Sig. 2F2v.

10. The only surviving example seems to be the copy preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Henry Huth was the first to record this state, which he described incorrectly as a re-issue (The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the Printed Books, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, and Engravings Collected by Henry Huth with Collations and Bibliographical Description, 5 vols, 1880, IV, 1114).

11. H. K. Plomer, A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667, 1907, p. 51.


13. The book was published early in the year; Thomason's copy (E. 1088 (1.)) in the British Museum has the printed titlepage dated 'Aprill 20th', in manuscript above the imprint.


16. Some notable corruptions of the original text are: Solent. ff (1622) - Solon ff (1627) - Soloniff (1634); ludis - Iudis - jugis; Ennead (1622) - Em. ead (1627).

THE
Complet Gentelman
Travelling him absolute in the
most necessary & commendable
Qualities concerning Minds or
Bodies that may be required
in a Noble Gentleman.

By
Henry Peacham,
My of Arts
Sometime of Trinity Coll:
in Cambridge.
— invicem eum
Neptuno navigat
Anno 1622

Imprinted at London,
for Francis Crisphale,
and are to be sold at
his shop at the white ly
in Paulers churchyard.
The Compleat Gentleman, whose
Titles are contained in these
Chapters following.

| Chap. 1. | Of Nobilitie in Generall. | 10 |
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Ad optimae spei, generosissimaeque
indolis adolescentem, D. Gulielmus
Howard, illustiss. ac vere honratiss.
Thomae Comitis Arundelise, summi
totius Anglieae hareschalli,
&c. filium secundo -
genitum.

Irgenio, genio, dum vis Generosus haberi,
Ingenua haec discas, ingeniosae puer.
Stemma nihil, cultis animum nisi moribus ornes,
Et studeas studiis nobilitare genus.

secundo C: tertio A
To the truly noble and most hopefull knight of the honourable
order of the bathe, William Howard, second sonne to the right
honorable Thomas Earle of Arundell and surrey, earle marshall
of england, &c.

What mote (noble sir) may induce others in their
dedications, I know not: sure I am none other hath incited me,
then the regard of your owne worth, and that native ingenuitie
and goodness of spirit, I have ever perceived in you, since it
was my good hap to enjoy your acquaintance, and to spend some
hours with you at your booke in norwich; where you had your
education under the reverend, religious, and my honorable good
lord, the then lord bishop of norwich. And indeed, to whom
rather of right should appertaine these my instructions, in
regard of their subject, which is the fashioning of nobilitie
after the best presidants, then to your selfe euery way so nobly
descended. Beside, it is affirmed, that there are certaine
sparkes and secret seeds of vertue innate in princes, and the
children of noble personages; which (if cherished, and carefully
attended in the blossom) will yield the fruit of industry and
glorious action, not onely above the strength of the vulgar, but
euen in the scient, and before the time nature hath appointed.
So achilles, while he was yet very young, undertooke to shoote
the fiercest lions and boares, and was so nimble on foote, that
he was able to take a wilde beast without either toyle or dogge.
(1)

alexander also, when an egyptian priest saluted him, being very
young, by the names of son and child, replyed: but you shall
finde me a man before the walls of athens. (2) But to omit
heathenish examples, salomon wee reade, when he was but even a
child, begane wisdome of God, and grace to gouerne well: (3) and
ignatius, that holy martyr writeth, salomon was scarce 12 years
of age, when he decided that hard controversie betweene the two

Knight of the honourable order of the bathe, William
Howard & William Howard A second & third and
younger A

6 you had & at this present you have A
8 then & now A
Harlots: so losias was but eight yeares old, when he walked religiously before God. And mee thinkes (Sir) as in that Cornelian Stemme (whereof Scipio was said to be the top,) and In quo (vt plura genera in vnam arborem videtur insita multorum illuminata sapientia;) already you grow apace, reflecting as from a faire Glasse, that Princely Moderation and Honesty of heart, of the good Duke your great Grand-father, the Honourably disposed mind of my Lord, your Noble Father, together with his loue and admiration, of whatsoeuer is honest or excellent: so that verily you need no other patterne to the absolute shaping of your selfe, then the Images of your fore-fathers. But as Aristotle saith of the Vine, by how much it is laden with Clusters, by so much it hath need of props: so say I of Greatnesse and Nobilitie, ever fruitfull, and apt to abundance, it hath hourely need of support and helpe, by all timely advice and instruction, to guide and uphold it from lying along.

Wherefore, since the Fountains of all Counsell and Instruction, next to the feare of God, is the knowledge of good learning, whereby our affections are perswaded, and our ill manners mollified, I heere present you with the first and plainest Directions (though but as so many keies to leade you into far fairer roomes) and the readiest Method I know for your studies in general, and to the attaining of the most commendable qualities that are requisite in every Noble or Gentle-man. Nothing doubting, but that after you have herein seene the worth and excellence of learning, how much it addeth to Nobilitie; what errors are hourely committed through Ignorance; how sweet a thing it is to converse with the wisest of all Ages by Historie; to have in-sight into the most pleasing and admirable Sciences of the Mathematiques, Poetrie, Picture, Heraldrie, &c. (whereof I heere intreat, together with the most commendable exercise of the body, with other generall directions for Carriage, Trauaile, &c.) you will entertaine this Discourse, as Ulisses did Minerva at his elbow: your guide to knowledge; the ground, not onely of the sweetest, but the happiest life. And though I am assured there are numbers, who (notwithstanding all the bockes and Rules in the world) had rather then behold the
face of heauen, burie themselves in earthly sloath, and basest
idlenesse; yet Sir William Howard at the least, let vs recouer
you from the tyrannie of these ignorant times, and from the common
Education; which is, to weare the best cloathes, eate, sleepe,
drinke much, and to know nothing. I take leaue, from my house at

Who is, and shall be euer yours,

HENRY PEACHAM.
1. Pindar, in Nemeis, Ode 3.
2. Ioannes Monach. in vita Alexandri.
3. Regum I. cap. 3. ver. 9.
5. Cicero.
6. Arist. in Ethicis.
To my Reader.

I am not ignorant (Ludicious Reader) how many pieces of the most curious Masters have beene vterted to the world of this Subiect, as Plutarch, Erasmus, Vives, Sadole, Sturmus, Osorius, Sir Thomas Eliot, K. Askham, with sundry others; so that my small Taper among so many Torches, were as good out, as seeming to giue no light at all. I confesse it true. But as rare and curious stamps vpon Coynes, for their varietie and strangenesse, are daily enquired after, and bought vp, though the Siluer be all one and common with ours: so fares it with Bookes, which (as Meddailes) beare the Pictures and deuices of our various Inuention, though the matter be the same, yet for variety sake they shall bee read, yea (and as the same dishes drest after a new fashion) perhaps please the tastes of many better. But this regard neither moued me. When I was beyond the Seas, and in a part of France, adioyning vpon Artoise, I was inuited oftentimes to the house of a Noble personage, who was both a great Souldier and an excellent Scholler; and one day above the rest, as we sate in an open and goodly Gallerie at dinner, a young English Gentleman, who desireth to traualle, had beene in Italy, and many other places, fortuned to come to his house; and (not so well furnished for his returne home as was fitting) desired entertainment into his service. My Lord, who could speake as little English, as my Country-man French, bad him welcome, and demaunded by me of him, what hee could doe: For I keepe none (quoth he) but such as are commended for some good qualitie or other, and I giue them good allowance; some an hundred, some sixtie, some fiftie Crownes by the yesre: and calling some about him, (very Gentleman-like, as well in their behauiour, as apparell) This (saith he) rideth and breaketh my great Horses, this is an excellent Lutenist, this a good Painter and Surueyer of land, this a passing Linguist and Scholler, who instructeth my Sonnes, &c. Sir (quoth this young man) I am a Gentleman borne, and can onely attend you in your Chamber, or waite vpon your Lordship abroad. See (quoth Monsieur de Ligny, for so was his name) how your Gentry of England are bred: that when they are distressed,
or want means in a strange Country, they are brought vp neither to any qualitie to preferre them, nor haue they so much as the Latine tongue to helpe themselves withall. I knew it generally to be true, but for the time, and vpon occasion excused it as I could; yet he was receiued, and after returned to his friends in good fashion. Heretby I onely give to know, that there is nothing more deplorable, then the breeding in generall of our Gentlemen, none any more miserable then one of them, if he fall into miserie in a strange Country. Which I can impute to no other thing, then the remisnesse of Parents, and negligence of Masters in their youth. Wherefore at my comming over, considering the great forwardnesse and proficience of children in other Countries, the backwardnesse and rawnesse of ours; the industry of Masters there, the ignorance and idlenesse of most of ours; the exceeding care of Parents in their childrens Education, the negligence of ours: being taken through change of ayre with a Quartane Feuer, that pleasure I had λατινοτετραχομοι , as I may truly say, by fits I employed vpon this Discourse for the priuate vse of a Noble young Gentleman my friend, not intending it should euer see light, as you may perceiue by the plaine and shallow current of the Discourse, fitted to a young and tender capacitie. Howsoever I haue done it, and if thou shalt find herein any thing that may content, at the least, not distaste thee, I shall be glad and encouraged to a more serious peece: if neither, but out of a malignant humour, disdaine what I haue done, I care not; I haue pleased my selfe: and long since learned, Enuie, together with her Sister ignorance, to harbour onely in the basest and most degenerate breast.
CHAP. 1.

Of Nobilitie in Generall: that it is a Plant
from Heauen; the Roots, Branches, Fruit.

If we consider aright the Frame of the whole Universe and Method of the all-excellent Wisedome in her works; as creating the forms of things infinitely divers, so according to Dignity of Essence or Vertue in effect, we must acknowledge the same to hold a Sovereignty, and transcendent praedominance, as well of Rule as Place each over either. Among the heauenly bodies we see the Nobler Orbes, and of greatest influence to be raised aloft, the lesse effectuall, depressed. Of Elements, the Fire the most pure and operative to hold the highest place; in compounded bodies, of things as well sensible as insensible, there runneth a veine of Excellence proceeding from the Forme, ennobling (in the same kind) some other above the rest.

The Lyon we say is King of Beasts, the Eagle chiefe of Birds; the Whale and Whirle-poole among Fishes, Jupiter's Cake the Forrests King. Among Flowers, we most admire and esteeme the Rose: Among Fruite, the Iom-roy and Queene-apple; among Stones, we value above all the Diamond; Metalls, Gold and Siluer: and since we know these to transferre their inward excellence and vertues to their Species successiueely, shall we not acknowledge a Nobilitie in Man of greater perfection, of Nobler forme, and Prince of these?

Can we be curious in discerning a counterfeit from the true Pearl; to choose our siens of the best fruit, buy our Flowers at twenty pounds the rootte or slip: and not regard of make difference of linage, nor be carefull into what Stocke we match our selves, or of what Parents we choose a Seruant?

Surely, to beleue that Nature (rather the God of Nature) produceth not the same among our selves, is to question the rarest Worke-mistris of Ignorance or Partialitie, and to abase our selves beneath the Beast.
Nobilitie defined.

Nobilitie then (taken in the generall sence) is nothing else then a certaine eminency, or notice taken of some one aboue the rest, for some notable act performed, bee it good or ill; and in that sence are Nobilis and Ignobilis usually among the Latine Poets taken. More particularly, and in the genuine sence, Nobilitie is the Honour of blood in a Race or Linage, conferred formerly upon some one or more of that Family, either by the Prince, the Lawes, customes of that Land or Place, whereby either out of knowledge, culture of the mind, or by some glorious Action performed, they have bene usefull and beneficall to the Common-wealths and places where they live.

For since all Vertue consisteth in Action, and no man is borne for himselfe, we add, beneficiall and usefull to his Country; for hardly they are to be admitted for Noble, who (though of never so excellent parts) consume their light, as in a dark Lanthorne in contemplation, and a Stoicall retirednesse.

And since Honor is the reward of Vertue and glorious Action onely, Vice and Basenesse must not expect her favours: as the people of Rome created C. Flavius from a Tribune, Senator and Aedile for stealing of a book of Records. Kuthicrates, Euphorbas, and Pylagrus, were ennobled for Treason: and Cottier by Lewis the eleuenth, the French King, unworthily advanced from a mender of Stockings, to be Lord Chancellor of France.

Neither must we Honor or esteeme those ennobled, or made Gentle in blood, who by Mechanicke and base meanes, have raked vp a masse of wealth, or because they follow some great man, weare the Cloath of a Noble Personage, or haue purchased an ill Coat at a good rate; no more then a Player upon the Stage, for wearing a Lords cast suit: since Nobilitie hangeth not upon the airy esteeme of vulgar opinion, but is indeed of it selfe essentiall and absolute.

Beside, Nobilitie being inherent and Naturall, can haue (as the Diamond) the lustre but only from it selfe: Honors and Titles externally conferred, are but attendant vpon desert, and are but as apparell, and the Drapery to a beautifull body.
Memorable, as making to our purpose, is that speech of
Sigismund the Emperour, to a Doctor of the Ciull Law, who when he
had receiued Knighthood at the Emperours hands, left forthwith the
societie of his fellow Doctors, & kept company altogether with the
Knights: which the Emperour well observinge, smilingly (before the
open assembly) saide vnto him; Foole, who preferrest Knighthood
before Learning and thy degree; I can make a thousand Knights in
one day, but cannot make a Doctor in a thousand yeares.  
Now for as much as the Weale publique of every Estate, is pre"ereud Armis 
& consilio, this faire Tree by two maine branches disspreddeth her
selfe into the Militarie & Ciuil Discipline; vnder the first I
place Valor and Greatnesse of Spirit: vnder the other, Iustice,
knowledge of the Lawes, which is Consilij fons; Magnificence, and
Eloquence.

For true Fortitude and greatnesse of Spirit were ennobled (we
reade) Iphicrates, that braue Athenian, who overthrew in a set
battaille the Iacedaemonians, stopt the furie of Eraminondas, and
became Lieutenant Generall to Artaxerxes King of Persia, yet but
the sonne of a poore Cobler.

Eumenes, one of the best Captaines for valour and aduice
Alexander had, was the sonne of an ordinarie Carter.

Dioclesian was the sonne of a Scriuener, or Book-binder:
Valentinian, of a Rope-maker; Maximinus, of a Smith, Pertinax,
of a Wood-monger; Seruius Tullus, sonne of a Bond-woman, thence his
name Seruius; Thruquinius Friscus, of a poore Merchant, or rather
Fedler in Corinth: Hugh Capet, the first of that name, King of
France, the sonne of a Butcher in Paris; who when Lewis the sixth,
sonne of Lothary, was poisoned by Blanch his Wife for Adulterie,
being a stout fellow, and of a resolute Spirit, hauing gathered a
company like himselfe, and taking his advantage of the time, and
distermeped humour of the State, carried himselfe and his businesse
so, that he got the Crowne from the true heire, Charles the Vnckle
of Lewis.

Lamusius, the third King of the Lombards, was the sonne of a
common Strumpet, found laid and couered with leaves in a ditch by
King Agelmond, who by chance riding that way, and espying a thing

Imperator B: Emperor A
stirre in the ditch, touched it with the point of his Lance, to see what it was: which the Infant with the hand taking fast hold of, the King amazed, and imagining it as a presage of some good fortune toward the child, caused it to be taken out of the ditch, and to bee brought vp, which after (nursed in the lap of Fortune) by many degrees of Honor, got the Crowne of Lombardy. (5)

Neither are the truly valorous, or any way vertuous, ashamed of their so meane Parentage, but rather glorie in themselves that their merit hath advanced them above so many thousands farre better descended. And hence you shall many times heare them freely discourse of their beginning, and plainely relate their bringing vp, & what their Parents were.

The ingenuous reply of Colonell Edmonds.

I remember when I was in the Low-Countries, and liued with Sir John Ogle at Vtrecht, the reply of that valiant Gentleman Colonell Edmondes, to a Country-man of his newly come out of Scotland, went Currant: who desiring entertainment of him, told him; My Lord his Father, and such knights and Gentle-men, his Cousinz and Kinsmen, were in good health. Quoth Colonell Edmondes, Gentlemen (to his friends by) beleue not one word hee sayes; my Father is but a poore Baker of Edenbourgh, and workes hard for his liuing, whom this knaue would make a Lord, to currie fauour with me, and make ye beleue I am a great man borne, &c.

So that the valiant Souldier you see, measureth out of the whole cloath his Honour with his sword: and hence in ancient times came Rome, Athens, Carthage, and of late the Ottoman Empire to their greatnesse. Honor being then highly prized, euery one aymed at Nobilitie, and none refused the most desperate attempts for the good of his Countrey. Thus the Decij, Cato, Marcellus, with infinite others, became ennobled, and had their Altars, Statues, Columns, &c. and were welnigh adored with as great respect, as their Gods themselves.

From no lesse meanness of birth and beginning, we find many great and famous Bishops, Civilians, Crators, Poets, &c. to have attained to the greatest dignities, both of Church and Common-wealth, and to have checked with their Fortunes, euen Glorie her
selfe. Pope John the two and twentieth, was a poore Shoee-makers sonne; Nicholas the fifth was sonne of a Foulter, Sixtus the fift, of a Hog-heard: Alphenus but a Tailors Apprentice, who running from his Master, went to Rome, and there studied the Civill Law, and so profited, that for his learning and wisedome, he was after created Consull. Vlpian but meanely borne, yet Tutor to Alexander the Emperour. Cicero was borne and brought vp at Arpinum, a poore and obscure Village: Virgil, the sonne of a Potter; Horace, of a Trumpeter; Theophrastus of a Botcher, with infinite others, I might allledge as well of ancient as moderne times.

For doing Justice, the Romanes of a priuate man and a stranger, chose Numa for their King: and on the contrary, (as Plutarch writeth, comparing them together) Lycurgus of a King, for Justice sake, made himselfe a priuate man: for, A goodly thing (saith Plutarch) it is by doing justly to obtaine a Kingdome, and as glorious to prefer Justice before a kingdome; for the vertue of the one (Numa) made him so esteemed and honoured, that he was of all thought worthy of it; of the other, so great, that he scorned it.

In like manner, for their good Lawes and doing Justice, were advanced to their Thrones and goodly Tribunals, Minos, Rhadamantus (though subjects of Poets fables,) Aratus, Solon, &c. And how fairely (beyond their Lawrels) the name of lust, became Aristides, Traiane, Agesilaus, with many others, I leaue to Historie to report.

For Magnificence, and obliging the places wherein they liued, by great benefits, were ennobled, Tarquinius Friscus, a stranger, and a banished man: and of later times, Cosmo di Medici in Florence, vpon whose vertues, as vpon a faire prospect, or some princely Palace, giue me leaue a little, as a traueler to breathe my selfe, and shew you aferre off the faire Turrets of his more than royall Magnificence, being but a priuate man, as I finde it recorded in his Historie by Machiauell. (7) This Cosmo (saith he) was the most esteemed, and most famous Citizen (being no man of warre) that euer had beene in the memorie of man, either in Florence, or any other Citie; because he did not onely excell all others (of his time) in Authoritie and Riches, but also in liberalitie and Wisedome. For among other qualities which
advanced him to be chiefe of his Countrey, he was more than other  
men liberall and magnificent, which liberalitie appeared much more  
after his death then before. For his sonne Piero found by his  
Fathers Records, that there was not any Citizen of estimation, to  
whom Cosmo had not lent great summes of Money: and many times also  
he did lend to those Gentlemen, whom he knew to have need. His  
magnificence appeared by diuers his building: For within the Citie  
of Florence hee builded the Abbaies and Temples of S. Marco, S.  
Lorenzo, and the Monastery of S. Verdiana, & in the mountains of  
Fiesole, S. Girolamo, with the Abbey thereto belonging. Also in  
Kugello he did not only repaire the Church for the Friers, but  
tooke it downe, and built it anew. Besides those magnificent  
buildings in S. Croce, in S. Agnoli, and S. Miniato, he made Altars,  
and sumptuous Chappels. All which Temples and Chappels, besides  
the buildings of them, were by him paued, and furnished throughly  
with all things necessarie. With these publique buildings, wee may  
number his priuate houses, whereof one within the Citie meete for  
so great a personage, and foure other without, at Carriaggi, at  
Fiesole, at Casaggiuolo, and at Trebio, all Palaces fitter for  
Princes, then priuate persons. And because his magnificent houses  
in Italy, did not in his opinion make him famous enough, he builded  
in Jerusalem an Hospitall to receiue poore and diseased Pilgrims.  
In which worke he consumed great summes of Money. And albeit these  
bUILDings, and euery other his actions were princely, and that in  
Florence he lived like a Prince; yet so gouerned by wisedome, as  
he neuer exceeded the bounds of ciuill modestie. For in his  
conuersation, in riding, in marrying his Children and Kinsfolkes,  
he was like vnto all other modest and discreete Citizens: because  
he well knew, that extraordinarie things, which are of all men with  
admiration beheld, doe procure more enuy, then those which without  
ostentation be honestly couered. I omit, as followeth shortly  
after, his great and excessive charge in entertaining of learned  
men of all professions, to instruct the youth of Florence: his  
bountie to Arigiropolo a Graecian, and Marsilio Ficino, (whom he  
maintained for the exercise of his owne studies in his house, and  
gave him goody lands neere his house of Carreggi,) men in that
time of singular learning, because Vertue reares him rather to wonder then imitation.

To proceed, no lesse respect and honor is to be attributed to Eloquence, whereby so many have raised their esteeme and fortunes, as able to draw Civilitie out of Barbarisme, and sway whole kingdoms by leading with Celticke Hercules\(^\text{[8]}\) the rude multitude by the ears. Marke Anthony contending against Augustus for the Romane Empire, assured himselfe he could never obtaine his purpose while Cicero liued, therefore he procured his death. The like did Antipater, a Successor to Alexander, by Demostheres, aspiring to the Monarchy of Greece. And not long since a poore Mahumetan Frest, by his smooth tongue, got the Crowne of Morocco from the right heire, being of the house of Giuseppe or Joseph. And much hurt it may doe, if like a mad mans sword, it be used by a turbulent and mutinous Crator; otherwise we must hold it a principall meanes of correcting ill manners, reforming lawes, humbling aspiring minds, and upholding all vertue. For as Serpents are charmed with words, so the most savage and cruel natures by Eloquence: which some interpret, to be the meaning of Mercuries golden Rod, with those Serpents wreathed about it.\(^\text{[9]}\)

Much therefore it concerneth Princes, not onely to countenance honest and eloquent Crators, but to maintaine such neere about them, as no meane props (if occasion serue) to uphold a State, and the onely keies to bring in tune a discordant Common-wealth.\(^\text{[10]}\)

Of bastardie. 1. Question.

But it shall not be amisse ere I proceede further, to remove certaine doubts, which as rubs clog the cleere passage of our Discourse: and the first concerning Bastardie, whether Bastards may be said to be Nobly borne or not: I answere with Justinian, Sordes inter praecipuos nominari non merentur. Yet it is the custome with us, and in France, to allow them for Noble, by giving them sometimes their Fathers proper Coate, with a bend Sinister, as Reignald Earle of Cornewall, base sonne to the Conquerour, bare his Fathers two Leopards passant gardant, or in a field Gules, with a bend sinister Azure: The like Hamlin, base sonne to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earle of Surrey. Some their
fathers whole Coate, or part of the same in bend dexter; as John
Beauford, a Bastard of Somerset, bare partie per pale argent and
Azure, a bend of England, with a labell of France. Sir Roger de
Clarendon, base son to the Blacke Prince, his fathers three
Feathers, on a bend Sable, the field Cr. I willingly produce these
examples, to confirme our custome of ennobleng them; and though the
Law leaneth not on their side, yet stand they in the head of the
troope, with the most deserving: yea, and many times (according to
Euripides) prove better then the legitimate. Who are more
famous then Remus and Romulus, who laid the first stone of Rome;
more courageous and truly valiant, then Hercules, Alexander, our
King Arthur of Britaine, and William the first? more critically
learned then Christopher Longolius, Iacobus Faber; more modest,
and of better life, then Coelius Calgaguinus, the delight of his
Ferrara, with infinite others? and where decretals and Schoolemen
may beare the bell, those two Grandes, Gratian and Lombard?

Concerning vice and basenesse.

A second question ariseth, whether he that is Noble descended,
may by his vice and basenesse lose his Nobilitie or no. It is
answered, that if he that is ignoble and inglorious, may acquire
Nobilitie by Vertue; the other may very well lose it by his Vice.
But such are the miserable corruptions of our times, that Vices go
for prime Vertue; and to be drunke, sweare, wench, follow the
fashion, & to do iust nothing, are the attributes and markes now
adaies of a great part of our Gentry. Hence the Agrigentines
expelled their Phalaris: the Romanes extinguished the memorie of
the whole race of the Tarquines, with those Monsters of Nature,
Nero, Heliogabalus, &c. the Sicilians Dionysius the later, with
others.

Concerning Pouertie. 3. question.

Thirdly, whether Pouertie impascheth or staineth Nobilitie.
I answere, Riches are an ornament, not the cause of Nobilitie; and
many times wee see there lyeth more worth under a thrid-bare Cloake,
and within a thatched Cottage, then the richest Robe, or stateliest
Palace. Witnesse the Noble Curiij and Fabritij, taken from a poore
dinner of Turneps and Water-cresses in an earthen dish, to leade the Romane Army, and conquer the most potent Kings of the world.

Of Advocates and Phisitians. 4. Question.

Fourthly, concerning Advocates and Physitians, whether we may rancke them with the ennobled or no. Advocates or Counsellors being Interpreters of the Law, their place is commendable, and themselues most necessarie Instruments in a Common-wealth; wherefore, saith the Ciuill Law, their calling is honorable, they ought to be freed of multes, publike charges, and all impositions; and to be written or sent vnto, as vnto persons of especiall worth and dignitie. (12)

Touching Physitians, though the profession by some hath beene thought seruile, and in times past was practised by servants, as Domitian (saith Seneca) imperauit medico seruo, vt venenum sibi daret; and that slouyenly Epithite of ἀκατοφάγος be by Aristophanes bestowed vpon Ἀσκαλοπίου: (13) yet it is an Art nothing seruile and base, but noble and free, since we know not onely Emperors and Kings, but Saints, yea, our blessed Sauiour to have cured the sicke; as Constantine, Adrian, Edward the Confessor King of England, (14) Kithridates King of Pontus, (whose Antidote yet beareth his name,) Artemisia queene of Caria, who first found the vertue of Mugwort, bearing her name in Latine; Gentius King of illyricum (now illyria) who immortally liueth in the herbe Gentiana: as also Lysimachus in his Lysimachia, Achilles in Achillea, or the Yarrow: Apollo, Podalirius, Moses, Essay, Salomon, Ezechias. Honor the Phisitian, saith Ecclesiasticus: then againe, All Phisicke or medicine is from God, and he shall receiue a reward from the King: The skill of the Physitian shall exalt his head, &c. And as Ptolomy sometime obiected against Zoilus concerning Homer, so may I vnto our Lordly μειατρον, or Physicke-haters: Which of them all, trebble their reuenewes, can maintaine so many as one poore Galen or Hippocrates, who though dead many hundreds of yeares since, feed many thousands of families, even at this present? I heere intend no common Chyrurgians, Mountebancks, vnlettered impericks, and women Doctors (of whom for the most part there is more danger, then of the worst disease it selfe) whose practise is infamous, mechanique and base.
Fiftly, concerning Merchants; the exercise of Merchandise hath beene (I confesse) accounted base, and much derogating from Nobilitie, except it be exercised & undertaken by a generall Estate, or the Deputies thereof. Aristotle therefore saith, That the Thebanes and Lacedaemonians had a Law, that none should bee esteemed and hold capable of Honor in their Common-wealth, except they had ten yeares before given over Trading and Merchandise: and Valerius Maximus reporteth, that among other things the Romans had to disparage Tarquinius Friscus withall, and make him odious to the people, was that he was a Merchants sonne. Saint Chrysostome vpon that place of Mathew, He cast out the buyers and sellers out of the Temple; gathereth, that Merchants hardly and seldom please God. And certaine it is, that the ancient Romans never preferred any that exercised Merchandise, to any eminent place or office in their Commonwealth; perhaps agreeing in one with Aristotle, who speaking of Merchants and mechanickes, saith; Vilis est huiusmodi vita, & virtuti adversa, This kind of life is base, and contrary to vertue.

But some may object unto me the great Estates of Venice, Genoa, Florence, Luca, &c. where their Nobilitie is nothing disparaged by the exercise of Merchandise. I answer; as their Coines at home they may raise themselves high or lower at their pleasure: but abroad (like Citie Maiors) in other Countries they fall under value, and a great deale short of their reckoning.

But if the owner of the Earth, and all that therein is, hath so bestowed and disposed of his blessings, that no one Country affordeth all things, but must be beholden not onely to her neighbours, but even the most remote Regions, and Common-wealths cannot stand without Trade and Commerce, buying and selling:

Cf Salomons Merchants.

I cannot (by the leave of so reuerend judgements) but account the honest Merchant among the number of Benefactors to his Countrey, while he exposeth as well his life as goods, to the hazzard of infinite dangers, sometime for medicinall Drugges and preseruatiues.
of our lives in extremity of sickness; another, for our food or clothing in times of scarcity and want, haply for usefull necessaries for our vocations, and callings: or lastly, for those, Census & animi oblectamenta, which the Almighty providence hath purposely, for our solace and recreation, and for no other end else created, as Apes, Parrots, Peacocks, Canaries, and all singing Birds; rarest Flowers for colour and smell, precious Stones of all sorts, Pearls, Amber, Coral, Crystal, all manner of sweete odours, fruits, infinitely differing in forme and taste: Colours of all sorts, for painting, dying, &c. but I proceed. (19)

Of Mechanicall Arts and Artists. 6. Question.

Sixt and lastly, touching mechanicall Arts and Artists, whosoeuer labour for their livelihood and gaine, haue no share at all in Nobilitie or Gentry: As Painters, Stage-players, Tumblers, ordinary Fidlers, Inne-keepers, Fencers, Juglers, Dancers, Mountebanks, Searewards, and the like; (except the custome of the place determine the contrary) as Herodotus and Xenophon witnesse to have bene observed, both among the Egyptians, Scythians, and Corinthians. (20)

A faint and spent reason.

The reason is, because their bodies are spent with labour and travaile, and men that are at their worke, assidui & accubui umbratiles esse coguntur. (21) Yea, if a Noble man borne in captiuitie, or constrained through any other necessitie, shall exercise any manuall occupation or Art, hee by the opinion of some, loseth his Nobilitie Civill, but not Christian, and shall at his returne bee restored. Where I said the custome of the Country, I intend thus: by the law of Mahomet, the Grand Signior, or great Turke himselfe, is bound to exercise some manuall Trade or Occupation (for none must be idle:) as Solomon the Magnificent, that so threatened Vienna, his trade was making of Arrow-heads; Achmat the last, horte rings for Archers, and the like.

The fruit and use of Nobilitie.

From the roote and branches, let vs taste the fruite, which fall not (like the Apples of Dodome) with a light touch into

2 times B: times A
nothing, but are as those of Hesperides, golden, and out of the vulgar reach.

First, Noble or Gentlemen ought to bee preferred in Fees, Honors, Offices, and other dignities of command and government before the common people.

They are to be admitted neere, and about the person of the Prince, to be of his Counsel in warre, and to beare his Standard. (22)

We ought to give credit to a Noble or Gentleman, before any of the inferior sort.

He must not be arrested, or pleaded against upon cosemage. We must attend him, and come to his house, and not he to ours. His punishment ought to be more favourable, & honorable upon his tryall, and that to bee by his Peers of the same Noble ranks. He ought in all sittings, meetings, and salutations, to have the upper hand, and greatest respect.

They must be cited by Bill or Writing, to make their appearance.

In criminal causes, Noblemen may appear by their Attorney, or Procurator.

They ought to take their recreations of hunting, hawking, &c. freely, without controule in all places.

Their imprisonment ought not to bee in base manner, or so strict as others.

They may eate the best and daintiest meate that the place affordeth; to weare at their pleasure Gold, jewells, the best apparell, and of what fashion they please, &c.

Beside, Nobilitie stirreth vp emulation in great Spirits, not onely of equalling others, but excelling them; as in Cimon, the elder Scipio Africanus, Decius the sonne, Alexander, Edward our Blacke Prince, and many others.

It many times procureth a good marriage, as in Germany, where a faire Coate and a Crest, is often preferred before a good reuuenew.

It is a spurre in braue and good Spirits, to beare in mind those things which their Ancestors have nobly atchieued.

It transferreth it selfe unto Posteritie; and as for the most
part wee see the children of Noble Personages, to beare the
dlineaments and resemblance of their Parents: so in like manner,
for the most part they possesse their vertues and Noble dispositions,
which even in their tenderest yeares, will bud forth and discover
it selfe.

Hauing discoursed of Nobilitie in Generall, the diviision, and
vse thereof: give me leaue in a word, to inueigh against the
pittifull abuse thereof, which like a plague, I think, hath infected
the whole world. Every undeserving and base Peasant ayming at
Nobilitie: which miserable ambition hath so furnished both Towne
& Country with Coates of a new list; that were Democritus liuing,
hee might have laughing matter for his life. In Naples, such is
the pride of evrey base groome, that though he be di stalla, he
must be termed Signore, and scarce will he open a note from a poore
Calzolaio, to whom he hath beene a tweluemonth indebted for his
Bootes, if Don be not in the superscription.

In Venice likewise, every Mechanique is a Magnifico, though
his magnificenza walketh the Market but with a Chequin.

In France, evrey Peasant and common Lacquay, is saluted by
the name of Kounsieur, or Sire, the King himselfe hauing no other
Title. The word Sire immediatly proceeding from Cyrus, the Persian
word for a Lord or great Prince, as H. Stephanus well noteth; or as it pleaseth some, from Kūρος authority, or κύρος, a Lord or Governor, πόλεως καὶ τῶν κυριῶν.(24) Goe but from Paris to
Anjou, and see if you find not all, from the Count to the Esculiere,
allyed either to the King, some Prince of the blood, Noble Feere,
or other.

In the Low Countries, mine old Host at Arnhem in Gilderiand,
changed his Coate and Crest thrice in a fortnight, because it did
not please his young Wife. For there ye must undersland, they are
all Gentlemen by a Grant, (they say) from Charles the fift, in
consideration of a great summe of money they lent him in time of
his warres. Come into what house soeuer, though mijn heer weert,
be but a Gardiner, Ropemaker, or Aquavitae seller, you shall be
sure to haue his armes, with the Beauer full faced (allowed to none
but Kings and Princes) in his Glasse-window, with some ingenious

27 other B: othet A
28 Gilderland B: Gildrerland A
Motto or other of his owne deuice. I remember one Telink there, gaue for his Coate a wilde Goose in the water, with this witty one; Volans, natans. Another, three Hogs falling vpon a Dog, who was lugging one of their fellowes; with this, Endracht makhte macht.(25) Another, three great drinking Bowles, Orbiquiers, with this truly Dutch, and more tollerable then the rest, vnderneath, Quem non fecere desertum? with infinite others of like Nature: yet the ancient Nobilitie (whereof there are many Honorable families; as Hohenlo, Egmont, Horne, Brederode, Wagrenaër, Botselaër, with sundry others) keepe themselves entire, and maintaining their ancient houses and reputation, free from scandal of dishonour, as well as wee laugh at these their boorish deuices.

Some againe, by altering letters or syllables, or adding to their names, will insinuate themselves into Noble houses, and not sticke many times to bear their Coates.

But the most common and worst of all, is in all places the ordinary purchasing of Armes and Honors for Money, very prejudiciall to true Nobilitie and politique gouernment: for who will hazzard his person and estate to infinite dangers for Honour, when others at home may haue it sine sudore & sanguine, onely by bleeding in the vena caua, called marsupium? The pure Cyle cannot mingle with the water, no more this extracted quintessence and Spirit of Vertue, with the dregges and subsistence of vnworthinesse. Euripides, when his Father told him he was knighted, made him this reply; Good Father you haue that which euery man may haue for his Money. (26) And certainly, Vertue dum petit ardua, will not stoope to take vp her reward in the streete. The French man is so bold, as to terme such intruders gentil-villaines; but I dare not vsue that word, lest some that challenge the first part of it, should returne me the latter.

Lastly, to conclude, most pittifull is the pride of many, who when they are nobly borne, not onely staine their stocke with vice, and all base behauiour, relying and vaunting of their long pedigrees, and exploits of their Fathers, (themselves liuing in sloath and idlenesse) disparage and disgrace those, who by their vertuous endeouers are rising. To these and such, I oppose Marius, and that
stout reply of his in Salust: They contemne mee as an upstart,
I scorne their sloath and basenesse. Againe, What they idlyheare
and reade at home, my selfe hath either acted or seene; if they
scorne me, let them scorne their Ancestors, who came by their
Nobilitie as I haue done: If they enuy mine Honor, let them also
enuy my labours, mine innocence, my perils, &c. Now see how equally
they deale: that which they arrogate to themselves from the vertue
of others, that they deny me from mine owne, because I haue no
Images, and my Nobilitie is new, &c. Shortly after: I cannot, to
prooue my descent, bring forth the Images of my Ancestors, their
Triumphs, their Consulships; but if neede be, I can shew Launces,
my Ensigne, Caparisons, and other such warlike implements, beside
a number of scarres vpon my breast: these are my Images, my
Nobilitie, not left me by descent and inheritance, &c. And as
resolute of late yeares, was the answere of Verdugo a Spaniard,
Commander in Friseland, to certaine of the Spanish Nobilitie, who
murmured at a great feast, the sonne of a Hang-man should take
place aboue them, (for so he was, and his name importeth:)
Gentlemen (quoth he) question not my birth, or who my Father was,
I am the sonne of mine owne desert and Fortune; if any man dares
as much as I haue done, let him come and take the Tables end with
all my heart.
1. *Spencer* in his *Fairy Queene*.

   This happened at the Council of Constance, where the Doctors and Knights were (about some serious business) divided into two several assemblies.

3. Fertinex, or Stubborne, so sir-named, because he came from his Father, who would have made him a Scholar, he choosing rather to be a Wood-monger. *Capitolinus I*.

4. See the *Treasure of Times*.

5. *Ex Historia Longobard*.


8. Described by Lucian to be aged, bald, & wrinkled, browne coloured, clad with a Lions skin, holding in his right hand a club, in his left a bow, with a Quier at his back, & long small chains of Gold and Amber fastned through little holes to the tip of his tongue, drawing a multitude of people willing to follow after him, onely shaddowing unto vs the power of Eloquence.


11. *γυνήσων ἀμέλουνας* in *Andromeda*.


13. *Aristophanes in Pluto*.

14. To whom was first given, being a devout and most religious King, the gift of curing the King's illness, whence it hath been derived to our Kings of England his Successors.

15. *Hippolytus a Collibus, Axiom. de Nobilitate*.


17. *Francis. Patricius de Kepub. lib. 1. cap. 8*.

18. *Arist. politic. 7 cap. 4*.

20. Xenophon in Ceconomica.
22. Which was the office of a Baron in ancient times.
23. In Lexico.
25. Concord makes might
26. Hippolytus a Collibus.
Of the dignitie and necessity of Learning in Princes and Nobilitie.

Since Learning then is an essential part of Nobilitie, as vnto which we are beholden, for whatsoeuer dependeth on the culture of the mind; it followeth, that who is nobly borne, and a Scholler withall, deserueth double Honour, being both εὐγενής and νομομαθής: for hereby as an Ensigne of the fairest colours, hee is afarre discerned, and winneth to himselfe both loue and admiration, heighting with skill his Image to the life, making it pretious, and lasting to posteritie.(1)

It was the reply of that learned King of Arragon to a Courtier of his, who affirmed, that Learning was not requisite in Princes and Nobilitie, Questa è voce d'un bue, non d'un Huomo. For if a Prince be the Image of God, gouerning and adorning all things, and the end of all gouernment the obseruation of Lawes, that thereby might appeare the goodnesse of God in protecting the good, and punishing the bad, that the people might bee fashioned in their liues and manners, and come neere in the light of knowledge vnto him, who must protect and defend them, by establishing Religion, ordaining Lawes; by so much (as the Sunne from his Orbe of Empire) ought he to cut-runne the rest in a vertuous race, and out-shine them in knowledge, by how much he is mounted neerer to heauen, and so in view of all, that his least eclipse is taken to a minute.

What (tell me) can be more glorious or worthy the Scepter, then to know God aright; the Mysteries of our salvation in Iesus Christ, to conuerse with God in soule, and oftner then the meere naturall man, to aduance him in his Creatures; (2) to bee able with Salomon to dispute, from the loftiest Cedar on Libanus, to the lowest Hysop vpon the wall; (3) to bee the Conduit Pipe and instrument, whereby (as in a goody Garden) the sweete streames of
Heauens blessings are conueied in pietie, peace and plentie, to the nourishing of thousands, and the flourishing of the most ingenious Arts and Sciences.

Wherefore, saith the Kingly Prophet, Erudimini Reges, &c. (4) as if he should say; How can you Kings & Judges of the earth understand the grounds of your Religion, the foundation and beginnings of your Lawes, the ends of your duties and callings; much lesse determine of such controversies, as daily arise within your Realmes and circuits, define in matters of Faith publique Justice, your private and Ceconomicke affaires, if from your cradles yee have been nursed (as Solomons foole(5)) with ignorance, brutish Ignorance, mother of all miserie, (6) that infecteth your best actions with folly, ranketh you next to the beast, maketh your talke and discourse loathsome and heauy to the hearer, as a burthen upon the way, (7) your selues to be abused by your vassals, as blinde men by their Boyes, and to bee led vp and downe at the will and pleasure of them, whose eyes and eares you borrow.

Hence the royall Salomon, aboue all riches of God, desired wisedome and understanding, that hee might gouerne, and go before so mighty a people. And the ancient Romanes, when their voyces were demaunded at the Election of their Emperor, cryed with one consent, quis melior quam literatus? (8) Hence the Persians would elect none for their King, except he were a great Philosopher; and great Alexander acknowledged his, εἷναι from his Master Aristotle.

Rome saw her best daies vnder her most learned Kings and Emperours; as Numa, Augustus, Titus, Antoninus, Constantine, Theodosius, and some others. Plutarch giueth the reason, Learning (saith hee) reformeth the life and manners, (9) and affoordeth the wholesomest aduice for the gouernment of a Common-wealth. I am not ignorant, but that (as all goodnesse else) shee hath met with her mortall enemies, the Champions of Ignorance, as Licinius gave for his Hot or Poesie: Festes Reipublicae literae; (10) and Lewis the eleuenth, king of France, would ever charge his sonne to learne no more Latine then this, Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare: but these are the fancies of a few, and those of ignorant
and corrupted judgements.

Since learning, then ioyned with the feare of God, is so
faithfull a guide, that without it Princes vndergoe but lamely
(as Chrysostome saith) their greatest affaires; they are blinde in
discretion, ignorant in knowledge, rude and barbarous in manners
and liuing: the necessitie of it in Princes and Nobilitie, may
easily be gathered, who howsoever they flatter themselves, with
the fauourable Sunshine of their great Estates and Fortunes, are
indeede of no other account and reckoning with men of wisedome and
understanding, then Glowormes that onely shine in the darke of
Ignorance, and are admired of Ideots and the vulgar for the out-
side; Statues or huge Colossos full of Lead and rubbish within, or
the AEgyptian Asse, that thought himselfe worshipfull for bearing
golden isis vpon his backe.\(^{(11)}\)

Sigismund King of the Romanes, and sonne to Charles the fourth
Emperour, greatly complained at the Counsell of Constance, of his
Princes and Nobilitie, whereof there was no one that could answer
an Embassadour, who made a speech in Latine; whereat Lodouicke, the
Elector Palatine tooke such a deepe disdain in himselfe, that with
teares ashamed, he much lamented his want of learning; and
presently hereupon returning home, beganne (albeit hee was very old)
to learne his Latine tongue.\(^{(12)}\) Eberhard also, the first Duke of
Wirtenberge, at an assembly of many Princes in Italy (who discoursed
excellently in Latine, while he stood still and could say nothing)
in a rage strook his Tutor or Gouernor there present, for not
applying him to his booke when he was young. I gladly allledge these
examples, as by a publike Counsell to condemn the opinion of Heresie,
bekeuing to teach, and teaching to beleue, the vnnecessitie of
Learning in Nobilitie; an error as prejudiciall to our Land, as
sometime was that rotten Chest to AEthiopia, whose corrupted ayre
vented after many hundreds of yeares, brought a plague not only
upon that Country, but ouer the whole world.

I ceasse to urge further, the necessitie and dignitie of
Learning, hauing (as Octavius said to Decius, a Captaine of
Antonies,) to the understanding spoken sufficient; but to the
ignorant too much, had I said lesse.\(^{(13)}\)
1. Si ad naturam eximiam eruditio accesserit tum demum singulare quoddam existere Solet, Cic. pro Archia Poeta.


3. Regum. i. cap. 4. 33.

4. Psalm. 2.

5. Prou. 15.

6. Plato, lib. 5. de Repub.

7. Ecclesiast. 15.

8. Vospic. in Tacit.


10. Eutropius.


CHAP. 3.

Of the time of Learning, Dutie of Masters, 
and what the fittest Method to be observed.

As the Spring is the onely fitting seede time for graine, 
setting and planting in Garden and Orchard: So youth, the Aprill 
of mans life, is the most naturall and convenient season to scatter 
the Seeds of knowledge vpon the ground of the mind, δει γὰρ εὐθὺς
ἐκ νέον ἰδεῖσθαι, saith Plato, It behooueth in youth out of hand, 
to desire and bend our minds to Learning: (1) neither as good 
Husbands, while time serueth, let slip one houre; for, saith he, 
elsewhere, Our ground is hard, and our horses be wild; (2) withall, 
if we meane to reape a plentiful haruest, take we the counsell of 
Adrastus in Euripides, To looke that the seed be good. For, in the 
foundation of youth, well ordered and taught, consists (saith 
Plato againe) the flourishing of the Common-wealth. This tender 
Age is like water spilt vpon a table, which with a finger wee may 
draw and direct which way we list; or like the young Hop, which, 
if wanting a pole, taketh hold of the next hedge: so that now is 
the time (as Was) to worke it plyant to any forme.

How many excellent wits haue we in this Land, that smell of 
the Caske, by neglecting their young time when they should haue 
learned! Horace his Quo semel, once fit for the best Wine, since 
too bad for the best Vineger, who growne to yeares of discretion, 
and solid understanding, deeply bewaile their misspent, or 
misguised youth, with too late wishing (as I haue heard many) that 
they had lost a joynt, halfe their estates, so that they had beene 
held to their Bookes when they were young. The most (and not without 
cause) lay the fault vpon bad Masters; to say truth, it is a 
generall plague and complaint of the whole Land; for, for one 
discreete and able Teacher, you shall finde twenty ignorant and 
carelesse, who (among so many fertile and delicate wits as England 
affoordeth) where as they make one Scholler, they marre ten.
The first and maine error of Masters.

The first and maine Error of Masters, is want of discretion, when in such varietie of Natures as different as their countenances, the Master never laboureth to try the strength of every capacitie by it selfe, which (as that Lesbian stone Aristotle speakeoth of) must have the rule fitted to it, not that brought to the rule: for as the selfe same medicines have seuerall operations, according to the complexions they worke vpon; so one and the selfesame Method agreeth not with all alike: some are quick of capacitie, and most apprehensiue, others of as dull; some of a strong memorie, others of as weake; yet may that dullard, or bad memorie, (if he be observed) prove as good, yea (in Aristotles opinion) better then of the other. But we see on the contrary, out of the Masters carterly judgment, like Horses in a teame, they are set to draw al alike, when some one or two prime and able wits in the Schoole, (which he culls out to admiration if strangers come, as a Costard-monger his fairest Pippins) like fleete hounds goe away with the game, when the rest need helping ouer a stile a mile behind: hence being either quite discouraged in themselues, or taken away by their friends (who for the most part measure their learning by the forme they sit at) they take leaue of their bookees while they live. A second ouer-sight nigh a kin to the former, is indiscretion in correction, in vsing all Natures alike, and that with immoderation, or rather plaine crueltie: true it is, Quo quisque est solertior & ingeniosior, hoc docet iracundior. But these fellowes beleevue with Chrysippus in Quintilian, that there is no other Method of making a Scholler, then by beating him, for that he understandeth not through their owne fault; wherein they shew themselves egregious Tyrants, for, Correction without instruction is plaine tyrannie.

The Noble, generous, and best Natures, are won by commendation, enkindled by Glory, which is fax mentis honestae, to whom conquest and shame are a thousand tortures. Of which disposition for the most part, are most of our young nobilitie and Gentlemen, well borne, inheriting with their being, the vertue of their

1 error B: errors A
21 sit at Editor: sit it A: set it B: set in G: sit in H
Ancestors, which even in this tender greenesse of years will bewray itselfe, as well in the Schoole as abroad at their play and childish recreations.

Quintilian above all others, desireth this disposition to make his Orator of, and whom chiding greeueth, to be tenderly dealt withall; yet have I knowne these good and towards Nature, as roughly handled by our Flagosi Orbili, as by Dionysius himselfe taking revengue upon the buttockes of poore Boyes for the losse of his kingdome, and railed upon by the unmanerly names of block-heads (oft by farre worse then block-heads) asses, dolts, &c. which deeply pierceth the free and generous Spirit; for, Ingenuitas (saith Seneca) non recipit contemptum; Ingenuitie or the generous minde, cannot brooke contempt; and which is more vrgenterly, nay barbarous and inhumane, pulled by the eares, lashed ouer the face, beaten about the head with the great end of the rod, smitten upon the lippes for every slight offence with the Ferula, (not offered to their Fathers Scullions at home) by these Aiacs flagelliferi; fitter far to keep Beares, (for they trie and are the fatter for beating, saith Fliny) then to have the charge of Noble and Gentlemen.

In Germanie the Schoole is, and as the name importeth, it ought to be meerely Ludus literarius, a very pastime of learning, where it is a rare thing to see a Rodde stirring: yet I heartily wish that our Children of England were but halfe so ready in writing and speaking Latine, which Boyes of tenne and twelue years old will doe so roundly, and with so neate a phrase and stile, that many of our Masters would hardly mend them; haung onely for their punishment shame, and for their reward praise. Canendum a plagis (saith Quintilian) sed potius laude aut aliorum praelatione vrgendus est puer: that is, wee must hold our hands, and rather bring a Child forward with praise, and preferring of others. Beside, there ought to bee a reciprocall and a mutuall affection betwixt the Master and Scholler, which judicious Erasmus and Lodouicus Viues, (sometimes teacher to Queene Marie, and a Spaniard, who came into England with Queene Katherine her mother) doe principally require, Patris in illum induendo affectum, by putting on a Fathers affection...
toward him: and as Fliny saith, Amore, non artifice docente, qui optimus Magister est: To win his heart and affection by love, which is the best Master, the Scholler againe the contrary. So may a discreet Master, with as much or more ease, both to himselfe & his Scholler, teach him to play at Tennise, or shoot at rouers in the field, and profit him more in one moneth, beside his encouragement, then in halfe a yeare with his strict and severe usage. But in stead heereof, many of our Masters for the most part so behaue themselves, that their very name is hatefull to the Scholler, who trembleth at their comming in, reioyceth at their absence, and locketh his Master (returned) in the face, as his deadly enemy.

Some affect, and severer Scholes enforce, a precise and tedious strictnesse, in long keeping the Schollers by the walls; as from before sixe in the morning, till twelue, or past: so likewise in the afternoone; which beside the dulling of the wit, and dejecting the Spirit, (for, Otij non minus quam negotij ratio extare debet) breedeth in him afterward, a kinde of hate and carelesnesse of studie when hee commeth to bee sui iuris, at his owne libertie, (as experience prooueth by many, who are sent from sever Scholes vnto the Vniversities:) withall, ouer-loading his memorie, and taking off the edge of his inuention, with ouer-heavy taskes in Themes, Verses, &c.

Conuers with the learned better then reading.

To be continually poring on the Booke (saith Socrates) hurteth and weakeneth the memorie very much; affirming learning to bee sooner attained vnto by the eare in discourse and hearing, then by the eye in continuall reading. I verily beleeue the same, if we had Instructors and Masters at hand, as readie as Bookes. For wee see by experience, those who haue beene blinde from their birth, to retaine more by hearing, then others by their eyes, let them reade never so much: wherefore Fabius would haue, Istud ediscendi taedium protinus a pueris deuorari, this same toyle or tediousnesse of learning by heart, to bee presently swallowed or passed ouer by Children.
Wherefore I cannot but commend the custome of their Schooles
in the Low Countries, where for the avoyding of this tedious sitting
still, and irksome poring on the booke all day long; after the
Scholler hath receiued his Lecture, he leaueth the Schoole for an
houre, and walketh abroad with one or two of his fellowes, either
into the field, or vp among the trees vpon the rampire; as in
Andwerpe, Breda, Vtrecht, &c. where they conferre and recreate
themselves till time calls them in to repeate, where perhaps they
stay an houre; so abroad again, and thus at their pleasure the whole
day. For true it is, that Lipsius saith, ingenia vegeta, must haue
suos recensus, (10) strong and liuely wits must haue their retrait
or intermission of exercise, and as Hammers (engines of warre in old
time) recoyle backe to returne with the greater force; which the mind
doth vsue after pause and rest, not vnlike a field, which by
lying fallow, becommeth farre more fat and fruitfull.

A fourth error, is the contrary (for, Stulti in contraria
current,) too much carelesnesse and remissenesse in not holding
them in at all, or not giving them in the Schoole that due
attendance they ought: so that every day is play-day with them,
bestowing the Summer in seeking Birds-nests, or haunting Orchards;
the Winter, in keeping at home for cold, or abroad all day with
the Bow, or the Birding-peece: they making as little conscience
in taking, as their Master in giuing their learning, who forgetteth
belike, that Humour layeth each fault of the Scholler vpon his
necke. (12) Plato remembreth one Protagoras, a Bird of the same
feather, who when hee had lived three-score yeares, made his
boast, he had spent fortie of those threescore, in corrupting and
undoing youth. We haue, I feare, a race of those Protagor-asses
euen yet among our common Schoole-masters in England.

But the diseases whereunto some of them are very subiect, are
Humour and Folly (that I may say nothing of the grosse Ignorance
and in-sufficiency of many) whereby they become ridiculous and
contemptible both in the Schoole and abroad. Hence it comes to
passe, that in many places, especially in Italy, of all professions
that of Pedanteria is held in basest repute; the Schoole-master
almost in every Comedy being brought vpon the Stage, to paralell
the Zani, or Fantaloun. He made vs good sport in that excellent
Comedy of Pedantius, acted in our Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge:
and if I bee not deceived, in Friscianus vapulans, and many of our
English Playes.

I knew one, who in Winter would ordinarily in a cold morning,  
whip his Boyes ouer for no other purpose then to get himselfe a
heat: another beat them for swearing, and all the while sweares
himselfe with horrible oaths, he would forgive any fault saving
that.

I had I remember my selfe (neere S. Albanes in Hertfordshire  
where I was borne) a Master, who by no entreatie would teach any
Scholler he had, farther than his Father had learned before him; as
if he had onely learned but to reade English, the sonne, though he
went with him seauen yeares, should go no further; his reason was,
they would then prooue saucy rogues, and controule their Fathers;
yet these are they that oftentimes haue our hopeful Gentry vnder
their charge and tuition, to bring them vp in science and ciuilitie.

Beside, most of them want that good and direct Method, whereby
in shortest time and with least labour, the Scholler may attaine vnto
perfection; some teaching priately, use a Grammar of their owne
making; some againe, none at all: the most Lillies, but
praeposterously posted ouer, that the boy is in his Quantitie of
Syllables, before hee knoweth the Qualitie of any one part of speech;
for he profiteth no more then he mastereth by his understanding.
Nor is it my meaning that I would all Masters to be tyed to one
Methode, no more then all the Shires of England to come vp to
London by one high way; there be many equally alike good. And
since Method, as one saith, is but ἕσωμεν ἡ τική,(13) let every
Master if he can, by pulling vp stiles and hedges, make a more neere
and priuate way to himselfe,(14) and in Gods name say with the
diuestes of Poets:

______ deserta per avia dulcis,
aptat amor, iuvat ire iugis, quae nulla priorum
CASTALIVM molli divertiur orbita clivo. (15)

10 Hertfordshire B: Hertforeshire A
34 CASTALIVM B: CASTALIAM A
With Sweet Loue rapt, I now by Desart's passe,
And ouer hilles, where never track of yore:
Descending easily, yet remembred was,
That led the way to CASTALIE before.

But in steade of many good they haue infinite bad, and go
stumbling from the right as if they went blindfold for a wager:
hence commeth the shifting of the Scholler from Master to Master,
who poore boy (like a hound among a Companie of ignorant hunters
hollowing every deere they see) misseth the right, begetteth himselfe
new labour, and at last by one of skill, but well rated or beaten
for his paines. They cannot commonly erre, if they shall imitate
the builder, first to provide the Scholler with matter, then cast
to lay a good foundation, I mean a solide vnderstanding of the
Grammar, every rule made familiar and fast, by short and pleasant
examples, let him bring his matter into forme, and by little and
little raise the frame of a strong and well knit stile both in
writing and speaking; and what doth harme in all other building, is
here most profitable and needfull, that is, Translation. For I
know nothing that benefiteth a Scholler more then that; first by
translating out of Latine into English, which laid by for some time,
let him translate out of English into Latine againe varying as oft
as he can both his words and Phrases. Dosetus who hath gathered
all the phrases of Tullie into one volume, Manutius, Erasmus his
Copia, and Drax his Callipoea with others, will helpe him much at
the first; let him after by his owne reading enrich his understanding,
and leare haurire exipsis fontibus, next exercise himselfe in
Theames and Declamation if he be able. The old method of teaching
Grammar, saith Suetonius, was disputation in the fore-noone, and
declamation in the after-noone; but this I leaue to the discretion
of the judicious Master.

I passe ouer the insufficiencie of many of them, with ill
eexample of life (which Plato wisheth aboue all things to be
respected and looked into) whereof as of Physicke and ill Physitians,
there is many times more danger then of the disease it selfe; many
of them being no Grammarians at all, much lesse (as Quintilian
requireth in a Schoolemaster) Rhetoricians to expound with proper

31 them, with B: them (with A
and purest English, an Eloquent Latine or Greeke Author, unfold his invention: and handling of the subiect, shew the forme and fluencie of the style, the apt disposition of figures, the proprietie of words, the weight of grave and deepe Sentences which are nerui orationis, the sinewes of discourse. Musitians, without which Grammar is imperfect in that part of Prosodia, that dealeth onely with Meter and Rhithmicall proportions. Astronomers to understand Authors who haue written of the heavens and their motions, the severall Constellations, setting and rising of the Planets, with the sundry names of circles and points; as Varrilus and Pontanus. And lastly, Naturall and Morall Philosophers, without which they cannot as they ought, understand Tullies Offices, or AEsops Fables, as familiar as they seeme.

Farre be it that I may bee thought to question the worth and dignitie of the painfull and discreet teacher, who, if Learning be needfull, must be as necessarie: besides, I am not ignorant, that euen the greatest Princes, (16) with the most reuerend Bishops, and most profound Schollers of the world, haue not beene ashamed of teaching the Grammer: or that I inueigh in the least, against the learned and worthy Masters of our publike Schooles, many of whom may be ranked with the most sufficient Schollers of Europe. I inueigh against the pittifull abuse of our Nation by such, who by their ignorance and negligence deceive the Church and Common-wealth of serviceable members, Parents of their Money, poore Children of their time, esteeme in the world, and perhaps means of living all their liues after.
1. Plato politic. 6.
2. In Phaedro.
3. In Ethic.
5. Quintilian, lib. institut. 1. cap. 3.
6. Virgil.
7. Senec. de moribus.
8. Erasm. in. Epist. ad Christianum Lubecensem.
10. Cicero pro Flanc.
11. Lipsius in epist.
12. Plutarch. ad Traianum.
14. See M. Doctor Webbe his Appeale to Truth.
15. Georgic. 3.
CHAP. 4.

Of the duty of Parents in their Children's Education.

Neither must all the blame lie upon the Schoolemaster, fond and foolish Parents have oft as deep a share in this precious spoile; as he whose cockering and apish indulgence (to the corrupting of the minds of their Children, disabling their wits, effeminating their bodies) how bitterly doth Flato taxe and abhorre? For avoiding of which, the Law of Lycurgus commauded children to be brought vp, and to learne in the Country, farre from the delicacie of the Citie; and the Brutij in Italy, a people bordering upon Lucania, following the custome of the Spartans, sent their children after the age of foureteene away, to be brought vp in fields and Forrests among Shepheards and Heardsmen; without any to looke vnto them, or to waite vpon them: without apparell, or bed to lye on, hauing nothing else then Milke or Water for their drinke, and their meate such as they could kill or catch. And heare the advice of Horace:

Angustam, amice, pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militia puer
Condiscat, & Farthos feroce
Vexet eques metuendus hasta,
Vitamque sub dio, & trepidis agat
In rebus, &c. (2)

Friend, let thy child hard pouerty endure,
And growne to strength, to warre himselfe inure;
Learne brauely mounted, sterne Caualeir,
To charge the fiercest Parthian with his speare:
Let him in fields without docres leade his life,
And exercise him where are dangers rife, &c.

If many of our young youths and Gallants were dieted in this manner, Mercers might saue some Paper, and Cittie Laundresses goe
make Caudles with their Saffron and Egges; Dicing houses and ten shillings Ordinaries, let their large Hoomes to Fencers and Puppet-players, and many a painted pece be take her selfe to a Wheele, or the next Hospitall. But now adayes, Parents either giue their Children no education at all, (thinking their birth or estate will beare out that:) or if any, it leaueth so slender an impression in them, that like their names cut vpon a Tree, it is ouer-growne with the old barke by the next Summer. Beside, such is the most base and ridiculous parsimony of many of our Gentlemen, (if I may so terme them) that if they can procure some poore Batcheler of Art from the Universitie to teach their Children, say Grace, and serue the Cure of an Impropriation, who wanting meanes and friends, will be content vpon the promise of ten pounds a yeare at his first comming, to be pleased with five; the rest to be set off in hope of the next aduouson, (which perhaps was sold before the young man was borne:) Cr if it chance to fall in his time, his Lodie or Master tells him; Indeed Sir wee are beholden vnto you for your paines, such a liuing is lately fallen, but I had before made a promise of it to my butler or Bailiffe, for his true and extraordinarie seruice: when the truth is, he hath bestowed it vpon him himselfe, for fourescore or an hundred peeces, which indeede his man two daies before had fast hold of, but could not keepe.

Is it not commonly seene, that the most Gentlemen will giue better wages, and deale more bountifully with a fellow who can but teach a Dogge, or reclaime an Hawke, then vpon an honest, learned, and well qualified man to bring vp their children? It may be, hence it is that Dogges are able to make Syllogismes in the fields, when their young Masters can conclude nothing at home, if occasion of argument or discourse be offered at the Table. Looke vpon our Nobilitie and Gentry now adaiies (saith a wise and graue Historian) and you shall see them bred, as if they were made for no other end then pastime and idlenes; they obserue moderation neither in talke nor apparell: good men, and such as are learned, are not admitted amongst them; the affaires of their estates they impose vpon others, &c. But to view one of them rightly, (saith Seneca) looke vpon him naked, lay-by his estate, his Honors, et alia fortune mendacia, Is it G; It is A
his other false disguisements of Fortune, and behold his mind, what and how great he is, whether of himselfe, or by some borrowed

greatnesse. (4)

But touching Parents, a great blame and imputation (how iustly
I know not) is commonly laid vpon the Mother; not onely for her
ouer tendernesse, but in winking at their lewd courses; yea, more
in seconding, and gieing them encouragement to doe wrong, though it
were, as Terence saith, against their owne Fathers. (5)

I dare not say it was long of the Mother, that the son told
his Father, he was a better man, and better descended then he.

Nor will I affirme that it is her pleasure, the Chamber-maid
should be more curious in fitting his ruffe, then his Master in
refining his manners.

Nor that it is she that filleth the Cisterne of his lauish
expence, at the Vniuersitie, or Innes of Court; that after foure or
five yeares spent, hee returnes home as wise as Ammonius his Asse,
that went with his Master euery day to the Schoole, to heare Origen
and Forrhynie reade Philosophy.

But albeit, many Parents haue beene diligent enough this way,
and good Masters haue likewise done their parts, and neither want
of will or abilitie of wit in their Children to become Schollers,
yet (whether out of an ouer-weening concept of their towardnesse,
a pride to haue their sonnes out-goe their neighbours, or to make
them men before their times) they take them from Schoole, as Birds
out of the nest ere they be flidge, and send them so young to the
Vniuersitie, that scarce one among twentie proveth ought. For as
tender plants, too soone or often remooued, beginne to decay and
die at the roote; so these young things of twelue, thirteene, or
foureteene, that haue no more care then to expect the next Carrier,
and where to sup on Fridaies and Fasting nights: no further thought
of studie, then to trimme vp their studies with Pictures, and place
the fairest Bookes in openest view, which poore Lads, they scarce
ever opened or understand not; that when they come to Logicke, and
the crabbed grounds of Arts, there is such a disproportion betweene
Aristotles Categories, and their childish capacities, that what
together with the sweetnesse of libertie, varietie of companie, and

33 euer B: every A
so many kinds of recreation in Towne and Fields abroad, (being like young Lapwings apt to be snatched up by every Buzzard) they prove with Homers Willow ωλεσίκαρποι, and as good goe gather Cockles with Caligulas people on the Sand, as yet to attempt the difficulties of so rough and terrible a passage.

Others againe, if they perceive any wildnesse or vnstaiednesse in their Children, are presently in despaire, and out of all hope of them for ever proving Schollers, or fit for any thing else; neither consider the Nature of youth, nor the effect of time, the disposition of all. But to mend the matter, send them either to the Court to serve as Pages, or into France and Italy to see fashions, and mend their manners, where they become ten times worse. Those of all other, if they bee well tempered, prove the best metall; yea Tullie as of necessitie desireth some aboundant ranknesse, or superfluuitie of wit in that yong-man, he would choose to make his Orator of. Vellem (saith he) in adolescente aliquod redundans & quod amputam: I wish in a yong man something to spare, and which I might cut off. This taken away ere degenerate with luxurious abundance, like that same ranke vine the Prophet Jeremie speaketh of, you shall finde the heart divino satu editum; and sound timber within to make Mercurie of, qui non fit ex quoddam ligno, as the prouerbe saith.

And some of a different humour will determine, even from the A, B, C. what calling their children shall take vpon them, and force them even in despight of Nature, like Lycurgus his whelpes, to runne contrarie courses, and to undertake professions altogether contrarie to their dispositions: This, saith Erasmus, is, peccare in genium. And certainly it is a principall point of discretion in parents to be throughly acquainted with, and observe the disposition and inclination of their children, and indeed for every man to search into the addiction of his Genius and not to wrest nature as Musitians say, out of her key, or (as Tullie saith) to contend with her, making the Spaniel to carrie the Asses loade; which was well observed by the Lacedaemonians and ancient Romans, in laying forth instruments of sundry occupations, before their children at a certaine age, they to choose what liked them best, and euer after to take vpon them that profession whereunto they belonged.

2 Buzzard) B: Buzzard, A
35 children B; childten A
How many are put by worldly and couetous fathers inuita
Minerua, to the studie of the lawes (which studie I confesse to be
Honourable and most deserving,) who notwithstanding spend most of
their time euen in Divinitie at the Innes of the Court? and how many
Divines haue we, (I appeale to the Courts,) heires of their
fathers, friends, (or purchased) advousons, whom the buckram
bagge would not better beneeme then the Bible? being neuer out of
law with their parishioners, following their Suites and Causes from
Court to Court, Terme to Terme, no attourney more.

In like manner I haue knowne many Commanders and worthy
Gentlemen, aswell of our owne Nation as strangers, who following
the warres, in the field and in their Armes, haue confessed vnto me,
Nature neuer ordained them for that profession, had they not fallen
accidentally vpon it, either through death of friends, harshnesse
of Masters and Tutors, thereby driven from the Vniversitie (as an
Honorable friend of mine in the Low Countries hath many times
complained vnto me:) or the most common mischiefe, miserablenesse
of greedie parents, the overthowe and vndoing of many excellent and
prime wits; who to saue charges, marrie a daughter, or preferre a
yonger brother, turne them cut into the wide world with a little
money in their purses (or perhaps none at all) to seeke their
Fortunes, where Necessitie deiects and besotes their spirits, not
knowing what calling or course to take; enforceth them desperate to
be, borrow, or to worse and baser shiftes (which in their owne
natures they detest as hell) to doe on foote, lodge in Ale-houses,
and sort themselves with the basest companie, till what with want
and wandring so long in the Circle, at last they are (vpon the
center of some hill) constrained to say (as Hercules between his
two pillars) Non vltierius.

Much lesse haue parents now a daies that care to take the
paines to instruct, and reade to their children themselves, which
the greatest Princes and noblest personages haue not beene ashamed
to doe. Octavius Augustus Caesar, read the workes of Cicero and
Virgil, to his children and nephews himselfe. Anna the daughter
of Alexis the Grecian Emperour, was by her father so instructed,
that while shee was yet a yong and goodly Ladie, shee wrote of her
selfe a very learned and authentique Historie of the Church. (9)

Aliquius Paulus the sonne (who so brauely ended his daies at Cannas when his Colleague forsooke him) seeing the fauour of the State not inclinable towards him, left the Citie, and onely spent his time in the Countrey, in teaching his owne children their Latine and Greeke; notwithstanding he daily maintained Grammarians, Logicians, Rhetoricians, Painters, Caruers, Riders of great horses, and the skilfullest Huntsmen he could get, to instruct and teach them in their several professions and qualities.

The three daughters of euer-famous Sr. Thomas Moore, were by their father so diligently held to their booke (notwithstanding he was so daily emploied being L. Chauncelor of England) that Erasmus saith, he found them so readie and perfect in Liuie, that the worst Scholler of them, was able to expound him quite through without any stop, except some extraordinarie and difficult place. Quod me (saith he) aut mei similem esset remoraturum. (10) I shall not neede to remember, within memorie those foure sisters, the learned daughters of Sr. Anthonie Cooke, and rare Poetresses, so skilfull in Latine and Greeke, beside many other their excellent qualities, eternized alreadie by the golden pen of the Prince of Poets of our time; with many other incomparable Ladies and Gentlewomen in our land, some yet liuing, from before whose faire faces Time I trust will draw the curtaine.

Lastly, the fault may be in the Scholler himselfe, whom Nature hath not so much befriended with the gift of understanding, as to make him capable of knowledge; or else more vnjust, disposed him to sloath, or some other worse inbred vice. Marcus Cicero, albeit hee was the sonne of so wise, so eloquent, and so sober a father (whose very counsell and companie had beene enough, to haue put learning and regard of well liuing into the most barbarous Gete:) and had Crattippus, so excellent a Philosopher to his Reader at Athens: (12) yet by the testimony of Pliny, he proved so notorious a drunkard, that he would ordinarily drinke off two gallons of Wine at a time, and became so debauched every way, that few of that age exceeded him. (13) Sundry the like examples might be produced in our times, but one of this nature is too many. Others on the contrary, are
autodidaktos, and have no other helps save God, and their own industry; we never read of any Master Virgil ever had. S. Augustine likewise saith of himselfe: Se didicisse Aristotelis Categories nemine tradente: That he learned Aristotles Categories, or Frædicaments, no man instructing him; which, how hard they bee at the first to wade thorough without a guide, let the best wit of them all try. And Beda our Country-man, (for his profound learning in all Sciences) sir-named Venerabilis, attained to the same within the limits of his Cell in Northumberland, though it is said he was once at Rome. Joseph Scaliger taught privately many yeares in a Noblemans house, and never made abode in any Vniuersitie, that ever I heard of, till called in his latter yeares to Leyden in Holland: and many admirable Schollers and famous men, our Age can produce, who never came at any Vniuersitie, except to view the Colledges, or visit their friends, that are inferior to few Doctors of the Chaire, either for Learning or Judgment, if I may so say, Face matris Academiae.
1. In Gorgia.
2. Horat lib. 3. Cde 2.
4. Seneca ad Lucil. epist. 31.
5. Matres omnes filijs in peccato & auxilio in paterna inuria esse solent. Terent. in Heautont.
6. πάσης λυπης ἅτρος χρόνος.
7. 2. De Cratore.
8. 1er. 2. 21.
10. In Farragine Epistolarum.
11. George Buchanan.
CHAP. 5.

Of a Gentlemans carriage in the University.

Having hitherto spoken of the dignitie of learning in generall, the dutie and qualitie of the Master, of a readie Method for understanding the Grammar, of the Parent, of the child: I turne the head of my Discourse, with my Schollers horse, (whom mee thinkes I see stand ready brideled) for the University. And now, M. William Howard, giue me leave (having passed that, I imagine, Limbus puerorum, & those perillous pikes of the Grammar rules) as a well willing unto you and your studies, to beare you company part of the way, and to direct henceforth my Discourse wholly to your selfe.

Since the University whereinto you are embodied, is not vntruly called the Licht and Eye of the Land, in regard from hence, as from the Center of the Sunne, the glorious beames of Knowledge disperse themselves over all, without which a Chaos of blindnesse would repose vs againe: think now that you are in publike view, and nucibus relictis, with your gowne you haue put on the man, that from hence the reputation of your whole life taketh her first growth and beginning. For as no glorie crowneth with more abundant promise, then that which is heere won by diligence and wit: so there is no infamie abaseth the value and esteeme of a Gentleman all his life after, more then that procured by Sloath and error in the Universities; yea, though in those yeares whose innocencie haue ever pleaded their pardon; whereat I haue not a little meruailed, considering the freedoms and priviledge of greater places.

But as in a delicate Garden kept by a cunning hand, and overlooked with a curious eye, the least disorder or ranknesse of any one flower, putteth a beautifull bed or well contrived knot out of square, when rudenesse and deformitie is borne withall, in rough and undressed places; so, beleue it, in this Paradise of the Muses, the least neglect and impression of Errors foot, is so much the more apparant and censured, by how much the sacred Arts have greater interest in the culture of the mind, and correction of
manners.

Wherefore, your first care, even with pulling off your boots, let be the choice of your acquaintance and company. For as infection in cities in a time of sickness, is taken by conourse, and negligent running abroad, when those that keepe within, and are worie of themselves, escape with more safetie: So it falleth out here in the Universitie; for this eye hath also her diseases as well as any other part of the body, (I will not say with the Physitians more) with those, whose priuate houses and studies being not able to containe them, are so cheape of themselves, and so plyable to good fellowship abroad; that in mind and manners (the tokens plainly appearing) they are past recoverie ere any friend could heare they were sick.

Entertain therefore the acquaintance of men of the soundest reputation for Religion, Life, and Learning, whose conference and company may bee vnto you μουστιον ἔμπυχου καὶ περιστατοῦ, a living and a moving Library. For conference and converse was the first Mother of all Arts and Science, as being the greatest discoverer of our ignorance, and increaser of knowledge, teaching, and making vs wise by the judgements and examples of many: and you must learne herein of Plato, φιλωμαθή, φιλήκου, καὶ ἐπτητικόν εἶναι, that is, To be a lover of knowledge, desirous to heare much; and lastly, to inquire and aske often.

For the companions of your recreation, consort your selfe with Gentlemen of your owne ranke and qualitie; for that friendship is best contenting and lasting. To be ouer free and familiar with inferiors, argues a basenesse of Spirit, and begetteth contempt: for as one shall here at the first prize himselfe, so let him look at the same rate for euer after to be valued of others.

Carry your selfe even and fairely, Tanquam in statera, with that moderation in your speech and action, (that you seemed with Vlysses, to haue Minerua alwaies at your elbow:) which should they be weighed by Envy her selfe, she might passe them for currant; that you bee thought rather leaving the Universitie, then lately come thither. But hereto the regard of your worth, the dignitie of the place, and abundance of so many faire presidents, will be
sufficient Motiues to stirre you vp.

Husband your time to the best, for, The greedy desire of gaining
Time, is a covetousnesse onely honest. (2) And if you follow the
aduice of Erasmus, and the practise of Flinius secundus, Diem in
operas partire, to deuide the day into seuerall taskes of studie,
you shall finde a great ease and furtherance hereby; remembering
ever to referre your most serious and important studies vnto the
morning, Which finisheth alone (say the learned) three parts of the
worke. Julius Caesar hauing spent the whole day in the field about
his militarie affaires, diuided the night also, for three seuerall
uses; one part for his sleepe; a second, for the Common-wealth and
publique businesse; the third, for his booke and studies. So
carefull and thriftie were they then of this precious treasure,
which we as prodigall lauish out, either vainely or viciously, by
whole moneths and yeares, vntill we be called to an account by our
great Creditor, who will not abate vs the vaine expence of a minute.

But for as much as the knowledge of God, is the true end of all
knowledge, wherein as in the boundlesse & immense Ocean, all our
studies and endeavours ought to embosome themselves: remember to lay
the foundation of your studies, The feare and seruice of God, by
oft frequenting Frayer and Sermons, reading the Scriptures, and
other Tractates of Pietie and Deuotion: which howsoever prophan
and irreligious Spirits condemne, and contemne, as Politian a Canon
of Florence, being vpon occasion asked if hee euer read the Bible
ouver; Yes once (quoth he) I read it quite thorough, but never
bestowed my time worse in all my life. (3) Beleeue you with
Chryscstome, that the ignorance of the Scriptures, is the beginning
and fountaine of all euill: That the word of God is (as our Sauior
calleth it) the key of knowledge; which given by inspiration of God,
is profitable to teach, to convince, to correct and to instruct in
righteousnesse. (4) And rather let the pious and good King Alphonsus,
be a president vnto you, and to all Nobilitie, who read ouer the
Bible not once, nor twice, but foureteene times, with the Postils
of Lyra and Burgensis, containing thrice or foure times as much in
quantitie, and would cause it to be caried ordinarily with his
Scepter before him, whereon was engrauen, Pro lege & Grege. (5)

33 not once Q: nor once A
And that worthy Emp. & great Champion of Christendome, Charlemaigne, who spent his daies of rest (after so many glorious victories obtained of the Saracens in Spain, the Hunnes, Saxons, Gothes and Vandals in Lumbardie and Italy, with many other barbarous Nations, whereof millions fell under his Sword) in reading the holy Scriptures, and the works of the Fathers, especially S. Augustine, and his books De Ciuitate Dei, in which hee tooke much delight; Whom besides, it is recorded, to haue beene so studious, that even in bed, he would haue his Pen and Inke, with Parchment at his Pillow readie, that nothing in his meditation, might over-slip his memorie: and if any thing came into his mind, the light being taken away, a place upon the wall next him, was thinly over-laid with Waxe, whereon with a brasen pin he would write in the darke. And we reade, as oft as a new King was created in Israel, he had with the ornaments of his kingly dignitie, the Booke of the Law deliuered vnto him; signifying his Regall authoritie, was lame and defectiue, except swaied by Piety and Wisedome, contained in that booke. Whereunto alludeth that deuice of Paradine, an Image upon a Globe, with a sword in one hand, and a booke in the other, with, Ex vtroque Caesar; and to the same purpose, another of our owne in my Minerva Britanna, which is a Serpent wreathed about a Sword, placed vpright vpon a Bible, with the word, Initium Sapientiae.
1. ὁμιλία ἐτεκε τέχνας · Euripides in Andromache.

2. Seneca de breuitate vitae, Cap. 1 & 3.


5. In vita Alphonsi.

Of stile in speaking and writing,

and of Historie.

Since speech is the Character of a man, and the Interpreter of his mind, and writing, the Image of that; that so often as we speak or write, so oft we undergo censure and judgement of our selves: labour first by all means to get the habit of a good stile in speaking and writing, as well English as Latine. I call with Tully, that a good and eloquent stile of speaking, Where there is a judicious fitting of choice words, apt and grave Sentences unto matter well disposed, the same being uttered with a comely moderation of the voice, countenance and gesture. Not that same ampullous and Scenical pompe, with emptie furniture of phrase, wherewith the Stage, and our pettie Poeticke Pamphlets sound so big, which like a net in the water, though it feeleth weightie, yet it yeeldeth nothing; since our speech ought to resemble Plate, wherein neither the curiousnesse of the Picture, or faire proportion of Letters, but the weight is to be regarded: and as Plutarch saith, when our thirst is quenched with the drinke, then we looke upon the enameling and workmanship of the boule; so first your hearer coueteth to have his desire satisfied with matter, ere hee looketh upon the forme or vinetrie of words, which many times fall in of themselves to matter well contriued, according to Horace:  

\[ \text{hem bene disposition vel verba invita sequuntur.} \]

To matter well dispos'd, words of themselves do fall.

Let your stile therefore bee furnished with solid matter, and compact of the best, choice, and most familiar words; taking heed of speaking, or writing such words, as men shall rather admire then understand. Herein were Tiberius, M.Antonie, and Moeceae, much blamed and tested at by Augustus, himselfe vsing euer a plaine and most familiar stile: and as it is said of him, \[ \text{Verbum insolens tanquam scopulum}\]
effugiens. Then sententious, yea better furnished with sentences than words, and (as Tully willeth) without affectation: for as a King said, Dum tarsiiori studemus eloquendi formulae, subterfugit nos clanculum, apertus ille & familiaris dicendi modus.  

Flowing at one and the selfe same height, neither taken in and knit vp too short, that like rich hangings of Arras or Tapistry, thereby lose their grace and beautie, as Themistocles was wont to say: nor suffered to spred so farre like soft Musicke in an open field, whose delicious sweetnesse vanisheth, and is lost in the ayre, not being contained within the walles of a roome. In speaking, rather lay downe your words one by one, then powre them forth together; this hath made many men naturally slow of speech, to seem wisely iudicious, and be iudiciously wise; for, beside the grace it giveth to the Speaker, it much helpeth the memorie of the hearer, and is a good remedie against impediment of speech. Sir Nicholas Bacon, sometime Lord Chancellor of England, and father to my Lord of S. Albanes, a most eloquent man, and of as sound learning and wisedome, as England ored in many Ages: with the old Lord William Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, haue aboue others herein beene admired, and commended in their publique speeches in the Parliament house and Starre-Chamber: for nothing drawes our attention more then good matter, eloquently digested, and vttered with a gracefull, cleere, and distinct pronuntiation.

But to be sure your stile may passe for currant, as of the richest alloy, imitate the best Authors as well in Cratorie as Historie; beside the exercise of your owne Invention, with much conference with those who can speak well: nor bee so foolish precise as a number are, who make it Religion to speake otherwise then this or that Author. As Longolius was laughed at by the learned, for his so apish and superstitious imitation of Tully, in so much as hee would haue thought a whole Volume quite marred, if the word Possibile had passed his pen; because it is not to be found in all Tullie: or every Sentence had not sunke with, esse posse videatur, like a peale ending with a chime, or an Amen upon the Organes in Faules. For as the young Virgin to make her fairest Garlands, gathereth not altogether one kind of Flower; and
the cunning Painter, to make a delicate beautie, is forced to mixe
his Complexion, and compound it of many Colours; the Arras-worker,
to please the eyes of Princes, to be acquainted with many Histories:
so are you to gather this Honey of Eloquence, A gift of heaven, out of many fields; making it your owne by diligence in collection,
care in expression, and skill in digestion. But let me leade you
forth into these all-flowrrie and verdant fields, where so much sweete
varietie will amaze, and make you doubtfull where to gather first.

Cicero.

First, Tullie (in whose bosome the Treasure of Eloquence seemeth to have beene locked vp, and with him to have perished) offereth himselfe as Pater komani eloquij: whose words and stile (that you may not bee held an Heretique of all the world) you must preferre above all other, as well for the sweetnesse, grauitie, richesse, and vnimitable texture thereof; as that his workes are throughout seasoned with all kind of Learning, and relish of a singular and Christianlike honesty. There wanted not in him (saith Tacitus) knowledge of Geometry, of Musicke, of no manner of Art that was commendable and honest; he knew the subtilltie of Logick, each part of Korall Philosophy, and so forth. How well he was seene in the Ciuill Lawes, his booke De legibus, and his Actions in Verrem, will shew you: which are the rather worthy your reading, because you shall there see the grounds of many of our Lawes heere in England. For the integrity of his mind, though his Offices had lien suppressed, let this one saying (among many thousands) perswade you to a charitable opinion of the same: A recta conscientia transuersum vnguem, non oportet quenquam in omni sua vita discedere. Whereunto I might addde that tale of Gyges ring in his Offices, which booke let it not seeme contemptible vnto you, because it lyeth tossed and torne in euery Schoole; but be precious, as it was sometime vnto the old Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of England, before named; who, to his dying day, would alwaies carry it about him, either in his bosome or pocket, being sufficient (as one saie of Aristotles khetoriques) to make both a Scholler and an honest man. Imitate Tullie for his phrase and stile, especially in his Epistles Ad Atticum; his booke De Cratore: among his Cratons,
those Pro M. Marcello, Pro Archia Poeta, T. Annio Milone, Sext. Hon. Amerino, Pub. Quinctio: the first two against Catiline; and the third action against Verres. These in my opinion are fullest of life, but you may use your discretion, you cannot make your choice amisse.

Caesar.

After Cicero, I must needs bring you Caesar, whom Tullie himselfe confesseth of all Crators, to have spoken the most eloquent and purest Latine: Et hanc bene loquendi laudem (saith he) multis literis, & ijs quidem reconditis & exquisitis, summoque studio & diligentia est consequutus. And, In quo (saith Quintilian) tanta vis, id acumen, ea concitatio, vt illum eodem animo dixisse appareat quo bellauit. In whom there was so great vehemeney, that fine judgement, that courage and motion, that it seems hee wrote with the same Spirit hee fought. To reade him as you ought, you must bring with you an able judgement, beside your Dictionarie; by reason of the diversitie of Countries, Tracts, Places, rivers, People, names of ancient Cities and Townes, to be sought out, in moderne, strange, and unknowne names: of materials in buildings (as in his bridge ouer the Rhine framed, Ex tignis, trabibus, fibulis, sublicis, longurijs, &c.) which, except you were seen in Architecture, you would hardly understand: then strange names and formes of warlike Engines and weapons then in use: sundry formes of fortification, water-workes, and the like; which notwithstanding, since haue beene made knowne and familiar vnto vs, by the painefull labours of those all-searching wits, Lipsius, Hamus, Giovanni de Namellis, and others: and may be read in English excellently translated and illustrated, by that learned and truly honourable Gentleman, Sir Clement Edmondes Knight, Clearke of his Maiesties most honorable Priuie Counsell, my worthy friend: though many excellent works of Caesars, as his Epistles, his Astronomy, &c. through the iniquitie of envious Time, are utterly lost and perished.

Corn. Tacitus.

Now offereth himselfe Cornelius Tacitus, the Prince of...
Historians; of whom I may not vntruly say (as Scaliger of Virgil) cuius ore nil temere excidit, as well for his diligence as grauitie; so copious in pleasing breuitie, each Sentence carrying with it a kind of loftie State and Maiestie, such as should (me think) proceed from the mouth of Greatnesse and Command; in sense retired, deepe, and not fordable to the ordinarie Reader. Hee doth in part speake most pure and excellent English, by the industry of that most learned and iudicious Gentleman; whose long labour and infinite charge in a farre greater worke, haue wonne him the loue of the most learned, and drawn not onely the eye of Greece, but all Europe to his admiration.

But there being, as Lipsius saith, Suus cuique linguae genius: Let me aduise you of this by the way, that no Translation whatsoeuer will affect you like the Authors owne and proper language: for to reade him as hee spake, it confirmeth our judgments with an assured boldnesse and confidence of his intent and meaning; remouing that scruple of jealousie we haue commonly of ignorant and vnfaithfull pens, which deale many times herein, sublesta fide. Besides, it is an iniurie to the Author, who heereby loseth somewhat of his value: like a peece of rich stuffe in a Brokers shop, onely for that it is there at a second hand, though neuer worne, or newly translated but yesterday.

T. Liuius.

The next Titus Liuius, whom like a milky Fountaine, you shall every where finde flowing, with such an elegant sweetnesse, such banquetlike varietie, that you would imagine other Authors did but bring your mouth out of taste. In his first Decade, you haue the comming of AEneas into Italy, the building of Rome, the first choise of the Senate, the religious rites of Numa, the braue combate of the Horatij and Curiatij, the tyranny of Tarquine, the rape of Lucrece by Sextus his sonne, and first Consuls created.

In the third, the Historie of the second Punicke warre, Hannibals passage against the league ouer the River Iberus, who after eight moneths siedge, tooke Saguntum; his passage ouer the Pyraenean hills, his forraging of France: after ascending the Alpes,
with his overthrow of the Romanes, with his Horse troopes at the River Ticino, where Scipio (after Africanus) rescued his father, being very grievously wounded. His second overthrow of the Romanes, at the River Trebie, his hard passage in cruel weather and tempests, over the Appenine, &c.

In the fourth, is recorded the occasion of the warre, against Philip King of Macedonia (concerning the coming in of two young men of Acarnania, into the Temple of Ceres at Athens:) Against whom Sulpitius was sent, by whom the Macedonians were overthrown in an horse battle: how L. Furius subdued the rebellious Gaules, overthrew Hamilcar with thirtie five thousand Carthaginians; with many other expeditions of Philip of Macedon, and Sulpitius.

In the fift, the going out of the fire in the Temple of Vesta; how Titus Sempronius Gracchus, subdued the Celtiberian Spaniards, and built a Towne in Spaine called Gracchuris, after his name; Posthumius Albinus triumphed over the Portugals; the number of the Citizens of Rome reckoned by the poll, with the Law of Volumnius Saxa, by which no woman was to inherit, &c.

Q. Curtius.

Be then acquainted with Quintus Curtius, who passing eloquently with a faithfull penne and sound judgement, writeth the Life and Acts of Alexander; in whom you shall see the patterne of a brave Prince, for Wisedome, Courage, Magnanimity, Bountie, Courtesie, Agilitie of body, and whatsoever else were to be wished in Maieste; till surfeiting (in the best of his age) on his excessive Fortunes, and even burthensome to himselfe: by his over-greatnesse, he became ἐγκυών ἄχθος ἄροιπς, an unprofitable burthen of the earth, and from the darling of heauen, to be the disdaine of all the world.

Salustius.

After him (whom indeed I should have preferred before, as being honoured with the Title of Historiae pater) followeth Salus, commended most for breuitie; as also for the richnesse of his speech and phrase; but wherein his breuitie consisteth, the most are ignorant. Cur Grammarians imagine, because his Discourses
(as they say) are only of the matter and persons barely and nakedly described, without circumstance and preparation, counsels and deliberations had before, effects and events after: which is quite contrarie; as may be seen by the Conspiracie of Catiline, which hee might in a manner have set downe in three words. But how amply, and with what ado he doth describe it? what circumstances more open, more abundant, then where he saith; The Roman Souldiers being amazed with an unwonted uprore, betooke them to their Weapons: some hid themselves, others advised their Companions to stand stoutly to it: they were afraid in every place, the multitude of Enemies was so great. The heaven was obscured with night, and thicke Cloudes, the perill was doubtfull: and lastly, no man knew whether it were safest for him to flye, or to stay by it? And let them now see their error, who affirme his Discourse to be unfurnished of Counsels, Deliberations, Consultations, &c. Is not the reason set downe, why Iugurth assaulted Cretha at the arriuall of the Embassadours? the intent and preparation of the warre by Metellus the Consull, laid open in an ample manner, wherein consisteth the richnesse of his Discourse? His breuitie indeed, worthy your observation and imitation, consisteth in shutting vp whole and weightie Sentences in three words, fetching nothing afarre, or putting in more then needs; but in quickke and stirring Asyndeta's after his manner: as the most learned haue out of him observed.

And since it is Tullies advice, as was his owne vse (as himselfe testifieth) Non in Philosophia solum, sed etiam in dicendi exercitatione, cum Graecis Latina coniungere:

Xenophon. By this time acquaint your selfe with that golden Cyri paedia of Xenophon, whom heere you shall see a couragious and braue Commander, marshalling an Army: there a most graue and eloquent Philosopher, in the person of Cyrus, shaping out vnto vs with Inke of Nectar, a perfect and absolute Prince, (to the example of all Princes and Nobilitie) for his studies, his dyet, his exercise, his carriage, and every way manner of liuing: insomuch, as the Noble Scipio Africanus, as well in his warres abroad, as in peace at home, above all other held Xenophon in highest regard, ever saying, he
could never commend him sufficiently, or read him over often enough.

Hitherto have I given you a taste (at your own choice) as well for universal History, as your imitation in writing and speaking. That I account universal, which entreateth of the beginning, increase, government, and alterations of Monarchies, Kingdoms, and Common-weals: and to further you herein, you may read Justine, Diodorus Siculus, Zonaras, Croesus; of more later times, Sabellicus, Carion, with some others.

Special History.

For special History, that reporteth the affairs and government of particular Estates; you have the most ancient Herodotus, the Noble and eloquent Thucydides, Arrianus, Halicarnassaeus, Polybius, Suetonius, and others.

History, how divided.

All History diuideth itself into four branches: the first spreadeth itself into, and over all place, as Geographie: the second, growth and gathereth strength with tract of time, as Chronologie: the third, is laden with descents, as Genealogie: the fourth and last (like the golden Row Proserpina gave Aeneas) is that, truly called by Cicero, Lux veritatis, which telleth us of things as they were done, and of all other most properly is called Historie. For all History in times past, saith Tullie, was none other then Annalium Confectio, the making of Annales, that is, recording of what was done from yeere to yeere. But while I wander in foreigne Historie, let me warne you, ne sis peregrinus domi: that you be not a stranger in the Historie of your owne Countrey, which is a common fault imputed to our English Travellers in forreine Countries; who curious in the observation and search of the most memorable things and monuments of other places, can say (as a great Peere of France told me) nothing of their owne our Countrey of England, being no whit inferior to any other in the world, for matter of Antiquitie, and rarities of every kinde worthy remarke and admiration. Herein I must worthily and onely preferre vnto you the glorie of our Nation, Mr. Camden, aswell for his.
judgement and diligence, as the puritie and sweet fluence of his Latine style;\(^{(15)}\) and with him the rising Starre of good letters and Antiquitie, M. John Selden of the Inner Temple.\(^{(16)}\) As for Giraldus, Geoffrey, Ranulph Higden of Chester, Walsingham a Konke of S. Albanes with the rest, they did cum saeculo caecutire, and tooke upon credite many a time more then they could well answer;

The Injurie Polydore Virgil, did to our Nation.

that I may omit Polydore Virgil an Italian, who did our Nation that deplorable injurie, in the time of K. Henrie the eight, for that his owne Historie might passe for currant, he burned and embezeled the best and most ancient Records and Monuments of our Abbeies, Priories, and Cathedrall Churches, vnder colour (having a large Commission vnder the Great Seale) of making search for all such monuments, manusc. records, Legier bookes, &c. as might make for his purpose; yet for all this he hath the ill lucke, to write nothing wel, saue the life of Henrie the seventh, wherein he had reason to take a little more paines then ordinarie, the booke being dedicated to Henrie the eight his sonne.

No subiect affecteth vs with more delight then Historie, imparting a thousand formes vpon our imaginations, from the circumstances of Place, Person, Time, Matter, manner, and the like. And, what can be more profitable (saith an ancient Historian) then sitting on the Stage of humane life, to be made wise by their example, who haue trod the path of error and danger before?\(^{(17)}\) Bodin tells vs of some, who haue recovered their healthes by reading of Historie; and it is credibly affirmed of King Alphonsus, that the onely reading of Quint. Curtius, cured him of a very dangerous feuer. If I could haue beene so rid of my late quartane ague, I would haue said with the same good King: Valeat Avicenna, viuat Curtius; and haue done him as much honour, as euer the Chians their Hippocrates, or the Sun-burnd AEgyptians their AEsculapius.

Plutarch, how highly valewed among the learned.

For Moralitie and rules of well liuing, deliuered with such sententious grauitie, weight of reason, so sweetened with lively & apt similitudes, entertaine Plutarch; whom according to the opinion of Gaza the world would preserue (should it be put to the

\(^{4}\) Ranulph Higden Editor; Higden, Ranulph A
choice to receive one only Author (the Sacred Scriptures excepted)
and to burn all the rest) especially his Lives and Morals.

The just praise of Seneca.

After him, the vertuous and divine Seneca, who for that he
liued so neere the times of the Apostles, and had familiar
acquaintance with S. Paul (as it is supposed by those Epistles that
passe vnder either their names) is thought in heart to have been a
Christian; and certes so it seemeth to me, by that Spirit, wherewith
so many rules of Patience, Humilitie, Contempt of the world, are
refined and exempt from the dregges of Paganisme. Some say that
about the beginning of Neroes raigne, he came ouer hither into
Brittaine; but most certaine it is, he had divers lands bestowed
on him here in England, and those supposed to have laine in Essex
neere to Camalodunum, now Walsdon. (18)

Againe, while you are intent to forreine Authors and Languages,
forget not to speake and write your owne properly and eloquently:
whereof (to say truth) you shall have the greatest use, (since you
are like to live an eminent person in your Countrey, and meane to
make no profession of Schollership.) I haue knowne even excellent
Schollers so defectiue this way, that when they had beene beating
their braines twentie, or foure and twentie yeeres about Greeke
Etymologies, or the Hebrew roots and Rabbines, could neither write
true English, nor true Orthographie: and to haue heard them
discourse in publike, or privately at a table, you would have
thought you had heard Loy talking to his pigges, or John de Indagine,
declaiming in the praise of wild geese; otherwise for their
judgement in the Arts and other tongues very sufficient.

To helpe your selfe herein, make choice of those Authors in
prose, who speake the best and purest English. I would commend vnto
you (though from more Antiquitie) the life of Richard the third
written by Sir Thomas Moore, the Arcadia of the noble Sir Philip
Sidney, whome Du Bartas makes one of the foure columns of our
language; the Essays and other pieces of the excellent Master of
Eloquence, my Lord of S. Albans, (19) who possesseth not onely
Eloquence, but all good learning, as hereditarie both by Father and
Mother. You haue then H. Hooker his Politie; Henrie the fourth
well written by Sir John Hayward; that first part of our English
Kings by Mr. Samuel Daniel. There are many others I know, but these
will taste you best, as proceeding from no vulgar judgments: the
last Earle of Northampton in his ordinary stile of writing was not
to be mended. Procure then, if you may, the Speeches made in
Parliament: frequent learned Sermons, in Terme time resort to the
Starre-Chamber, and be present at the pleadings in other publique
Courts, whereby you shall better your speech, enrich your vnder-
standing, and get more experience in one moneth, then in other foure
by keeping your Melancholy studie, and by solitarie meditation.
Imagine not that hereby I would binde you from reading all other
bookes, since there is no booke so bad, even Sir Beuis himselfe,
Owleglasse, or Nashes herring, but some commoditie may be gotten by
it. For as in the same pasture, the Oxe findeth fodder, the Hound
a hare, the Stork a lizard, the faire maide flowers; so we cannot,
except we list our selues (saith Seneca) but depart the better from
any booke whatsoever.

The Epistles of Bookees, oft times the best peec of them.
And ere you begin a booke, forget not to reade the Epistle;
for commonly they are best laboured and penned. For as in a garment,
whatsoever the stuffe be, the owner (for the most part) affecteth
a costly and extraordinarie facing; and in the house of a country
Gentleman, the porch of a Citizen, the carued gate and painted
postes carrie away the Glorie from the rest: So is it with our
common Authors, if they have any wit at all, they set it like veluet
before,though the backe, like (a bankerupts doublet) be but of
poldauie or buckram.

Affect not as some doe, that bookish Ambition, to be stored
with bookes and haue well furnished Libraries, yet keepe their
heads emptie of knowledge: to desire to haue many bookes, and
neuer to vse them, is like a childe that will haue a candle burning
by him, all the while he is sleeping.

How to keepe your bookes.
Lastly, haue a care of keeping your bookes handsome, and well
bound, not casting away overmuch in their gilding or stringing for
ostentation sake, like the prayer bookes of girles and gallants, which are carried to Church but for their outsides. Yet for your owne use spare them not for noting or interlining (if they be printed) for it is not likely you meane to be a gainer by them, when you haue done with them; neither suffer them through negligence to mold & be moth-eaten, or want their strings and couers.

The answer of King Alphonsus, concerning Vitruvius.

King Alphonsus about to lay the foundation of a Castle at Naples, called for Vitruvius his book of Architecture; the booke was brought in very bad case, all dustie and without couers: which the King observing said, He that must couer vs all, must not goe vncouered himselfe: Then commanded the booke to be fairely bound and brought vnto him. So say I, suffer them not to lie neglected, who must make you regarded; and goe in torne coates, who must appareil your minde with the ornaments of knowledge, aboue the roabes and riches of the most magnificent Princes.

Mappes and Pictures.

To avoide the inconuenience of moathes and moldinesse, let your studie be placed, and your windowes open if it may be, towards the East, for where it looketh South or West, the aire being ever subject to moisture, moathes are bred and darkishnesse encreased, whereby your mappes and pictures will quickly become pale, loosing their life and colours, or rotting vpon their cloath, or paper, decay past all helpe and recoverie.
2. Cic. in prolog. Rhetor.
3. In Arte Poet.
4. Henricus Octauus Angliae Rex in epistola quadam ad Erasmum noterod. in Farragine Epist.
5. Exod. 4.
6. Tacitus in Cratore.
8. Cicero, lib. 4. de claris Cratoribus.
9. Quintilian, lib. 10. ad filium.
11. Scaliger Poet. lib. 4 cap. 24
13. Cic. 2. de Cratore.
14. The old Lord Treasurer Burleigh, if any one came to the LL. of the Counsell, for a Licence to trauaile, he would first examine him of England; if he found him ignorant, would bid him stay at home and know his own countrey first.
15. His Britannia with the Life of Queene Elizabeth.
16. His Ianus Angl. Titles of Honour. Together with his Mare clausum, though not yet printed.
17. Diodorus Siculus.
18. In vita Senecae.
19. The late published life of Henrie the seauenth.

5. i. In B; An A
4. 1. Erasmum B; Erasmm A
17. i. Siculus B; Sicula A
CHAP. 7.

Of Cosmographie.

That like a stranger in a foreign land, you may not wander without a guide, ignorant of those places by which you are to pass, and stick amuse, amazed in the Labyrinth of History: Cosmography a second Ariadne, bringing lines enough is come to your delivery, whom imagine standing on a fair hill, and with one hand, pointing and discoursing unto you of the Celestial Sphere, the names, uses, and distinctions of every circle, whereof it consisteth, the situation of Regions according to the same, the reason of Climates, length and shortness of days and nights, motion, rising and setting as well of fixed stars, as erratic, elevation of the Pole, Parallels, Meridians, and whatsoever else respecteth that Celestial body.

With the other hand downward, she showeth you the globe of the earth, (distinguished by Seas, Mountains, Rivers, Rocks, Lakes and the like,) the subject of Geography, which defined according to Ptolemy and others, is an imitation of the face (by draught and picture) of the whole earth, and all the principal and known parts thereof, with the most remarkable things thereunto belonging.

A science at once both feeding the eye and mind with such incredible variety, and profitable pleasure, that even the greatest kings and Philosophers, have not only bestowed the best part of their time in the contemplation hereof at home, but to their infinite charge and peril of their persons, have themselves travailed to understand the situation of farre countries, bounds of Seas, qualities of Regions, manners of people and the like.

The necessity of Cosmography.

So necessary for the understanding of History (as I have said) and the fables of Poets, (wherein no small part of the treasure of humane learning lyeth hid) that without it we know not how the most
memorable enterprises of the world have been carried and performed; we are ignorant of the growth, flourish and fall of the first Monarchies, whereat Historie taketh her head and beginning: we conceive nothing of the government, and commodities of other nations, we cannot judge of the strength of our enemies, distinguish the limits between the kingdom and kingdom, names of places from names of people: nay (with Mounsier Gaulart) we doubt at Paris whether we see there the same Moon we have at London or not: on the contrary, we know this and much more, without exposing (as in old time) our bodies to a tedious travaile, but with much more ease, having the world at will, or (as the saying is) the world in a string, in our own chamber. How prejudicial the ignorance of Geography hath been to Princes in foreign expeditions against their enemies, unfortunate Cyrus will tell you, who being ignorant of Cosia and the Straights, was overthrown by Thomiris the Scythian Queen; and of two hundred thousand Persians in his army, not one escaped through his unskilfulness herein, as Justine reporteth.

And at another time what a memorable victory to his perpetual glory carried Leonidas from the Persians, only for that they were unacquainted with the Straights of Thermopylae? And the foul overthrow that Crassus received by the Parthians, was imputed to nothing else, then his ignorance of that Country, and the passages thereof.

Alexander, therefore taking any enterprise in hand, would first cause an exact map of the country to be drawn in colours, to consider where were the safest entrance, where he might pass this River, how to avoid that Rock, and in what place most commodiously give his enemy battle.

Cosmography a sweet and pleasant study.

Such is the pleasure, such is the profit of this admirable knowledge, which account rather in the number of your recreations than severer studies, it being beside quickly, and with much ease attained unto. Prince Henry of eternal memory, was herein very studious, having for his instructor that excellent Mathematician, and (while he lived) my loving friend Master Edward Wright.
The principles of Geometry first to be learned.

To the attaining of perfection herein, as it were your first entrance, you are to learn and understand certaine Geometrical definitions, which are first Punctum, or a pricke; a Line, a Superficies either plaine, Convexe or Concave, your Angels right, blunt and sharpe, Figures, Circles, Semicircles, the Diameter, Triangles, Squares of all sorts, paralells and the like, as Master Blundevile in his first booke of the Sphaere will shew you; for you shall have use of many of these, to the understanding thereof.

Cosmography containeth Astronomie, Astrologie, Geography and Chorography. Astronomie considereth the magnitude and motions of the coelestiall bodies.

The Coelestiall bodies are the eleuen heauens and Sphaeres.

The eleuenth heauen is the habitation of God and his Angels.
The tenth the first moouer.
The ninth the Christalline heauen.
The eight the starry firmament.

The Planets in their order.

Then the seuen Planets in their order, which you may remember in their order by this verse.

Post Sim SVM sequitur, ultima LVNA subest.

Would you count the Planets soone,
Remember SIM SVM and the Moone.

The first Letter S for Saturne, I for Jupiter, M for Mars, S for the Sunne, V Venus, M Mercurie; lastly the Moone.

The Imperiall Heauen is immoueable, most pure, immense in quantitie, and cleere in qualitie.

The tenth Heauen or first moouer, is also most pure and cleare, and maketh his revolution in foure and twentie houres, carrying with the swifthnesse the other Heauens violently from East to West, from their proper revolutions, which is from West to East.

The ninth, or Cristalline heauen, moueth by force of the first moouer, first from East to West, then from West to East upon his owne poles, and accompliseth his revolution in 36000 yeares. And this revolution being finished, Plato was of opinion, that the world

15 moouer B: mooouer A
16 Christalline B: Christlllne A heauen. B: heauen, A
should be in the same state it was before; I should live and print such a book again, and you read it in the same apparell, and the same age you are now in.

A merry tale of two poor Schollers and their Host.

Two Schollers in Germany having lain so long in an Inne, they had not onely spent all their Money, but also ran into debt some two hundred Dollers; told their Host of Platos great yeare, and how that time siete and thirtie thousand yeares the world should be againe as it was, and they should be in the same Inne and Chamber againe, and desired him to trust them till then: Quoth mine Host, I beleue it to be true; and I remember siete and thirty thousand yeares agoe you were here, and left iust such a reckoning behind to pay, I pray you Gentlemen discharge that first, and I will trust you for the next.

The eight Heauen or glorious starry Firmament, hath a threefold motion, (viz:) from East to West in foure and twenty houres, secundum primum Mobile; then from West to East, according to the motion of the ninth Heauen; then sometimes to the South, and somtime towards the North, called motus trepidationis.

Touching the motions of the Planets, since you may have them in every Almanacke, I willingly omit them.

Division of the Spheare.

The Spheare of the world consisteth of ten Circles, the AEquinoctiall, the Zodiacke, the two Colures, the Horizon, the Meridian, the two Tropiques, and the two polar Circles.

The AEquinoctiall line.

The AEquinoctiall, is a circle dividing the world, as in the midst equally distant from the two poles: it containeth three hundred and sixtie degrees, which being multiplied by sixtie, (the number of miles in a degree) make one and twentie thousand and siete hundred miles, which is the compass of the whole earth. The third part of which (being the Diameter) about seven thousand and odd miles, is the thickness of the same. Those who dwell under the AEquinoctiall, having no Latitude either to the North or South, but their daies and nights alwaies of an equall length.
The Zodiack.

The Zodiacke is an oblique circle, diuiding the Spheare athwart the aequinoctiall into points, (viz:) the beginning of Aries and Libra: In the midst whereof is the Eclipticke line; the utmost limits thereof are the two Tropiques, Cancer and Capricorne: the length thereof is three hundred and sixtie degrees, the breth sixteene. It is diuided into twelue signes, sixe Northerly, and sixe Southerly: the Northerns are, Aries, Taurus, Cancer, Gemini, Leo, Virgo; Southerne, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces: he turneth vpon his owne poles from West to East.

The Colures.

The two Colures, are two great moueable Circles, passing through both the poles of the world, crossing one another with right Sphericall Angles: so that like an Apple cut into foure quarters, they diuide into equall parts the whole Spheare: the one passeth thorough the aequinoctiall points and poles of the world, and is called the aequinoctiall Colure: the other passeth through the Solstitiall points, and is called the Solstitiall Colure.

The Horizon

The Horizon, is a Circle immoueable, which diuideth the vpper Hemispheare, or halfe part of the world from the neather: it hath the name of 
\[ \delta \rho \xi \omega \], which is termino, or to bound or limit; because, imagine you stood vpon High-gate, or the Towre hill at Greenewich, so farre as you can see round about as in a circle, where the heauen seemeth to touch the earth, that is called the Horizon: The poles whereof, are the point iust ouer your head, calleth Zenith in Arabian; and the other vnder your feete, passing by the Center of the world, called Nadir.

The Meridian

The Meridian is an immoueable circle, passing through the poles of the world: it is called the Meridian of Meridies Noontide, because when the Sun rising from the East, toucheth this line with the Center of his body, then it is noone to those ouer whose Zenith that Circle passeth, and midnight to their Antipodes, or those who are iust vnder them in the other world.
The number of Meridians, are 180. (allowing two to every degree in the Aequinoctiall) which all center in either pole, and are the utmost bounds of Longitude.

By the Meridian, the Longitude of all places is gathered, and what places ly more Easterly or Westerly from either.

Longitude.

The Longitude of any place, is that distance you find upon the Aequinoctiall, between the Meridian of the place, whose Longitude you desire; and the first Meridian which directly passeth over the Canarie, or Fortunate Ilands: which distance or space you must account by the degrees, purposely set upon the Brazen Circle; or if you please by miles, allowing sixtie to every degree. Longitude is only taken East and West.

Latitude.

Latitude is the distance of the Meridian, between the vertical point (or pole of the Horizon) and the Aequinoctiall, being ever equal to the height, or elevation of the pole above the Horizon: or more plainly, the distance of any place, either North or South from the Aequinoctiall, which you are to take (upon the standing Globe) by the degrees of the brazen Meridian, that Countrey or place in the Globe, whose Latitude you desire, being turned directly under it.

Of the Tropickes.

The Tropicke of Cancer is an imaginary Circle, betwixt the Aequinoctiall and the Arcticke Circle; which Circle the Sunne maketh about the thirteenth day of June, declining at his farthest from the Aequinoctiall, and coming Northerly to vs-ward; then are our daies at the longest, and nights shortest. Capricorne the like to the Antarcticke Circle, making our daies the shortest about the twelfth of December.

The Arcticke Circle.

The Arcticke Circle (anciently accounted the Horizon of Greece) is a small circle: the Center whereof is the North pole of the world, which is inuisible; it is so called from Arctos the Beare,
or Charles Waine, the Northernne Starre, being in the tip of the taile of the said Beare.

The Antarcticke Circle

The Antarcticke, which is neere to the South pole, and answering the other vnder vs.

But I had rather you learned these principles of the sphere by demonstration, and your owne diligence (being the labour but of a few houres) then by meere verball description, which profiteth not so much in MathematiCall demonstrations.

Wee will therefore descend to Geographie, which is more easie and familiar, (the definition I gaue you before.) I come to the Subiect, the Terrestrial Globe, which is composed of Sea and Land.

The Sea.

The Sea is a mightie water, ebbing and flowing continually about the whole Earth, whose parts are diversly named according to the places whereupon they bound. In the East it is called the Indian Sea; in the West the Atlantike, so named from the Mount Atlas in Mauritania: in the North, the Hyperborean; in the South, the Meridionall, or South Sea, commonly called Mar del Zur.

The Mediterranean sea, is that which stretcheth it selfe by the middest of the earth from West to East, diuiding Europe, Asia, and Africa.

A Gulfe.

Sinus (or a Gulfe) is a part of the sea, insinuating and embosoming it selfe within the land, or betwene two severall landes: as the gulfe of Venice, the Persian gulfe, the Red Sea, Sinus Mexicanus, Vermilius, Gangeticus.

A Streight.

Fretum (or a Streight) is a narrow passage betweene two lands, as the Streight of Magellan, Anian, Gibralterre, &c.

A Hauen.

An Hauen, is the entrance of the sea within the land, at the mouth of some Riuier or Creeke, where shippes may ride at Anchor.
A Lake.

A Lake, is a great and wide receptacle of water, ever standing still, and not moving out of the place; as the Lake Asphaltites, Lacus Larius, or Lago di Como, Lausanna by Geneva, &c.

Of the Earth.

The Earth, is either Continent or Island.

A Continent.

A Continent is the land, continued without any division of Sea, as the Low Countries to Germany, that to Austria, Austria to Hungary, &c.

An Island.

An Island, called Insula, quasi in Salo, is a land encompassed round with the Sea, as Great Britain, Ireland, Corsica, Candia, &c.

An Isthmus.

An Isthmus, or Chersonesus, is a Straight or necke of land between two Seas, as Cimbrica, Chersonesus, Taurica, Aurea, and Achaica.

Peninsula.

Peninsula (quasi penae Insula) is a Land environed with the Sea, except at some narrow place or entrance; as that waste Continent of Peru and Brasil in America, were an Island, but for that Streight or Necke of Land, betweene Panama and Nombre de dios: which Philip the second, King of Spain, was once minded to have cut for a shorter passage for ships into the South Sea, but upon better deliberation he gave over his project.

A Cape.

A Cape or head of Land, is the utmost end of a Promontorie, or high Land, standing out into the Sea, as the Cape De Buona Speranza, Cape Mendoza, S. Vincent, Cape Verde, the great Cape S. Augustine in America, &c.

Etymologies Method best to be observed.

Proceeding now to understand the severall parts and Regions of
the world, with their scituation (as it is meet, dwelling in an
house, you should know all the roomes thereof) you may if you please,
observe Ptolomies Method, beginning first with Europe; and herein
with our Northern Islands of Great Britaine, Ireland, the Orchades,
and Thule, which are the Contents of his first Table, and so forth
into Europe: but he was erronious in his descriptions, obscure by
reason of his Antiquitie, the names of places since changed;
Navigation by the benefit of the Load-stone, perfected; the want
whereof heretofore hath beene occasion of infinite errors among the
anceints, as well Diuines as Historiographers and Geographers:

5

The sundry errors of Historians and others, for want of skill in
Geography.

as Lactantius and S. Augustine, could never bee perswaded, that
there were Antipodes, or people going feete to feet vnder vs; the
contrary whereof experience hath taught vs. Arrianus, that much
esteemed Greeke Author, affirmed the scituation of Germany to be
very neere to the Ionique Sea. Stephanus also, another Countrey-man
of his, saith that Vienna was a Citie of Galilie. Strabo saith, that
Danubius hath his head neere to the Adriatique Sea, which indeed
(being the greatest Riuier of Europe) riseth out of the hill Arnoba
in Germany, and by Hungaria, and many other Countries, runneth into
Sclauonia, receiuing threescore other Riuers into his Channell: it
is therefore farre more safe to follow our later Writers.

10

What to observe in a strange Countrey.

In every Countrey (to giue one instance for all) in your
observation you are to follow this Method; first to know the
Latitude, then the Longitude of the place, the tempature of the
Climate, the goodnesse or barrennesse of the ground, the limits of
the Countrey, how it is bounded by Sea or Land, or both; by East,
West, North, or South: into what Provinces it is diuided within it
selfe, the commodities it affoordeth, as what Mines, Woods or
Forrests; what Beasts, Fowles, Fishes, Fruits, Herbs, Plants; what
Mountaines, Riuers, Fountaines and Cities: what notable matter of
wonder or Antiquitie: the manners, shape, and attire of the people;
their building, what Ports and Hauens; what Rockes, Sands, and such
like places of danger, are about the place: and last of all, the

15

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35
Religion and Government of the Inhabitants.

Of the Mariners Compassé.

You shall have drawn upon your Globe or Mappe, upon the vastest Seas (where most room is to be spared) a round figure, representing the Mariners Compassé, with the two and thirtie winds; from every of which there runneth a line to the Land, to some famous Citie, Hauen, or either; to shew you, in that Sea and place what course you are to keepe to goe thither, whether full North, North-east, South, or South-west, and so forth. These winds, of the Spaniards are called Rombes: and for that, Columbus and Vesputius, Italians, with others, first discovered the East and West Indies; the eight principall winds, are commonly expressed in the Italian. This Compassé hath the needle in manner of a Flowre-deluce, which pointeth still to the North.

Washing of Mapes and Globes in colours, very profitable to a learner.

I could wish you now and then, to exercise your Pen in Drawing, and imitating Cards and Mappes; as also your Pensill in washing and colouring small Tables of Countries and places, which at your pleasure you may in one fortnight easily learne to doe: for the practise of the hand, doth speedily instruct the mind, and strongly confirme the memorie beyond any thing else; nor thinke it any disgrace vnto you, since in other Countries it is the practise of Irinces, as I haue shewed heretofore; also many of our young Nobilitie in England exercise the same with great felicitie.

I haue seene French Cards to play withall, the foure suites changed into Maps of seuerall Countries, of the foure parts of the world, and exactly coloured for their numbers, the figures 1. 2. 3. 9. 10. and so forth, set over the heads; for the Kings, Queenes, and Knaues, the Fourtraies of their Kings and Queenes, in their seuerall Country habits; for the Knaues, their Peasants or Slaues; which ingenious deuice, cannot be but a great furtherance to a young capacitie, and some comfort to the infortuniate Gamester; when, what he hath lost in Money, he shall have dealt him in land or wit.

14 North. B: North, A
1. Meridians, Paralels, &c.

2. Thermopylas that long hill of Greece through which there is a straight & a narrow passage environed with a rough sea and deepe fenne; so called from the wels of whot waters which are there among the rocks.

3. Vide Clevian. in Sacrobosco, edit. vlt.
Countries had not their situations by chance.

First, how Almighty God by his Divine providence so disposed the Earth in the first Creation (not falling out by chance, as some have thought) that one Country, in one place or other, is so nighly joined to the next; that if after it might happen to be over peopled, as well men as beasts, by some small streight or passage might easily bee provided of a new habitation: which Acosta hath well observed, resolving vs that doubt, how wilde beasts, as Wolues, Foxes, beares, and other harmfull beasts, should swim over so vaste Seas, and breede in Illands.

The wit and constitution of men, according to the temper of the body.

Secondly, how the wit, disposition, yea, devotion and strength of man, followeth the qualitie and temperature of the Climate; and many times the Nature of the soyle wherein he liues: as we see the Easterne people of the world, very quicke in their inventions, superstition vnio Idolatry, as in China, Calecut, Java, and other places. On the contrary, those as farre North in Lapland, Iceland, and other places, as dull, and in a manner senselesse of Religion, whereupon they are held the most notorious Witches of the world.

Mountainers more barbarous, then those of the vailles.

We see those that inhabit Mountaines, and mountainous places, to be farre more barbarous and uncivil, then those that live in the plaines: witnesse the Inhabitants of the huge hils Sierras, and the Andes in America, the mountainous North part of Nova Francia, the Navarros in Spaine, and the Highland men in Scotland.

We see and finde it by experience, that where the soile is dry and sandy, the ayre is most pure; and consequently, the spirits of the Inhabitants active and subtle, aboue those who inhabite the Fens and Marishes.
Of the Ocean, the divers & wonderfull motions thereof.

Thirdly, consider the wonder of wonders, how the Ocean so farre distant, holdeth motion with the Moone, filling our shores to the brim from the time of her appearing above the Horizon, vntill she hath ascended the Meridian: then decreasing as much vntill she toucheth the line of midnight, making his tide twice in foure and twenty houres and odde minutes: how the Atlantick or Western Ocean is most rough and dangerfull, the South Sea, or Del Lur, albeit of infinite vastnesse, on the contrary so calme and quiet, that you seemed rather to saile vpon dry Land then water. (1)

How in the Sea of Calecut it is high water, but at every full Moone: in the Sea by the shore of Indus, but at every new Moone: how in the maine Ocean the currant runnes from East to West, toward the straights of Magellan, but from West to East in the Mediterranen.

Fourthly, how in one place the North-wind, as vpon the Coast of Scythia, neere the mouth of the great River Dvina, bloweth in a manner perpetually, so that the West or South-west winds are scarce knowne. (2)

In another, the East: in the Indian Sea the winds keep their turnes, observing the course of the Sunne, which being in Aries and Libra, the Westernes winds blow perpetually.

The strange properties of Floods and Lakes.

Neither lesse admirable are the in-land floods, and fresh waters for their properties, as Nilus, who onely by his overflowing, maketh Algypt fertile (where it never raineth.) Euripus an arme of the Sea by Euboea (an Iland of the Sporades in the Aegean Sea) which ebbeth and floweth seauen times in a day. Likewise, much may bee said of our Lakes and Fountaines in England, Scotland, and Ireland, of turning wood into Stone, Iron, and the like.

Beasts & Birds usefull to man, liue in heards and flocks.

Fiftly, it is worthy the consideration, how the Diuine wisedome for the behoofe of mankind, hath set an enmitie betweene Birds and Beasts, of prey and rapine, who accompany not by heards: as Lyons, Beares, Dogges, Wolues, Foxes, Eagles, Kites, and the like; which if they should doe, they would vndoe a whole Countrey: whereas on
the contrary, those which are necessary and useful for mankind, live gregatim, in herds and flocks, as Kine, Sheepe, Deere, Pigeons, Partridges, Geese, &c.

Of the creatures in hot and cold Countries.

Sixtly, how Nature hath provided for the Creatures of the Northern parts of the world, as Beares, Dogs, Foxes, &c. not only thick skinnes, but great store of hair or feathers, to defend them from the extremity of the cold there: on the other side, to those in Guinea, by reason of the extreme heate, none at all; as you may see by the Guinea Dogges, which are daily brought over.

Of Rivers.

Seventhly, how God hath so disposed the Rivers, that by their crookednesse and winding, they might serve many places.

Let us then consider, how the most fruitful places and beautiful Cities, have become the dwellings and homes of the most slaves, as Spaine over-runne by the Moores, Italy by the Gothes and Vandals; and at this day, a great part of Europe by the Turke.

How the Earth like an aged mother, is become lesse fruitful, as we see by the barrenness sometime of the most fertile places, the decay of the stature and strength of men within these few yeares.

It is also worthy observation, to see how the Earth hath beene increased by the accesse of Islands, and againe beene diminished by inundation and Gulfes breaking againe into the same.

Of certaine Islands cast vp by Seas and Rivers.

The Islands of the Echinades, were cast vp by the River Achelous, and the greatest part of Egypt by Nilus, so were the Rhodes and Delos. Of lesser Islands beyond Melon Anaphe, betweene Lemnos and the Hellespont, Nea (as one would say new-come) and else-where Alone, Thera, Therasia, and Hiera, which also from the event was called Automate.

Many Countries againe lost by inundation.

And that sundry goodly Countries on the contrary, have beene eaten vp by the Sea, our neighbour Zeland, and many other places.
will give lamentable testimonie: beside the face of the Earth hath since the Creation, bene much altered by avulsion or division of the Sea, as Sicily was divided and severed from Italy; Cyprus, from Syria; Euboea from Boetia, Atlas and Macrie from Euboea, Berbycus from Rhyninia, Leucosia from the Promontorie of the Syrenes: and as some suppose, Lesbos from Ida, Prochyta and Pithecusa from Misena; and which is more, Spaine from Barbarie, as Strabo is of opinion.(3)

Great Britaine supposed to have been one continent with France.

Againe, it is affirmed by Volscus, that our Great Britaine hath beene one Continent with France, and that tract betweene Dover and Calais, hath beene gained by the Sea, there called Mare Gessoriacum.

Excellent is that contemplation, to consider how Nature (rather the Almightie wisedome) by an unsearchable and stupendious worke, sheweth vs in the Sea, the likenesse and shapes, not onely of Land Creatures, as Elephants, Horses, Dogges, Hoggges, Calues, Hares, Snailes, &c. but of Fowles in the Ayre, as Hawks, Swallowes, Vultures, and numbers the like; yea, it affordeth vs men and women, and among men, even the Monke: but heresof see Iunius in his Batavia, and if you please Alexiab Alexandre with some others.(4)

Moreover what inestimable wealth it affordeth in pearles, Corall, Amber, and the like.

By reading you shall also finde what strange Earthquakes, remouing of whole Townes, Hilles, &c. haue been vpon the face of the Earth, raising of it in one place, leaving gulfs, and Vastitie in another: and Lucius Marcius, and Sextus Iulius being Consuls in Rome, in the Country of Mutinum, two mountaines met and joyned themselues together.

In the raigne of Nero, Vectius Marcellus being overseer of Nerc's affaires, and Steward of his Court, Medowes and Olive trees were remoued from a Common high way side, and placed a good way off on the contrary side; so whereas they stood before on the right hand, as one travelled, they were now on the left hand. The like happened within these few yeeres to Fleurs a towne of the Grisons among the Alpes.

Lastly, let vs take a view of the Earth it selfe, which
because it was divided with the Sea, Rivers, Marshes, &c. yet making one absolute Circle, Homer calleth it αἰσχύνα; and for this cause Numa Pompilius dedicated a Temple to Vesta in a round forme: The roundnesse of it is prooued of Mathematicians by shadowes of Dials, and the Eclipses; also by descent of all heauie things to the Center, it selfe being the Center of the universe, as Aristotle and Ptolomey affirme. (5)

Now in respect of heauen, it is so small a point, that the least starre is not darkened with the shaddow thereof: for if the smallest starre, albeit in judgement of our sence, seemeth but a pricke or point, yet farre exceedeth the bodie of the Earth in greatnesse, it followeth in respect of heauen, that the earth must seeme as little.

Beside, if the earth were of any quantitie in respect of the higher orbes, the starres should seeme bigger or lesse in regard of those Hypsomata (Altitudes) or the Climes: but it is certaine that at the selfe same time, sundrie Astronomers finde the same bignesse and elevation of the selfe same starre obserued by their calculation, to differ no whit at all; whereby we may see if that distance of place which is on the Earth (in respect of the Heavenly orbes) exceedeth all sence, it followes that the Earth (poore little point as it is) seemes the like, if it be compared with Heauen: yet this is that point, which with fire and sword, is diuided among so many Nations, the matter of our Glorie, our seate; heere we haue our Honours, our Armies, our Commands; heere we heape vp riches, at perpetuall warre and strife among our selues, who (like the Toad) shal fall asleepe with most earth in his pawes: neuer thinking how of a moment of time well spent vpon this poore plot or dung-hill common to beasts as well as our selues, dependeth eternitie, and the fruition of our true Happinesse in the presence of Heaven, and court of the King of Kings for ever and euer. (6)

Now I must take leaue of our common Mother the Earth, so worthily called in respect of her great merits, of vs: for shee receiueth vs being borne, shee feedes and cloatheth vs brought forth, and lastly as forsaken wholly of Nature, shee receiueth vs into her lap, and couers vs vntill the dissolution of all, and the last judgement.
Thus have I only pointed at the principles of Cosmographie, hauing as it were giuen you a taste, and stopped vp the vessell againe, referring the rest to your owne diligence and search. And herein you shall have your helpes, M. Blundeuile in his treatise of Cosmographie and the Sphaere, D. Dee, M. Cooke in his principles of Geometrie, Astronomie and Geographiche: Gemma Frisius, Ortelius, Copernicus, Clauius the Iesuite, Ioannes de Monte Regio, Mercator, Munster, Hunter, and many others; (7) of ancient writers Ptolomey, Dionisius Halicarnassesus. For mappes I referre you wholly vnto Ortelius and those set last forth by Hondius being later then Flancius, and more perfect by reason of the late discoverie, made by Schouten, vnto the 57. and 58. degrees of Southerly latitude beyond the streight of Magelland; and of late M. Henrie Hudson, to the 61. or 62. to the North-west, beyond Terra de Labrador: to omit that terrible voyage of Barentson and his companie, for the discoverie of the North-east passage, by the backe-side of Nova Zemla, which out of a Dutch translation you may reade in English.
1. And so swift, that from Mozabur to Madagascar (or the Ile of S. Laurence) they may come in twentie daies, but are not able to returne in 3. moneths. So from Spain into America in thirty daies, but cannot returne in three monethes.


4. See Olaus Magnus his description of the Northerne parts of the world. At Swartwale neere Brill in Holland, is to be seene a Mermaides dead body hanging vp.


6. Augustine.

CHAP. 9.

Of Geometrie.

Since Plato would not suffer any to enter his Schoole, which was ἀγεωμετρητος, or not entred into Geometrie; and Xenocrates turned away his auditors, if unfurnished with Geometrie, Musicke and Astronomie, affirming they were the helpes of Philosophie: (1) I am also bound by the Loue I bare to the best arts and your studies, to giue it you also in charge. Philo the Iew calleth it the Princesse and mother of all Sciences, and excellently was it said of Plato, that God did alwaies γεωμετρειν; but more diuinely of Salomon: That God did dispose all his creatures according to measure, number and weight; (2) that is, by giuing the Heauens their constant and perpetuall motion, the elements their places and praedominance according to lightnesse or grauitie, and every creature its number and weight, without which, it were neither able to stand vpright or moue. To the consideration of which depth of wiœdome let vs vse the helps of this most ingenious and vsefull Art, worthy the contemplation, and practise of the greatest Princes, (3) a Science of such importance, that without it, we can hardly eate our bread, lie drie in our beds, buy, sell, or vse any commerce else whatsoever.

The subiect of Geometrie is the length, breadth, and height of all things, comprised under the figures of Triangles, Squares, Circles, and Magnitudes of all sorts, with their termes or bounds. (4)

It hath properly the name from measuring the earth, being first found out in Aëgypt; for when Nilus with his over-flowing drowned and confounded the limits of their fields, certaine of the inhabitants more ingenious then the rest, necessitie compelling, found out the rules of Geometry, by the benefit whereof, after the fall of the water, every man had his owne portion of ground lotted and laide out to him: (5) so that from a few poore and weake principles at the first, it grew to that height that from earth it reached vp to the heauens, where it found out their quantities, as
also of the Elements and the whole world beside.

Out of AEgypt, Thales, brought it into Greece, where it received
that perfection we see it now hath.

For by meanes hereof are found out the formes and draughts of
all figures, greatnesse of all bodies, all manner of measures and
weights, the cunning working of all tooles, with all artificiall
instruments whatsoever.

All engines of warre, for many whereof (being antiquated) we
have no proper names; as Exosters, Sambukes, Catapultes, Testudo's,
Scorpions, &c. Petardes, Grenades, great Ordinance of all sorts.

By the benefit likewise of Geometrie, we have our goodly
Shippes, Galleies, Bridges, Milles, Charriots and Coaches (which
were invented in Hungarie and there called Cotzki) some with two
wheeles, some with more, Fullies and Cranes of all sorts.

Shee also with her ingenious hand reares all curious roofes,
and Arches, stately Theaters, the Columnes simple and compound,
pendant Galleries, stately Windowes, Turrets, &c. and first brought
to light our clockes and curious Watches (vnunknowne to the ancients:)
lastly our kitchin lackes, even to the wheele-barrow. Beside
whatsoever hath artificiall motion either by Ayre, water, winde,
sinewes or chords, as all manner of Musicall instruments, water
workes and the like.

Yea, moreover such is the infinite subtiltie, and immense
depth of this admirable Art, that it dares contend even with natures
selfe, in infusing life as it were, into the senseless bodies of
wood, stone, or mettall: witnesse the wooden doue of Archytas, so
famoused not onely by Agellius, but many other authors beyond
exception, which by reason of weights equally peized within the
bodie, and a certaine proportion of ayre (as the Spirit of life
enclosed) flew cheerfully forth as if it had beene a liuing Doue.

Albeit Iul. Caes. Scaliger accounteth this Doue no great piece
of workemanship, when he saith, he is able to make of his owne
invention with no great labour, a ship which shall swimme, and
steere it selfe, and by the same reason that Architas his Doue was
made, that is, by taking the pith of rushes covered ouer with
bladders, or those thinne skinnes, wherein gold-beaters beste their
leaves, and wrapped about with little strings of sinewes, where

10 Petardes, B: Petardes A
when a Semicircle shal set one wheele on going; it mouing others, the wings shall stirre and moue forward. This Archytas was a most skilfull Mathematician, as it may be gathered out of Horace, who calleth him Mensoren, a Measurer

Et maris & terrae, numeroque; carentis arenæ.5

Of sea and land, and number-wanting sand.

And not inferiour to the aforesaid Doue of Archytas was that woorden Eagle, which mounted vp into the aire, and flew before the Emperour to the gates of Norimberg: of which, as also of that yron flie, that flew about a table, Salust lord of Bartas maketh mention.10 Ramus attributeth the invention of either of these, in the preface of his 2. booke of his Mathematieall observations, to Ioannes Regiomontanus.

Callicrates, if we may crédite Flinie, made Antes and other such like small creatures of Iuorie, that their parts and ioynts of their legges could not be discerned.11

Myrmecides Milesius also among other monuments of his skill, made a Coach or Waggon with foure wheeles, which together with the driver thereof, a flie could easily hide and couer with her wings: Besides a Ship with her sailes, which a little Bee could overspread. 20 Varro teacheth how small pieces of this nature and subtillest workmanship, may be discerned, that is, saith he, by laying close about them, blacke horse haires.12 Of later times, Hadrian lunius tels vs that he saw with great delight and admiration, at Mechlin in Brabant, a cherrie stone cut in the forme of a basket, wherein were fifteene paire of dice, distinct each with their spots and number, very easily of a good eye to be discerned.13

And that the Ilias of Homer written, was enclosed within a nut.14 Cicero tels vs he saw it with his eyes, though Alexander thought it worthy of a farre better case, the rich Cabinet of Darius. By the statue of Homer the ancients vsually set a nightingale (as by Orpheus a Swanne) for the manifold varietie and sweetnesse of his voice, or the continuance or holding out to the last the same sweetnesse: for some are of opinion, that the perfection of Musieall sounds are to be discerned in the Nightingales notes. 35 Flinie reckoneth vp sixteene seuerall tunes shee hath, and fitteth
them to Latin words very properly as unto Ditties, (15) which the
translator of Plinie hath nothing neere so well fitted in the
English which might surely have beene as well done, as I have
observed in their notes. But to returne, Scaliger (whether in iest
or earnest I know not) tells Cardanus of a flea he saw with a long
chaine of gold about his necke, kept very daintily in a boxe, and
being taken forth, could skip with his chaine, and sometime sucke
his mistresses white hand, and his belly being ful, get him to his
lodging againe, (16) but this same Alexander wittily scoffed, when he gaue a fellow onely a bushell of pease,
for his paines of throwing every time a pease vpon a needles point
standing a pretty way off.

Archimedes to the wonder of all the world, framed a brasen
heauen, wherein were the seauen planets with their motions. Hereof
Claudian wrote a wittie Epigram.

Sapor King of Persia (as Du Bartas in the sixt day of his diuine
weeke mentioneth) had an heauen of glasse, which, proudly sitting in
his estate, he trod vpon with his feete, contemplating ouer the same,
as if he had beene Jupiter, and vpon this occasion calling himselfe
brother to the Sunne and Moone, and partner with the Starres; for
in his letter to the Emperour Constantius he beginneth thus: Hex
regum Sapor, particeps Syderum, frater Solis & Lunae, &c. (17)

Nor must I forget that heauen of silver sent by Ferdinand the
Emperour, to Solyman the great Turke, wherein the motions kept their
true courses with those of the heauens, the starres arising and
setting, the Planets keeping their oblique motion, the Sunne
Eclipsed at his iust time, and the Moone duely changing every
Moneth with the same in the Heauen. (18) By these see the effects
of this diuine knowledge, able to worke wonders beyond all beleefe,
in so much as Archimedes affirmed, hee would moue the whole Earth,
might a place bee giuen him whereon to stand. (19) But I rather
belieue him, who saith, The Foundation thereof shall never be
mooued. (20) Much was it, that with his left hand only, he could by
his skil draw after him the weight of five thousand bushels of
graine, and devise (at the cost of Hiero) those rare engines, which
shot small stones at hand, but great ones a farre of: by benefit
of which deuice onely, while the stones fell as thicke as haile from heauen among the enemies, Syracusa was preserved from the furie of Marcellus ready to enter with a resolute and most powerfull Armie. The Cracle of Apollo being demanded when the warre and miserie of Greece should have an end, replied: If they would double the Altar in Delos, which was of a cubique forme; which they tryed by adding another cube vnto it, but that availed nothing. Plato then taking vpom him to expound this riddle, affirmed the Greekes, were reproued by Apollo because they were ignorant of Geometry. Nor heerein can I blame them, since the doubling of the Cube in Solides, and Quadrature of the Circle in plaine, hath euer since so troubled our greatest Geometricians, that I feare except Apollo himselfe ascend from Hell to resolue his owne problemes, we shall not see it among our ordinarie Stone-cutters effected.

But in briefe, the use you shall haue of Geometry, will be in surveying your lands, affording your opinion in building anew, or translating; making your miles aswell for grinding of corne as throwing foorth water from your lower grounds, bringing water farre off for sundry uses. Seeing the measure of Timber, stone and the like (wherein Gentlemen many times are egregiously abused and cheated by such as they trust) to contrive much with small charge and in lesse room. Againe, should you follow the warres (as who knowes the bent of his Fate) you cannot without Geometry fortifie your selle, take the advantage of hill or leuell, fight, order your Battaglia in square, triangle, crosse (which forme the Prince of Orange hath now alate taken vp) crescentwise (and many other formes Iovius sheweth) leuell and plant your Ordinance, vndermine, raise your halfe Moones, Bulwarke, Casamates, Rampires, Ravelins, with many other meanes as of offence and defence, by fortification. So that I cannot see how a Gentleman, especially a Souldier and Commander may be accomplished without Geometrie, though not to the heighth of perfection, yet at the least to be grounded and furnished with the principles and priuie rules heereof. The Authors I would commend vnto you for entrance hereinto are in English. Cooke's Principles, and the Elements of Geometry, written in Latin by F. Ramus, and translated by M. Doctor Hood, sometime Mathematicall
Lecturer in London. M. Blundeuile, Euclide translated into English. In Latine you may have the learned Iesuite Clauius, Melancthon, Frisius, Waltarius his Geometry Military. Albert Durer hath excellently written heereof in high Dutch, and in French Forcadell vpon Euclide, with sundry others.
1. Laertius lib. 4.
2. Wisedome chap. 11.
3. Petrarch de regno lib. 2. ca. 14.
5. Martianus Capella in Geom. Proclus in Euclid lib. 2. c. 4.
6. See the Hungarian History. Whence Coach had the name
7. A gellius 1. 10 cap. 12.
11. Plin. 1. 7. c. 21. & lib. 36. c. 5.
13. Iunius lib. animad cap. 6.
15. Pliny lib. 10. cap. 29.
18. P. Iouius & Sabellicus in Supplement. Hist. lib. 24. This Heauen was carried by 12. men before Solyman, and taken to peeces and set vp againe by the maker.
19. Plutarch in Marcelllo. δος ποι ἑτώ καὶ τὴν γῆν κυώ.

18.i. Supplement. ο: Supplement: A
CHAP. 10.

Of Poetrie.

To sweeten your severer studies, by this time vouchsafe Poetry your respect: which howsoever censured and seemeth fallen from the highest Stage of Honour, to the lowest staire of disgrace, let not your judgement be infected with that pestilent ayre of the common breath, to be an infidell; in whose beleefe, and doer of their contrary Actions, is to be religious in the right, and to merit if it were possible by good works.

The Poet, as that Laurell Maia dreamed of, is made by miracle from his mothers wombe, and like the Diamond onely polished and pointed of himselfe, disdaining the file and midwifery of forraine helpe.

Hence Tullie was long ere he could be delivered of a few verses, and those poore ones too: and Ovid, so backward in prose, that he could almost speake nothing but verse. And Experience daily affordeth vs many excellent yong and growing wits, as well from Flow as the Pallace, endued naturally with this Divine and heavenly guift, yet not knowing (if you should aske the question) whether a Metaphore be flesh or fish.

If bare saying Poetrie is an heavenly gift, be too weake a proppe to vphold her credite with those buzzardly poore ones, who hauing their feathers moulted can creepe no farther then their owne puddle, able onely to enuie this Imperiall Eagle for sight and flight; let them if they can looke backe to all antiquitie, and they shall finde all learning by divine instinct to breathe from her bosome, as both Plato and Tullie in his Tusculanes affirm.

Strabo saith, Poetrie was the first Philosophie that euer was taught, nor were there euer any writers thereof knowne before Musaeus, Hesiod and Homer: by whose authoritie Plato, Aristotle and Galen, determine their weightiest controversyes, and confirme their reasons in Philosophie. And what were the songs of Linus, Orpheus, Amphion, Olympus, and that dittie Iopas sang to his harpe

3 highest B: higest A
at Dido's banquet, but Natural and Morall Philosophie, sweetened
with the pleasaunce of Numbers, that Rudenesse and Barbarisme might
the better taste and digest the lessons of civilitie? according to
Lucretius (Italianized by Ariosto) and engished by Sir John
Harrington.

Sed veluti pueris absynthia tetra medentes,
Cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
Contingunt mellis, dulci flavoque liquore,
Vt puerorum aetas improvida ludificetur, &c.

As Leaches when for children they appoint,
Their bitter worme-wood potions, first the cup
About the brimme with honnie sweete they noint,
That so the childe, beguild may drinke it vp,&c.

Neither hath humane knowledge beene the onely subiect of this
Diuine Art, but even the highest Mysteries of Diuinitie. What are
the Psalmes of Dauid (which S. Hillarie so aptly compareth to a
bunch of keies, (3) in regard of the seuerall doores, whereby they
give the soule entrance, either to Prayer, Keioycing, Repentance,
Thanksgivings, &c.) but a Diuine Poeme, going sometime in one measure,
sometime in another? What lively descriptions are there of the
Maiestie of God, the estate and securitie of Gods children, the
miserable condition of the wicked? What lively similitudes &
comparisons, as the righteous man to a baie tree, the Soule to a
thirstie Hart, vnitie to oyntment, and the dew of Hermon? What
excellent Allegories, as the vine planted in Aegypt; (4) what
Epiphonema's, prosopopoea's and whatsoever else may be required, to
the texture of so rich and glorious a peece?

And the song of Salomon (which is onely left vs of a thousand)
is it not a continued Allegorie of the Mysticall loue betwixt Christ
and his Church? Moreover the Apostles themselves have not
disdained to alledge the authoritie of the heathen Poets, Aratus,
Menander and Epimenides; as also the fathers of the Church, Nazianzen,
S. Augustine, Bernard, Prudentius, with many others, beside the
allowance they have giuen of Poetrie, they teach vs the true vse
and end thereof, which is to compass the Songs of Sion, and

35 compasse B: compose A
addresse the fruité of our inuention to his glorie who is the author of so goodly a gift, which we abuse to our loues, light fancies, and basest affections.

And if Mechanicall Arts hold their estimation by their effects in base subjects, how much more deserueth this to be esteemed, that holdeth so soueraigne a power ouer the minde, can turne brutishnesse into Ciuitie, make the lewd honest (which is Scaligers opinion of Virgils Poeme) turne hatred to loue, cowardise into valour, and in briefe, like a Queene command ouer all affections?

Moreover the Muse, Mirth, Graces, and perfect Health, haue ever an affinitie each with either. I remember Plutarch telleth vs of Telesilla, a noble and braue Ladie, who being dangerously sicke, and imagined past recouerie, was by the Oracle, advised to apply her minde to the Muse and Poetrie; which shee diligently observing recovered in a short space, and withall grew so sprightly couragious, that haung well fortified Argos with diuers companies of women onely, her selfe with her companions sallying out, entertained Cleomenes K. of the Lacedaemonians with such a Camisado, that he was faine to shew his back, leaving a good part of his people behinde, to fill ditches; and then by plaine force of Armes draue out Demaratus another king, who lay very strong in garrison within.

Alexander by the reading of Homer, was especially mooued to goe thorough with his conquests.

Leonidas also that braue King of the Spartanes, being asked how Tirtaeus (who wrote of warre in verse) was esteemed among Poets, replied excellently: For my soildiers, quoth he, mooued onely with his verses, runne with a resolute courage to the battaile, fearing no perill at all.

What other thing gaue an edge to the valour of our ancient Britons, but their Bardes (remembred by Athenaeus, Lucan and sundry other,) recording in verse the braue exploits of their nation, and singing the same vnto their Harpes at their publike feasts and meetings? amongst whom Taliessin a learned Bard, and Master to Merlin, sung the life and actes of King Arthur.

Hence hath Poetry neuer wanted her Fatrones, and even the greatest Monarches and Princes, as well Christian as Heathen, haue
exercised their Invention herein: as that great Glorie of Christendome Charlemaine, who among many other things, wrote his Nephew Koulands Epitaphe, after he was slaine in a battell against the Saracens, among the Pyrenaean hills: (5) Alphonse King of Naples, whose onely delight was the reading of Virgil: Robert King of Sicilie; (6) and that thrice renowned and learned French King, who finding Petarachs Toombe without any inscription or Epitaphe, wrote one himselfe, (which yet remaineth) saying; Shame it was, that he who sung his Mistresse praise seauen yeares before her death, and twelve yeares should want an Epitaphe. Among the Heathen are eternized for their skill in Poesie, Augustus Caesar, Octauius, Adrian, Germanicus.

Every child knoweth how dears the workes of Homer were vnto Alexander, Euripides to Amyntas King of Macedon, Virgil to Augustus, Theocritus to Ptolomey and Berenice, King and Queene of Egypt: the stately Pindar to Hiero King of Sicilie, Ennius to Scipio, Ausonius to Gratian, (who made him Pro-consull:) in our owne Countrey, Chaucer to Richard the second, Gower to Henrie the fourth, with others I might allledge.

The Lady Anne of Bretaigne, who was twice French Queene, (8) passing through the Presence in the Court of France, espying Chartier the Kings Secretarie, and a famous Poet, leaning vpon his elbow at a Tables end fast asleepe, shee stooping downe, and openly kissing him, said; We must honour with our kisse, the mouth from whence so many sweete verses and golden Poems haue proceeded.

But some may aske me. How it falleth out, that Poets now adaies are of no such esteeme, as they have beene in former times? I answere, because vertue in our declining and worser daies, generally findeth no regard: Or rather more truly with Aretine (being demanded why Princes were not so liberall to Poesie, and other good Arts, as in former times) Because their conscience telleth them, how vnworthy they are of the praises giuen them by Poets; as for other Arts, they make no account of that they know not.

But since we are heere (hauing before ouer-runne the Champaigne and large field of Historie) let vs a while rest our selues in the garden of the Muses, and admire the bountie of heauen, in the
seuerall beauties of so many divine and fertile wits.

We must beginne with the King of Latine Poets, whom Nature hath reared beyond imitation, and who above all other onely, deserueth the name of a Poet; I meane Virgil. In him you shall at once finde (not else-where) that Prudence, Efficacie, Varietie, and Sweetnesse, which Scaliger requireth in a Poet, and maketh his prime vertues.

Prudence.

Vnder Prudence is comprehended out of generall learning and judgement, that discreete, apt suting and disposing, as well of Actions as Words in their due place, time and manner; which in Virgil is not obserued by one among twentie of our ordinary Grammarians, Who (to use the words of the Prince of learning hereupon) onely in shallow and small Boates, glide over the face of the Virgilian Sea. How divinely, according to the Platonickes, doth he discourse of the Soule? how properly of the Nature, number of winds, seasons of the yeare, qualities of Beasts, Nature of Hearbs? What in-sight into ancient Chronologie and Historie? In briefe, what not worthy the knowledge of a divine wit? To make his Aeneas a man of extraordinary aspect, and comlinesse of personage, he makes Venus both his mother and Ladie of his Horoscope. And forasmuch as griefe and perpetuall care, are inseparable companions of all great and noble atchieuements, he gues him Achates quasi aXos aTos, his faithfull companion? What immoued constancy, when no teares or entreaty of Eliza could cause him stay? What Fiety, Pitty, Fortitude, beyond his companions. See how the Divine Poet gaue him leave to be wounded, lest his valour in so many skirmishes might bee questioned, and that a farre off,not at hand, that rather it might be imputed to his Fortune, then his rashnesse or weaknesse; then by one who could not be knowne, to give the enemie occasion rather of feare, then of challenging the glorie. And whereas he bringeth in Camilla, a courageous Lady, and invincible at the Swords point in encountering other; yet he never bringeth her to try her valour with Aeneas. Againe, that Tarchon and she might shew their braue deeds he makes Aeneas absent: as also when Turnus so resolutely brake into his Tents. Lastly, what excellent judgment sheweth he in appropriating the accidents and Histories of his owne times, to those of the
ancient, as where he bringeth in Venulus plucked by force from his Horse, and carried away with full speed? The like Caesar confesseth to have happened to himselfe. Aeneas with his right arme naked, commands his Souldiers to abstaine from slaughter. The like did Caesar at the battaile of Pharsalie, and with the same words. But thus much out of the deepe and most judicious observations of the most learned Scaliger.

Efficacie is a power of speech, which representeth a thing after an excellent manner, neither by bare words onely, but by presenting to our minds the lively Ideae or formes of things so truly, as if we saw them with our eyes; as the places in Hell, the fierie Arrow of Acesta, the description of Fame, the flame about the Temples of Ascanius: but of actions more open, and with greater Spirit, as in that passage and passion of Dido, preparing to kill herselze.

At trépida & coeptis immanibus effera Dido,  
Sanguineam voluens aciem, maculisque trementis  
Interfusa genas, & pallida morte futura,  
Interiora domus irrumpit limina, & altos  
Conscendit furibunda rogos, enseque recludit  
Dardanium, &c.

Which for my English Readers sake, I haue after my manner translated, though assured all the translations in the world must come short of the sweetnesse and Majesty of the Latine.

But she amazd and fierce by cruell plots,  
Rouling about her bloody eye, her cheekes  
All-trembling and arising, full of spots,  
And pale with death at hand, perforce she breaks  
Into the in-most rooms.  

Enraged then she climbes the loftie pile,  
And out of sheath the Dardane sword doth draw:  
He're for such end ordained; when a while  
The Troian garments, and knowne couch she saw,  
With trickling teares her selfe thereon she cast,  
And hauing paus'd a little, speake her last.  

Sweete spoiles, while Fates and Heauens did permit,  
Receive this soule, and rid me of my cares;  
What race my Fortune gaue I finish'd it, &c.
Moreover, that lively combat betweene Nisus and Volscens, with many other of most excellent life.

Sweetnesse.

A sweete verse is that, which like a dish with a delicate Sauce, inuites the Reader to taste euen against his will; the contrarie is harshnesse: hereof I giue you an example in the description of young Pallas (whom imagine you see laid forth newly slaine vpon a Biere of Crabtree and Oken rods, couered with Straw, and arched over with greene boughes) then which no Nectar can be more delicious. (13)

Qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem,
Seu mollis violae, seu languentis Hyacinthi,
Cui neque fulgor adhuc, nec dum sua forma recessit,
Non iam mater alit tellus viresque ministrat, &c.

Euen as the Flower by Maidens finger mowne,
Cf th'drooping Hy'cinth, or soft Violet,
Whose beautie's fading, yet not fully gone;
Now mother Earth no more doth nourish it, &c.

The like of faire Eurialus breathing his last. (14)

Purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro,
Languescit moriens, lassove papauera collo
Demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.

Looke how the purple Flower, which the Flow Hath shorne in sunder, languishing doth die;
Or Poppies downe their wearie neckes do bow,
and hang the head, with raine when laden lie, &c.

This kind, Plutarch teasmeth Flowery, as hauing in it a beautie and sweete grace to delight, as a Flower. (15)

Varietie is various, and the rules of it so difficult, that to define or describe it, were as to draw one picture which should resemble all the faces in the world, changing it selse like Proteus into all shapes: which our Divine Poet so much, and with such excellent art affecteth, that seldome or neuer he yttereth words, or describeth actions spoken or done after the same manner, though

neque Editor: nec A
they be in effect the same; yea, though the conclusion of all the Bookes of his _Aeneides_ bee Tragicall, saue the first; yet are they so tempered and disposed with such varietie of accidents, that they bring admiration to the most divine judgements: among them all not one like another, saue the ends of Turnus and Mezentius. What varietie in his battailes, assailing the enemies Campe, besieging Cities, broyles among the common people, set battailes in fields, aides of horse and foot? &c. Neuer the same wounds, but giuen with divers weapons, as heere one is wounded or slaine with a piece of a Rock, a Flint, Fire-brand, Club, Halberd, Long pole: there another with a drinking Boule or Pot, a Rudder, Dart, Arrow, Lance, Sword, Bals of Wildfire, &c. In divers places, as the throat, head, thigh, breast, hip, hand, knee, before, behind, on the side, standing, lying, running, flying, talking, sleeping, crying out, entreating. Of place, as in the field, in the Tents, at Sacrifice, vpon the guard, in the day time, in the night. To proceede further, were to translate Virgil himselfe; therefore hitherto of varietie. I forbeare his most lively descriptions of persons, times, places, and manner; his most sweete and proper Similitudes, as where he resembleth Aeneas, who could not be moued by any entreatie or teares of Dido, or her Sister Anna, to a stubborne Oake after this manner. (16)

At veluti annosam valido cum robore quercum,
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc, nunc flatibus illine,
Eruere inter se certant; it stridor, & altae
Consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes, &c.

As when the Alpine winds with each contend,
Now this, now that way, with their furious might,
Some aged Oake vp by the rootes to rend,
Lowd whistling's heard, the earth bestrewed quite
(The body reeling) all about with leaues:
While it stands firme, and irremoued cleaues
Into the kocke; for looke how high it heaues
The loftie head to heauen-ward, so low
The stubborne roote doth downe to hell-ward grow.
Againe, that elegant comparison of Aruns (hauling cowardly slaine the braue Ladie Camilla, and retir'd him selfe for feare, into the body of the Armie) to a Wolfe that had done a mischiefe, and durst not shew his head. (19)

At velut ille prius quam tela inimica sequantur
Continuo in montes sese autius abdidit altos
Occiso pastore Lupus, magnove iuvenco
Conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
subiecit pautantem vtero, sylvasque petuit, &c.

Or some great beast, before the Countrey rife,
Knowing him guiltie, through by-waies amaine
Hath got the Mountaines, leering where he lies,
Or clapt his taile betwixt his legges, in feare
Tane the next Coppise, till the Coast be cleare.

After Virgil, I bring you Ouid, as well because they liued in one time, (yet Ouid confesseth he saw Virgil but once in all his life(20)) as that he deserueth to be second in imitation, for the sweetnesse and smooth current of his stile, every where seasoned with profound and antique learning: among his Workes, his Epistles are most worthy your reading, being his neatest peece, every where embellished with excellent and wise Sentences; the numbers smoothly falling in, and borrowing their lustre and beautie from imitation of natiue and antique Simplicitie: that of Acontius is somewhat too wanton; those three, of Vlysses, Demophoon, and Paris to Cenone, are suspected for the weaknesse of conceit, in regard of the other, to be none of Quids.

Concerning his bookes, Amorum and de Arte amandi, the wit with the truly ingenuous and learned will beare out the wantonnesse: for with the weeds there are delicate flowers in those walkes of Venus. For the Argument of his Metamorphosis, he is beholden to Parthenius, and diuers others, and those who long before wrote of the same subject.

About the yeare 1581, when the King of Poland made warre in Moscouia, certaine Polonian Embassadours travelling into the in-most places of Moscouia, as farre as Podolia and Kiouia: (21) they passed
the great River Boristhenes, having in their company a certaine young Gentleman, very well seen in the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues; withall, an excellent Poet and Historian: he persuaded the Polonians to well horse themselves, and ride with him a little further; for he would (said he) shew them Ouids Sepulcher; which they did: and when they were gone six daies journey beyond Boristhenes, through most vaste and desolate places, at last they came into a most sweete and pleasant valley, wherein was a cleere running Fountaine, about which the grasse growing very thicke and high, with their Swords and Fauchions they cut it downe, till at last they found a Stone, Chest, or Coffin, covered ouer with stickes and shrubs, whereon, it being rubbed and cleansed from Mosse and filth, they read Ouids Epitaph, which was this:

Hic situs est vates, quem Diui Caesaris ira
Augusti, Latia cedere iussit humo:
Saepe miser voluit Patrijs occumbere terris,
Sed frustra: hunc illi fata dedere locum.

This his Sepulcher (saith mine Authour) remaineth vpon the borders of Greece, neere to the Euxine Sea, and is yet to be seene.

Horace.

Of Lyricke Poets, as well Greeke as Latine, hold Horace in highest account, as the most acute and artificiall of them all, having attained to such height, that to the discreet e judgement, he hath cut off all hope of equalizing him: his Stile is elegant, pure and sinewie, with most wittie and choice sentences, neither humili contentus Stylo (as Quintilian saith of him) sed grandiloquio & sublimi. Yea and if we beleue Scaliger, more accurate and sententious then Pindar. His Odes are of most sweete and pleasant inuention, beyond all reprehension, every where illustred with sundrie and rare figures, and verses so fluent, that the same Scaliger protesteth he had rather be a composer of the like, then be King of whole Arragon. (22) In his Satyres he is quicke, round and pleasant, and as nothing so bitter, so not so good as Juvenal: his Epistles are neate; his Poetica his worst peece, for while he teacheth the Art, he goeth vnartificially to worke, even in the vere beginning.
Juvenal.

Juvenal of Satyristis is the best, for his Satyres are far better than those of Horace, and though he be sententiously tart, yet is his phrase clear and open.

Persius.

Persius, I know not why we should so much affect him, since with his obscuritie hee laboureth not to affect us; yet in our learned age he is now discovered to every Schoole-boie: his stile is broken, froward, unpleasing and harsh.

Martial.

In Martial you shall see a divine wit, with a flowing puritie of the Latine tongue, a true Epigrammatist: his verse is clear, full, and absolute good, some few too wanton and licentious, being winked at.

Lucane.

Lucane breathes with a great spirit, wherefore some of our shallow Grammarians, haue attempted to equall him with Virgil: but his error is, while hee doth ampullare with bigge sounding words, and a conceipt unbounded, furious and ranging, and cannot with Virgil containe himselfe within that sweete, humble and unaffected moderation; he incurreth a secret enuie and ridiculous contempt, which a moderate and well tempered style auoideth.

Seneca.

Seneca, for Maiestie and state yeeldeth not to any of the Grecians whosoever, Cultu & nitore, to use Scaligers words, farre excelling Euripides: and albeit he borrowed the Argument of his Tragaedies from the Grecians, yet the Spirit, loftinessse of sound, and Maiestie of stile is meerely his owne.

Claudian.

Claudian, is an excellent and sweete Poet, onely overborne by the meannes of his subject, but what wanted to his matter he supplied by his wit and happie invention.(23)

Statius.

Statius is a smooth and a sweete Poet, comming neerest of any
other to the state and Majestie of Virgil's verse, and Virgil only excepted, is the Prince of Poets as well Greekes as Latine; for he is more flowery in figures, and writeth better lines then Homer. Of his works his *Syluae* are the best.

**Propertius.**

Propertius is an easie, clear and true Elegiacke, following the tract of none saue his owne inuention.

**Plautus. Terence.**

Among Comicke Poets, how much antiquitie attributed to Plautus for his pleasant vein (to whom Volcautius giueth the place next to Caecilius, and Varro would make the mouth of Muses) so much doe our times yeeld to Terence, for the puritie of his stile: wherefore Scaliger willeth vs to admire Plautus as a Comoedian, but Terence as a pure and elegant speaker.

Thus haue I in briefe, comprised for your behoofe, the large censure of the best of Latine Poets, as it is copiously deliver'd by the Prince of all learning and ludge of judgments, the diuine Jul. Caes. Scaliger. But while we looke backe to antiquitie, let vs not forget our later and moderne times (as imagining nature hath heretofore extracted her quintessence, and left vs the dregges) which produce as fertile wits, as perhaps the other, yea and in our Britaine.

**Buchanan.**

Of Latine poets of our times in the judgement of Beza and the best learned, Buchanan is esteemed the cheife: who albeit in his person, behauiour, and fashion, he was rough hewen, slovenly and rude, seldome caring for a better outside then a Hugge-gowne girt close about him, yet his inside and conceipt in Poesie was most rich, and his sweetnesse, and facilitie in a verse, vnimitably excellent, as appeareth by that Master peece his *Psalms*; as farre beyond those of B. Rhenanus, as the Stanza's of Petrarch the rimes of Skelton: but deseruing more applause (in my opinion) if hee had fallen vpon another subiect; for I say with one, Mihi spiritus diuinus eiusmodi placet quo seipsum ingessit a Patre, & illorum piget qui Dauid Psalmos suis calamistrias inustos sperarant.
efficere plausibiliiores. (24) And certaine in that boundlesse field of Poeticall invention, it cannot be avoided, but something must be distorted beside the intent of the Divine enditer.

His Tragedies are loftie, the stile pure, his Epigrams not to be mended, saue heere and there (according to his Genius) too broad and bitter.

Joseph of Exeter.

But let vs looke behinde vs, and wee shall finde one English-bred (whose glorie and worth, although Cineri supposta doloso) is inferiour neither to Buchanan, or any of the ancients, and so much the more to be valued, by how much the brighter he appeared out of the fogges of Barbarisme and ignorance in his time; that is, Joseph of Exeter, who liued vnder Henrie the 2. and Richard the first, who wrote that singular and stately Poeme of the Troian warre, after the Historie of Dares Phrygius, which the Germanes haue printed vnder the name of Cornelius Nepos. He died at Bourdeaux in France, where he was Archbishop, where his monument is yet to bee seene.

Sir Thomas More.

After him (all that long tract of ignorance, vntill the daies of Henrie the 8., which time Erasmus calleth, the Golden Age of learning, in regard of so many famously learned men, it produced more then ever heretofore) flourished Sir Thomas More, sometime Lord Chancellor of England: a man of most rich and pleasant inuention: his verse fluent, nothing harsh, constrained or obscure; wholly composed of conceipt, and inoffensiue mirth, that he seemeth ad lepores fuisse natum. How wittily doth hee play vpon the Arch-cuckold Sabinus, scoffe at Frenchified Lalus, and Heruey a French cowardly Captaine, beaten at the Sea by our English, and his shippe burned, yet his victorie and valour to the English disgrace, proclaimed by Brixius a Germane Post-after? What can be more loftie then his gratulatorie verse to King Henrie vpon his Coronation day? more wittie then that Epigramme vpon the name of Nicolaus an ignorant Phisitian, that had bee the death of thousands, and Abyngdons Epitaph? more sweete then that nectar Epistle of his, to his daughters Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cicelie? But as these
ingenious exercises bewraied in him an extraordinary quicknesse of wit and learning, so his Utopia his depth of judgment in State-affaires, then which, in the opinion of the most learned Budneus in a preface, before it our age hath not seene a thing more deepe & accurate.

William Lillie.

In his younger yeres, there was ever a friendly and vertuous emulation, for the palme of inuention and poesie, betweene William Lillie the author of our Grammer, and him, as appeareth by their severall translations of many Greeke Epigrammes, and their inuention tried vpon one subiect; notwithstanding they lou'd and liu'd together as dearest friends. Lillie also was beside, an excellent Latine Poet, a singular Graecian; who after he travelled all Greece ouer, and many parts of Europe beside, and liued some foure or five yeres, in the Ile of the Rhodes: he returned home, and by John Collet Deane of Paules, was elected Master of Paules Schoole, which he had newly founded.

Sir Thomas Challoner.

Shortly after, began to grow eminent, aswell for Poesie as all other generall learning, Sir Thomas Challoner Knight (father to the truly honest, and sometimes louer of all excellent parts, Sir Thomas Challoner, who attended vpon the late Prince) borne in London, brought vp in Cambridge; who hauing left the Vniversitie, and followed the Court a good while, went ouer with Sir Henry Knyuet, Embassadour to Charles the fift, as his friend and companion: what time the Emperour being preparing a mightie fleete against the Turkes in Argier, the English Embassadour, Sir Thomas Challoner, Henry Knowles, M. Henry Isam, and others, went in that seruice as voluntaries with the Emperour. But the Galley wherein Sir Thomas Challoner was, being cast away by foulenesse of weather, after he had laboured by swimming for his life as long as he was able, and the strength of his armes failing him, he caught hold vpon a cable throwne out from another galley, to the losse and breaking of many of his teeth, and by that meanes saued his life. After the death of King Henry the 8. he was in the battaile of Muskleborough, and
knighted by the Duke of Sommerset. And in the beginning of the
raigne of Queene Elizabeth, hee went ower Embassadour into Spaine,
where at his houres of leisure, he compiled ten elegant books in
Latine vers. de Repub. Anglorum instauranda: superuised after his
death by Malim, and dedicated to the old Lord Burghley, Lord
Treasour. Being sent for home, by her Maiestie, he shortly after
died in London, and was buried in Paules neere to the steppes of
the Quire, toward the South-doore, vnder a faire marble; but the
brasse and epitaphe written by Doctor Haddon, by sacrilegious hands
is since tome away. But the Muse and Sternall Fame have reared
him a monument more lasting and worthy the merit of so excellent a
man.

Sir Geoffrey Chaucer.

Of English Poets of our owne Nation, esteeme Sir Geoffrey
Chaucer the father; although the stile for the antiquitie, may
distast you, yet as vnder a bitter and rough rinde, there lyeth a
delicate kernell of conceit and sweete invention. What Examples,
Similitudes, Times, Places, and aboue all, Persons, with their
speeches, and attributes, doe as in his Canterburie-tales (like these
threds of gold, the rich Arras) beautifie his worke quite thorough?
And albeit diuers of his workes, are but meerely translations out
of Latine and French, yet he hath handled them so artificially,
that thereby he hath made them his owne, as his Troilus and
Cresseid. The Romant of the rose, was the Inuention of lehan de
Mehunes, a French Poet, whereof he translated but onely the one
halfe: his Canterburie-tales without question were his owne
inuention, all circumstances being wholly English. Hee was a good
Divine, and saw in those times, without his spectacles, as may
appeare by the Flough-man, and the Parsons tale: withall an
excellent Mathematician, as plainly appeareth by his discourse of
the Astrolabe to his little scune Lewes. In briefe, account him
among the best of your English booke in your librarie.

Gower.

Gower being very gracious with King Henrie the 4. in his time
carried the name of the onely Poet, but his verses to say truth,
were poore and plaine, yet full of good and graue Moralitie: but
while he affected altogether the French phrase and words, made himself
too obscure to his reader; beside his inuention commeth farre short
of the promise of his Titles. He published onely (that I know of)
three bookees, which at S. Marie Querieris in Southwarke vpon his
monument lately repaired by some good Benefactor, lie vnnder his
head; which are Vox clamantis, Speculum Meditantis, and Confessio
Amantis. He was a Knight, as also was Chaucer.

Lydgate.

After him succeeded Lydgate, a Monke of Burie, who wrote that
bitter Satyre of Peirs Flow-man. He spent most part of his time in
translating the workes of others, hauing no great inuention of his
owne. He wrote for those times a tollerable and smooth verse.

Harding, Skelton.

Then followed Harding, and after him Skelton, a Poet Laureate,
for what desert I could neuer heare; if you desire to see his veine
and learning, an Epitaph vpon King Henry the seauenth, at West­
minster will discouer it.

Henrie Earle of Surrey. Sir Thomas Wyat.

In the latter end of King Henrie the 8. for their excellent
facultie in Poesie were famous, the right noble Henrie Earle of
Surrey (whose Songs and Sonnets yet extant, are of sweete conceipt:)
and the learned, but vnfortunate Sir Thomas Wyat.

In the time of Edward the sixth liued Sternhold, whom King Henry
his father, a little before had made groome of his Chamber, for
turning certaine of Davids Psalmes into verse: and merrie John
Heywood, who wrote his Epigrammes, as also Sir Thomas More his
Vtopia, in the parish wherein I was borne; (25) where either of them
dwelt, and had faire possessions.

About Queene Maries time, flourished Doctor Phaer who in part
translated Virgils Aëneids, after finished by Arthur Golding.

In the time of our late Queene Elizabeth, which was truly a
golden Age (for such a world of refined wits, and excellent spirits
it produced, whose like are hardly to be hoped for, in any succeeding
Age) above others, who honoured Poesie with their pennes and
practise (to omit her Maiestie, who had a singular gift herein) were Edward Earle of Oxford, the Lord Buckhurst, Henry Lord Paget; our Phoenix, the noble Sir Philip Sidney, M. Edward Dyer, M. Edmund Spencer, M. Samuel Daniel, with sundry others; whom (together with those admirable wits, yet living, and so well knowne) not out of Enuie, but to auoide tediousness I ouerpasse. Thus much of Poetrie.
1. Plato in Phaedro.

2. καὶ Θεία ἡ ἡμή in Farmenide.

3. Hil. in Prologo Psalm.


5. The place to this day is called Howlands vallis, and was in times past a great pilgrimage, there being a Chapell built over the tombe, & dedicated to our Ladie, called commonly but corruptly our Ladie of Ronceuall.


7. Who gaue him, it is thought, his Mannor of Ewhelme in Oxfordshire.

8. To Charles the eight & Lewis the twelfth.


10. Aeneid. 11.

11. Farcite ciuibus.

12. Aeneid. 4.

13. Aeneid. 11.


15. ἀνθρώπον κάλλος ἐχον καὶ χάριν εἰς τὸ τέρπεται καὶ ἔθειν ὑσσερά ἄνθρος.

16. Vide Scal. lib. 3. Poet. cap. 27.

17. Phalaricae.

18. Aeneid. 4.

19. Aeneid. 11.


23. Ignobili subjecto oppressus.


CHAP. 11.

Of Musicke.

Musicke a sister to Poetrie, next crueth your acquaintance (if your Genius be so disposed.) I know there are many, who are adeo ξανοσολ, and of such disproportioned spirits, that they auoide her companie; as a great Cardinall in Rome, did Moses at their first comming in, that to auoide their sent, he built him an house in the champaigne farre from any towne: or as with a Rose not long since, a great Ladies cheeke in England, their eares are readie to blister at the tendrest touch thereof. I dare not passe so rash a censure of these as Pindar doth, or the Italian, hauing fitted a proverbe to the same effect, Whom God loues not, that man loues not Musicke: but I am verily perswaded, they are by nature very ill disposed, and of such a brutish stupiditie, that scarce any thing else that is good and sauoureth of vertue, is to be found in them. Neuer wise man (I thinke) questioned the lawfull use hereof, since it is an immediate gift of heauen, bestowed on man, whereby to praise and magnifie his Creator; to solace him in the midst of so many sorrowes and care≈, wherewith life is hourly beset: and that by song, as by letters, the memorie of Doctrine, and the benefits of God might be for euer preserued (as we are taught by that Song of Moses, and those divine Psalmes of the sweete singer of Israel, who with his Psalterie so lowdly resounded the Mysteries and innumerable benefits of the Almightye Creator,) and the service of God advanced, as we may finde in 2. Samuel 6. vers. 5. Psalme 33.21.43. and 4.108.3* and in sundrie other places of Scripture, which for breuitie I omit.

But, say our Sectaries, the service of God is nothing advanced by singing and instruments, as we vse it in our Cathedrall Churches, that is, by "Antiphonie, Reates, Repetitions, varietie of Kondes and Proportions with the like.

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For the first, that is not contrary, but consonant to the word of God, so in singing to answer either: the practise of Miriam the Prophetesse, and Sister of Moses, when she answered the men in her song, will approue; For repetition, nothing was more vsuall in the singing of the Leuites, and among the Psalmes of David, the 136. is wholly compounded of those two most gracefull and sweete figures of repetition, Symplece and Anaphora.

For Resting and Proportions, the nature of the Hebrew verse, as the meanest Hebrician knoweth, consisting many times of vneuen feete, going sometime in this number, sometimes in that; one while (as S. Hierome saith) in the numbers of Sappho; another while of Alcaeus, doth of necessitie require it: and wherein doth our practise of singing and playing with Instruments in his Maiesties Chappell, and our Cathedrall Churches, differ from the practise of David, the Priests and Leuites. Doe we not make one sound in praising and thanking God, with voyces and instruments of all sorts. Donec (as S. Hierome saith) reboet laquear templi: the rooфе of the Church echoeth againe, and which lest they should cauill at as a Jewish Ceremonie, we know to haue beene practised in the ancient purtie of the Church; but we returne where we left.

The Physitians will tell you, that the exercise of Musicke is a great lengthner of the life, by stirring and reuiuing of the Spirits, holding a secret sympathy with them; Besides, the exercise of singing, openeth the breast and pipes; it is an enemy to melancholy and deiction of the mind, which S. Chrysostome truly calleth, The Devils Bath. Yea, a curer of some diseases: in Apuglia, in Italy, and thereabouts, it is most certaine, that those who are stung with the Tarantula, are cured onely by Musicke. Beside, the aforesaid benefit of singing, it is a most ready helpe for a bad pronunciation, and distinct speaking, which I have heard confirmed by many great Diuines: yea, I my selfe haue knowne many Children to haue bin holpen of their stammering in speech, onely by it.

Plato calleth it, A diuine and heauenly practise, profitable for the seeking out of that which is good and honest.

Homer saith, Musitians are worthy of Honor, and regard of the whole world; and we know, albeit Lycurgus imposed most streight
and sharpe Lawes vpon the Lacedaemonians, yet he euer allowed them
the exercise of musicke.

Aristotle auerreth Musicke to be the onely disposer of the
mind to Vertue and Goodnesse; wherefore he reckoneth it among those
foure principall exercises, wherein he would haue children
instructed.(8)

Tullie saith, there consisteth in the practise of singing, and
playing vpon Instruments, great knowledge, and the most excellent
instruction of the mind: and for the effect it worketh in the mind,
he termeth it, Stabilem Thesaurum, qui mores instituit, componitque, 10
ac mollit irarum ardores, &c. (9) A lasting Treasure, which
rectifieth and ordereth our manners, and allayeth the heate and
furie of our anger, &c.

I might runne into an infinite Sea of the praise and vse of so
excellent an Art, but I onely shew it you with the finger, because
I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman should (saue his priuate
recreation at leasurable houres) prooue a Master in the same, or
neglect his more weightie imployments: though I auouch it a skill
worthy the knowledge and exercise of the greatest Prince.

King Henrie the eight could not onely sing his part sure, but 20
of himselfe compose a Service of foure, fiue, and sixe parts; as
Erasmus in a certaine Epistle, testifieth of his owne knowledge.

D. of Venosa.

The Duke of Venosa, an Italian Prince, in like manner, of late
yeares, hath giuen excellent proofe of his knowledge and love to
Musicke, hauing himselfe composed many rare songs, which I haue
seen.

The iust praise of Maurice Lantgraue of Hessen.

But aboue others, who carryeth away the Palme for excellency,
not onely in Musicke, but in whatsoever is to be wished in a braue
Prince, is the yet liuving Maurice Landgraue of Hessen, of whose owne
composition I haue seene eight or ten seuerall sets of Motets, and
solemne Musicke, set purposely for his owne Chappell; where for the
greater honour of some Festiuall, and many times for his recreation
onely, he is his own Organist. Besides, he readily speaketh ten or
twelue seueral languages: he is so vniuersall a Scholler, that
comming (as he doth often) to his Vniuersitie of Marpurge, what
questions soeuer he meeteth with set vp, (as the manner is in the
Germane and our Vniuersities) hee will Ex tempore, dispute an hour
or two (euen in Bootes and Spurres) vpon them, with their best
Professors. I passe over his rare skill in Chirurgerie, he being
generally accounted the best Bonesetter in the Country. Who haue
seene his estate, his hospitalitie, his rich furnished Armorie, his
braue Stable of great Horses, his curtesie to all strangers, being
men of Qualitie and good parts, let them speake the rest.

But since the naturall inclination of some men, driueth them
(as it were) perforce to the top of Excellencie: examples of this
kind are very rare, yea great personages many times are more
violently carried, then might well stand with their Honours, and
necessitie of their affaires: yet were it to these honest and
commendable exercises sauouring of vertue, it were well: but many
neglecting their duties and places, will addict themselves wholly
to trifles, and the most ridiculous and childish practises. As
Kropus King of Macedonia, tooke pleasure only in making of
Candles: Domitian, his recreation was to catch & kill flies, and
could not be spoken with many times in so serious employment.

Ptolemaeus Philadelphus was an excellent Smith and a Basket maker.
Alphonso Atestino Duke of Ferrara, delighted himselfe onely in
turning and playing the Ioyner. Rodolph the late Emperour in
setting of Stones, and making Watches. Which, and the like, much
eclipse State and Maiestie, bringing familiaritie, and by consequence
contempt with the meanest.

I desire no more in you then to sing your part sure, and at the
first sight, withall, to play the same vpon your Violl, or the
exercise of the Lute, priuely to your selfe.

To deliver you my opinion, whom among other Authors you should
imitate and allow for the best, there being so many equally good,
is somewhat difficult; yet as in the rest herein you shall have my
opinion.

M. William Byrd.

For Motets, and Musickes of pietie and devotion, as well for the
honour of our Nation, as the merit of the man, I preferre above all other our Phoenix, M. William Byrd, whom in that kind, I know not whether any may equall. I am sure, none excell, euen by the judgement of France and Italy, who are very sparing in the commendation of strangers, in regard of that conceipt they hold of themselves. His Cantiones Sacrae, as also his Gradualia, are meere Angelicall and Diuine; and being of himselfe naturally disposed to Grauitie and Pietie, his veine is not so much for light Madrigals or Canzonets, yet his Virginella, and some others in his first set, cannot be mended by the best Italian of them all.

Ludouico de Victoria.

For composition, I preferre next Ludouico de Victoria, a most iudicious and sweete Composer: after him Orlando di Lasso, a very rare and excellent Author, who liued some forty yeares since in the Court of the Duke of Saueir. He hath published as well in Latine as French many sets, his veine is graue and sweete: among his Latine Songs, his seuen poenitentiall Psalmes are the best, and that French Set of his wherein is Susanna vn jour. Vpon which Dittie many others haue since exercised their inuention.

Luca Marenzio.

For delicious Aire and sweete Inuention in Madrigals, Luca Marenzio excelleth all other whosoeuer, haung published more Sets then any Author else whosoeuer; and to say truth, hath not an ill Song, though sometime an over-sight (which might be the Printers fault) of two eights, or fifts escape him; as betweene the Tenor and Base in the last close, of, I must depart all haplesse: ending according to the nature of the Dittie most artificially, with a Minim rest. His first, second, and third parts of Thyrsis, Veggo dolce mio ben,chi fae hoggi mio Sole,Cantave, or sweete singing Amaryllis, are Songs, the Muses themselues might not haue beene ashamed to haue had composed. Of stature and complexion, hee was a little and blacke man: he was Organist in the Popes Chappell at Rome a good while, afterward hee went into Poland, being in displeasure with the Pope for ouermuch familiaritie with a kinswoman of his, (whom the Queene of Poland, sent for by Luca...
Marenzio afterward, she being one of the rarest women in Europe, for her voice and the Lute:) but returning, he found the affection of the Pope so estranged from him, that thereupon he took a concept and died.

Alphonso Ferabosco the father, while he lived, for judgment and depth of skill, (as also his son yet living) was inferior unto none: what he did was most elaborate and profound, and pleasing enough in Air, though Master Thomas Morley censured him otherwise. That of his, I saw my Ladie Weeping, and the Nightingale (upon which Ditty Master Bird and he in a friendly emulation, exercised their invention) cannot be bettered for sweetness of Air, or depth of judgement.

Horatio Vecchi.

I bring you now mine owne Master, Horatio Vecchi of Modena; beside goodness of Air most pleasing of all other for his concept and variety, wherewith all his works are singularly beautified, as well his Madrigals of five and sixe, as those his Canzonets, printed at Norimberge: wherein for trial, sing his Viuio in fuoco amoroso Lucretia mia, where upon Io catenato moro, with excellent judgement, he drew a Crotchet thorough many Minims, causing it to resemble a chain with the Linkes. Again, in S'io potessi raccolti, the breaking of the word Sospiri with Crotchet & Crotchet, rest into sighes: and that, fa mi vn Canzone, &c. To make one sleepe at noone, with sundry other of like concept, and pleasant invention.

Giouanni Croce

Then that great Master, and Master not long since of S. Markes Chappell in Venice; second to none, for a full, loftie, and sprightly vein, following none save his owne humour: who while he lived, was one of the most free and braue companions of the world. His Poenitentiall Psalms are excellently composed, and for pietie are his best.

Peter Phillips.

Nor must I here forget our rare Countrey-man, Peter Phillips,
Organist to their Altezza's at Bruxels, now one of the greatest Masters of Musicke in Europe. He hath sent vs over many excellent Songs, as well Motets as Madrigals: he affecteth altogether the Italian veine.

There are many other Authors very excellent, as Boschetto, and Claudio de Monte Verde, equall to any before named; Giuonnani Ferreti, Stephano Felis, Giulio Rinaldi, Phillipo de Monte, Andrea Gabrieli, Cyprian de Rore, Pallauceno, Geminiano, with others yet living; whose severall workes for me here to examine, would be over tedious and needless; and for me, please your owne eare and fancie. Those whom I have before mentioned, haue bene euere (within these thirtie or fortie yeares) held for the best.

I willingly, to avoide tediousnesse, forbeare to speake of the worth and excellency of the rest of our English Composers, Master Doctor Douland, Tho: Morley, M. Alphonso, M. Wilbie, M. Kirbie, M. Wilkes, Michael East, M. Bateson, M. Deering, with sundry others, inferior to none in the world (how much soever the Italian attributes to himselfe) for depth of skill and richnesse of conceipt.

Infinite is the sweete varietie that the Therique of Musicke exerciseth the mind withall, as the contemplation of proportions, of Concords and Discords, diversitie of Moods and Tones, infinitenesse of Inuention, &c. But I dare affirm, there is no one Science in the world, that so affecteth the free and generous spirit, with a more delightfull and in-offensiue recreation, or better disposeth the minde to what is commendable and vertuous.

The Common-wealth of the Cynethenses in Arcadia, falling from the delight they formerly had in Musicke, grew into seditious humours and ciuill warres, which Polybius tooke especially note of: and I suppose, heereupon it was ordained in Arcadia, that every one should practise Musicke by the space of thirty yeares. The ancient Gaules in like manner (whom Iulian tearmed barbaricus) became most curteous and tractable by the practise of Musicke.

Rhetorique and Musicke their affinitie.

Yea, in my opinion, no Rhetorick more perswadeth, or hath greater power over the mind; nay, hath not Musicke her figures, the
same with Rhetorique? What is a Reuert but her Antistrophe? her
reports, but sweete Anaphora's? her counterchange of points,
Antimetabole's? her passionate Aires but Prosopopoea's? and
infinite other of the same nature.

The strange effects and properties of Musicall proportions.

How doth Musick amaze vs, when of sourest discords she maketh
the sweetest Harmony? And who can shew vs the reason why two
Basons, Bowles, Brasse pots, or the like of the same bignesse; the
one being full, the other emptie, shall, striken, be a iust
Diapason in sound one to the either; or that there should bee such
sympathy in sounds, that two Lutes, of equall size being laid vpon
a Table, and tuned Vnison, or alike in the Gamma, G sol re vt, or
any other string; the one stricken, the other vntouched shall
answer it?

But to conclude, if all Arts hold their esteeme and value
according to their Effects, account this goodly Science not among
the number of those which Lucian placeth without the gates of Hell,
as vaine and vnprofitable: but of such which are πηγαὶ τῶν καλῶν,
the fountaines of our liues good and happinesse: since it is a
principal meanes of glorifying our mercifull Creator, it heightens
our devotion, it giues delight and ease to our travailes, it
expelleth sadnesse and heavinesse of Spirit, preserueth people in
concord and amitie, allaieth fiercenesse and anger; and lastly, is
the best Phisicke for many melancholly diseases.

1 with Editor: which A
6 of sourest Editor: assures of A: of sound B
1. Deut. 32.

2. It was an instrument three square, of 72. strings of incomparable sweetnesse.

3. Answering one another in the Quire.


5. In lib. de Angore animi.

6. θαυμόνιον πρᾶγμα.

7. τιμής έμμοροί είσι καὶ αἴδους. Odys. 8.


10. Erasm. in Farragine Epist.

11. Cuspinian.


15. Iulian Imperat. in Epist. ad Antioch.
CHAP. 12.

Of Antiquities.

Out of the Treasury and Storehouse of venerable Antiquities, I have selected these three sorts, Statues, Inscriptions, and Coynes; desiring you to take a short view of them, ere you proceed any further.

The pleasure of them is best knowne to such as have seene them abroad in France, Spaine, and Italy, where the Gardens and Galleries of great men are beautified and set forth to admiration with these kinds of ornaments. And indeed the possession of such rarities, by reason of their dead costliness, doth properly belong to Princes, or rather to princely minds. But the profitable necessitie of some knowledge in them, will plainly appeare in the handling of each particular. Sure I am, that he that will travell, must both heed them and understand them, if he desire to bee thought ingenious, and to bee welcome to the owners. For next men and manners, there is nothing fairely more delightfull, nothing worthier observation, than these Copies, and memorials of men and matters of elder times; whose lively presence is able to perswade a man, that he now seeth two thousand yeeres agoe. Such as are skilled in them, are by the Italians tearmed Virtuosi, as if others that either neglect or despise them, were idiots or rakehels. And to say truth, they are somewhat to be excused, if they have all Leefhebbers (as the Dutch call them) in so high estimation, for they themselves are so great lovers of them (& similis simili gaudet) that they purchase them at any rate, and lay up mightie treasures of money in them. Witsnesse that Exchequer of mettals in the Cabinets of the great Duke of Tuscany, for number and raritie absolutely the best in the world, and not worth so little as 100000. pound. For proofe whereof, doe but consider the number of those which Peter de Medicis lost at Florence upon his banishment and departure thence, namely, a hundred thousand peeces of gold, and silver, and brasse, as Philip de Commines reporteth, who mentioneth

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them as an infinite treasure. And yet Peter was but a private man, and not to be any way compared with the Dukes of his House, that have beene since, all of them great and diligent gatherers of all manner of Antiquities. And for Statues, the Diana of Ephesus in the marble chamber at Paris, Laocooon and Nilus in Beluedere at Rome, and many more, are pieces of inestimable value: but the matchlesse, and never too much admired Toro in Cardinall Farneses garden out-strippeth all other Statues in the world for greatnesse and workmanship. It comprehendeth a great Bull, and (if my memory faile mee not) seven or eight figures more as great as the life, all of one entire piece of marble, covered with a house made of purpose, and estimated at the wealth of a kingdom, as the Italians say, or all other Statues put together.

Of Statues.

And now to spend a few lines on Statues in generall; I began with them, because I suppose them of greater standing & antiquitie, than either Inscriptions or Coines. For, not to speake of Inscriptions, but of the Geneus of them, Writing and Letters, they seeme to be so much the later invention of the two (I meane in regard of Statues) as it was more obvious and easier for man to figure and represent his outward body than his inward minde. We heare of Labans idols, long before the two tables of the commandements, and they are the first of either kind mentioned in the holy Scriptures. And in the Stories of the East and West Indies, we finde idols among those Savages that had neither writing nor money. Coines I place in the reare, because they are made up of both the other. For most commonly they consist (I speake not of the materiall but formall part) either of an Inscription, or an image, or both; so that the other two may justly claime precedency of Coines, seeing they are the ingredient simples that compound them. It is true that we reade in Genesis that Abraham bought the field of Machpelah for 400 shekels, and that (you may say) is long before we heare either of Idols or writings: but withall it is said there, not that he told out so much money to Ephron, but that (appendit) he weighed it; so that 400 shekels there are to be taken for so much in weight, not in coyne pecunia numerata. At Rome, Servius was the first (as
Remeus thinks, and Snellius is perswaded) or Numa Pompilius (as Suidas out of Suetonius alleageth, and Isodore beleeveth) that first stamped money. But their penates were farre more ancient, which their Poets (and particularly Virgil) say, AEneas brought with him from Troy. I will leave this point with this by-observation, that if that Story of AEneas be true; the coynes that some Antiquaries have of Priamus and Troy may very well be suspected of forgery. For it is not likely that they that had time enough to bring away their household Gods, should be forgetfull as to leave all their money behind them; and so negligent withall, as after their settling in Italy, never to put in practice a thing so usefull and necessary as coyned money is, till Servius or Numa's time.

To returne to our Statues; they I propound are chiefly Greeke and Romane, and both these either of Deities or Mortals. And where should the Magazine of the best of these be, but where the seat of the last Empire was? even at Rome: where though they be daily found and digged for, yet are they so extremely affected and sought after, that it is (as with Gennets in Spaine) felony to convey them thence without speciall licence. But in Greece and other parts of the Grand Signiors Dominions (where sometime there were more Statues standing than men living, so much had Art out-stripped Nature in those dayes) they may be had for digging and carrying. For by reason of the barbarous religion of the Turks, which alloweth not the likeness or representation of any living thing, they have been for the most part buryed in ruines or broken to pieces; so that it is a hard matter to light upon any there, that are not headlesse and lame, yet most of them venerable for their antiquitie and elegancy. And here I cannot but with much reverence, mention the every way Right honourable Thomas Howard Lord high Marshall of England, as great for his noble Patronage of Arts and ancient learning, as for his birth and place. To whose liberall charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greeke and Romane Statues with whose admired presence he began to honour the Gardens and Galleries of Arundel-House about twentie yeeres agoe, and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England, King Charles also ever since his comming to the Crowne, hath amply testified a Royall liking of ancient statues, by causing a whole army of
old forraine Emperours, Captaines, and Senators all at once to land on his coasts, to come and doe him homage, and attend him in his palaces of Saint James, and Sommerset-house. A great part of these belonged to the late Duke of Mantua: and some of the Old-greeke-marble-bases, columnes, and altars were brought from the ruines of Apollo's Temple at Deloe, by that noble and absolutely compleat Gentleman Sir Kenhelme Digby Knight. In the Garden at St. James there are also halfe a dozen brasse statues, rare ones, cast by Hubert le Sueur his Majesties Servant now dwelling in Saint Bar- tholomewes London, the most industrious and excellent Statuary in all materials that ever this Countrey enjoyed.

The best of them is the Gladiator, molded from that in Cardinall Borgheses Villa, by the procurement and industry of ingenious Master Gage. And at this present the said Master Sueur hath divers other admirable molds to cast in brasse for his Majestie, and among the rest that famous Diana of Ephesus above named. But the great Horse with his Majestie upon it, twice as great as the life, and now well-nigh finished, will compare with that of the New-bridge at Paris, or those others at Florence and Madrid, though made by Sueur his Master, John de Bolonia that rare worke-man, who not long since lived at Florence. At Yorke-house, also the Galleries and Roomes are ennobled with the possession of those Romane Heads, and Statues, which lately belonged to Sir Peter Paul Rubons Knight, that exquisit Painter of Antwerp: and the Garden will bee renowned so long as John de Bologna's Cain and Abel stand erected there, a pece of wondrous Art and Workemanship. The King of Spaine gave it his Majestie at his being there, who bestowed it on the late Duke of Buckingham. And thus have we of late yeeres a good sample of this first sort of Antiquities accompanied with some novelties, which nevertheless can not but fall short of those in other Countries, where the love and study of them is farre ancients, and the meanes to come by them easier.

It is not enough for an ingenuous Gentleman to behold these with a vulgar eye: but he must be able to distinguish them, and tell who and what they be. To doe this, there be foure parts: First, by generall learning in History and Poetry. Whereby we are taught to know Jupiter by his thunder-bolt, Mars by his
armour, Neptune by his Trident, Apollo by his harpe, Mercury by his winges on his cap and feet, or by his Caduceus; Ceres by a handfull of corne, Flora by her flowers, Bacchus by his Vine-leaves, Pomona by her Apples, Hercules by his club or Lyons skin, Hercules infans by his grasping of Snakes. Comedy by a vizard in her hand, Diana by a crescent, Pallas by her helmet and speare, and so generally of most of the Deities. Some mortals also are knowne by their cognisances, as Laocoon by his Snakes stinging him to death, Cleopatra by a viper, Cicero by his wert, and a great many more.

But because all statues have not such properties and badges, there is a second way to discerne them, and that is by their coynes. For if you looke upon them sidewayes and consider well their halfe-faces, as all coynes shew them, you will easily know them. For this is certaine (which also witnesseth the exquisit diligence of ancient workes) that all the faces of any one person, whether on old coynes or stones, in greater or lesser volume, are all alike. Insomuch as if you bring an old rusty coyne to any reasonable Antiquary: if he can see but a nose upon it, or a peece of the face, he will give you a shrewd guesse at him, though none of the inscription be to be seene.

A third and very good way to distinguish them, is by the booke of collection of all the principall statues that are now to be seene at Rome: printed there with the Title, Icones statuarum quae hodie visuntur Romae.

He that is well acquainted with this booke, will easily discover at first sight a great many of them. For there are a number of statues of one and the same person: and he that knowes one of them knows all the rest.

The fourth and last helpe, and without which the rest are weake, is to visit them in company of such as are learned in them, and by their helpe to grow familiar with them, and so practise their acquaintance.

Now beside the pleasure of seeing, and conversing with these old Heroes, (whose meere presence, without any farther consideration, reared on their severall Pedistals, and ranked decently, either sub dio, where they shew best, or in a stately Gallery, cannot but take
any eye that can but see;) the profit of knowing them, redounds to all Poets, Painters, Architects, and generally to such as may have occasion to employ any of these, and by consequent to all Gentlemen. To Poets for the presentation of Comedies, Tragedies, Maskes, Shewes, or any learned, scene whatsoever; the properties whereof can neither be appointed nor judged of, but by such as are well seen in statue-craft. To Painters, for the picturing of some exquisit arme, leg, torso or wreathing of the body, or any other rare posture, whether smooth or forced.

Besides, Rounds (so Painters call Statues and their fragments) may be had, when the life cannot, and have the patience to stand when the life will not: and this is a maxime among Artists in this kind, that a Round is better to draw by, and comes neerer the life, than any flat or painting whatsoever. And if a Painter will meddle with History, then are old Statues to him the onely life it selfe. I call Reubens to witnesse, (the best story-painter of these times) whether his knowledge in this kind hath not been his onely making. But his Statues before named, and his workes doe testifie it for him: yea while he is at worke, he useth to have some good historian or Poet read to him, which is rare in men of his profession, yet absolutely necessary. And as for Architects, they have great use of Statues for ornaments for gates, arches, freeses and cornishes, for Tumbes and divers other buildings.

And therefore I may justly conclude that the study of Statues is profitable for all ingenuous Gentlemen, who are the onely men that imploie Poets, Painters, and Architects, if they be not all these themselves. And if they bee not able to judge of their workes, they well deserve to be counzened.

Of Inscriptions.

Inscriptions follow, wherein I will be shorter, because I can addresse you to better helps in them, than in the former. For of the discovery of Statues, I know not any that have written so much as hath beene now delivered, but as for Inscriptions divers Authors have unfolded them. I will name you one for all, and that is Lipsius, who hath set forth the collections of another, and many of his owne besides. This booke of Inscriptions is in Folio, and
printed at Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengij: where in
the very beginning he bestoweth a leaf or two in decyphring unto
us, and explaining the sense of old Characters, or short writing;
as that D. M. stands for Dijs Manibus, which you usually find upon
Dedicat: D. S. P. for De Suo Posuit: and so of the rest which I
leave, that I may not be a Plagiary verbatim.

And because Inscriptions are not onely of Stones, as of Vrnes,
Altars, Vessels, Gates, Aquaeducts, &c. such as Lipsius handleth;
but of Coynes also; I will give you two or three examples of these,
with which and some practice you may easily unriddle the rest. M.
Durmius III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. Reade it thus, Marcus Durmius
thus; Imperatori Caesari Trajano, augusto, Germanico, Dacico,
Pontifici Maximo, tribunitiae potestatis, Consuli sextum. Patri
Patriae. Where by the way I must commend a learned note of Stephen
Pasquier in his Recherches de la France, that the word Papa comes
from an old mistake of Pater Patriae, written thus. Pa. Pa. as we
have it in many Coynes. If it bee demanded how wee know that these
characters are to be thus read? I answer, by divers other inscrip­
tions where they are written at large. I must not forget to tell
you that Arundel-House is the chiefe English scene of ancient
Inscriptions, which Master John Selden (the best and learnedst
Antiquary in this Kingdome) hath collected together under the title
of Marmora Arundeliana. You shall finde all the walles of the house
inlayde with them, and speaking Greeke and Latine to you. The
Garden especially will afford you the pleasure of a world of learned
Lectures in this kinde.

The use of these old memorials tends to the illustration of
Historie, and of the antiquitie of divers matters, places, and
Cities, which otherwise would be obscure, if not altogether unknowne
unto us. I will give you the next at hand for example. Upon a
reverse of Nerva wee finde a teame of Horses let loose, with this
Inscription. Vehiculatione per Italiam remissa. Whereby wee learn
(which no Historian remembers) that the Roman Emperours did command
all the carriages of the Countrey every where; that Nerva did remit
that burthen and acquitted them of it; and that this grievance was so heavy, that Coynes were stamped in remembrance of the Emperours goodnesse that eased them of it.

Of Coynes.

I come to the last of our select Antiquities, Coynes. They are much easier to come-by, than either Statues or Inscriptions: first, in regard of their numerous quantitie: and secondly, by reason of their small bulke, which make the purchase cheaper, and the carriage lighter. Those I intend to handle, are Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine. Of these, divers learned men have treated; chiefly, Budaeus, Agricola, Alciat, Carolus Molinaeus, Hotomannus, Didacus Covarruvias, Willebrordus Snellius, and Edovardus Brerewood. These Authors treat of the severall Species or kinds of old Coynes, and of their weight and value in moneys of these times. There are others that have collected and represented the stamps, that is, the Figures and Inscriptions of all the individuall or severall peeces that ever they saw or read of. Such are Goltzius for Greeke peeces, Fulvius Vrsinus for Consulars, Occo for Imperials. And for the rates at which they are now bought and sold in Germany, Hulsius. To these I add Savot his Discourse des Medailles, which excels for the material part or mettle of old Coynes. And for any thing omitted by the rest I will deliver the summe of what these have of the severall species of these old moneys, but the study of individuals, I will leave to your owne reading and handling.

Hebrew-coynes.

A Shekel with its parts were the only silver Coynes the Hebrewes had of their owne: and therefore it is sometimes absolutely called Keseph silver, as you may finde in Gen. 20.16. and 23.16. and 43.21. and 2 Sam. 18.11,12. It was two-fold; for there was a Shekel of the Sanctuary, and another called the Kings Shekel, or the Publike or common Shekel.

Silver. A Shekel of the Sanctuary.

The Shekell of the Sanctuary, weighed exactly halfe an ounce. It shewed on the one side (as some Antiquaries say) the Vessel of Manna that was kept in the Arke, with these words Shekel Israel,
that is the Shekel of Israel: and on the other side, Aarons rod budded and blowne, with this inscription Jerusalem Kedossah, that is, Jerusalem the Holy. It was worth halfe a crowne of our money.

The Kings Shekel.

The Kings Shekel was worth halfe a Shekell of the Sanctuary, fifteene pence of our money: and had the same stampe with the former. Of these Alchazar, Vilalpandus, Chokier, and Wasserus have written, who tell us also of a brasse Shekel bearing the figures of a sprig of Balme-tree, and of a Palme tree: and of another of silver with a Tower on it, and these words, King David and his sonne Salomon. Item, they say that in the time of Julius the second, and Leo the tenth, Popes, two other Coynes were found with our Saviours Head upon them, & Hebrew words signifying, The anointed King is come in Peace. God was made man. And the Light of man was made Life. But these are manifestly false, saith Savot, and I thinke so too; nay, I beleive with him that those stamps also before mentioned and all Hebrew Coynes that Antiquaries shew us are suspicious, and that there remaineth not a true Shekel to be seene any where, though Benedictus Arias Montanus will needs perswade us he had an Authentique one, in his possession. For no ancient Historian remembers what were the stamps of any Hebrew Shekel. And those old Characters of the foresaid Shekels (which they say are old Samaritane letters) have no relation to any other Characters knowne to the learned in all the Eastern tongues; and how then can these Antiquaries so readily consider them? And yet certainly there were coynd Shekels, though they cannot warrantably be described.

There was also the third and fourth part of a Shekel. Gherah, Agorah, and Keshitah were all of one value, being the twentieth part of a Shekel, and in our money three halfe pence. Keshitah signifieth a Lambe, because it had a Lambe upon it.

A Shekel of Gold.

A Shekel of gold, called also sometimes Zahab, weighed equally with the common Shekel of silver, a quarter of an ounce, and worth of our money seventeene shillings and sixepence, at the rate of three pound ten shillings an ounce: for the allay or intrinsic
value of all old gold is equal to our Angel gold, or rather to
our old Rose-nobles (if not better) which are of 23 carats and three
graines fineness.

We read also of Adarcon, Ezra 8.27. and of Drakmon, Ezra 2.69.
and in other places. Both of them of equal value with the Shekel
of gold aforesaid; but questionless they were foreign, as their
very names do intimate. For Adarcon seems to be a piece of Darius,
whose Coynes were called (as Plutarch witnesseth in the life of
Artaxerxes) Darius, because they bare his image (other an Archer) And Drakman might be an AEgyptian Coyne. (2)

A Mina of Gold.

Now for the sums of the Hebrewes. Their Mina of Gold con­tained two hundred Antique drammes that is 25 ounces, or, 50 shekels
after the weight of the Sanctuary, or 100 gold shekels, and therefore
was worth in sterlin mony .87. l. 10.s.

A Mina of Silver.

The Mina of silver was of 60 sacred shekels, (3) or of two
pound and half weight, and worth seven pound ten shillings.

A Talent of Silver.

A Talent of silver contained 3000 shekels, or 125. l. weight,
which is in sterlin mony after the rate of 5. s. per ounce, or
3. l. sterl. for 1. l. Troy weight, 375. l.

Of Gold.

A Talent of gold after the rate of the Sanctuary, and as Moses
reckoneth it, was as much as the silver in weight, and therefore
after the rate of 3. l. 10.s. in the ounce Troy, was worth in our
mony 5250. l. In this and other calculations of gold, I differ
from Brerewood who estimateth old gold but at 3. l. an ounce, but
the touchstone doth shew it better than so, and Goldsmiths will
give 3. l. 10. s. for it.

I am of opinion that after Moses his time, when Kings began to
reign over Israel, and so forward, they did estimate a talent of
silver after the rate of the vulgar shekell, and so it was worth
187. l. 10.s. sterl. And it is likely also that a Talent of gold
was not worth much more than the Talent of gold in Greece and

9 oth'one side Editor: oth one side C: o'th'one side G
otherwhere, which Pollux saith, was three pieces of gold, & so it was worth 2. l. 12. s. 6. d. sterl. And whosoever shall well consider (as Brerewood doth) that place in the, 1 Chro. 22. 14. will find that, unlesse wee come to these last rates, those summes of gold and silver which David left for the building of the Temple, will exceed in all likelyhood his ability, and the worke it selfe, though all the walls should have beene made of Silver. And so much for Hebrew Coynes and summes.

Greeke coynes.

The Greeke follow. And because when a Greeke Author mentions a dramme absolutely, without naming any place or countrey with it, he meaneth the Attique, I will begin with it, and make it the foundation, and ground of all Greeke money.

A Dramme.

The Attique dramme had on it the figure of a burning Lampe (sacred to Minerva) with the word ἴπτωμα. It was the eighth part of an ounce, and worth 7. d. ob. sterl.

A Didramme.

Didrachmum, called also Bos (because it had the stamppe of a bull upon it) was first coyned by Theseus in memory of the Merathlonian bull which he killed. It is two drammes, and therefore 15. d. of our money.

A Tridramme.

Tridrachmum was a peece of three drammes, worth 1. s. 10. d. ob. sterl.

A Stater.

Stater or Tetradrachmum, foure drammes, had on it the head of Minerva, (whence it was also called παρθένος and Κόρη) and on the reverse an Owle, whence grew the Proverbe, Owles to Athens.

The coynes under a dramme, or rather the parts thereof, were.

Obulus.

Obulus (because it carryed the forme of a spit or obelisque so called) was the sixth part of a dram, and of our mony, a penny
farthing.

_Semiobolus._

_Semiobolus, halfe an obolus, halfe penny farthing English._

_Diobolus._

_Diobolus (or Diobolum, for so also the rest of these obols may terminate.) The forepart of it shewed Jupiter's head, the reverse an Owle. It was worth two pence halfe penny._

_Triobolus._

_Triobolus, with the face of Jupiter on both sides, worth three pence. It was halfe a dramme._

_Tetrobolus._

_Tetrobolus, Jupiter's head was on th' one side, and two Owles on the other, worth 5. d. sterl._

_These were the Attique Coynes in Silver._

_Drachma AEgineae._

_The AEginean dramme was worth 10 Attique obols, and of our mony 12. d. ob. And the obols thereof were answerable._

_Stater Corinthius._

_The Corinthian Stater was worth, one and twenty pence wanting a farthing._

_Stater Macedonius._

_The Macedonian Stater, was worth hard upon two shillings nine pence halfe penny._

_Siglus Sardianus._

_The Sardian and Persian Sigle was worth tenne pence._

_The Cistophorus, an Asian coyne, so called because it represented a man bearing a pannier, was worth neere upon fiue pence._

_Danace, Charons fare, about one penny._

_AEreolum._

_AEreolum was an Attique brasse Coyne of an ounce weight worth two graine of Silver, and therefore of Physitians called Chalcus._
It was the sixt part of an obolus, and worth lesse than a farthing. It was also called obolus aeratus. 

Dichalcum, therefore was better than a farthing.

**Λεπτόν.**

Minutum or λεπτόν, the seventh part of AEreolum.

A **Stater of Gold.**

The Golden Attique Stater weighed two drammes and therefore worth as much as the Golden Shekel. 17. s. 6. d.

Semistater aureus weighed one dramme, and was worth. 8. s. 9.d.

The Tetrastaterium was rather a weight or sum than a coyne (as Brerewood supposeth.) It was an ounce of gold and therefore worth. 3 l. 10. s.

The Macedonian Stater weighed somewhat more than the Attique, and therefore worth hard upon 20. s.

The Daric and Sizycen Staters were equall each of them with the Attique, or very little better.

Greek sums.

The Greek sums were a Mina and a Talent.

A **Mina.**

Mina contains 100 drammes of the same country, of which the Mina is, and is the sixtieth part of its Talent: so that the Attique Mina was worth, 3 l. 2. s. 6. d.

A **Talent.**

A Talent contained 60 Minas of its owne country, or 6000 drammes.

There were two Attique Talents, the greater and lesser. The lesser was of 6000 drams, and therefore worth. 187 l. 10. s. In all Authors if a Talent be put absolutely and without any other circumstance, this lesser Attique is meant.

The great Attique Talent as also the AEgyptian contained 8000 Attique drammes, and was worth 250. pound sterlin.
The Syrian Talent, 1500 Attique drammes, 46 l. 17 s. 6 d.
The Euboique Talent, 4000 Attique drammes, 125 l. 0 s. 0 d.
The Rhodian Talent, 4500 Attique drammes, 140 l. 12 s. 6 d.
The Babylonian Talent, 7000 Attique drammes, 218 l. 15 s. 0 d.
The AEginaean Talent, 10000 Attique drammes, 312 l. 10 s. 0 d.
The Alexandrian Talent, 12000 Attique drams, 375 l. 0 s. 0 d. which was also the value of the Mosaïque Talent.

There were also in some countrieys very small summes which they called Talents, but improperly: for

The Sicilian Talent of old was worth about 3 s. 9 d. and The Neapolitan as much. Item, the later Sicilian and Syracusan Talent was worth, 1 s. 10 d. ob. And the Talentum Rheginum, 3 d. ob. q. as Pollux and Suidas say.

Lastly, they tell us also that there was a Talent, called, not plainly a Talent (for then the Silver one was meant) but a Talent of Gold, which (as I said before) contained three Staters of gold, 2 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterl. So that we must distinguish betweene a Silver Talent in Gold, and a Talent of Gold, as we may plainly see in Plautus in Truculento. Hem tibi talentum argentius Philippicum est, tene tibi. Heere hee meaneth a silver Attique talent of the lesser sort in Philippian gold Staters.

Romane Coynes.

I come lastly to the Romane Coynes, and begin with Brasse ones.

As.

As, quasi aes, had first the stampe of a Sheepe on the one side, and an Oxe on th'other, whence it was called pecunia. Pliny saith, that in the first Punic warre it was reduced to the weight of two ounces (having beene before of a pound weight), and such a one I have in my owne possession. Afterwards it was brought to an
ounce, and last of all to halfe an ounce, where it rested, till the
Emperours came in, who shrunke them to a quarter of an ounce. It
was worth a halfe penny farthing. And it is discerned by this
figure 1. With the head or prowe of a Ship on the traverse; and
Janus bifrons on the forepart; for so they were stamped in later
times, the former stampes of cattle being growne out of date. There
was also a piece of silver of the same value with Assis, and called
libella.

Semissa.  
Semissis or Sembella, quasi semi-assis, and semi-libella, was
distinguished by the letter S. with Romulus his head on the fore­
part, and the forepart of a Gaily on the other side with the word
Roma underneath. Varro sayes there were some sembella of later
times Coyned of silver. It was better than a farthing of our money.

Triens.  
Triens, the third part of an assis, a farthing worth.

Quadrans.  
Quadrans, the fourth part of assis, lesse than a farthing, of
old called triuncia and Teruncia because it comprehended three
ounces. And because it had the figure of a Lighter or Boats head
upon it; which in Latine is called rates, it was called Ratitius.

Sextans.  
Sextans, the sixth part of assis, halfe a farthing.

Vncia.  
Vncia the 12th part of assis, and Semuncia halfe so much.

Sextula.  
Sextula the sixth part of an ounce.

All these forenamed pieces were lesse than assis. Above it,
were

Dupondius.  
Dupondius, so called because assis was unum pondo and dupondius
was two, and marked therefore with II.
Silver Coynes.

Varro telleth us of Decussis, Vicessis, Tricessis and Centussis. It may bee some of these brasse pieces aforesaid had their equals in silver of the same name. But those that were properly silver, were these following.

Denarius.

Denarius, so called, because it was worth tenne asses, and in the twelve first Emperours time it weighed exactly an Attique dramme, and was worth of our money seven pence halfe penny. The Consular pieces have usually Romes head on the one side with the word Roma, and the number X, being the marke of a Denarius: and on the reverse bigae or quadrigae, whence also it was called Bigatus and quadrigatus, and underneath was the name of the Consull in whose time it was Coyned. These consulars were somewhat heavier than the fore­saiid Imperials; but the later Imperials doe wondrously degenerate from both, in weight and finenesse of allay, and in workemanship also. The Imperials shewed on the forepart the Emperours Head with his Inscription, and on the reverse some Altar, Triumphall Arch­temple, or some other memorial as best pleased him.

Quinarius.

Quinarius, a halfe denarius, three pence three farthings, was also called Victoriatius, because it had usually the figure of victory on it. Its marke was V.

Sestertius.

Sestertius, so called because it was worth halfe a quinarius, or duos asses cum dimidio, quasi sesquitertius, the fourth part of a denarius, two pence wanting halfe a farthing, and was marked thus HS. By this coyne the Romans used mostly to make up and reckon their accounts, and therefore it is expressed in many places of good Authors by the word Nummus absolutely. It had ancintly the figures of Castor and Pollux on it. But Pliny teacheth us that the Sestertius was also of brasse, and that of the best, which they called Marcian, and our vulgar Antiquaries suppose to be Corinth­ian, and weighed about an ounce.
Gold.

Obolus (saith Celsus) was equal to the Attic obol, being the sixt part of a denarius, and therefore a penny farthing English.


The Aureus varied as the denarius did. For the first Imperials weigh about two drammes, double the weight of a denarius, and worth 17s. 6d. of our money. The Consulars are two or three shillings better. The later pieces which began in Alexander Severus his time were reduced to half an aureus, and then to a third, and therefore called Semissis aurei, and Tremissis aurei or Triens: the Semissis weighing a dram worth eight shillings nine pence the Tremissis five shillings ten pence. Whereupon the old Imperialls, and Consulars were called Solidi. There was also a Scruple of gold worth about two shillings three pence.

After the Empire was translated to Constantinople, other coynes with other names were minted, as:

Miliarisium.

Miliarisium, weighing two drammes, and worth 1s.3d.

Ceratium.

Ceration or Siliqua, of the weight of a dramme, worth 7 ob.

Follis.

Follis a brasse coyne, so called because it was thinne like a leaf, worth neere upon a halfe penny.

Romane sums

The Romane summes were.

Sestertium.

Sestertium, It comprehended one thousand sesterties, that is seven pound sixtene shillings three pence. And here I will give a note, concerning the Romane fashion of accounting by sesterties. For decem sestertij are tenne sesterties, decem sestertium are ten thousand sesterties, decies sestertium are 1000000 sesterties.
Libra seu Pondo.

Libra or Pondo, contained 12 ounces of silver, that is 96 denarij of the first Emperours, and was worth of sterlin money three pounds.

Talentum.

Talentum, 24 sestertia, that is 24000 sestertij, or 6000 of the foresaid denarij: the same with the Attique, and therefore worth 187. 1. 10. s. For the Romanes borrowed their Talents, Mina's, and drammes of the Grecians, and these their pound and ounce of the Romanes, as Galen confesseth.

Sportula.

Sportula was a small summe of money containing 100 quadrantes, or 10 sestertij; which great men gave to each of their followers and servants in lieu of a plentiful supper upon some occasion or other. It was worth of our money nineteene pence wanting a farthing, just a cardecu, or French quarter-crowne.

Thus much of the species or kinds of Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine Coynes, and their summes. I will now give you a few examples of the benefit and use of them.

Abraham bought the Field, Cave, and Trees of Machpelah for 400 Shekels, that is for 50 l. sterl. (6)

Moses made the golden Candlesticke with his seven Lamps, Snuffers, and Snuffe-dishes of a Talent of pure Gold, that is five thousand two hundred fiftie pounds sterlin. (7)

Absoloms haire which he yeerely polled, weighed 200 Shekels after the Kings weight; (8) that is, foure pounds two ounces Troy-weight.

For thirtie pieces of silver Iudas betrayed his Master, the Saviour of the world; (9) that is, for three pounds fifteene shillings of our money. For I said before that by a piece of silver the Iewes 30 meane a Shekel, and therefore Eusebius renders this place of Matthew, very well, πριάκοντα στατήρας, instead of πριάκοντα ἄργυρα.

The Revenue of the Romanes was by Mithridates his overthrow increased 8500 myriades. (10) Observe that the Greeks when they number without naming the species of money, they meane drammes; for they reckon by drammes as the Romanes by sesterties. So then 8500
myriads of drammes (a myriad is 10000) are 2656248. l. of English
money: Whereas their Revenue before that time was but 5000 myriades,
that is, 1562499 l. sterl. So that now their intire revenue was
yeerely, 4218747 l. ster.

The pearle which Cleopatra dissolved in vineger, and dranke off
at a draught was estimated centies Sestertium, in figures to be
expressed thus, 10000000 Sesterties, that is 78125. l. sterlin.

Thus may you reduce all other summes in any old Author to what
species or kind of money you please.

And by this time you may perceive that without this money-
learning, you must be forced to balke the most materiall passages
of ancient History. For what is there in the affaires and occurrences
of this world, that can bee thought more materiall or worthier our
pause and consideration, than money, the price of all things, and
the chiefe commander in warres or peace?

Finally there is also much learned pleasure and delight in the
contemplation of the severall figures stamped on each side of these
Antique Coynes. I will let passe the content a man has to see, and
handle the very same individuall things which were in use so many
ages agoe: for bookes and histories and the like are but copyes of
Antiquity bee they never so truely descended unto us: but coynes
are the very Antiquities themselves. But would you see a patterne
of the Rogus or funerall pile burnt at the canonization of the Romane
Emperors? would you see how the Augurs Hat, and Lituus were made?
Would you see the true and undoubted modells of their Temples, Alters,
Deities, Columnes, Gates, Arches, Aquaeducts, Bridges, Sacrifices,
Vessals, Seliae Curules, Ensignes and Standards, Navall and murall
Crownes, Amphithethers, Circi, Bathes, Chariots, Trophies, Ancilia,
and a thousand things more; Repare to the old coynes, and you shall
find them, and all things else that ever they did, made, or used,
there shall you see them excellently and lively represented. Be-
sides, it is no small satisfaction to an ingenuous eye to contem-
plate the faces and heads, and in them the Characters of all these
famous Emperours, Captaines and illustrious men whose actions will
bee ever admired, both for themselves, and the learning of the
pennes that writ them.
2. Herod. in Melpom.
3. Ezek. 45. 12.
4. Exod. 38. 25.
5. Lib. 34. cap. 4.
10. Plut. in Pom.
CHAP. 13.

Of Drawing, Limning, and Painting:
with the liues of the famous Italian Painters.

Since Aristotle numberland Graphice generally taken, for whatsoever is done with the Pen or Pencill (as writing faire, Drawing, Limning and Painting) amongst those his παιδεύματα, or generous practises of youth in a well gouerned Common-wealth; I am bound also to giue it you in charge for your exercise at leasure, it being a quality most commendable, and so many waies usefull to a Gentleman.

The manifold use of painting or limning.

For should you (if necessitie required) be employed for your Countries seruice in following the warre, you can describe no plot, manner of fortification, forme of Battaglia, Situation of Towne, Castle, Fort, Hauen, Iland, course of Riuer, passage through Wood, Marish, ouer Rocke, Mountaine, &c. (which a discrete Generall doth not alwayes commit to the eye of another) without the helpe of the same. In all Mathematicall Demonstrations nothing is more required in our trauaille in forraine regions. It bringeth home with vs from the farthest part of the world in our bosomes, whatsoever is rare and worthy the observance, as the generall Mappe of the Country, the Riuers, harbours, hauens, promontories, &c. within the Landscap, of faire hils, fruitfull vailles: the formes and colours of all fruietes, seuerall beauties of their floures, of medicinable Simples never before seen or heard of: the orient colours, and liuely pictures of their Birdes, the shape of their beasts, fishes, wormes, flyes, &c. It presents our eyes with the complexion, manner, and their attire. It shewes vs the rites of their Religion, their houses, their weapons, and manner of warre. Beside, it preserueth the memory of a dearest friend, or fairest Mistresse. And since it is onely the imitation of the surface of Nature, by it as in a booke of golden and rare-limmed letters, the chiefe ende of it, wee
reade a continuall Lecture of the wisedome of the Almightye Creator, by beholding even in the feather of the Peacocke a miracle, as Aristotle saith.

And that you should not esteeme basely of the practise thereof, let me tell you that in ancient times painting was admitted into the first place among the liberall arts, & throughout all Greece taught only to the children of Noble men in the schooles, and altogether forbidden to be taught to servants or slaves.

In no lesse honour and esteeme was it held among the Romans, as we finde in Plinie and many others who euery where advance the professors; and the dignity of the practise thereof nothing base or servile, since one of the most Noble families in Rome, the Fabij thought themselves much honoured by the addition of that Sirname Pictor. For the first of that name, although he was most honourably descended, honoured with many Titles, Consulships and Triumphs, excellently learned in the lawes, and beside accounted in the number of the Orators of his time; yet he thought his skill in painting added to these Honors, and his memory would beare the better of posterity, for that he was endued with so excellent a quality: for after with his owne hand he had painted the Temple of Salus round about within, and finished his worke, he wrote in faire letters in an eminent place, Quintus Fabius pinxi.

Lomazius.

Neither was it the exercise of Nobilitie among the ancients onely, but of late dayes and in our times we see it practised by the greatest princes of Europe, without prejudice to their Honors. Francis the first, king of France, was very excellent with his pen-cyll; and the vertuous Margaret Queene of Navarre beside her excellent veine in Poesie could draw and limne excellently; the like is reported of Emanuel Duke of Savoie.

Nor can I ouerpasse the ingenuitie and excellency of many Noble and Gentlemen of our owne nation herein, of whom I know many; but none in my opinion, who deserueth more respect and admiration for his skill and practise herein then Master Nathaniel Bacon of Broome in Suffolke (younger sonne to the most Honourable and bountifull minded Sir Nicholas Baecon, Knight, and eldest Barronet,) not inferiour in my judgement to our skilfullest Masters. But certainly
I know not what favourable aspect of Heauen that right noble and ancient family hath which produceth like delicate fruites from one Stemme so many excellent in severall qualities, that no one name or family in England can say the like.

Painting is a quality I loue (I confesse) and admire in others, because euer naturally from a child, I haue beene addicted to the practise hereof; yet when I was young, I haue beene cruelly beaten by ill and ignorant schoolemasters, when I haue beene taking, in white and blacke, the countenance of some one or other (which I could do at thirteene and fourteene yeares of age: beside the mappe of any towne according to Geometrical proportion, as I did of Cambridge when I was of Trinitie Colledge, and a Junior Sophister,) yet could they never beate it out of me. I remember one Master I had (and yet liuing not farre from S. Albanes) took me one time drawing out with my pen that peare-tree and boyes throwing at it, at the end of the Latine Grammar: which he perceiving, in a rage strooke mee with the great end of the rodde, and rent my paper, swearing it was the onely way to teach mee to robbe Orchards; beside, that I was placed with him to bee made a scholler and not a painter, which I was very likely to doe; when I well remember he construed unto me the beginning of the first Ode in Horace, *Edite, set ye forth, Moecenas, the sportes, atavis Regibus,* of our ancient kings; but leauing my ingenious Master, to our purpose.

For your first beginning and entrance in draught, make your hand as ready as you can (without the helpe of your compasses) in those generall figures of the Circle, ovall, square, triangle, cylinder, &c. for these are the foundation of all other proportions. As for example, your ovall directs you in giuing a iust proportion to the face. Your Square or Cube for all manner of ground plots, formes of fortification, wherein you have no use of the Circle at all. Your Circle againe directs you in all orbicular formes whatsoever, and so forth of the rest.

Having made your hand fit and ready in generall proportion, learne to giue all bodies their true shaddowes according to their eminence and concavity, and to heigthen or deepen as your body appeareth neerer or farther from the light; which is a matter of great judgment, and indeede the soule (as I may say) of a picture.
Then learne all manner of draperie, that is, to giue garments and all manner of stuffes, as cloth, silke, and linnen their naturall and proper foldes; which at the first will seeme strange and difficult vnto you, but by imitating the choisest printes and peeces of the most judicious masters, with your owne observance you will very easily attaine the skill. But since I haue already published a booke of Drawing and Limning; wherein I haue discovered whatsoever I haue thought necessarie to perfection herein, I will referre you for farther instruction to it, and onely here giue you the principall Authors for your Imitation.

Albert. Durer.

Since, as I said, proportion is the principall and chiefe thing you are first to learne, I commend vnto you that Prince of Painters and Graund-master Albert Durer, who beside that his peeces for proportion and draperie are the best that are, hee hath written a very learned booke of Symmetrie and proportions, which hath beene since translated out of high Dutch into Latine. And though his peeces haue beene long since wore out of presse, yet you may happen vpon them among our skilfull painters, which if you can get reasonably keep them as iuvels, since I beleue you shall neuer see their like: they seeme old, and commonly are marked with a great D in an A.

Hub. Goltzius.

For a bold touch, varietie of posture, curious and true shaddow: imitate Goltzius, his printes are commonly to be had in Popes head alley. Himselfe was liuing at my last being in the low Countries at Harlem; but by reason of the losse of one of his eyes, he hath giuen ouer etchinge in copper, and altogether exerciseth his pencill in oyle.

Michael Angelo.

The peeces of Michael Angelo are rare and very hard to be come by. Himselfe liued, in Rome, and was while hee liued esteemed the best painter in Europe, as verily it seemeth by that his famous peece, of the last judgment in the Popes Chappell, being accounted one of the best in the world.
Hans Holben.

Hans Holben was likewise an excellent Master, hee liued in the time of King Henry the eight, and was emploied by him against the comming of the Emperor Charles the 5. into England. (3) I haue seene many peeces of his in oile, and once of his owne draught with a penne a most curious chimney-peece K. Henry had bespoke for his new built pallace at Bridewell.

Jean Shadan, Wierix. Crispin. de Passe.

Of later times and in our age the workes of Shadan, Wierix, and my honest louing friend Crispin de Pas of Vtrecht are of most price; these cut to the life, a thing practised but of late yeares: their pieces wil best instruct you in the countenance, for the naturall shadowes thereof, the cast and forme of the eie, the touch of the mouth, the true fall, turning & curling of the haire, for ruffes, Armour, &c.

When you are somewhat ready in your draught (for which you must provide pens made of rauens quils, black lead, dry pencils made of what color you please by grinding it with strong wort, & then rowling it vp pencilwise and so let it dry) get my booke, entituled the Gentlemans Exercise, which will teach you the vse and ordering of all manner of colours for limning, as how to make any one colour what you please by the composition of many, as a scarlet, carnation, flame colour, all manner of greenes for leaves or banckes, purples for the breake of the morning, the violet, the hyacinth, &c. all manner of changeable colors in garments of silke, brownes & blackes for haire colours, the colours of barks of trees, the sea, fountains, rocks, flesh colours or carnations for the face & complexion, with the manner of preparing your card, & in briefe whatsoever is needfull to be knowne of a practitioner. Now hauing your colors in their shels finely ground and washed, and varietie of pencills great and small, beginne first to wash ouer some plaine printes, then after to imitate to the life (according vnto my directions in that booke:) wherein by degrees you will take incredible delight, and furnish your conceipts and deuices of Emblems, Anagrams, and the like with bodies at your pleasure, without being beholden to some deare and nice professed Artist.

10 louing B: louing A
Of painting in oyle.

Painting in Cyle is done I confess with greater judgment, and is generall of more esteeme then working in water colours; but then it is more Mechanique and will robbe you of ouer much time from your more excellent studies, it being sometime a fortnight or a month ere you can finish an ordinary peece. I haue knowne Michael Ianss of Delf in Holland, the most excellent painter of all the Low Countries, to haue beene (at times,) a whole halfe yeare about a picture, yet in the end to haue blurred it out (as is his manner) for some small disresemblance, eyther in the eye or mouth; so curious is the workemanshippe to doe it well: beside oyle nor oyle colours, if they drop vpon apparell, will not out; when water colours will with the least washing. But lest you should think me ignorant or envious, I wil not conceals from you the manner of working herein, and though it may bee you shall not practise it, it may profit others.

Of preparing your table for an oyle picture.

First for your table whereupon to draw your picture, plane it very euuen, and with Size (made of glue sodden long in faire water, till the glue be quite dissolved) mingled and heat with Spanish white finely ground, white it ouer; then let it dry, then white it ouer againe, and so the third time, when being dry, scrape it very euuen with a sharpe knife till it be smooth, then prime it with red lead or some other colour, which being drie, draw your picture out vpon it with a peece of chalke, pencill of coale, lastly, with black lead; so lay on your colours.

Grind all your colours in Linseede oyle, saue when you grinde your white for ruffles and linnen; then use the oyle of walnuts, for linseede oyle \(^{(4)}\) will turne yeallowish.

Having all your colours ready ground, with your pallet on the thumbe of your left hand, & pencills for euery colour, in the same lay your colours vpon your pallet thus: first, your white Lead, then Lake, Iuorie blacke, Sea-coale blacke (as you see the complexion) lampe blacke, vmber for the haire, red lead, yealow oaker, verdigrease; then your blewes, Masticot and Pinke, the rest at your pleasure, mixing them on the other side of the pallet at your pleasure.
To begin a picture, first drawe the Eye, the white thereof make of white lead with a little char-coale black; having finished it, leave from the other Eye the distance of an Eye, then draw the proportion of the nose, the compasse of the face, after that make the mouth, the eare, the haire, &c.

After you have made the white of the eyes and proportion of the nose, &c. lay your carnation or flesh colour over the face, casting in here and there some shadowes which worke in with the flesh colour by degrees. Your flesh colour is commonly compounded of white lead, lake, and vermilion, but you may heighthen or deepen it at your pleasure.

Then shadow the face all over as you see cause, and finish the nose, compassing the tippe of it with some darke or light reddish shadow.

The shaddowes for your face are compounded commonly, of Ivory blacke, white lead, vermilion, lake, Seacoale blacke, &c.

Then shaddow your cheekes and lippes (with the mouth stroke, which make of lake onely) with vermilion and lake as you list mixed together.

Now make the Circles of the Eyes. For the gray eye, take char-coale blacke and white lead heightened or deepened at your pleasure.

For the blacke Circle of the Eye, take Vmber, Seacole-blacke, and a little white, and mixe them as you thinke fit.

For the round ball in the eye take lampe-blacke and verd-greace, for lampe-blacke will hardly dry without it.

For the hands and the shadowes betweene the fingers use the same flesh-colours and shadowes as in the face for heighthening or deepening.

If you would make a flesh-colour of a swarthy complexion, mingle white Lead, Lake, and yealow oker together, and in the shadowes, put in some Vmber and Seacoale blacke.

For blacke haire, take lampe-blacke onely, and when you will haue it brighter, mixe it with a little Vmber, white, and red Lead.

For flaxen haire, take Vmber, and white lead; the browner you will haue it, put in the more Vmber, the whiter more white; but if darker, yet add to a little sea-coale blacke.

For yealow haire, take masticote, Vmber, yealow oker, and a

15-16 Ivory blacke  Ivory, blacke A: Ivory blacke G
30 shadowes  B ; shadowes A
little red lead; if you will haue it redder, put in the more red lead and umber.

For a white haire, take halfe luorie blacke, and halfe of umber, and with your knife temper them well vpon your pallet with white lead, with more white, or umber, or Ivory, raising or deepening it at your pleasure.

For the teeth, take white Lead, and shaddow it with char-coale blacke.

For Ruffes, Lawnes, and Linnen.

For Linnen, take white Lead mingled with char-coale black, so making it whiter or darker at your pleasure; for your fine Lawnes, put a little oyle smalt in amongst it, and with a fine little bagge of Taffata stuffed with wooll or the like, take vp the colour and presse it hard downe where you would haue it.

For Veluets of all colours.

For blacke-veluet, take Lampe-blacke and verdigreace, for your first ground; but when it is dry, lay it ouer with Ivory blacke and Verdigreace, (to help it to dry) and for the shaddow vse white Lead, with a little Lampe blacke.

For Greene Veluet, take Lamp blacke, and white Lead, and worke it ouer like a Russet Veluet; then being dry, draw it onely ouer with Verdigreace, and a little Pinke, and it will be a perfect Greene Veluet.

For a Sea-water Greene Veluet, lay on the aforesaid mingled Russet Verdigreace onely, if you will haue it more grassy, put to more Pinke.

For a Yellowish Greene, put a little Masticot among your Verdigreace at your pleasure: but note this, al your shaddowing must be in the Russet, and these Greens onely drawne lightly ouer.

For Red Veluet, take Vermilion, and shaddow it with Browne of Spaine, and where you will haue it darkest, take Sea-cole blacke mingled with Spanish Browne, and shaddow where you will, letting it dry, then glaze it ouer with Lake, and it will be a perfect Red Veluet.

For a Crimson or Carnation Veluet, put the more or lesse white Lead to the Vermilion, as you shall see cause.
For Blew Velvet, take Oyle Smalt, and temper it with white Lead; the brighter you will haue it, put in the more White; the sadder, the more Smalt.

For Yellow Velvet, take Masticot and yellow Oker, and deepen it for the shaddow with Vmber.

For Tauny Velvet, take Browne of Spaine, white Lead, and Lampe blacke, mixed with a little Verdigrase to shaddow it, where you see occasion; and when it is dry, glaze it ouer with a little Lake, and red Velvet added vnto it.

For Purple Velvet, take Oyle Smalt, and temper it with Lake, halfe Lake, halfe Smalt; then take white Lead and order it as bright or as sad as you list.

For Ash-coloured Velvet, take Char-cole blacke, and white Lead, and make a perfect Russet of the same, deepning it with the black, or heigthening it with your white at your pleasure.

For Haire-coloured Velvet, grinde Vmber by it selfe with Oyle, and lay it on your picture, and heigthen with white Lead and the same Vmber.

For Sattens in Oyle Colours.

For Blacke Satten, grinde Lamp black with Oyle, then mixe it with some white Lead; where you will haue it shine most, mingle some Lake with your white Lead.

For White Satten, take white Lead ground with Oyle, then grinde luorie black by it selfe, and where you will haue it sad, adde more of the blacke.

For Greene Satten, take Verdigrase and grinde it by it selfe, then mixe some white Lead with it; and where you will haue it bright, adde some Finke: if more inclining to a Popiniay, adde more Finke to your white Lead; and to deepen it more, adde more Verdigrase.

For Yellow Satten, grinde Masticot by it selfe, yellow Oker by it selfe, and Vmber by it selfe; where you will haue it lightest, let the Masticot serue; where a light shaddow,let the Oker serue, where the darkest or saddest, Vmber onely.

For Blew Satten, take Oyle, Smalt, and white Lead, ground by themselves; white Lead for the heigthening and Smalt for your deepening, or darkest shaddow.

For Purple Satten, mixe Oyle, Smalt, with Lake, and white Lead:
heighthening with white Lead.

For Orange Tauny Satten, take red Lead and Lake, where you will have it brightest take red Lead by it selfe, and where made sad, Lake.

For Red Satten, grinde Browne of Spaine by it selfe, mingling Vermilion with the same; where you would have it light, put in a little white Lead.

For Hair coloured Satten, take Vmber and white Lead; heighthen with your white Lead, and for the darke shaddow of the cuts, adde to your Vmber a little Sea-cole blacke.

For Taffata’s.

Make your Taffata’s all one as you doe your Sattens, but you must observe the shaddowing of Taffata’s; for they fall more fine with the folds, and are thicker by much.

For changeable Taffata’s, take sundry colours, what you please, and lay them upon your garment or picture one by another; first casting out the folds, then with your Pencill driving and working them finely one into another.

For Cloth.

Cloth likewise is as your Sattens, but that you must not give so shining and suddaine a glosse vnto it.

For Leather.

As Buffe, take yellow Oker, and some white Lead mixed with it: and where you will have it darker by degrees, mixe Vmber with it, and when you have wrought it ouer, take a broad Pencill and frieze it ouer with Vmber and a little Sea-coale blacke.

For yellow Leather, take Masticot and yellow Oker, shaddow it with Vmber at your pleasure.

For blacke Leather for shoees, Lampe blacke, shaddowed with white Lead.

For white Leather, white Lead, shaddowed with luorie blacke...

To expresse Gold and Siluer.

To expresse Gold vpon Armour, or the hilt of a Sword or Rapier, take Vmber, Red Lead, and Masticot; lay your ground onely Red Lead, if you please, mixed with a little Pinke, and where you will have the shaddow darke, use Vmber, where the light, Masticot.
For Siluer, take Char-coale blacke and white Lead; where you will have it darke, use more Char-coale, and for the light, glue it a bold and sudden stroke with your white. And thus you make your Pearle. Note, that you must grind your Sea-coale and Char-coale (of a sallow, if you can get it) in faire water first, and when it is dry, grind it in Oyle.

For Skie and Landscaps.

For a Sky or Landscaps, that seeme a great way off, take Oyle Smalt, or Bice if you will, and with Linseed Oyle onely temper it on your pallet (for in grinding Smalt or Bice, they utterly lose their colour) with white Lead, and where it looketh redd as the morning, use Lake, &c.

Of Wood colours, Barkes of Trees, &c.

Your Wood colours are compounded either of Vmber and White, Char-coale and White, Sea-coale and White, Vmber blacke and white, or with some greene added. Sometime add a little Lake or Vermilion.

Of sundry Greenes in Oyle.

For a deepe and sad Greene, as in the in-most leaves of trees, mingle Indico and Pinke.
For a light Greene, Pinke and Masticot: for a middle and Grasse-green, Verdigrease and Pinke.
Remember ever to lay on your Yellowes, Blewes, Reds, and Greenes, vpon a white ground which giueth them their life.
To make cleanse your Pencils, rub Soape hard into them, and lay them by a while, after wash them in warme water.
To make cleanse your grinding stone and Mullar, rub it over with crumbs of bread.
To keep your Colours from drying in the heate of Summer, set them in the bottom of a basin of water.
If you would get farther experience, acquaint your selfe with some of our excellent Masters about London, where there are many passing judicious and skilfull.
The onely and most esteemed Piece in the world for Judgement and Art, is the battle (commonly called, the Battaille of Doomes day) fought in the night betweene Selym the first, Emperour of the Turkes, and Ishmael Sophi King of Persia. It is a nightpeece done
by Bellino, the famous Venetian Painter, by the commandement of Selym after his victorie, and sent as a present to the Duke and State of Venice, where it yet hangeth in their Counsell Chamber.

There is likewise a very rare and admirable peece in Andwarpe, done by a Blacksmith vpon this occasion. This Smith falling in loue with a Painters Daughter, (who vowed neuer to marrie any, but of her fathers profession) gaue ouer his Trade of a Smith, and fell to painting some foure or fiue yeares: in which time, the hope of gaining a faire maid guiding his hand, hee became so cunning, that he not onely obtained his Wench, but a masse of wealth by his Pencill; there being offered for this one peece alone seaven thousand Crownes. It hangeth in one of the great Churches there, S. Georges or our Ladies; I remember not well which. But thus much of Drawing and Painting in generall.

Now it shal not be amisse, for the aduanceraent of this excellent skill, which none can loue or admire more then my selfe (that I may omit the liues of the ancient Graecian and Romane Painters) to come neerer our times, and acquaint you with the best Masters Italy alone hath affoorded.

Ioannes Cimabus.

Italy being ouer-runne, and miserably wasted with warres, what time all good learning and Arts lay neglected about the yeare 1240. Painting and Painters were there so rare, that they were faine to send into Greece for men skilfull herein. Of whom the Italians learned the rudiments and principles of this Art, in a manner quite lost amongst them. So that while certaine Graecian Painters, sent for by some of the Nobilitie of Florence, were painting a Church in Florence, one Ioannes Cimabus a young man, and naturally affecting this Art, grew so farre into familiar acquaintance with them, that he learned the manner of their draught, and mingling colours, that in a short time he excelled the best Masters among them; and was the first that I can find among the Italians, that brought Painting into credit, and got a name by his skill herein. For some of his peecees for the raritie, were carried out of his house into the new Church in Florence, with Musickall Instruments of all sorts, and solemn procession: others being uttered at great rates ouer all France and Italy; in so much, as Charles the French King moued with his fame,
came to Florence to see his Workes. He died in the yeare 1300. leauing behind him his Scholler Giotto, who by the opinion of Dantes in his Purgatorie farre surpassed him: He was so humorous, saith the Interpreter of Dantes, that if himselfe or any other espysed any fault in his work, he would (like Michael Ianss, now liuing at Delft in Holland) deface and breake it in pieces, though he had bestowed a tweluemoneths paines thereon.

Andrea Taffi.

About this time also, the Graecians brought the Art of working in Musiue, or Mosaique to Venice, where in S. Markes Church they wrought it; with whom Taffi falling acquainted, hee drew one of the best Masters among them, named Apolloniue, to Florence, who taught him to bake Mosaique Glasses, and to temper the size for them; so they wrought together; but the rudenesse of that age was such, that neither they nor their workes were in that esteeme as they deserved.

Gaddo Gaddi.

About this time also liued Gaddo Gaddi, a very rare Master, a Florentine borne (for the fine and subtile aire of Florence, hath produced men of more sharpe and excellent spirits, then any other place of Italy) who excelled in Mosaique, and wrought it with better judgement then any before him; insomuch as hee was sent for to Rome, Anno 1308. the yeare after the great fire, and burning of the Church of S. John Laterane, and the Pallace of Pope Clement the fifth: whence well rewarded, he returned backe into Tuscane, where he dyed Anno 1312.

Margaritone.

Margaritone was borne in Arezzo, a very skilfull Master: he was the first that deuised laying Gold or gilding vpon Bole Armoniacke to be burnished, as we see it in knops now adaies vpon the Valences and Canopies of beds; and to make a Glew for Picture Tables, that should never decay.

Giotto.

Giotto was not onely a rare Painter, but also an excellent Architect, for all manner of curious conceipt in building: and to say truth, was the first who of latter times in Italy brought picture into admiration, and her true height. He was borne at Vespignano, a village foureteene Italian miles from Florence: his father was
an husbandman, and Giotto being a Boy of some twelue yeares of age, was set by him to keepe sheepe: but Nature hauing ordained him for another end; the Boy while hee was tending his sheepe, would be practising with a sticke vpon the sand, or dustie high-way, or vpon void places vpon walls with a Coale, to draw whatsoever sorted with his fancie. It fortuned on a time, while he was drawing the picture of one of his sheepe, Cimabus to passe by, who admiring such Art in the Boyes draught, (who had neuer any other direction saue out of his naturall inclination) demanded of him if he would dwell with him: who answered, Yea, if his father were so contented. The father agreed, and placed him with Cimabus, who in short time so excelled, that he farre surpassed the rusticke Greeke manner of working, bringing forth a better Moderne Art, and the true working by the life, which had not beene knowne in two hundred yeares before. He was very inward and familiar with Dantes the Poet, whose picture he drew: he was of all others famous for his skill and conceipt in expressing affections, and all manner of gesture, so that he might be truly called Natures Scholler. His workmanship is especially seene at Aceai, a Citie of Vmbria, in the Cloisters of S. Francis, where the body of S. Francis lyeth buried: where among other rare inuentions of his, is to be seene a Monke kneeling before Obedience, who putteth a yoake vpon his necke, he holding vp both his hands to heauen, and shee laying her forefinger vpon her mouth, casteth vp her eyes towards Christ, from whose side the blood issueth in great abundance. On either hand of her stand wisedorae and humility, to shew where true obedience is, there is wisedome and humility, which helpe to finish euery good worke: on the other side is an historie where chastity standeth vpon a strong and high rocke, as not to be won, or mooued by the force of kings, though they seeme to offer Crownes, Scepters, and Palmes. At her feete lyeth purity, in the shape of a child washing it selfe, and by chastity standeth penance, hauing driven away with her discipline winged Loue: in a third place standeth povertie barefooted, treading vpon thornes, a dogge barking at her; at one side, a child throwing stones at her, on the other, another child with a sticke putting the thornes towards her legs. This povertie is marryed to Saint Francis, whom Christ giueth by ioyning their hands: in a fourth place is Saint Francis, praying with such
great devotion, and inward affection expressed in his countenance, that it detaineth the beholder with singular admiration. From thence returning toward Florence, he wrought in distemper (as we call it) or wet with size, sixe histories of patient Job, wherein are many excellent figures: among others the positures and countenances of the messengers bringing the sorrowfull newes vnto him, which are not to be mended: withall a servant, with one hand keeping off the flies from his sore master, and with the other stopping his nose: the countenances and draperies of the standers by done with such grace and judgement, that the fame hereof presently went ouer all Italy. Insomuch that Pope Benedict sent a messenger from Rome into Tuscany to know what manner of man Giotto was, and what his workes were; beeing purposed to beautifie Saint Peters Church with sacred Histories by the hand of some excellent master. This Messenger or Courtier from the Pope, taking his iourney to Florence, passed by Siena, and stil enquiring out the best masters, tooke a draught of something from every one of them to carry back to the Pope, to choose as he thought best: comming to Florence in a morning be­times, he came to the shop of Giotto, desiring (as he had done of others) to give him a touch with his pencill, or some peece to shew his Holinesse. Giotto being merily disposed, tooke a sheete of paper, vpon which, with a pencill (setting one arme vnder his side) hee drew so absolute a Circle, that by no compasse a truer could be drawne; hauing done, smiling he gaue it to the Courtier, saying, There is my draught. The Courtier imagining he had flouted him, said, is this all? Giotto replyed, it is all, and more then enough. When the Pope with others of judgement saw it, and heard the manner how carelesly he did it, he admired and confessed, he passed all men of his time in excellency: this being knowne, it grew a proverbe in Italy, More round then Giotto's Circle. The Pope after this, did him much honour, and very liberally rewarded him. Hee had painted vpon a certaine wall the picture of the Virgin Mary, and when this wall was to be mended, such care (by reason of the excel­lency of his Art) was had of this picture, that it was cut square and taken downe whole out of the wall with a great deale of paine and cost. He made in Mosaique, in the fore court of Saint Peter, the ship wherein Peter and the Apostles were in danger of drowning,
their actions and gestures full of feare, the sailes full of wind, with the behauiour of Fishermen in such extremitie. At Avignon, hee wrought for Pope Clement the fift; & in many other places of France his workes are yet remaining. Anno 1316. he was at last sent for by Robert king of Naples, for whom there (in the Church of the Cloyster of Saint Clare) he made many histories both of the old and new Testament, with the whole historie of the Revelacion: it is said that herein his invention was admirable, and that he was much holpen by his deare and ingenious friend Dantes the Poet. The King was not onely pleased with the excellencie of his hand, but with his many witty answers and conceipts; wherefore sometime he would sit by him halfe a day together to see him worke. Once the King said vnto him, Giotto I will make thee the foremost man of my Court; I beleue it (quoth Giotto) and that (I thinke) is the reason why I am lodged in the Porters lodge at your Court gate. Another time also the King said thus vnto him, Giotto, if I were as thou, the weather is so exceeding hot, I would giue ouer Painting for a while; whereunto Giotto replyed, Indeed Sir, if I were as you, I would let it rest indeed. Another time, being at worke in the great Hall of the Court, the King merily requested him, to paint him out his kingdom; Giotto made no more adoe, but presently painted an Asse with a Saddle on his backe, and smelling at another new saddle that lay before him at his feet, as if he had had a mind to that, rather then the other vpon his backe; and vpon each saddle a crowne and a Scepter: the King demanded what he meant thereby; Giotto replyed, Such is your Kingdome and Subiects, for they desire new Lords daily. In his returning to Florence, he made very many rare peeces by the way, deuised many excellent Models for building; beside other his workes in Caruing, Plaistique, &c. The Citie of Florence not onely Roially rewarded him, but gave him and his posteritie a Pension of an hundred crownes a yeare, which was a great summe in those times.

He died to the griefe of many, in the yeare 1336. and was buried at Florence, vpon whom Angelus Politianus wrote this Epitaph worthy so excellent a man.

Ille ego sum per quem pictura extincta reuixit,
Cui quam recta manus, tam fuit & facilis.
Naturae deerat, nostrae quod defuit arti,
Plus licuit nulli pingere nec melius.
Miraris turrîm egregiam, sacro aere sonantem,
Haec quoque de modulo creuit ad astra meo;
Denique sum lottus, quid opus fuit illa referre?
Hoc nomen longi carminis instar erit.

Stephano Fiorentino.

This Stephano beeing Giotto's scholler, what with his masters furtherance, and his owne industry, became not onely equall to his master, but in some respects excelled him, as many of his works doe manifest, namely the Virgin Mary in the Church called Campo Santo at Pisa, which to say truth, excelled that of his Masters in the Cloister of Santo Spirito in Florence. He painted the transfiguration of our blessed Saviour in the Mount with Moses and Elias, where the light was seene to shine downe vpon the Apostles, who with such a faire action lay so wrapped in their mantles that ye might perceiue all the foldings vpon the joints, and made the nakednes to shine through their thinne cloathes, which was neuer seene before or vsed by Giotto. In another Chappell he made the fall of Lucifer, wherein hee shewed many excellent foreshortnings of bodies, armes and legges; wherefore by the Artists of his time, he was named Occhio di Natura, the eye of nature, he wrought at Rome, Milane, and many other places: many excellent pieces of his are yet to bee seene in Florence, which for breuity I omit: he dyed Anno 1350.

Petro Laurati of Siena.

Petro Laurati was famous in his time, especially for making of Glories, wherein he surpassed all others before him. At Arezzo with excellent skill hee painted vpon a seeling Angels dancing as in a ring about Mary, seeming to sing and play on instruments; where in their eyes and countenances you may see expressed a true godly ioy: another troope of Angels with various and delicate action carrying her vp into heauen. He dyed, 1350.

Bonamico Buffalmacco.

Buffalmacco was scholler to Taffi, and as excellent in his profession, so was he merry and of pleasant conceit: wherefore hee was familiar with Bruno and Calandrino, rare Artists and of his owne humour, many of whose iestes are recorded by Boccace. Buffalmacco being a young youth while he dwelt with Taffi, was called vp by his
master by two or three of the clocke in winter mornings to his
work, grinding of colours or the like, which grieued him much;
and bethinking himselfe how to make his master keepe his bed, he
got vp in the fields some thirty or forty Dorres or Beetles, and
a little before his master should rise, fastning little waxe candles
upon their backs, puts them in lighted, one by one into his masters
chamber; who seeing the lights moouing vp and downe, began to
quake for feare, committing himselfe to God with hartie prayer,
and couered himselfe ouer head and eares in his bed, hauing no
mind to worke or awake Buffalmacco. In the morning hee asked
Buffalmacco if hee had not seene a thousand Diuels as he had; who
answered no, for he was asleepe, and wondered he called him not:
Called? saide Taffi, I had other things to thinke of then to paint,
I am fully resolued to goe dwell in another house. The night follow­
ing though Buffalmacco had put in but onely three lights into his
chamber, yet could he not sleep for feare al that night: it was no
sooner day but Taffi left his house with intent neuer to come into
it againe. Buffalmacco hereupon went to the priest of the parish
to desire his aduice, telling him that in his conscience the Diuell
next vnto God hated none more then painters, for that, said Buffal­
macco, we make him odious in the peoples eyes by painting him
terrible and in the vgliest shape we can deuise; and more to spight
him, wee paint nothing but Saints in Churches to make the people
more deuout then otherwise they would, wherefore the diuels are very
angry with vs, and hauing more power by night then by day, they play
these prankes, and I feare they will doe worse except we giue ouer
this working by candle light. This he spake so confidently, and in
so demure a manner to the priest, that the priest auouched it to be
true, and with great reasons perswaded Taffi euuer after to keepe his
bed; which beeing published about, working by candle-light was left
through the towne euuer after. The first proofe of his skill he
shewed at a Nunnery neere Pisa now wholly ruined, being the birth of
Christ, where Herod killed the children of Bethlem; where the afferc­
tions and lookes of the murtherers, Mothers, Nurses resisting with
biting, scratching, tearing, pulling, &c. are excellently expressed.
Moreouer, he drew the foure Patriarkes, and the foure Euangelists,
where he expressed Saint Luke with great art, blowing the inke in
his pen to make it runne. He was in his time one of the merriest and finest companions of the world: he died, Anno 1340.

Ambrosio Lorenzetti of Siena.

This Ambrosio was a painter of Siena, he was chiefly commended for that grace he had in contriuing postures and accidents of History: he was the first that most liuely could resemble tempests, stormes, raine, &c. He was very moderate, and went rather like a Philosopher then a painter. He dyed at Siena.

Petro Cavallini of Rome.

This was scholler vnto Giotto, and wrought with him in the ship of Mosaique in the front of Saint Peters in Rome. There is yet a Crucifix of his yet to bee seene at Arezzo, and another in the Church of Saint Paul in Rome, of admirable life and skill. He was wondrous deuout and Religious. He dyed 1363. and lyeth buryed at Pauls without Rome with this Epitaph

Quantum Romanae PETRVS decus addidit vrbi,
Picturae, tantum dat decus ipse Polo.

Simon of Siena.

Simon of Siena was a rare Artist, and liued in the time of the famous and Laureate Poet Francis Petrarch, in whose verses he liueth eternally, for his rare art & judgement shouwne, in drawing his Laura to the life. For invention and variety he was accounted the best of his time.

Andreas Orgagna.

Andreas Orgagna was a Florentine, and both a Painter, Poet, Architect and Caruer, though hee began first with caruing. One of his best pieces he wrought in Pisa, which was all sorts of worldly and sensuall Epicures, rioting and banquetting vnder the shaddow of an Orenge tree, within the branches and bowes whereof, flye little Amoretts or Cupids, shooting at sundry Ladies lasciuiously dancing and dallying amongst them; which Ladies were then liuing, and all discerned by their seuerall countenances: as also many Gallants and Princes of that time drawne in the same table. On the other side of the table, he made an hard Rocke, full of people, that had left the world, as being Eremites, servuing of God, and doing divers actions of pietie, with exceeding life; as here one prayeth, there another

36 with B: with A
readeth, some other are at worke to get their liuing, and among the rest, there is with admirable art and judgment, an Eremite milking of a Goat. Withall, Saint Macharius, who sheweth the miserable estate of man to three Kings riding on, hunting in great state with their Queens, and sheweth them a graue wherein lie three dead Kings, whose bodies are almost rotten; whereon they looke with a great feare, liuely expressed in their countenances, and one wishly looking downe into the graue, stoppeth his nose, &c. Ouer this flyeth death in blacke with a Sith in his hand: all about on the earth lye people along of all ages, sexe, and condition, slaine, and dying by sundry means. He also painted the Judgement, where hee placed in hell most of his foes that had molested him, and among the rest a Scrivener, whose name was Ceccho de Ascoli, and knowne for a notable knaue in his profession, and a Coniurer beside, who had many wayes molested him: He was by children and boyes discerned to be the same man, so well had he exprest him to the life. He dyed aged 60. yeares, 1389. and lyeth buryed at Florence.

Thomas Masaccio.

This Thomas, sirnamed Masaccio or the Slouen (for that he neuer cared how hee went in his cloathes) was borne in the Castle of Saint John de Valderno; and being a youth, so much addicted his mind vnto painting, that hee cared in a manner for nothing, not so much as to demand money of his debters where it was due, but when meere necessitie draue him thereunto; yet was he curteous vnto all. He excelled in Perspectiue, and aboue all other masters labourd in Nakeds, and to get the perfection of foreshortning, and working ouer head to bee viewed standing vnder. Amongst other his workes, that of Saint Peter taking a penny out of the fishes mouth, and when he payeth it for tole, is famous. In briefe, he brake the Ice to all painters that succeeded for Action in Nakeds and foreshortnings, which before him were knowne but of few. For by his peecees and after his practise, wrought Fryer John of Fiesole, Frier Phillip Phillippo, Alessan: Baldovinetti, Andrea del Castagna, Verochio Dominico de Grillandaio, di Botticello, Leonarde de Vinci, Pedro di Perugia, Frier Bartholomew of Saint Marke, Mariotto, Albertinell, the rare and euer admired Michael Angelo Bonarotti, Raphael d’Urbine, and sundry others. He dyed it was suspected of poison in the 26. yeare of his age. His Epitaph was written in Italian by Hannibal Coro.
Leon Baptista Alberti.

This Alberti was an excellent linguist, having his Latine tongue very exactly. He was born in Florence, and was both an excellent Painter and Architect; he wrote tenne bookes of Architecture in Latine, which he published in print, Anno. 1481. Moreover he wrote three bookes of the Art of Painting, a Treatise of measuring heigthes, besides certaine bookes of Policy, with many other discourses. He was descended of a Noble house, and was very inward with pope Nicholas the fift. He was excellent for the descriptions of Battailes, night workes, glittering of weapons, and the like.

Frier Phillipo Lippi.

Philippo Lippi borne in Florence, was a poore Childe, and left fatherlesse and motherlesse, was brought vp by an Aunt; at eight yeares of age, placed in a Monasterie of the Iacobines, where out of his naturall inclination, he practised Drawing and Painting; and in short time grew to that excellence, that he was admired of all: making in his Cloyster many Histories in wet, after Masaccio's manner. At seuentene yeares of age he forsooke his order. Being in La Marca d'Ancona, he put himselfe with some friends to Sea, but were in short time taken by the Pirates of Barbarie, and sold into the Country for slaues, wearing heauie chains about their legges. In this estate liued Phillipo eighteen moneths, but growing familiar with his Master, one day, when he saw his time and his Master in a good humour, tooke a coale, and vpon a white wall drew him from head to foot: this being seene of his fellow slaues, and shewed vnto his Master, who had neuer seene a picture before, was cause of his deliverance: for making his escape, or at least his Master winking thereat, he made shift to come to Naples, where he wrought in colours a most curious Altar-table for King Alphonsum. Hence he went to Florence, and made another Altar-table, which pleased Cosmo de Medicis wondrous well; whereupon he was employed by Cosmo in making many small Pictures, whereof some were sent vnto Eugenius the fourth, whereupon he grew in great fauour with the Pope. He was so addicted vnto Women, that what euer he got, hee bestowed and spent it among them: whereupon Cosmo shut him vp into a Chamber in his house, that he might follow his worke close; but hauing beene thus
meewed vp by the space of two dailes, the humour of gadding tooke him againe in the head; and one euening cutting his sheets, made ropes of them, and so got out at a window. But shortly after, found and brought to Cosmo againe, he had libertie to go and come at his pleasure, and was better attended and serued then before. For said Cosmo, The excellence of rare Spirits are heauenly formes, and no burden-bearing Mules. Many excellent pecces he made in Florence, admired and applauded by the best Masters. At Prato by Florence, where hee was acquainted, the Nunnes of Sancta Margarita procured him to make their high Altar-table, where being at worke, he espied a beautifull virgin, a Citizens daughter of Florence, whose name was Francisco Bati: This maid was there kept to be made a Nunne; she was most beautifull, her name was Lucretia, & so he wrought with the Nunnes, that he obtained leaue to draw her Picture; but by continuall gazing vpon her countenance, he became so enamoured of her, that what by close messengers and other meanes, he got her out of the Nunnerie: he got her away and married her, and by her he had a sonne, named also Phillip, who became an excellent Painter. This Frier Phillips workes are to bee seene at Prato. And amongst other S. Bernard layed out dead, his brethren mourning about him, and many Cripples and diseased persons, which (as it was said) with touching the Herse and his body, were healed. Then hee most excellently wrought the Martyrdome of S. Stephen, the beheading of S. John Baptist, with many others. Hee died aged fiftie seuen, Anno 1438. Hee had a stately Monument of Marble erected ouer him; his Epitaph was written by Angelus Politianus, which for the elegency I will set downe.

Conditus hic ego sum, picturae fama Philippus,
Nulli ignota meae est, gratia mira manus.
Artifices, potui digitis animare colores:
Sperataque animos fallere voce diu.
Ipsa meis stupuit Natura expressa figuris,
Meque suis fassa est artibus esse parem.
Marmoreo tumulo Medices Laurentius hic me
Condidit; ante humili puluere tectus eram.

29 meae B: mea A
Antonello de Messino.

Antonello borne at Messino, ought not to be forgotten, who was the first that brought painting in Oyle into Italy. For certaine Oyle pieces being sent by the Merchants out of Flanders to Alphon-sus, the first King of Naples, which the King had in great admir-a-tion, for that they could not be washed out with water: comming to the view of Antonello, Antonello could never be in quiet untill he had found out the Inuentor, whose name was John Van Eyck, who entertained Antonello very courteously, and shewed him his Art what he could; but at last, John van Eyck dying, Antonello returned into Venice, where his workes of the Magnifici were much admired, and for that he brought the working in Oyle the first into Italy; he was honored with this Epitaph.

D.G.M.

Antonius pictor, praecipuum Messanae & totius Siciliae ornamen-tum, hac humo contegitur: non solum suis picturis, in quibus singulare artificium, & venustas fuit, sed & quod coloribus oleo miscendis splendorem & perpetuitatem primus Italicae picturae contulit, summo semper artificium studio celebratus.

Dominico Girlandaio.

This Dominico was a Florentine, by profession at the first a Gold-smith, but falling to Painting, hee became a great Master therein. His first worke was a Chappell for the family of the Vespucci, wherein hee drew in his Sea habit, and standing vpon an vnknowne shoare, Americus Vesputius, who gaue America her name. His best peeces are to be seen at S. Maria Novella in Florence. He died Anno 1493.

Raphaell D'Vrbine.

I ouerpasse for breuitie sake, many other excellent and famous Artists of Italie, equalling the former, as Bellino, Pallaiuoli, Botticello, Verrocchio, Andreas Mantega of Mantua, so highly esteemed and honoured of Duke Luduvico Gonzaga; Francesco Francia, Michael Angelo: and will comprise them in the excellencie of one onely Raphaell D'Vrbine, who was borne at Vrbine; whose fathers name was Giovanni de Santi, a Painter also. This Raphaell was brought vp vnder Petro Perusini in Perusia, where he did gaue his mind from a child vnto Drawing and Painting, that in short time hee
contended for the Palme with the greatest Masters of Europe, and was for his admirable inuention, sirnamed the Wonderfull. There was a great aemulation betwene Raphaell and the afore named Francesco Francia, who liued and wrought at Bologne, till at the last through meere admiration, by report of each others skill, they grew most louing friends, greeting each either by letters continu­ally; yet had Francia neither seene Raphaell Vrbine, nor any of his workes (by reason he was old and could not trauaile, abiding alwaies in Bologne) vntill it fortuned that Raphaell Vrbine hauing made a S. Cicilia in a faire Altar-table, for the Cardinall De Pucci Santi quatro, which was to be set at Bologna, at S. Giovanni Sopra Monte (or on the Hill:) which Table he shut in a Case, and sent it to Francia, as vnto a deare friend, that if any thing were amisse, or it happened to be defaced or iniured in the carriage, hee would amend it: and beside, so much befriended him, as to set it vp in the place appointed, and to see it want nothing fitting. When he understood thus much by Raphaels Letter, hee opened the Case with great joy, and set the peece in a good and faire light; which when he had thorougly viewed, he was so amazed, and grew so out of conceipt of himselfe and his owne worke, confessing his worke to be nothing, in respect of Raphaell Vrbines: which so strucke him to the heart, that he died (presently after he had set the peece in his place) Anno 1518. The fame of Raphael Vrbine at this time was so great, that he was sought for and employed by the greatest Princes of Europe, as namely, the Popes Adrian and Leo; Francis the first, King of France, Henry the eight, King of England; the Dukes of Florence, Vrbine, Mantua, and divers others. Those stately hangings of Arras, containing the Historie of S. Paul out of the Acts (then which, eye neuer beheld more absolute Art, and which long since you might have seene in the banqueting house at White-hall) were wholly of his inuention, bought (if I be not deceived) by King Henrie the eight of the State of Venice, where Raphaell Vrbine dyed. I haue no certainty, but sure I am, his memorie and immortall Fame, are like to liue in the world for euer. If you would reade the lives at large of the most excellent Painters, as well Ancient as Modern, I refer you vnto the two volumes of Vasari, well written in Italian (which I haue not seene, as being hard to come by; yet in the
Libraries of two my especiall and worthy friends, M. Doctor Mountford, late Prebend of Pauls, and M. Inigo Iones, Surueyer of his Maiesties workes for building) and Caluin Mander in high Dutch; vnto whom I am beholden, for the greater part of what I haue heere written, of some of their liues.
1. Iob 39.16.

2. τι θαυμαστών.

3. He painted the Chappell at white Hall, and S. James. Joseph of Arimathia, Lazarus rising from the dead, &c. were his.

4. The fitter for our yealow ruffes.

5. The Modell of the steeple of the cheefe Church in Florence.
Of sundry Blazons, both Ancient and Moderne.

Before you enter the stately Palace of Armorie, I would request you (as a thing expedient) strictly to view and examine the Frontespice; I meane these severall sorts of Blazons, the very materials wherewith you are to build: and as they are the principles, in this respect they are the more to bee desired and imbraced; for you know, Ignoratis terminis, ignoratur & ars. Wherefore to make you compleat, I have collected these following principles out of Sir John Ferne's Glory of Generositie, and inserted them here, for feare you should not procure his booke, being indeed very rare, and daily sought after as a lewell. To our purpose then, my Author delivereth unto us, foureteene sundry kindes of Blazons, and marshalleth them in this order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancient</th>
<th>Moderne</th>
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<tr>
<td>1  By Colours.</td>
<td>10 By Flowers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2  By Planets.</td>
<td>11 By the Seasons of the Yeere.</td>
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<td>3  By precious Stones.</td>
<td>12 By the Complexions of Man.</td>
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<td>4  By Vertues.</td>
<td>13 By Numbers.</td>
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<td>5  By Celestiall signes.</td>
<td>14 By Metals.</td>
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<td>6  By the Moneths of the Yeere.</td>
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<td>7  By the Dayes of the Weeke.</td>
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<td>8  By the Ages of Man.</td>
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<td>9  By the Elements.</td>
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I am not ignorant, that in the time of King Henrie the fift, there was a Dutchman, who used to blaze Armes, by the principall parts of mans body; but it seemes no way approved of by Heraulds, to bee admitted among these.
We read of one Malorques, a Frenchman, who used to emblazon by flowers; and of one Fauchon, an Englishman, who lived in the dayes of King Edward the third, that performed the same by the dayes of the weeke.

The Tables of Blazons, appertaining to the seven perfect Colours.

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<th>The 1 Colour is Or, i.e. Yellow and signifieth in</th>
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<tr>
<td>Plannets.</td>
<td>The Sunne.</td>
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<td>Precious Stones.</td>
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<td>Vertues.</td>
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<td>Celestiall signes.</td>
<td>The Lion.</td>
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<td>Moneths.</td>
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16 yeere G; yeere C
First side-head 1.4 i.e. G; i C
Second side-head 1.5 i.e. G; i C
The 3 Colour is Gules i.e. Red, and signifies in

- Planets: Mars
- Precious stones: Carbuncle, Ruby & Corall
- Vertues: Charity and Magnanimity
- Celestial signes: Aries and Cancer
- Moneths: March, June, July
- Dayes of the weke: Tuesday
- Ages of Man: Virillity, or Mans age
- Flowers: Gillofer, and Red-Rose
- Elements: Fire
- Seasons of the yeere: Summer and Harvest
- Complexions: Choller
- Numbers: 3, 10
- Metals: Latten

The 4 Colour is Azure i.e. light blue, and signifies in

- Planets: Jupiter
- Precious stones: Saphire
- Vertues: Justice and Loyalty
- Celestial signes: Taurus and Libra
- Moneths: April and September
- Dayes of the weke: Thursday
- Ages of man: Puerillity
- Flowers: Blue Lilly
- Elements: Aire
- Seasons of the yeere: Spring time
- Complexions: Sanguine
- Numbers: 4, 9
- Metals: Copper
The 5 Colour is Sable, i.e. Black and signifies in

- Planets: Saturne
- Precious stones: Diamond, Agate, or Chelydoin
- Vertues: Prudence, Constancie
- Celestial signs: Capricornus and Aquarius
- Moneths: December, January
- Dayes of the weeke: Saturday
- Ages of Man: Old Age
- Flowers: The Aubisane
- Elements: Earth
- Seasons of the yeere: Winter
- Complexions: Melancholie
- Numbers: 5, 8
- Metals: Iron and lead
- Planets: Venus
- Precious stones: Smaragd, or Emeraud
- Vertues: Loyalty in love, Curtesie & Affability
- Celestial signs: Gemini and Virgo
- Moneths: May and August
- Dayes of the weeke: Friday
- Ages of Man: Lusty Greene Youth
- Flowers: All manner of Verdures
- Elements: Water
- Seasons of the yeere: Spring time
- Complexions: Flegmatique
- Numbers: 6
- Metals: Quicksilver

First side-head 15 i.e. G: i. G

Conceive not I pray, that any of these Blazons are superfluous, and not worthy of your knowledge, in respect that three onely are ancient, and of most use with us. viz. By Colours, By Planets and By Precious stones; For I question not, but you may happen upon the like Blazons (as those of Marloques and Fauchon before mentioned) and then, should you be ignorant of these Tables, you cannot imagine what Colours are signified thereby; and so by consequence, you shall never be able to make report to your Sovereign what the Coat-Armour is. Besides, by these Tables you shall be instructed, how to commend the Armes of any Gentleman by various Circumstances. For an instance, I would by Vertues, emblazon the Coat-Armour of Mr. Abraham de Lawne, (of Sharsted in Kent) a very worthy Gentleman, and a great lover and admirer of all good Arts: then after this manner I expresse myself. This accomplished Gentleman, beareth in a Field of Loyality, a Crosse Lozange of constancie; On a Chief of Magnanimity, a Lion Passant Gardant, holding a Flower delie in his dexter paw, of the second, a labell to shew his father is living. Now had you not the use of these Tables, this kinde of Blazon would seeme heathen Greeke unto you, which easily may be resolved by having recourse unto them. for seeke after Vertues in the Table, and where Loyalty is opposite, you shall find the governing Colour to bee Azure, which is the Colour of the field sought for, & sic de reliquis.

27 expresse my selfe D1; expresse my my selfe C
The lofty Blazon by Planets, is most proper for the Armes of Emperours, Monarchs, Kings, and Princes. For the Nobility your Blazon by precious stones is most correspondent; as for other degrees, I doubt not but here you may bee furnished with variety, such as your discretion shall make choice of, according to the desert of the Gentleman, and his Coate-armour.
Of Armorie, or Blazon of Armes, with the Antiquity and Dignitie of Heralds.

It is meete that a Noble or Gentleman who beareth Armes, and is well descended, bee not onely able to blazon his owne proper Coate; derive by pedegree the descent of his family from the originall, know such matches and allies as are icyned to him in blood: but also of his Prince, the Nobilitie, and Gentry where he liueth, which is not of meere ornament, as the most suppose, but diversly necessary and of great consequence: as had I fortuned to haue liued in those times, when that fatall difference of either ROSE was to be decided by the sword; with which partie in aequitie and conscience could I haue sided, had I beene ignorant of the descent and pedegree Royall, and where the right had beene by inheritance of Blood, Match, or Alliance.

How should we giue Nobilitie her true value, respect, and title, without notice of her Merit: and how may we guesse her merit, without these outward ensignes and badges of Vertue, which anciently haue beene accounted sacred and precious; withall, discerne and know an intruding vpstart, shot vp with the last nights Mushrome, from an ancient descended and deserving Gentleman, whose Grandsires haue had their share in every foughten field by the English since Edward the first? or my selfe a Gentleman know mine owne ranke; there being at this instant the world ouer, such a medley (I had almost said Motley) of Coates, such intrusion by adding or diminishing into ancient families and houses; that had there not beene within these few yeares, a iust and commendable course taken by the Right Honor­able the Earles Marshale, for the redresse of this generall and unsufferable abuse, we should I feare me within these few yeares, see Yeomen as rare in England, as they are in France.

Besides, it is a contemplation full of pleasing varietie, and for the most part, sympathizing with every Noble and generous disposition, in substance the most refined part of Naturall Philosophie,
while it taketh the principles from Geometry, making use almost of every several square and angle. For these and other reasons, I desire that you would bestow some hours in the study of the same: for a Gentleman Honorably descended, to be utterly ignorant herein, argueth in him either a disregard of his own worth, a weakness of concept, or indisposition to Arms and Honorable Action; sometime mere Idiotism, as Signeur Gaulart, a great man of France (and none of the wisest) inuiting on a time many great personages and honourable friends to his Table, at the last service a March-pan was brought in, which being almost quite eaten, hee bethought himselfe, and said; It was told mee, that mine Armes were brauely set out in Gold and Colours vpon this March-pan, but I have looked round about it and cannot see them: Your Lordship (said one of his men) eate them vp your selfe but now. What a knaue (quoth Monsieur Gaulart) art thou? thou diddest not tell me before I eate them, I might haue seene what they had beene.

The dignitie and place of an Herald, among the ancient Romans was very great; that same Ius Feciale, or Law of Armes, being first instituted by Ancus Martius, as Livie testifieth, though some ascribe it to Numa Pompilius, who ordained a Colledge of Heralds. The office of an Herald, was to see that the Romans made not warre inustly with any of their confederates; to determine of warre, peace, leagues, agreements, wrongs taken or offered by them or their enemies, and the like.

Now if the enemy had offered them wrong, or taken away any thing from them by violence, they first sentMessengers to demand their right, and the restoring of that they had taken away; which was done in a solemn form, and the words pronounced distinctly, and with a loud voyce: and this manner of delivering their message, was called Clarigatio. The form was this, Ioem ego testem facio, si ego impie iniusteque illas res dedier populo Romano mihique exposco, tunc patriae compotem nunquam sinas esse. If they refused their demands, or to make restitution: first all league and friendship (if any were betwixt them) being renounced and broken, after thirty daies, (which they solemnly observed) they proclaimed open warre, and with fire and sword inuaded the enemies Countrey,
and by force recouered their owne.

Neither was it lawfull, for either Consull or Senate, or any of the common people, to take vp Armes against an enemy, without the consent and approbation of the Heralds.

Among the Heralds, there was one the cheefe and aboue the rest, whom they called Pater Patratus; and hee was chosen one who was to haue children, and his owne father alive: him one of the inferior Heralds, crowning his head and Temples with Veruaine, made him the cheefe or King, either in concluding peace, or denouncing warre. (3)

The most ancient forme of denouncing warre, is set downe at large by Liuie. The Tybaren are reported to haue been so iust in their making warre, and defiance of their enemies, that they would neuer meeete them, but first they would send them word of the day, place, yea, and very houre they meant to fight. (4)

Moreover, if any complaint by the enemy were made of breach of the league, the Heralds examined the truth, and hauing found out the Authours, they deliuiered them vp to the enemy to doe with them as hee listed: or if any without the consent of the people, Senate & Heraldes eyther fought or made peace, entred league, &c. the Romanes freede theirselues again, by deliuiering vp the Authors to their enemies. So were the Consuls T. Veturius & Sp. Postumius for their error at Caudium, and making peace with the Samnites contrary to the will of the people and Senat, together with T. Numicius and Q. AEmilius Tribunes, deliuiered to the enemy. The words of Postumius himselfe, (who made request that himselfe with the rest, who had offended, might be deliuiered to the enemy) are thus recorded by Livie. Dedamur per feciales, nudi vinctique, exolvamus religione populum, si qua obligavimus: ne quid divini humanive obstet, quo minus iustum piumque de integro ineatur bellum. (5) The forme and words on their deliuery to the enemies hands, were these: Quando-quidem hisce homines iniusseu populi Romani, Quiritum foedus ictum iri spoponderunt, atque ob eam rem noxam nocuerunt: ob eam rem quo populus Romanus Scelere impio sit solutus, hosce homines vobis dedo. And so, many yeares after was C. Mancinus deliuiered to the Numantines, with whom hee had entred into league contrary to the will, and without the knowledge of the Senate. (6)

Heraldes also examined and determined of wrongs and injuries

19 fought B; fonght A
31 hisce B; hice A
32 spoponderunt G; saposponderunt A
done vnto Embassadours, and punished them by deliuering vp in like manner, the parties offending, vnto the nation or State offended.

They looked also to the strict observing of every branch of the league, or truce; in breife their Authority was comprised in these few words, Belli, pacis, foederum, induciarum, oratorum, feciales judices suntto. (7)

Spurius Fusius was the first Herald that euer was created among the Romanes, and had the name of Pater Patratus in the warre which Tullus Hostilius made against old Latines.

Their priuiledges were great and many, and too long for me here to reckon vp. And to conclude, for farther search of their institution, priuiledges, and Office, I refere you to Iehan le Feron, a French Authour. (8)

I purpose not heere to enter into a large field and absolute discourse of Blazonry with all the lawes & termes thereof, hauing bee already preuented by Bera, Vpton, Gerrard Leigh, Master Ferne, Master Guillim (late Portculleis pursuivant) in his Methodicall Display of Heraldry, with sundry others. So that, in a manner, more cannot bee saide then hath bee: my selfe besides hauing written something of this subiect heretofore, but onely to poynnt vnto you as a stranger vpon the way, the fairest and shortest cut vnto your iournies end in this Art.

The word Blazon is from the French Emblasonner; and note that we in England use herein the same termes of Art with the French: because the ancients of our Nobility for the greater part, acknowledge themselves to bee descended out of Normandy, and to haue come in with the Conquerour, many retaining their ancient French names, & Charges vnto this day; as Beauchamp, Beaumont, Sacuill, Neuill, with many others.

Your A. B. C. in this Art, let be the knowledge of the sundry formes of Shieldes or Escotcheons which are, and haue bee generally borne in ancient times. Among all nations we of Europe haue onely two kinds in use (the Lozenge excepted) viz. that we use in England, France, Germany, &c. and the Ouall they beare in Italy; which forme they yet (from the old Romanes) holde in use.

The word Escotcheon is deriued from the French un escu, that from the Latine Scutum, and that againe from σκυτός in Greeke,
which is leather; because the ancients had their Shields of tanned leather, the skinnes laid thicke one ouer another, as appeareth by that of Vlysses, vpbraiding Aiax:

\[\text{Quae nisi fecissem, frustra Telamone creatus,}
\text{Gestasset laeva taurorum tergora septem.}\]

And Caesar (saith Cambrensis) fighting hand to hand with Nennius, a British King fast had his sword, nayled into Nennius his shield (being of hard leather,) at which advantage Nennius had slaine him, had not Labienus the Tribune stepped in betweene, and rescued his master. 10

Now the ancient shields by reason that they were long, and in a manner of that forme as some of the Knights Templers had theirs, as appeareth vpon that their monument in the Temple Church, differed much from the buckler or target which was round, as it may appeare out of Livie. Clypeis autem Romani vsi sunt (saith he) deinde postquam facti sunt stipendiariij, scuta pro clypeis fecere. (10) And Virgil compareth the great eye of Cyclops to an Argolican Target, for who will deny but that an eye is round?

That their shieldes (as I haue said) were long, and in a manner couered the whole body, he saith else-where,

\[\text{Scutis protecti corpora longis.}\]

Hereupon Scutum was called in Greeke θυρέος, because it resembled a dore, which is euer more long then broad.

The Carthaginians made their shieldes of gold. M. Aufidius tels vs that his ancestours (being Romanes) had theirs of Siluer.

Alexander king of the Iewes opposed against Ptolomy 8000 fighting men, which hee tearred Hecatomachi, as much to say as, fighting each man against an hundred, because they vsed brasen shields. (11)

The Numidians vsed shieldes made of Elephants hides impene-trable to any dart, yet on the other side they had this discom-moditie, that in rainy weather they would like a sponge so soake in the water, and become hereby so heauy, the souldiers could hardly beare them.

The shield in times past was had in such honour, that he who
lost or alienated the same, was accounted as basely of as he that
with vs runnes from his colours, and was seuerely punished: and
the Graecians fined him at a greater rate who lost his shield, then
he who lost his sword or speare. Because that a souldier ought to
take more care that he receiueth not a mischiefe, then he should
doe it of himselfe.\(12\)

Bitter was that iest of Scipio, when hee saw a souldier bestow
great cost in trimming and glazing his shield: I can not blame
thee (quoth he) that thou bestowest so much cost vpon thy shield,
because thou trustest more to that then to thy sword.

The Lacaedemonians of all other the most warlike, by the lawes
of Lycurgus, brought vp their children to the vse of shields from
their infancy; and famous is that Lacaedemonian mother for that her
speech to her son, when she deliuered him a shield going to the
warre, ΤΕΧΝΩ, ἢ ΤΑΥ, ἢ ἐΠΙ ΤΑΣ, Sonne either bring backe this shield,
or bee thou brought backe thy selfe (dead) within it. But thus
much of the shield or Escotcheon.

Armes or Ensignes at the first had their chiefe vse for dis­
tinction of Tribe from Tribe, armie from armie, being composed of
two or moe colours, whereof one was ever white or yealow, which we
now tearme Mettals, and that of necessitie; for without the mixture
of one of these, the other as too darke of themselues, could not
bee discerned farre, neyther of white and yealow onely, as participi­
pating too much of the light. Hence they say (though not generally
true) where there is wanting colour or mettal, it is false armorie.

I will not stand here to dispute ouer philosophically, as some
haue done, of the praeminence of one colour aboue another, or out
of profound ignorance affirme blacke to be the most ancient colour,
because darkenesse was vpon the face of the earth in the Chaos; as
if colour were not qualitas visibilis luminis beneficio, and
privatio were formarum susceptibilis; and white the next, because
God said fiat Lux, as if light were a qualitie resulting of an
elementarie composition, it beeing created before all mixed bodies:
yea with Aristotle I rather affirme blacke properly to be no colour
at all, as partaking of the pure Elements nothing at all, for he
saith μέλαν χρώμα ἐστι τῶν στοιχείων εἰς ἀλληλα μεταβαλλόντων\(13\), of the Elements mingled together, as earth, water, aire, not yet
reduced to their proper substance, as we may see in charcoales, all bodies consuming but not consumed, whereupon it is called Niger, of the Greeke νεκρός, which signifieth dead, as a colour proper to dead things. The colours, to say truth, immediately proceeding from the Elements, are yellow and white: yellow being an effect of the fire, and all heat (as we may see in gold) begotten by the heat of the Sunne, by the mixture of the clearest and most pure quicke-siluer, and the finest red brimstone, in fruite and corne ripened by the heat of the same, in choller, vrine, lie boyled, the bellies of hot venemous Serpents and the like. The white is proper to the water and earth, as we may see in all watery bodies congealed, as Ice, Snowe, Christall, glasse, precious stones beaten into powder: also the most rootes, the pulpe of apples, peares, and the like of watry substance, of earth in the ashes of wood and stones burned, all which turne white, being by the fire purged from water and aire. Concerning the aire it selfe, it hath no colour at all.

Now after your two Mettals, yelow and white, Gold or Siluer, which in Armory we cal Or & Argent, you haue foure principall colours, viz. Sable or blacke, Azure or Blew, Gules or Red, Verd or Greene. There are others, as Purpure sanguine Tenne, which are in more use with the French and other Nations then with vs in England.

From simple colours and division by bare lines, they came to give their charges quicke and living things, such as sorted best with their fancies and humours, neyther without reason. The Alani a warlike people, and extreme lovers of their liberty, gaue in their Ensigne a Cat, a beast which of all other cannot brooke bondage. The Gothes to expresse their crueltie with their ranging resolution, gaue a Bear; the Romanes gaue the Eagle, which every Legion severally bare. The reason whereof Iosephus giueth. Quod & uniuersarum auium regnum habeat, & sit valentissima, So did the Thebans and Persians, as Forcatulus reports; beside, Xenophon (saith he,) remembreth he saw in the armie of Cyrus a golden Eagle displayed, borne vpon a long speare, as his ensigne. Yet generally Plinie saith, the charges of their ensignes were of Siluer, because that mettall was most sutable to the day light, and was to be discerned farther: so Portius Latro telleth Catiline of
his siluer Eagle borne before him as the ensigne of his rebellion and furie. Besides the Eagle, the Romanes vsed to beare in their banners the Wolfe, in memorie of Remus and Romulus, fed by the milke of a shee-wolfe, as Livie sheweth. When they undertooke any expedition wherein great secrecy was to be vsed, then they advanced the Minotaure in their standards, to shew that the counsaile of Commanders ought to be no lesse kept secret then the Labyrinth which was the abode of the Minotaure. Withall they bare the Horse, as the most Martiall beast, and serviceable in the warre, being full of furie, and desirous of victorie; and in the Ides of December, a Horse was sacrificed to him who had broken the right wing of his enemies battaile: Lastly, they bare a Hogge in their ensignes, because the warre being finished, they vsed to make a truce by sacrificing a young Swine; which whosoeuer violated or went backe from, ought forthwith as a Hogge to be stoned to death; here- upon they had a forme of Battaglia which they tearmed the Hogges face. But all these (the Eagle onely excepted) were by Caius Marius turned out of vse: but I shall haue elsewhere occasion to write more at large of these and the like Imperiall badges.

The coate of Portugall.

The kings of Portugall bare in a field Argent fiue escotcheons Azure, each charged with as many Plates; on a bordure Gules tenne Castles, or, in remembrance of fiue kings, whom (each seuerally leading a mightie army) Alphonsus the first, king of Portugall overthrew neere to the City of Scallabis in Portugal, now called Trugillo; there appearing at the same time (saith Osorius) Christ crucified in the heauen, whose fiue wounds those fiue plates represent. Those Castles are his holds in Barbary which he wonne from the Moores. D. of Bavaria.

The Dukes of Bavaria haue anciently borne their Armes Palie Bendy arg. and Azure, for that it resembled the party coloured Cassocks of the ancient Boij, who were those Gaules that attempted the Surprise of the Capitol, whom Virgil describing as by night, saith Virgatis lucent Sagulis, which hee vnderstandeth by the white, as most easily to bee discerned in the night time. The towne of Dort or Dordrecht in Holland, from a ciuill broile
that long since occasioned much slaughter, staining the streets
(being only two above a mile in length, the river running in
betweene) with blood, bare in a field gules a pale argent.

The City of Collen, in regard it can shew the monuments of the
three kings who offered to our Saviour, beareth Argent, on a chiefe
gules three crowns Or.

The City of Andwarpe in Brabant, for that sometime a Tyrant
Prince was Lord of that place, and punished offenders in cruel manner,
by cutting off their hands (whose portraiture cut in stone
to the life, stands erected over one of the Ports toward the Scald,
with a sword in one hand, and a mans hand smitten off in the other)
beares foure hands, Coupee in Salteir, an Eagle double necked, dis-
played in chief, to signifie that it is an imperiall Citie;
and hence had it the name of Antwerpe, as much to say as Handwerpen,
which in Dutch signifieth to cast or throw away the hand.

The Stoute and warlike Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich,
who suppress by his courage and valour, that dangerous rebellion, and
about Northwalsham, overthrew Litster the Captaine, hath (as it is
to be seen upon his monument in the body of the Quire of Christ-
Church in Norwich) over his proper coat of Spencer, upon an helmet,
his Episcopall Miter, and upon that Michael the Arch-Angell with
a drawne sword.

Many Coates are conferred by the Prince or State upon merit
and desert, for some honourable act performed to the Common-wealth,
or honour of the Prince; as that devise upon Sir Francis Drake
(which was Q. Elizabeths owne) now usurped and borne (the colour of
the field changed from Sable into Azure) by Olivier a Noort of
Vtrecht, who also of late yeares sailed about the earth. And at my
last being in the Low Countries, was Captaine of a foot Company of
Dutch in Huysden. The said Coate fairely cut in stone, standeth
over a Porch at the entry of his house there.

The Mound or Ball with the Crosse, was by Charles the fifth,
added by way of augmentation, to the Armories of the Palsgrave of
the Rhine, in regard of Vienna, so brauely defended by Phillip
Earle Palatine, together with the Count Solmes, against the furie
of Solyman, who laid sidge to it with above 300000. men; yet glad
(at the rumour of the Emperour Charles his comming) to shew his
backe. (21)
Solymans opinion of the Empour Charles.

For Solymans opinion of the Empour Charles. He feared not Charles as he was Empour of Germany, but that good fortune which ever attended him in his greatest enterprises. And no doubt but the blessing of God was vpon him, as being one of the most religious, just and worthiest Princes that ever lived.

The originall of the Noble Family of the Haies in Scotland. (22)

The family of the Haies in Scotland, bare Arg. three Escotcheons Gules, vpon this occasion. At what time the Danes invaded Scotland, and in a set battaile had put the Scots to the worst: one Hay with his two sons being at plow not farre off, and seeing his Countrey-men flying from their enemies, to come vp a narrow Lane walled with stone on both sides, towards him; with their Plow-beames in their hands, meeting them at the lanes end, in despite beate them backe to charge their enemies afresh, reuling their cowardize, that now hazarded the whole kingdome: whereupon with a stout resolution they put themselves againe into array, and returning backe vpon the Danes (who were both disordered, and in a feare lest a new supply had come downe to the Scots succour) overthrew them utterly, and regained a most memorable victory. Hereupon Hay was by the King ennobled, and had given him for his bearing, in a field Siluer, three Escotcheons Gules: the rest a Plow-man with his Plow-beame on his shoulder: (23) and withall for his maintenance, as much Land as a Faulcon put off from hand could fly ouer ere she did alight, which Land in Scotland is to this day called Hay his Land; and the Faulcon alighting vpon a stone, about seven miles off, gaue it the name of the Falcons stone, even to this day.

Armes againe are sometimes taken from professions, and those meanes by which the bearers have raised themselves to honourable place; as the Dukes of Florence, for that they are descended from the family Di Medici, or Phisitians, bare in a field Azure, sixe Lozenges.

Sometimes they are wonne in the field from Infidels, (for no Christian may directly beare anothers Coate by his sword) as was the Coate of Millan from a Saracen; it being an Infant naisant, or issuing from the mouth of a Serpent. And after the winning of
Granado from the Moors, in the times of Ferdinand and Isabell, Kings of Castile, the Pomgranate the Armes of that kingdome, was placed in the bast of the Escotcheon Royall; and in regard it was gained principally by the meanes of Archerie, the Bow and Quiever of Arrowes was stamped vpon the Spanish sixpence, which remaineth at this day to be seene.

Coates sometimes are by stealth purchased, shuffled into Records and Monuments, by Painters, Glaziers, Caruers, and such: But I trust so good an order hath beene lately established by the Right Honorable, the late Commissioners for the Office of the Earle Marshalship, & carefull respect of the Heralds with vs, that all hope of sinister dealing in that kind, is quite cut off from such mercenary abusers of Nobilitie.

Many times gained at a cheaper rate, by bearing, as the Boore in Germany, and the Netherlands, what they list themselves; neither can their owne Inventions content them, but into what land or place soever they travaile, if they espy a fairer Coate then their owne (for they esteeme Coates faire or good, as our Naturals, according to the varietie of colours) after their returne they set it vp in Glasse for them and their heires, with the Crest and open Beaver, as if they were all Princes; as at Wodrichom or Worcom, hard by Louestein, I found over a Tradesman Coate, no worse Crest then the three Feathers in the Crown, and in many other places whole Coates of the French Nobilitie. Heereof examples in those parts are so frequent, that I must say, Inopem me copia fecit.

Now being acquainted with your colours, the points and every place of the Escotcheon, which the Accidence of Armorie of Master Guillims Display, will at large instruct you in, begin to practise the Blazon of those Coats which consist of bare and simple lines, without charge, as that ancient Coate of Waldgraue, who beareth onely party per pale Arg. and Gules; and the Citie of Vtrecht partie per bend of the same.

Fields of equall composition.

Then your fields equally compounded of moe lines, as Quarterly, Bendey, Barrey, Gyronnee, Checkey, Masculie, &c. Withall, know the names and vse of all manner of your crooked lines, as Endented,
Embattelled, Nebule, or Vndee, Dauncette, &c. Know then those Honorable and prime places, or Ordinaries, with their Species, as the cheefe, so called of Chef in French, that of Κήφαλή, because it posseseth the head, or vpper third part of the Escotcheon.

The Fesse.

The Fesse holding the middle third part of the shield, containeth vnder it the Barre, Barrulet, Coste, Barresgemells, &c. The Bend, the Bendlet, single and double Cotize.

Next know the Furres, Counterchangings, Bordures, Tressures, Orles, Prets; all formes of Crosses, differences of Brothers, Houndles of every kind; as Beasants, Plates, Pommices, &c.

Then proceede to the blazon of all vegetable things, as Flowers, Trees, &c.

Then to all quicke and liuing things, as Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Serpents, and the like.

When you haue done, know Honorable additaments, whether they be by way of augmentation, or markes and differences of alliance.

Coates of augmentation, as those of Queene Katherine Parre, Queene Katherine Howard, and Queene Jane Seymour, conferred by King Henry the eight.

By Cantons, as Ferdinand King of Spaine, honoured Sir Henry Guilford with a Canton of Granado: and King Iames, Molino, the Venetian Embassadour, with a Canton of the kose of England, and Thistle of Scotland empaled. (25)

Then ensue differences of alliance, by Bordures, Labels, Bends, Quarterings, and the like.

Of difference by the Bordure.

By the Bordure, no where more frequent then in the Soueraignes Coate, when the blood Noiall was derived into so many veines, to the distemper of the whole body, vnder the dissention of Yorke and Lancaster.

Thomas of Woodstocke, as also Humphrey Duke of Glocester (who lyeth buried in the Abbey of S. Albanes, vpon the South-side of the Quire, and not in Paules) bare the Soueraigne Coate within a Bord-ure Argent.

Edmund of Hadham, sonne of Owen Tudor, by Queene Katherine, the Soueraigne Coat within a Bordure Azure, with Martlets and Flower-de-luces Or.

John Beaufort, sonne of John of Gaunt, and his posteritie, the same within a bordure Componee, Argent and Azure.

Charles the seventh, King of France, in the yeare 1436. gaue leaue vnto Nicholas Duke of Ferrara, to beare the Armes of France in a Shield, within a Bordure Componee Or and Gules, before the Armes of Ferrara, in recognisance of the league and fidelitie, where-in hee promised to stand bound to serue the King at his own charges. And for the like respect, Lewis the eleventh, in May, 1465. allowed Pietro de Medici, to beare three Flower-de-luces in his shield, which I haue seene borne in cheife, vpon one of his sixe Lozenges.

Of Difference by the Labell. A second difference is by the Labell, borne chieffely as the difference of the elder Brother. As Edward the blacke Prince, and all our Princes of Wales, eldest sonnes to the King, beare their Fathers Soueraigne Coate, with a Labell of three points, Siluer.

John of Gaunt had his Labell Ermin.

Edmond of Langley Duke of Yorke, on his Labell Siluer, nine Torteauxes.

Edmond Plantagenet, sonne and heire of Richard Duke of Yorke, Earle of Rutland, (who being a Child scarce twelue yeares of age, was stricken to the heart with a Dagger by the Lord Clifford at the battaile of Wakefield) had vpon his Labell of fiue points Argent, two Lionceaux Gules, with nine Torteauxes. The Coate of Vlster and Mortimer being empaled with his owne, as may be seen in the windowes of Foderinghay Castle, the mansion house of the Duke of Yorke, where by his father Richard Duke of Yorke, and Cicely Nevill his mother, hee lyeth buried;whose bodies removed out of Foderinghay Church-yard, (for the Chancell, in the Quire wherein they first were laid,
in that fury of knocking Churches and sacred Monuments in the head, was also felled to the ground) lapped in Lead, were buried in the Church by the commandement of Queene Elizabeth, and a meane Monument of Plaister wrought with the Trowell, erected ouer them, very homely, and farre vnfitting so Noble Princes.

I remember Master Creuse, a Gentleman, and my worthy friend, who dwelt in the Colledge at the same time, told me, that their Coffins being opened, their bodies appeared very plainly to be discerned; and withall, that the Dutchesse Cicely had about her necke, hanging in a Silke riband, a pardon from Rome, which penned in a very fine Romane hand, was as faire and fresh to be read, as it had beene written but yesterday.

Of Difference by the Bend.

A third difference, is by the Bend Baston, &c. as the house of Burbon beareth France, with a Batune Gules, though the proper and true Coate of Burbon is Or, a Lyon Gules, within an Orle of Escallops Azure.

Lewis Earle of Eureux in Normandy, brother to Philip le Bell, bare Seme de France, with a Batune Componee, Argent and Gules.

John Earle of Lancaster, and Brother to Richard the first (afterward King) bare for his difference a Batune Azure.

If the mother be of the ligne Royall, many times her Coate is preferred into the first quarter; as Henry Earle of Devonshire, and Marquesse of Exeter, bare his mother Katharines Coate, who was daughter to King Edward the fourth. And the like Humphrey Stafford, who was the first Duke of Buckingham by Anne Plantagenet his mother, the Coate of Thomas of Woodstocke, whose daughter she was. This Coate, I remember, standeth in the great Chancell window in the Church of Kimbalton.

In France it hath beene, and is yet a custome among the Nobilitie, to leaue their owne proper Coates, and take others; as perhaps their Wives, or the Armes of that Seigneurie, whereof they are Lords: or whence they haue their Titles, as Mons. Hugues brother to King Philip, marrying the daughter and heire of Herbert Earle of Verman-doies, forsooke his proper Coate, and bare his Wives, which was Checky, Or, and Azure, onely three Flower-de-luces added in chiefe, to shew he was of the blood. And Robert Count de Dreux, albeit he

3 Elizabeth, B; Elizabeth, A
26 Plantagenet B; Platagenet A
was brother to King Lewis le jeune, bare Cheeky, Azure and Or, with a Bordure Gules. (27)

Robert Duke of Burgogne, brother to Henry the first, tooke for his bearing, the ancient Armes of the Dukes of Burgogne, which was bendy Or and Azure, within a Bordure Gules, giuen by Charlemaigne to Sanson Duke of Burgogne.

And whereas we in England allow the base sonne his Fathers Coate, with the difference of a bend Batune, sinister, or bordure engrailed, or the like: it was in France a long time forbidden (I think vnder the Capets) to the Princes of the blood; as Amaulry Earle of Montfort, base sonne to King Robert, was forced to leaue his Fathers Coate, and beare Gules, a Lion a la queue fourchée Or, passee per a lentour, Argent; for, Le maison de France reiettant les bastardes, ne leur endure son armoire, &c. saith Tillet.

The last and least observation is of Crests, the Helmet, the Mantle, and doubling thereof, which according to the manner of divers Countries, are diversly borne. In Germany they beare their Beauers open with Barres, which we allow in England to none vnder the degree of a Baron: in some places they have no Crests at all. If you would farther proceed in Nobilitie or Heraldry, I would wish you to reade these bookes of Nobilitie in generall:

Simon Simonius de Nobilitate, in quarto, printed at Leipsig, 1572.

Chassanaeus, his Catalogus Gloriae mundi.

Hippolitus a Collibus, his Axiomata Nobilitatis.

Conclusiones de Nobilitate & Doctoratu, published by one of Meckleburg, who concealeth his name, printed 1621. dedicated to the Archbishop of Breme.

Petrus Fritzius, Counsellor to the Elector of Brandenburge, published Conclusiones de Nobilitate, in quarto.

Lionellus De praecedentia hominum.

Of the Spanish Nobilitie these Authors haue written.

Ioannes ab Arce Offalora, in folio.
Priuilegios y Franquezas y libertades des hijos d'algos De Senniorio de Vizcaia, &c. in fol.
Ludovicus de Mollina, De primogeniorum Hispanicorum iure, &c. in fol.
Josephus de Sesse, in Decis. Aragon. Decis. 8.9.10. &c.
Gonzales de Corte, his Nobleza del Andaluzia, in fol.
Scipio Mazzella nelle Neapoli Illustrata, in quarto.
Paulus Merula in Cosmograph. lib. 3. pt. 3. in Italian.
Of Italy, Sicily, Naples, &c.
Of France.
The Workes of Tillet, Feron, Charles L'Oiseau, Choppin, Theatre d'Honneur.
Of Germany, or the Empire.
Fran. Contzen, his Politiques, in fol.
The Collections of Goldastus, with some others.
The practice of Blazonrie.

He beareth Azure, a Saltier Or.
This was the Coate of the pious and deuot Offa King of the Mercians, who liued about the yere of Christ 793. and in the three and thirtieth yere of his raigne, builded the goodly Monasterie of S. Alba, and in Hertfordshire, vpon the way of Watlingstreet, to entertain Pilgrims: the King himselfe laying the first stone of the foundation therof, with these words; Ad Honorem Dei Patris, Filij, & Spiritus Sancti, & Martyris sui Albani terrae meae Protomartyris. Hee ordained it a Conuenent of an hundred Monkes of the order of S. Benedict, electing Willegod who was his Kinsman, to be the first Abbot; he endowed it with goodly reuennes, as here appeareth. After he had begun this
magnificent works, within four or five years, he dyed, and was buried in a little Chappell hard without the town of Bedford, upon the banke of the river of Ouse or Vse, which by the river long since hath been eaten and worn away.  

Willegod the first Abbot dyed the same year that Offa did, of very griefe it was thought, for the death of his king and kinsman, whom he dearly loued.

Anno 828. After him succeeded these in order.

Eadricke.
Vulsigus.
Wulnothus.
Eadfrithus.
Wulsinus, Who built Saint Peters Church, Saint Michaels and Saint Stephens, and made a faire market place in the towne.

Alfricke.
Aldredus, Who digged vp and searched the ruines of Verlam-cestre, which in his time were dens of theeeues and whores; saued all the tile and stone for the repaire of the Church, and in digging vpon the North side in the vale found oaken plankes pitched, Shelles, pieces of oares, and a rusty Anchor or two.

Eadmer, after his death (being a religious and a good man) imitating his predecessour, saued all the ancient coines, vrnes, and other antiquities hee could finde there.

Leofricke, was sonne to the Earle of Kent, and after being chosen to be Archbishop of Canterburie, he refused it: this Abbot in a time of deearth solde all the Jewels of his Church to buy bread for the poore. After him succeeded

Alfricke.
Leostan.
Fretheric.

Paul. In this Abbot were given to the Monastery of Saint Albanes, the Celles of Wallingford, of Tinnemuth, of Bealvare, of Hertford and Binham.

Richard, who liued in the time of William Rufus, when the Cell of Saint Marie de Wymondham or Windham in Norfolke was giuen vnto this Abbey, being founded by William de Albeney, father to William de Albeney, first Earle of Arundell.

Gaufridus, who founded the Nunnery of Sopwell therby on the other side of the riuer, founded and so called vpon this occasion: two poore women hauing built themselues a small cabben, liued in that place a very austere life, praying, and seruing God with great deuotion; and for that they liued for the most part with no other sustenance, saue bread and the water of a Well there, wherein they vsed to soppe or dippe their bread, it had (saith mine Author, a Monke sometime of that Abbey) the name of Sopwell. Then

Radulphus.

Robert.

Simon.

Garmus.

John.

William, &c.

Offa gaue to this his Abby of Saint Albane, these towns following, viz. Theil, Edelmsntune, Wiclesfield, Cagesho cum suis, Berechund, Hikemaresworth, Bachewurth, Crokeleie, Michelfield, Britchwell, Watford, Belsey, Merdell, Haldenham, Sprot, Enefeild, Stanmore, Henhamsted, Winelesham, Biscopscot, Cedendune, and Mildendune.

Egelfride his sonne and successour gaue Sandruge (30) and Penefield.

Alfricke Abbot of this Church, (after Archbishop) & Leofrick his brother gaue Kingsbury, Chealdwich, Westwic,
Flamsted, Northun, Rodenhang, Winchfield, Birstan, and Vpton.
Aethelwold Bish. of Dorchester gaue Girshuna, Cuicumba, Tywe,
Aegelwin, Redburne, Thuangnam, Langley, Grenburga.

One Tholfe gaue Estune and Oxaw.
One Sexi gaue Hechamsted.
One Haadh gaue Newham and Beandise.

Therefeld, a religious woman gaue Scanlea & Bridel.
Aegelwina another gaue Batesden, Offal and Standune.

One Aegelbert gaue Cranford.
Alstan, Cutesham.

Winsimus gaue Esenden.

Osulfus and his wife gaue Stodham and Wilsinam: others
Walden, Cudicote, Scephal, Bethell, with sundry other Celles,
Churches, and goodly possessions of me vnamed. If I should set
you downe the inestimable wealth consisting in Plate, Iewells,
Bookes, costly Hangings, Altarclothes, and the like, which by
our English Kings, Nobilitie and others, from the foundation
unto the dissolution, with the sundry priuilidges this Abby had,
I should weary my selfe with writing, and you with reading; but
I omit them, hauing onely proposed a mirrour to the eyes, not
of the Church pillars of ancient, but the Church pillers of our
time.

The most Reverend Father in
God, William by the Divine
Providence, Lord Archbishop of
Canterbury, Primate of all
England, and Metropolitan: One of
the Lords of His Majesties most
Honourable Priuie Councell, and
Chancellour of the Vniuersitie
of Oxford.

Beareth these two Coats
impaled, viz. Azure the pale of
Canterbury Argent, thereon

17 others, from Editor: others haue from A: others gaue from B
23 - p.189, 1.5: Added C
foure Crosses Patee fitchee Sable, edged and fringed, Or, the 
Crosier Staffe and Crosse erected in pale, being the Armes of 
his Episcopall See, conjoined with his Lordships owne Armes, 
(viz.) Sable on a Cheveron betweene three Starres, Or, as many 
Crosses Patee Fitchee Gules.

He beareth Diamond 
a Fesse Ermine betweene 
3. Cressants Topaz. 
This is the Coate Armor 
of the Right Honourable 10 
Sir Thomas Coventry Knight, 
Baron Coventry of Alesborow, 
Lord Keeper of the Great 
Seale of England, and one 
of His Majesties most 15 
Honourable Priuy 
Counsell.

He beareth Topaz an Eagle displaide 
regardant Diamond. This is a very ancient 
Coat-armour, and standeth at this day in the 20 
North Window of the Chancell in the Parish 
Church of Weston under Luzurs, in the County 
of Stafford, as also carved in divers 
places of the same Church, and sculped on 
divers Seales fixed to many deeds made by 25 
Sir Hugh de Weston Knight, in the raigne of 
King Henry the third, who then was Lord of the
Mannor of Weston aforesaid, and Patron of the said Church; whose Son Sir John de Weston Knight was also Lord of the said Manor, and sealed divers Instruments with the like Eagle: which Sir John de Weston was Auncestor to the right honourable Richard Earle of Portland, Baron Weston of Neyland, Lord high Treasurer of England, Lieutenant generall of the Province of Southampton, Lord Governor of the Ile of Wight, and of all the Castels and Fortresses of the same, Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesties most honourable Privy Counsell.

These two Shields are properly belonging to the Right Honorable Mary Countesse of Nottingham, and Martha Countesse of Holdernes, daughters of the Right worshipful S. William Cokaine Knight and Alderman, sometime Lord Maior of the Honorabla Citty of London, whose Coate Armor is Argent three Cockes Gules Armed, Crested, & selloped Sable, with a Cressant on a Cressant, to distinguish his branch from the chiefe stocke of his family, being the worshipfull Thomas Cokaine of Ashborne in the County of Derby Esq. Sonne of Edward Cokaine Esq, Sonne of S. Thomas Cokaine of Ashburne, Knighted at the winning of Xdineorow in Scoteland by the Earle of Hertford Anno 1544. He was divers times high Shrieve of the Counties of Derby and Nottingham, and dye the 15 of November 1592. Lyeth entombed at Ashborne aforesaid. Hee was the sonne and heire of Francis Cokaine of Ashburne Esq. An 1520. son & heire of S. Thomas Cokaine of Ashburne, Knighted at Turney and at Turneys, as on his Tombe in Ashburne Church appeareth. He was the son and heire of Thomas Cokaine of Ashburne Esq. Anno. 3. H. 7. sonne of...
John Cokine of Ashburne Esq., brother to William Cokaine father of Thomas Cokaine, father of Roger Cokaine of Baddesley, father of William Cokaine of London Esq., father of the said Sir William Cokaine Knight & Alderman of London.

The which two brethren John Cokaine of Ashburne Esq. and William aforesaid were the sons of Sir John Cokaine of Ashburne Knight who made three several wills, each sealed with the three Cockes in a shield, where the Crest is a Cockes head, the one was Anno. 6. H. 4. the other were 13. H. 4. & 14. H. 4. he dyed An. 13. H. 6. and was the son of Edmund Cokaine of Ashburne Esq. who there liued An. 3. H. 4. and married Elizabeth the Cossen and heire of William Herthull, the which Edmund was the son of John Cokaine of Ashburne that liued An. 46. of Ed. 3. sonne of John Cokain of Ashborne that there liued An. 33. Ed. I. sonne of William Coquaine or Cokain of Ashburne Anno. 28. Ed. 1.

He beareth quarterly Or and Gules, over all a bend Vaire. This is the Coat Armour of the Right Honourable, Richard Sackuill Baron of Buckhurst, and Earle of Dorset, whose living fame to posterity will never be forgotten: his noble successor is the Right Honourable Edward Sackuill, Baron of Buckhurst, Earle of Dorset, Lord Chamberlaine to the Queens Majestie, Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majesties Honourable Privy Counsell, none of whose Auncestors (nor yet himselfe) did ever desire to quarter any other Coats with it (although of Right they may) for it is a very auncient Coate Armour, as appeareth by the booke of Knights of King Edward. I. as also by divers Seales of these very Armes, fixed to sundry deeds made by this familie in the time of King Henry the third, about which time they were painted and set vp in the windowes of their Mannor house, called Sackuills, and in the Churches of Bergholt and

Shield C: AB lacking garter
20-4 whose living fame ... Earle of Dorset, : Added B
24-5 Lord Chamberlaine to the Queenes Majestie, : Added C
25-6 Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, : Added B
26-7 and one of his Majesties Honourable Privy Counsell, : Added C
29 may for B: may (for A
Mount Bures in Essex, where they yet remaine, as also in the Abbey of Begham in Kent, sometime of their foundation in the Raigne of King John: and in Withyham Church in Sussex, where successively they have beene buried more then 300 yeeres, with severall Tombes.

The Ancestors of this Noble family were Frenchmen borne, taking their Surname of a Towne in Normandy called Sackuill, whereof they were Lords, and came into England, to the aide of Duke William the Conquerour, as appeareth by an auncient Manuscript or Chronicle of Britaine, now in the Custody of Mr. Edward Gwinn, a worthy preserver of Antiquities, where he is called a Chieftaine, and is the seauenth man ranked in a Catalogue of names there; for as it may be observed out of Mr. Camdens Remaines, that the better sort about the time of the Conquest began to take vp Surnames, so againe they were not setled amongst the common people vntill the Raigne of King Edward the second. He moreover affirmeth, that the most ancient and of best account, were deriued from places, whereof this name of Sackuill is one, and to add yet more vnto it, Ordericus Vitalis the Monke, in his Normane story saith, that Herbrann de Sackuill, was liuing in the time of William the Conquerour, being father of three Noble Knights, Iordan, William, and Robert de Sackuill, and of a vertuous and beautifull Ladie, named Avice, who was married to Walter Lord of Alfage & Hugleuill, by whom shee had issue; Iordan L. of Alfage & Hugleuill, that married Iulian the daughter of one Godscaull, who came into England with Q. Adelise of Loueine, the Wife to King Henry the first: After whose death, the saide Queene married to William de Albeney Earle of Arundell, from whom the now Right Honorable, Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surry, and Earle Marshall of England is descended. S. Iordan de Sackuill Knight, the eldest sonne, was Sewer of England by the gift of the said Conquerour, but liued and died in Normandy. S. Robert de Sackuill Knight, the younger sonne liued in England and gaue together with his body the Mannor of Wickham in Suffolke, to the Abbey of St. John Baptist in Colchester, leaving issue a son named S. Iordan de Sackuill, a very eminent man in the time of King Richard the first, as appeareth by a Charter of the said King, made to the Monkes of Bordesley in Buckinghamshire. S. Iordan de Sackuill, that

9-10 a worthy preserver of Antiquities : Added B
obtained of King John a Friday Market weekly, and a Faire once a yeare in his Towne of Sackuill in Normandy, as saith the Kings Publike Records in the Tower of London. Hollinshed, fol. 186. doth there ranke Jordan de Sackuill, as a Baron, calling him one of the assistants to the 29. Peeres of this Realme, to see the Liberties of Magna Charta confirmed. And for further proofs, that they were men of no meane ranke, it is apparent in the Red booke of the Exchequer in the 12. and 13. yeeres of the said Kings Raigne, in these words, Hubertus de Anestie tenet, 2. fed. in Anestie, & parua Hornmead, & dimid. fed. in Anestie de Honore Richardi de Sackuyle. Againe, S. Jordan de Sackuill Knight, grand-childe to the said Jordan de Sackuill, was taken prisoner at the battaile of Euesham, for siding with the Barons against King Henry the third, in the 49. yeares of His Raigne, whose sonne and heire, named Andrew Sackuill, being under age at the time of his fathers death, and the Kings Ward, was likewise imprisoned in the Castle of Douer, Ann. 3. Edw. I. and afterward by the speciall command of the said King, did marry Ermyntrude an Honourable Ladie, of the Household to Queene Elianor, whereby he not onely gained the Kings fauour, but the greatest part of his Inheritance againe. From whom the aforesaid Earle of Dorset (and others) are descended; one of whose Auncestors, by marrying a daughter and co-heire of Rafe de Pincerna, that held the Lordship of Buckhurst, with divers other Mannors and Lands in Sussex, about the time of the Norman Conquest. In right of which marriage they have ever since continued Lords of the said Mannor of Buckhurst with divers other Manors and Lands in Sussex, &c.

He beareth Sable 3. Hartes heads cabossed argent, tired or, by the name of Cavendish, & was borne by the right Honorable William, Baron Cavendish of Hardwick in the Countie of Derbie, Earle of Deuonshire, and Vncle to William Cavendish, Knight of the Bath, Baron Ogle, and Viscount Mansfield.

21 aforesaid Earle of Dorset (and B: aforesaid Richard Earle of Dorset, with S. Edward Sackuill Knight of the Bathe, his brother (and A)
29 cabossed Editor: cabbaged A
30 was A: is A
Which William Earle of Devonsh. was sonne to Sir William Cavendish, of Chatterworth in the said Countie of Derby knight, Treasurer of the Chamber to King Henry the eight, Edward the sixt, and Queene Marie; by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Hardwick, of Hardwick Esquire: the which William, Earle of Devonshire, being lately deceased, hath left for his successor the Right Honorable William Baron Cavendish Earle of Devonshire.

The Ancestors of this Noble Familie, called themselves Gernons, whose issue in process of time, assumed to themselves, the Surname of Cavendish, as being Lords of the Towne and Mannor of Cavendish in Suffolke; out of which familie disbranched that famous Travailler, Mr. Thomas Cavendish, who was the third that travailed about the world, whose voyage you shall finde, set downe at large in the English Discoveries, written by Mr. Hackluit.

He beareth pearle on a bend of the Diamond, three Roses of the first with a Crescent upon a Crescent for a difference, by the name of Carey. This is the proper coate of the Right Noble Henry Lord Carey, Baron of Hunsdon, and Viscount Rochford, descended from the ancient family of the Careys in the countie of Devon, whose Hopefull son is Sir. John Cary Knight of the Bath at the Coronation of King Charles.

He beareth Or, a lion Rampant regardant Sable, being the Paternal Coate of the Right Honourable Sir John Vaughan of the Golden grove, in the Countie of Carmarthen, in the Principalitie of Wales, Knight, Baron Vaughan of Molinger, and Earle of Carbury in Ireland.
The Right Reverend Father in God, William Loxon, Lord Bishop of London, Deane of His Majesties Chapell Royall.

Bearth these two Coats impaled, (viz.) Gules two Swords in Saltier Argent, their Hils, and Pomels extending towards the Base of the Eschocheon, Or; being the Armes of His Episcopall See, conjyned with his Lordships owne Armes, (viz.) Argent a plaine Crosse Sable, betweene foure Mores Heads coupe at the Shoulders proper.

Hee beareth gules a cheueron betweene ten Crosses patee argent. 4. 2. 1. 2. and one: this is the Coate Armour of the honourable George Baron Barkley of Barkley Castle, in the County of Glocester.

This forme of bearing, is termed a Lozenge, and is proper to women never married, or to such in courtseie as are borne Ladies; who though they be married to Knights, yet they are commonly stiled and called after the Sirname of their fathers, if he be an Earle; for the greater Honour must ever extinguish the lesse: for example, the bearer hereof is the Lady Mary Sidney, the late wife of Sir Robert Wroth Knight, and daughter of the right Honourable, Robert Lord Sidney of Penshurst, Viscount Lisle, Earle of Leicester, and companion of the
most noble Order of the Garter, who seemeth by her late published
Vrania an inheritrix of the Divine wit of her Immortal Uncle.
This coat you shall blaze thus: she beareth (on a Lozenge) Or,
a Pheon Azure, which is the head of a dart (saith Leigh, in his
Accidence of Armory.)

Hee beareth of the Rubie, three
koses perlé, on a cheife of the first,
three Roses of the second. This coat
appertayneth to the right Honourable Sir
Iulius Caesar Knight, Master of the
Roules, and one of his Maiesties most
Honourable priuie Counsell, who is
descended of the Noble and ancient family
of the Dalmarii in Italy, a gentleman
worthy to be honoured, aswell for his sincerity, as his love to
good learning and all excellent parts, vnto whom I acknowledge my
selfe to bee many ways obliged.

Here are two Coates impaled: and
thus the husband beareth his Wives Coat:
In the first hee beareth Sol, on a cheife
Saturne, three Lions heads erased of the
first, by the name of Richardson: and it
is thus borne by Sir Thomas Richardson of
Hunningham, in the Countie of Norfolke,
Knight, Seriemon at the Law, and late
Speaker of the house of Commons in
Parliament: the second is borne by the name of Southwell, and
appertaineth to Dame Vrsula his Wife, who was daughter to Master
John Southwell of Barham, in the Countie of Suffolke, Esquire, a
very good Ladie: Master Seriemon himselfe deserving much to be
respected, for his diligence and depth of judgement in his
profession. He was preferred to be Lord chief Justice of the
Court of Common Pleas, and is at this day Lord chief Justice of
the Kings Bench.
He beareth Sable, Deux flanches Ermine, Sur le tout une estoille a huit raies, ou raions d'or. The first institution of this Coate was with a starre of 8. points, as appeareth by sundry Churches in Norfolke, where this family had its beginning, where it is as I have seen it drawne with sixe. It is ignorantly mistaken, for the 8. points were fitted to the proportion of the field, thereby adding more lustre and beautie to the Coate, dispredding themselves from the nombrill or middle part of the Escotcheon.

It is borne by the name of Hobart, and was the proper Coate of Sir James Hobart Knight, Attorney Generall vnto King Henry the seuenth; a right good man, withall of great learning and wisedome: hee builded the Church of Loddon, and Saint Olaves, commonly called Saint Toolies bridge in the County of Norfolke.

This worthy Knight lyeth buryed vnder a faire monument in the middle Ile on the Northside in Christs Church in Norwich. But it is now borne (with the Coate of Vlster by the gift of King James vnto him as a Barronet) by the Honourable and Nobly minded Sir Henry Hobart Knight and Baronet, Lord chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, of Blickling in the County of Norfolke; whose uprighthnesse in Iustice, and love to his country hath (like his owne Starre communicative of itselfe) dispersed the fairer beames into all places: he being lately deceased, hath left the same to his worthy son and successor Sir John Hobart Knight and Baronet.

He beareth quarterly, eight Coats, (viz.) the first, quarterly Gules and Vaire, ouer all a Bend Dor, by the name of Constable: the second Gules, a pale Fusile Or, by the name of Haulton: the third Or, a cheife azure by the name of Lizours: the 4. Checkey Or & Gules,
on a cheif argent, a Lyon passant sable, by the name of Comberworth;
the fift, argent, two barres ingrailed sable, by the name of Staines:
the sixt, argent, a cheueron betweene three Martlets, sable, by
the name of Argum: the seauenth Or, a plaine crosse Vert, by the
name of Hussey: the eight and last, Argent on a cheife sable, two
Mullts Or, peirced Gules, by the name of Salueyne; vpon the Center,
an Eschocheon, with the Armes of Vlster, being an augmentation of
honour giuen by our Soueraigne Lo. King James, to the Order of
Barronets, &c. which are the quarterings of the much respected, Sir
William Constable of Flamburgh in the County of Yorke, Barronet.

Here I can not passe, (hauing occasion) but giue a little touch of
the Antiquity of this Family of Constable, taking their Sirname
from the office of Constable of Chester, called in Latine, Cones-
tabilis, & Constabularius, siue magister militum, which their
ancestors held. For King William the Conquerour presently after
the Conquest, made Hugh Lupus the first Earle Palatine of Chester,
to hold the said whole County of him, ita libere ad gladium sicut
ipse Rex tenebat Angliam ad Coronam; And the said Earle Hugh, for
the peaceable gouernment of his country, &c. ordained vnder him,
(as the learned Camden saith) eight Barons, they all being his
trustie friends; whereof the principallest was Nigell his cosen,
whom he created Baron of Haulton: and for the valiant courage and
boldnes which Earle Hugh had often experienced to be in the man,
he ordained him also Constable of Chester, an office of speciall
trust, as in whom is reposed the charge and guiding of all the
souldiours, horses, Armor, and other provision of warres, apper­
taining to the said Lupus, which then was a Ibrincely person, and
of great dignity. The said Nigell was sonne of Iuon, Viscount
Constantyn in Normandy, by Emma, sister to Adam, Earle of Britaine;
and had issue, William the Constable of Chester, founder of the
Abbey of Norton, whose daughter Agnes heire to his brother William,
was marryed to Eustace Fitz-Iohn (a noble Baron) the son of John
Monoculus, Lord of Knarsburgh, brother and heire of Serlo de Burgo,
who in the Raigne of the Conquerour builded the Castle of Knarsburgh,
in the County of Yorke: the said Serlo and Iohn, being the
sonnes of Eustace a Norman; And the aboue named Eustace Fitz Iohn,
with the consent of the said Agnes his first wife, founded the
Monastery of Watton in the County of Yorke. After her death, he
married Beatrix, the only daughter and heir of Ivo, Lord Vescy,
with whom he had the Baronies of Malton and Alnwick; and with
her consent, he also founded the Abbeys at Malton and Alnwick, and
the hospital of Broughton: & shortly after, the said Eustace
Fitz John lost all his lands; but by mediation of friends, he
recouered them all againe of the King, except Knarsburgh. He was
a great man, and eminent amongst the chiefest of the Realme, both for
his great Estate and wisedome; at last he was slaine in the warres
against the Welch, together with Robert Courcy and many others, in
the first yeare of Henry the second; leaving issue by the said
Beatrix, William, who assumed to himselfe and his posterity, the
Sirname and Armes of Vescy, from whom by the Atttons and Bromfletts,
the Lady Anne Clifford, Countesse of Dorset is lineally descended.
And the said Eustace Fitz John, by his first wife Agnes, had issue,
Richard Fitz Eustace, Baron of Haulton and Constable of Chester,
who in the beginning of the raigne of King Henry the second, held
one Knights fee in Smath, in the County of Yorke. (35) The said
Richard Fitz Eustace married Albred daughter and heir of Eudo de
Lizours, and sister by the mother, but not by the father, of Robert
de Lacy, Baron of Pontefract, and his heire, quia non habuit aliam
tam propinquam, as Master Camden noteth: in whose right her
posterity enjoyed 60 Knights Fees of the Honour of Pontefract. (36)
The said Richard Fitz Eustace and Albred, had issue John Constable
of Chester, and Baron of Haulton, Lord of the Mannour of Flamburgh,
who liued in the 18. years of Henry 2. and Roger Lord of Warkworth
in Northumberland, from whom the ancient Barons of Clauering, the
Baron Euers, and Sir John Clauering of Caloley in Northumberland
are descended. The said John Constable of Chester dyed in the holy
land, in the first years of Richard I. at Tyre (as Roger Houeden
hath) leaving issue, Roger Constable of Chester, Baron of Haulton,
&c. (father of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln) and Robert Lacy,
whose posterity assumed unto themselves the surname of Constable:
from which Robert in a direct line are descended, Sir William
Constable of Flamburgh, Baronet; Marmaduke Constable of Eueringham,
Esquire, sonne of Sir Philip Constable, Knight, late deceased; Christopher Constable of Hatfield, Esquire; James Constable of Cliffe, Esquire; John Constable of Carthorpe, Esquire; Marmaduke Constable of Kerby, Esquire; John Constable of Wassam, Esquire; Sir John Constable of Dromandby Knight, with many others also liuing this present yeare, 1622.

He beareth Azure, an Eagle displayed Silver, by the name of Cotton. It is thus borne (with an Escotcheon of Vlster) by the learned and Honourable Sir Robert Cotton Knight and Baronet of Cunnington in the Countie of Huntingdon, descended anciently by a younger brother from the Bruces of Scotland; a Gentleman, vnto whom not onely our Brittaine but Europe her selfe is obliged, for his industry, cost, and care in collection of so many rare Manuscripts and other Monuments of venerable Antiquity, being of the same most free and communicative, to all men of learning and quality.

He beareth Sable, a Cheveron betweene three Cinquefoiles Ermine, a Canton dexter of Vlster, as he is Baronet by the name of Woodhouse. This coate thus borne belongeth to Sir Philip Woodhouse, Knight and Barronet of Kimberly in the County of Norfolke: this family is very ancient, for they were gentlemen of good ranke in the time of King John, as it appeareth by many ancient Grants and Evidences of theirs, which I have seene. Moreover, I finde out of a faire parchment Manuscript in French, or collection of the Parliaments all the time of Edward the third (which my Honoured and worthy friend Sir Robert Cotton hath) and in the fourth yeares of his raign, at a Parliament to be holden at Westminster, a writ thus directed to one Robert de Woodhouse, his Chaplaine and Treasurer.
Hex dilecto clerico suo Roberto de Woodhouse, Archidiacono de Richmond Thesaurario evo salutem.egotia nos & statum regni contingetia, &c. vobis mandamus firmiter iniungentes quod omnibus alijs praetermissis &c. Beside I haue seen the will of King Henry the fourth, and Henrie the fifth, where one was a gentleman of Henry the fourth's chamber, and by his will made one of his executors; as also he was to Henry the fifth, who wrote his letter to the Prior, and Chapter of the Church of the Trinitie in Norwich, to give him leave to build himselfe a Chappell in their Church. So that from time to time, they have held an Honourable place, and at this day are worthy stayes and pillars of Justice in their Countries. Nor must I heere let fall the worth of two sons of this Gentleman, Sir Thomas Woodhouse Knight (and Baronet after the decease of Sir Phillip his father who married Blanch Sister to the right Honourable Henry now Viscount Hochfort) and Master Roger Woodhouse his brother, Gentlemen, not onely learned, but accomplished in what ever may lend Lustre to worth and true gentilitie.

He beareth quarterly, the first Azure two barrs dauncete or in chiefe three beausants by the name of Riuers, the second Azure a fece engrailed Argent surmounted by another not engraild Gules, charged with three roses Argent betweene, as many Swans proper, being an augmentation of honor given to Sir Bartholomew Riuers Knight, by King Ed. the 4. in memory of his faithfull and good service done to the house of Yorke, as appear-eth by an instrument in the custody of Sir George Riuers of Chafford in the Countie of Kent Knight, as also in the Tower of London is to be seen Claus. An. 5. Ed. 4. M. 12. Intus, that the same King gave to the said Sir Bartholomew by Letters Pattents of his especiall Grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion threescore pounds per An. during the life of the said Sir Bartholomew Riuers Knight, whose sonne William Riuers had a Command over men in the time of Ed 4. and Henry 7. and made his Will the 22. of March An. 1506. willing his body to be buried in the Cathedrall Church of

13-14 Knight (and Baronet ... his father who H: Knight (who A 18-p.202)15 : Added H
Rochester, who gave that his messuage in Rochester (now known by
the signe of the Crowne) to Alice his wife for terme of life, and
after her decease to remaine to Richard Riuers his sonne, and to
the heires of his bodie lawfully begotten; and for want of such, to
remaine to the Parish Church of S. Nicholas in Rochester. He gave
also divers legacies to the said Cathedral Church, as also to the
Church of S. Nicholas, and to the fraternitie of Alisford with
divers other places in Kent: which Richard Riuers was father to
Richard Riuers of Penshurst in Kent, steward of the Landes of
Edward Duke of Buckingham, father of Sir John Riuers of Chafford
in Kent, knight sometime lord Maior of London, father of Sir George
Riuers and of my worthy friend M. Edward Riuers Marchant, a worthy
member of this Honorable Citie. Of which Sir George Riuers of
Chafford aforesaid mentioned is descended that hopeful gentleman Sir
John Riuers, knight and baronet, now living.

He beareth sable, a fesse engrailed
between three flower-de-luces silver, by
the name of Ashfield of Stow Langton in
the Countie of Suffolke.

This coat armour is verie ancient,
as is proued by sundry bookes of armes,
Church windowes, and severall deeds,
whereof I haue seen two bearing date
Anno 18. Richard the 2. with sealles of
this very coat fixed thereunto, with
this inscription about the same (viz:) Sigillum Roberti de Ashfield;
as also another deed bearing date, Anno 3. Henrie the sixt, made
from Robert the sonne of John Ashfield of Stow Langton, esquire, to
Simon Fincham, and John Whitlocke, with a faire Seale of red Waxe:
whereupon was a Griffon Seiant, with his wings displayed, ouer whose
body is this Armes, with this inscription about the whole Seale
(viz:) S. Roberti de Ashfield Armig. The aboue named Robert Ash-
field builded the Church of Stow Langton, in the quire whereof
(which I haue seen) hee lyeth buried vnder a faire Marble; he was
servant vnto the blacke Prince, whom he followed in his warres in
France. This Coate is thus borne by Sir John Ashfeild, Knight, sole heire of that Family, now Gentleman of the bedde Chamber to Prince Charles.

He beareth quarterly four Coats, (viz.) the first Gules a cheueron Or, betweene three Cocks Argent, beaked, combed and membred Or, by the name of Crow: the second parted per pale Gules and azur, a Lyon rampant Argent pelleted, by the name of Stockett: the third Gules a Boare passant Argent, by the name of Boare: the fourth & last quarterly Or and Gules, a bend Vaire distinguished with a Cressant Sable for a difference, by the name of Sackull. And for his Creast on a wreath of his colours a Cocke argent, beaked, combed and membred Or. 15

This ancient name and family of Crow, was anciently of Suffolke; for about the time of K. Edward the 4. Thomas Crow of Suffolke the elder, purchased Bradsted in Kent, whose sonne Thomas Crow the yonger married Ioane the onely daughter and heire of Nicholas Boare, son of John, sonne of Richard Boare, that married Lora the daughter of Simon Stocket of Bradsted in Kent. The aforesaid Ioane brought to Thomas her husband, his house called Stockets with a Chancell built by the aboue named Simon Stockett, as appeareth by a French deede tempore Edw. 2. As also a house and certaine land called Boars, by whom shee had issue John Crow the elder, father of Henry Crow, father of William Crow of Bradsted Esq. who married Anne the second daughter and coheire of Iohn Sackuill of Chiddingleigh in Sussex Esq. The said Mannor of Chiddingleigh hath beene in the possession of the Sackuills aboue three hundred yeeres, and at this day is part of the inheritance of the Right Honorable Edward Sackuill Earle of Dorset and Baron of Buckhurst; which William Crow and Anne his wife, hath issue, Sackuill Crow their sonne and heire now liuing, created Baronet by King Charles, with others.

31 Edward C; Richard A
33 liuing, created Baronet by King Charles, with others. Editor: liuing, with others. A: liuing, Created Baronet by King Charles. C
He beareth partie per pale, Argent and Gules, a bend counterchanged. This was the proper Coate of our famous Poet, Sir Geoffrey Chaucer Knight, who was sometime Master of the Custome-house in London, and allyed by Katherine Swinford to John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster. Hee lyeth buried at Westminster: his Epitaph being made ouer him by Master Nicholas Brigham.

The field is parted per pale Gules and Azure three Eagles displaide Argent, a Labell Or for difference, this Coate Armour pertaineth to Sir Robert Coke, Knight.

He beareth Pearle, a Cheuoron Saphire, betwene three Squerrels Seiant of the Rubie, by the name of Louell. This Coat is thus borne by the Right Worshipfull Sir Francis Louell, Knight, in the Countie of Norfolke.

This was also the Coate of Sir Thomas Louell, Knight of the Garter, made by King Henrie the seuenth, of whose house hee was Treasurer, and President of the Counsell. This Sir Thomas Louell was a fift sonne of Sir Ralph Louell of Barton Bendish, in the Countie of Norfolke. This his Coate with the Garter about it, standeth ouer Lincolnes Inne Gate. He founded the Nunnery of Halliwell (where was also his house) on a wall of which not many yeares since was to be read this inscription.

All ye Nuns of Halliwell,
Pray ye both day and night:
For the Soule of Sir Thomas Louell,
Whom Harry the seauenth made Knight.

It appeareth also that Sir William Louell Lord Morley, was Knight of the Garter: for in Morley Church the seate of his Baronne, is yet remaining in a Glasse window (which I haue seene) this Coate with the Garter about it.

He beareth party per pale Azur and Gules over all a Saltier or, by the name of Cage, and doth rightly belong to Sir John Cage of Cambridgeshire Knight, of whose family is Tobias Cage of Grayes Inne, and John Cage of Lincolns Inne, two towardly Gentlemen, both sons of Nicholas Cage of London, yonger sonne of Anthony Cage of London by the Lady Hart his wife. Which Anthony Cage was father of Anthony Cage father of the said Sir John Cage Knight.

The field is Or, a Cheveron betweene 3. Leopards heads, Sable. This Coate Armour appertaineth to the Family of the Wheelers, anciantly of Martinhussingtree, in Worcestershire; where for a long continuance they enjoyed their Seate: from whom Sir Edmund Wheeler of Hiding-Court, in Buckinghamshire, is lineally descended; who beareth this Coate, differenced with a Cressant, to shew that he is a second Brother. Sir John Ferne (a profound Author) doth give it them in speciall charge, to entertaine this opinion; that when they see the head of any Beast borne in Armes, they should averre that bearing to bee most Honourable; alleadging this significant reason; that the Bearer durst resolutely encounter his Adversary, face to face: which gave occasion to a Gentleman of this Name, and
Family, (studious in the Secrecies of Armory) to assume for his Motto: FACIE TENUS, which evidently discovereth the minde of the Embleme contained in the Charge.

The interposition here of this Cheveron, causeth these three Heads to be in effect united in one; such is the efficacy of an Honourable Ordinary. Some writers affirm the Cheveron to be a mechanicall bearing, fit for Carpenters, and that by them it was first borne: which vaie conjecture (saith Sir John Ferne) carryeth as much likelihood of truth with it, as that a Maunch was first borne by a Tayler, because this Craftsman is skilfull in cutting out a Sleeve. Here I cannot but take a just occasion to vindicate the Cheveron, because I have heard this Honorable Ordinary vilified by so many, deserving as much, or rather more respect, than any of the nine. First then, touching the Antiquitie of this bearing; Writers deliver upon their credit that Fenda King of Mercia, did beare, Gules, a Cheveron Argent, between three Estoiles. Examples in the Nobility, are pregnant. Guy that valiant Earle of Warwicke, did beare Checquie, Or, and Azure, a Cheveron Ermine. Robert, Baron of Stafford, did beare, Or, a Cheveron Gules. The ancient family of the Sheffeilds, bore Argent, a Cheveron between three Garbes Gules. Secondly, the Cheveron, for matter of honourable signification, is not inferior to any of the rest. For sometimes it standeth for the Embleme of an established house; sometimes for the Hierogliphicke of atchieving some honourable enterprises. Mr. Boswell (in his Armory of Honour,) accounteth the same a true signe of perfection; and Sir John Ferne (in his booke intituled, The glory of Generosity) resemblbeth it to a forme of Bataglia ranged, and marshalled, Cheveron-ways: which in this respect, may properly import some notable service done to our Country, in time of warre. This Author writing in defence of the same saith, that the Cheveron hath beene as ancient an English bearing, as either Barre, Bend, Fale, Fesse, or the like: whereas I question not but these proofes, and examples, may be of force sufficient, to induce you to conclude with me, in behalfe of this Honourable Ordinary, Tignum non habet inimicum, nisi ignorantem.
He beareth Argent, 3. pallets Gules, over all a Cheueron Or. This Coat is thus borne by the Right Honourable Sir Edward Barkham Knight, late Lord Maior of the Citie of London; who for his care and wisedome, in the discharge of his so high a place, worthily meriteth to bee ranked with the most deserving.

He beareth Vert, fretted Or, with a Cressant for a difference, by the name of Whitmore. This is the proper Coat of the Right Worshipfull and worthy Mr. George Whitmore, at this time one of the Sherifes of the Honorable Citie of London. Green of all colours is saide most to comfort and preserue the sight, and naturally gladdeth the hart of man; the earth in her greatest pride being of this colour: so that Vert and Gold are colours most glorious to behold, and to the bearer imply Riches and Comfort, which I wish he may not want, being reputed a right honest Gentleman.

He beareth Fusilie, Ermine and Sable, on a cheife of the second three Lillies. This is the Coate of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, founded by that famous Prelate William de Wainflet, sirnamed Patten. He was borne in Waineftle, a little towne by the Sea in Lincolnshire, Anno 1459.

He beareth Azure, two Lions endorsed Or. This is an Honorable bearing; and was (saith Gerrard Leigh) the Coate of Achilles at the siedge of Troy.
He beareth Pearle, a Fesse betweene sixe Annuletts of the Rubie, by the name of Lucas. This Coate belongeth unto M. Thomas Lucas of Colchester in the Countie of Essex, Esquire, lately deceased. This worthy Gentleman was much to bee commended in the education of his children, sparing neither cost nor diligence to furnish them with the best and most commendable Qualities. I know not (I speak freely) whether not onely 10 Essex, but England, can shew a young Gentleman of fifteeene yeares of age, more accomplished every way then M. John Lucas his sonne, now his successor, who not onely understandeth and speaketh the Latine, French, Italian; and is well entred into the Spanish, a good Logician, playeth his part on the Violl, daunceth, rideth a great horse admirable well, yet neuer travailed, or saw Vniuersitie: but by his Father for the languages, and the diligence of Masters in other qualities, Intra domesticos perites, heerein he hath attained for his yeares to no meane perfection. And if hereto personage, carriage and good demeanour may adde ought, I thinke him second to none of his age and rank whatsoever. I speake the more liberally, for that I see great numbers of our hopefull Gentry, to spend many yeares abroad in fruitlesse travaile, returning for the most part worse then they went, and to waste much time and Money to no end in the Vniuersities, which it had beene better for some they had neuer seene.

He beareth Ermine, a bend Gules, cotized Or, by the name of lenney. It is a faire and an ancient Coate, the field being Ermine, it is esteemed the richer: the Duke of Bretaignes Coate being onely Ermine, without any other charge, is esteemed one of the fairest bearings of Europe. And for that the Lord Zouch is descended from the Dukes of

5 Esquire, lately deceased. B: Esquire. A
6 was B: is A
12-13 sonne, now his successor, who B: sonne, who A
Bretaigne, he beareth with his Beasants a Canton Ermine. This Coate is borne (though with a difference) by M. Arthur Lenney, Esquire, a Gentleman in his owne worth answering every way the goodnesse of his Coate.

He beareth Or, a Lion Rampant Sable, armed and langued Gules, betweene three Flower-de-luces Azure, by the name of Faireclough. This is an ancient Family in the Countie of Lancaster, whence the Fairecloughes of Weston in Hertfordshire, and those of Bedfordshire deriue themselves; as also my selfe and my brother Mr. Richard Peacham of Leuerton, in Holland, in the Countie of Lincolne, our mother being of the same name and Family. A Gentleman of this house was Standard-bearer vnto the Lord Stanley at the battaile of Bosworth, who came with his Lancashire forces to the aide of the Earle of Richmond, who next under God was assuredly the meanes of gaining that day.

He beareth quarterly in the first quarter Gules; a Salteir betweene foure Croslets Pitchees Siluer, by the name of Brampton of Brampton. The second Ermin, a cheife endented Gules, by the name of Broome; the third as the second, the fourth as the first. Either of these Coates are ancient, and borne thus quartered by M. Henry Brampton of Blo-Norton, in the Countie of Norfolke, Esquire.

He beareth Or, a Dolphine hariant Azure; if he stood in Fesse he were naiant or swimming: the Dolphine is to bee reckoned among those Creatures which are ψιλανθομα, or friendly to man.
For hee will follow a shippe at sea many leagues to enjoy the sight of men. Our Painters commonly draw him crooked and bending, when he is as straight a Fish as any other. Hee is borne (of these colours) naiant by the Dolphine of France.

He beareth Gules, three keys Siluer betwene three flower-deluces Or, had the field beene Azure, I would haue supposed it to haue beene the Armes of some great City or port towne in France; those keyes borne as a signe of the great trust they were put in, and as a remembrance of their fidelitie.

He beareth empaled, the first Argent on a bend Gules cotized Sable, three wings empaled of the first (with a mullet for a difference) by the name of Wingfeild, the second pearle betwene three Talbots passant of the Diamond, a Cheveron of the Rubie, by the name of Talbot. I giue you more instances of empalements: because I desire you should be better acquainted with the same.

This Coate of Talbot belongeth vnto the Right worshipfull Master Thomas Talbot, Doctour of the Ciuill Law of Miliers Hall in Wimondham in the Countie of Norfolke, a very learned and honest Gentleman.

The field is Gules a Fesse dauncete ermine, betwene 10. billets, or 4. 3. 2. and 1. by the name of Harby, of which Family are Edward Harby of Adston in the County of Northampton, Clement, Iob, and Erasmus Harby of London Marchants, Vncles to the said Edward Harby.
He beareth Silver, a Pine tree with the Apples proper, it is borne by the name of Pine. The Pine growth abundantly upon the cold mountains of Norway, in Denmark, Liefland, and those countries whence we have them for Mastes for ships. There are two sorts of them, the male and female, the one called Pinaster or the wilde Pine, the other female, onely Pinus: which hath caused a general error among our Schoolmasters in construing that in the Grammar, Mas pinus, Mas oleaster, whereof the most ignorant construe it Pinus, a Pine tree, Mas, the Masculine. Those that think themselves of better judgement turne it to Spinus, (and so many Grammars have it printed) but that is as false as the other, Spinus being ever by consent of all Dictionaries and Authors the feminine gender: the truth is, Mas Pinus, the male or he Pine tree; for indeed Lillie might have said to have put it out of question, Pinaster, Mas Oleaster, but then it had been an harsh and unpleasing Cacemphaton, as your own ear will tell you, but this by the way.

He beareth, Or, on a pile in point Azur, three Martlets of the first, this is the paternall Coat of Tobias Wood of Laiton in the County of Essex, Esquire.

He beareth Argent, three Pheons Sable. This coat is ancient, and borne by a worthy Gentleman a friend to the Muses in all good parts, and now living beyond the seas.

18 might have B: might had A
22-6: Added C
He beareth argent: a Cheueron azure between three Treyfoiles vert. The Treyfoile is the Herald of the Spring, & the first grasse that appeareth, hereupon it was the Embleme of Hope. Hope, how among the Ancients described. For Hope anciently was painted like a young and a beautifull child of a sweete and smiling countenance, standing on tiptoe, in a long and wide roabe of white and greene, with a treifoile in the hand; the tender age sheweth the Infancy of Hope; the smiling cheare, the sweetnesse and pleasure shee apprehendeth in her thoughts; standing on tiptoe, sheweth her vncertainty and vnsteddinesse: the long and wide roabe declareth, she neuer pincheth or bindeth her conceipt, but alloweth her imagination the largest scope: the treyfoile signifieth, it is alwayes Spring with her, whose colours white and greene, she is clad in.

He beareth Gules, three Fermaulx or by the name of Gunton, the Buckle is a bearing both ancient and honourable, not onely with vs here in England, but also in France. Witnesse the Coate Armour of Lewes sire de Graville, alias Girardville Admirall of France, Anno 1483. which is the same which Gunton beareth, the French deriving the word Fermaulx from firmus doe thereby declare the nature and office of the Buckle, it being the true Embleme of Fidelity and Constancy, and Mars keeping the Field may conioynd properly import some trusty service in the time of Warre.
He beareth Azure, two crescents in chiefe Or, and one in base Siluer. I know not the owner of this Coate, onely I found it in a Church in Brabant, and for the raritie, (for seldome haue I seene the like) placed it here to conclude the rest.


If you would proceede further in blazonry, and the true knowledge of the descents of our English Nobility, I refer you to that exact, iust and elaborate worke of my singular and learned friend Master Augustine Vincent, Koug-croix, very shortly to be published; which let it be vnto you (of all that haue written in that kinde) instar omnium. So I referre you henceforward to your priuate reading and observation.
1. Lib. 1.
5. Livius lib. 9.
7. Cicero lib. 2. de legibus.
11. Iosephus.
13. Arist. in lib. περὶ ἡρωμάτων.
14. Iosephus lib. 3.
15. Xenophon. de Cyri paed. lib. 7. Curtius lib. 3.
18. Csorius de Regi institutione.
20. Verstegan.
22. Holinshead in the Title of Scotland.
23. The Crest: a Faulcon volant, Argent, Set in a Wreath of his Colours.

15.i. Cyri paed. Editor: Cyri, paed A: Cyr. paed. B.
23.i-ii. :Added C

26. Tillett.

27. Tillett.


30. Sandridge.

31. Shenley.

32. So that James was Attorney general unto Henry, & now Henry unto James.

33. Note that Sir John Ferne doth set downe for Nigella Coat, Or, a Lion ramp. purpure: but our learned Heralds deny the same, affirming it to be Lacy's Coate, Baron of Pontefract, and have registred for Nigell's true Coate, Gules, a pale Fusile, Or, as aforesaid.

34. This Eustace Fitz John kept the Castell of Malton against King Stephen, as saith Roger Houeden, fol. 227, anno. 1137.

35. Ex libro rubro in Scaccario Westmonasterij reseruato.

36. Vt patet per Inquisitionem tempore Regis Iohannis.

37. M. John Woodhouse.

38. In Norfolk.

39. Lillie explained.

35.i rubro C: rubeo A

39.i explained C: explained A
CHAP. 16.

Of Exercise of the Body.

I now from your private studie and contemplation, bring you abroad into the open fields, for exercise of your Body, by some honest recreation, since Aristotle requireth the same in the Education of Nobilitie, and all youth, since the mind from the Ability of the Body gathereth her strength and vigor. Anciently by the Civil Law these kinds of Exercises were only allowed of, that is, ἐμπός, ὀμός, διάμα and πάλη, (1) which are the exercise of Arms by single combat, as running at Tilt-barriers, &c. coiting, throwing the hammer, sledge, and such like. Running, jumping, leaping, and lastly wrestling:

Of Horsemanship.

for the first, it is the most Noble, those Epithites of ἐποχάρμης, and ἐποδαμός, have been the attributes of Kings and Princes, whose delight in ancient times was to ride and manage great horses. Hereby you are enabled for command, and the service of your Country. And what, saith Tullie, can bee more glorious, then to bee able to preserve and succour our country, when she hath need of our helpe? It is the onely commendation that Saluste giues to Iugurth, who did not (saith he) give himself over to be corrupted by Sloath and Riot (as many of our Gallants now adayes doe) but as it is the custome of that Nation, exercised himselfe by riding, throwing the dart, and running with his equals: and though he excelled all other in the height of glorie, notwithstanding he was held deare and beloved of all men, &c. And Caesar used the exercise of riding so much, and hereby became so active and skilfull, that laying his hands behinde him, he would put his horse to his full career, make him on the suddaine take hedge or ditch, & stop him, put him into a ring, and the like. And Marius after he had beene seaven times Consul, and fourscore yeares of age, exercised himselfe daily in the field of Mars with the Romane

5. youth, since B: youth. Since A
23. with B: wirh A
youth, instructing them to handle their weapon, to ride, &c. The like also did Pompey even to his last expedition. And Virgil speaking (I take it) of the Spartan youth, saith:

Venatu invigilant pueri, Sylvasque fatigant,  
Flectere ludis equos, & spicula tendere cornu, &c.  

And at this day it is the onely exercise of the Italian Nobility, especially in Naples, as also of the French; and great pity of no more practised among our English Gentry.

Of Tilting and Tourneaments.

Running at the tilt is a generous and a Martiall exercise, but hazardous and full of danger; for many hereby (even in sport) have lost their lives, that I may omit Henry the French King, with many other Princes and noble personages of whom Historie is full.

Tilting and Tourneaments were invented by Manuel Comnenus Emperour of Constantinople, as saith Nicetas, who wrote about the yeare 1214. before his time we reade not any where that this exercise was used vnder the Romane Empire.

The same Nicetas reporteth of a solemn lustes or Tournameants which the said Manuel Comnenus shewed vnto the Latines at Antioch, what time they went to make warre in the holy land: for the Latines making a braue shew in their rich Armour well horsed, with their Lances, and presenting themselves before the Emperor; the Emperour to shew them that the Graecians were nothing inferior vnto them in brauery or courage, appointed a day when they and the Latines (for the glory of either Empire) should so many to so many, and with lances without points, encounter euyther brauely mounted, and made one of the number with his Graecians; who, saith Nicetas, so brauely carried himselfe, that he unhorsed two Latine Commanders, casting them from the saddle to the ground.

In our launces now adayes (of what wood soever they are made of) there is nothing so much danger as hath beene in times past: nyether in our moderne practise of warre haue they almost any use at all. The Prince of Orange hath abandoned them, having not a Launce in his whole Armie, but hath Carbines in their room. Spinola hath some troopes of them, yet not many, as I obserued. Those of Shertogen-bosch vnder Grobbendoncke, are esteemed the
best horse Spinola hath.

Of throwing, leaping, and wrestling.

For throwing and wrestling, I hold them exercises not so well beseeming Nobilitie, but rather Souldiers in a Campe, or a Princes guard: neither have I read or heard of any Prince or Generall commended for wrestling, saue Epaminondas Achmat the last Grand Signeur and Emperor of Turkie, who tooke great delight in throwing the Hammer, and was so strong that he overthrew his stoutest Janizaries, there being reared in Constantinople for one extraordinary cast which none could come neere, two great pillars of marble.

Of running.

Running and Agility of Body have beene esteemed most commendable in the greatest Princes and Commanders that ever liued; and the old Romanes (next after trial made of their strength, and view of their limmes and person) chose their souldiers by running, for it was an old custome among them, to assault the enemy by running all close together in grosse to the charge. And Caesar tells vs that strokes are surer laid on, and the souldier made more nimble and ready in running and by motion.(3) Homer gave Achilles (which perhaps some of our great feathered gallants would disdaine, yet haply better deserue) the epithite of ἀκόρον, or swiftfooted. And Alexander(4) we reade excelld all his Court in running. Sertorius a braue commander vnder Caesar, could nimbly runne vp the most steepe Mountains, leape broken and unpasseable Rockes, and like inuius places; insomuch as Metellus beeing sent with a powerfull Armie against him, he knew neither where to finde him, nor how to come by him, by reason of his nimble footemanship. Thereupon he sent his Colleague Pompey, who beeing by Sertorius overthrowne at the first encounter, escaped very narrowly; for beeing vnhorseed, and hauing receiued a great wound, while the souldiers were busied in struing, some for his horse, others for the most rich furniture (his caparison, bridle, saddle, stirrops, being in a manner all of gold, and shining with pretious stones of inestimable valew) watch­ing his opportunity, by swiftnes of foot escaped from them all, and returned safe to his quarter.
Of leaping.

Leaping is an exercise very commendable, and healthfull for the body, especially if you use it in the morning, as we read Alexander and Epaminondas did. Upon a full stomacke or to bedward, it is very dangerous, and in no wise to be exercised.

Of swimming.

The skill and art of swimming is also very requisite in every Noble and Gentleman, especially if he looketh for employment in the warres; for hereby (besides the preseruing of his owne life upon infinite occasions,) he may many waies annoy his enemie. Horatius Cocles onely by the benefit of swimming saved his country, for when himselfe alone had long defended, and made good the bridge ouer Tyber against the Hetruscans, the Romanes brake it downe behind him, wherewith, in his armour, he cast himselfe into the Riuier, & (notwithstanding a shower of darts & arrows were sent after him) swam with safety into the city, which rewarded him with a statue erected in the market place, and as much land as he could encompasse with a plough in a day. (5)

And as desperate was the attempt of a number of Romane Gentlemen in the first Carthaginian warre, who leaping in a night from the hatches of their ships into the Sea, by maine force thrust and drew the Carthaginian shippes into the hauen, and deliuered them to Luctatius their Generall.

The resolute aduenture of Gerrard and Haruey in 88.

And as resolute was that attempt (no whit inferior to the former) of Gerrard and Haruey, two Gentlemen of our owne Nation, who in eightie eight in the fight at Sea, swam in the night time, and pierced with Awgers, or such like Instruments, the sides of the Spanish Gallions, and returned backe safe to the fleete.

Scaeuola, a man of inestimable courage, and who came with Caesar in his expedition for Britaine, after hee had made good a whole day together, a mightie Rocke or passage against the Britaines, in the night time laden with double Armes and an heavy shield, cast himselfe into the deepe, and swam safe to Caesar and his fleete.

Neither is it to be wondred at, that the Romanes were so skil-
full in swimming: for they were daily exercised in the same after
their other exercises, and had a place in the River of Tyber appointed
unto them for the same purpose, adjoyning to the field of Mars; and
another of great depth, rough and full of whirlpits on purpose, to
exercise their horses in.

Of shooting.

Shooting also is a very healthfull and commendable recreation
for a Gentleman; neither doe I know any other comparable unto it
for stirring every part of the body: for it openeth the breast and
pipes, exerciseth the armes and feet, with lesse violence, than
running, leaping, &c. Herein was the Emperor Domitian so cunning,
that let a Boy a good distance off hold vp his hand, & stretch his
fingers abroad, he would shoote through the spaces without touching
the Boyes hand, or any finger.

And Commodus (saith Herodian) had so good an aime, that he
would fixe on the brow of a Deere two shafts as euently, and spreading
in distance, as if they had beene his owne hornes.

But for the further excellence and use of this exercise, I
referre you to that excellent booke of M. Aschams, intituled Toxo-
philus, wherein you shall finde whatsoever is requisite to be knowne
of a compleat Archer.

Hawking and Hunting are recreations very commendable and be-
fitting a Noble or Gentleman to exercise; Hunting especially, which
Xenophon commendeth to his Cyrus, calling it a gift of the Gods,
bestowed first vpon Chiron for his vprightnesse in doing Justice,
and by him taught vnto the old Heroës and Princes; by whose vertue
and prowesse (as enabled by this exercise) their Countries were
defended, their subjects and innocents preserved, Justice maintained.
For there is no one exercise that enableth the body more for the
warre, then Hunting, by teaching you to endure heat, cold, hunger,
thirst; to rise early, watch late, lie and fare hardly: and
Eusebius is of opinion, that wilde beasts were of purpose created
by God, that men by chasing and encountering them, might be fitted
and enabled for warlike exercises. Heereupon Alexander, Cyrus, and
the old Kings of Persia, employed themselves exceeding much herein,
not to purchase Venison and purvey for the belly, but to maintaine
their strength, and preserve their health, by encreasing and stirring up the natural heat within, which sloth and sitting still wastes and decays: To harden the bodies by labour against the enemy; and withall, to search out the nature of wild beasts, which knowne, they might leave the same recorded to their posterity. And the famous Phisitian Quercetan, above all other exercises commendeth this as most healthfull, and keeping the body sound and free from diseases. 

The old Lord Gray (our English Achilles) when he was Deputie of Ireland, to inure his sonnes for the war, would usuall in the depth of Winter, in frost, snow, raine, and what weather soever fell, cause them at midnight to be raised out of their beds, and carried abroad on hunting till the next morning; then perhaps come wet and cold home, having for a breakfast a brownie loafe, and a mouldie Cheese, or (which is ten times worse) a dish of Irish Butter: and in this manner the Spartans and Laconians dieted, and brought vp their children till they came unto mans estate.

Hawking was a sport utterly unknowne to the ancients, as Blundinus and P. lousius in the second booke of his Historie, where he entreateth of the Muscouitish affaires witnesseth; but was inuented and first practised by Fredericke Barbarossa, when he besieged Rome: yet it appeareth by Firmicus, that it was knowne twelve hundred yeares since, where he speaketh of Falconers, and teachers of other Birds; and indeed beyond him, I thinke it can no where be found that Falconrie was knowne. There have been many who have written of Falconrie, Fredericke the second, Emperor of Germany (whom Melanchthon worthily commendeth, and equalleth to the ancient Heroes, for his many victories atchieued by his valour: his skill in all learning, being able to speak foureteene severall languages: his liberalitie, magnificence, affabilitie, mildnesse, &c. Insomuch, that in him alone, saith he, ended and died the remainder of Ancient Maiestie wrote heereof two excellent booke, which Joachim Camerarius (hauing by him the first Coppie in a Manuscript) published together, with a Treatise of Albertus Magnus, of the Nature of Hawkes, and printed it at Norimberge. Budaeus hath also written a large Discourse of Hunting and Hawking, part whereof is annexed to the latter end of Henry Estienne's French and Latine Dictionarie: in English

29 liberalitie B; libertie A
M. Blundeuiles booke is the best that I know.

By the Canon Law Hawking was forbidden vnto Clergie men, as afterward Hunting, by reason the exercise and instruments wherewith beasts are slaine, are militarie, and not so well agreeing (as they give the reason) with spirituall warfare: but I cannot see but that they (many of them being great Princes, and pillars of the Church, daily employed and pressed with the weight of State affaires) may haue their recreations as well as others. But to prevent their pastime, there is such an order taken with their Parkes, that many of our best Bishopricks can now adaies scarce shew one of ten, or twentie. Norwich had thirteene Parkes, and of all other was most iniuystly dealt withall. If they had taken away twelue and left the odde one, it had beene indifferent; but to rob the Church of all, was more then too much.

But as I allow not altogether that seuere education of the old Spartans in their Children, hazzarding many times the healths of young and tender bodies, by some tedious ague; yea, also their liues, by the mischance of a leape or stumbling of their horse: so as much doe I detest that effoeminacie of the most that burne out day and night in their beds and by the fire side, in trifles, gaming, or courting their yellow Mistresses all the Winter in a Citie; appearing but as Cuckoes in the Spring, onetime in the yeare to the Countrey and their tenants, leaving the care of keeping good houses at Christmas, to the honest Yeomen of the Countrey.

Some againe are so intent to their pleasure, that they never care for keeping within, as sometime was Mithridates, that it is reported of him; For seauen yeares space together hee never came within house, neither in Citie nor in the Countrey. And Barnaby Viscount of Millan, was so carried away with the love of Hunting, that hee made a Law; whosoeuer should kill any wilde Boare, or had killed any in five yeares before that his Statute was enacted (contrary vnto an ancient Edict) or were priuy to the eating of any at any Gentlemans table, should be imprisoned and tortured after a greevous manner. Beside, he afflicted the Countrey marueilously, by dispersing many thousands of Dogges to be kept and brought vp in villages and among the Faisants, to their infinite trouble and charge. Mahomet Sonne to Amurath, on the contrarie, when he

15 as I allow Editor; as allow A: as we allow C
18 their C : your A
made warre in Caramania, turned out of service 700. of his fathers Faulconers, and caused as many of olde huntsmen to follow Armes, and his Campe, in stead of the kennell. (13)
1. In L. Solent. ff. de Aleae lusu & Aleator.
2. Guido Pancirolo. in. lib de reb. moviter repertis, tit. 20.
3. C. Caesar in Epistolis.
4. To cure the smallnesse of his voice, he would usually run vp a hill, a fit Embleme for such as when they have ascended the heighth of preferment, both looke and speak big.
11. Volatteran. lib. 7. antiqu.
12. Ioiius in Barnaba.
13. Chalcondylas. lib. 7.

2. i. Pancirolo C: Pancirillo A
3. i. Caesar B: Casar A.
CHAP. 17.

Of Reputation, and Carriage in general.

There is no one thing that setteth a fairer stamp upon Nobility than evenness of Carriage and care of our Reputation, without which our most graceful gifts are dead and dull, as the Diamond without his foil: for hereupon as on the frontispiece of a magnificent Palace, are fixed the eyes of all passengers, and hereby the height of our Judgments (even our selves) is taken; according to that of the wiseman, By gate, laughter, and apparel, a man is known what he is. Wherefore I call it the crown of good parts, and lodestone of regard. The principal means to preserve it is Temperance and that Moderation of the mind, wherewith as a bridle we curbe and brake our rauke and unruly Passions, keeping as the Caspian Sea, our selves ever at one height without ebb or reflux. And albeit true it is that Galen saith, we are commonly beholden for the disposition of our minds, to the Temperature of our bodies, yet much lyeth in our power to keep that fount from empoisoning, by taking heed to our selves; and as good Cardinall Poole once said, to correct the malignity of our Stars with a second birth. For certainly under grace it is the root of our Reputation and honest Fame; without which, as one saith, we are dead long before we are buryed.

For Moderation of the mind and affections, which is the Ground of all Honestie, I must give you that prime receipt the kingly Prophet doth to a yong man, teaching him wherewith to cleanse his way, that is; by keeping, saith he (oh Lord) thy Statutes, meaning the feare of God in general, without which (hee ever first striking at the head) our Judgments are depraued, and left to our selves we are not able to give any thing his true esteeme and value. Therefore first to be truly Honest is to be truly Religious, for if the feare of men be a great motiue to keepe our selves within compass, much more will the Feare of God, recall vs from our lusts

CHAP. Editor: CAP. A
17. Editor: 15. A: XVIII. C
and intemperance. Hereby the minde getteth the dominion and upper-hand, wisely gouerning that goodly kingdome Nature hath allotted her. And if it was sometime said of Fabius, *Citius Solem e sua sphaera diuelli, quam Fabium ab honestate potuisse,* how heedfully ought a Christian who carrieth the lanterne in his hand, looke to his feete, when an Heathen could goe so directly in the darke, onely by the glimpse of Nature and without stumbling?

Moreover since the Civill end of our life is, *vt in Honore cum dignitate vivamus,* you shall withall finde good Learning and the Artes to conferre a great helpe and furtherance hereunto, being a polisher of inbred rudenesse and our informitie, and a curer of many diseases our minds are subject vnto: for we learne not to begge to our selues admiration from other, or boastingly to lay to view so rich and pretious furniture of our minds, but that we may be usefull to others, but first to our selues; least (as some pretious receipt) while we keepe that in a boxe which can cure another; our selues lie lame and diseased.

The first use then hereof (I meane your learning) as an Antidote against the Common plague of our times, let it confirme and perswade you, that as your understanding is by it ennobled with the richest dowrie in the world, so hereby learne to know your owne worth and value, and in choice of your companions, to entertaine those who are religious and Learned: for as I said heretofore, Converse of old was the mother of skill and all vertuous endeauours, so say I now, of all vice and basenes if regard be not had. Therefore hold friendship and acquaintance with few, and those I could wish your betters, at the least of your owne ranke, but endeare your selue to none: *gaudebis minus, minus dolebis.* The best Natures I know delight in popularitie, and are pliable to company-keeping, but many times buy their acquaintance at ouer deare a rate, by being drawne either into base Actions and Places of which they are ashamed for euer after; or to needlesse expence by laying out or lending to importunate base and shamelesse companions, gaining losse of their monies, time, sorrow and griefe of friends, disrepute of the better sort, and lastly contempt of the vilest among the Common vulgar.

Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Asia, for his popularity and
delight in company, was sir-named the Mad: and likewise for the same Appius Claudius was deprived of his office, and fearing beside shame the hatred of the Senate, counterfeiting blindnesse, for ever after kept himselfe at home. We read also of a certaine King of the Gothes, who making his Soldiers his drinking companions, was for his free and kind heart at the last drowned by them in a Tub of Ale.

Nor mistake me that I swerue so much on this side, that I would deny a Prince or Gentleman the benefit of discourse and conuerse with the meanest: for Maiestie and greatness cannot alwaies stand so bent, but that it must haue the remission and relaxation sometime to descend from the Court to the Cottage, which cannot choose but give it the better tast and rellish. Adrian the Emperor would most curteously conferre with the meanest, detesting those his high minded Courtiers, who vnder a colour of preserving his Estate and Honour, enuied him this sweetnesse of humilitie and priuacie. Vespasian in like manner was wont not onely to salute the chiefe Senators of Rome, but even private men, inuiting them many times to dine and suppe with him, himselfe againe going vnto their houses. Philopoemen was so curteous and went so plaine, his Hostesse in Megera tooke him for a seruing-man. And certainly this Affabilitie and Curtesie in Greatnesse, draweth our eyes like flowers in the Spring, to behold, and with admiration to loue it wheresoeuer we finde it.

There is no better signe (saith one) in the world of a good and vertuous disposition, then when a Prince or Gentleman maketh choice of learned and vertuous men for his companions; for presently he is imagined to bee such an one as those to whom he joyneth himselfe: yea saith Aristotle, it is a kinde of vertuous exercise to bee conversant with good and vnderstanding men.

Whom then you shall entertaine into the closet of your brest, first sound their Religion; then looke into their Lives and Carriage, how they haue beene reckoned of others. Lastly, to their Qualitie how or wherein they may be usefull vnto you, whether by aduice and Counsell, direction, helpe in your studies, or serviceablenesse in your exercise and recreations.

There is nothing more miserable then to want the Counsell of a friend, and an admonisher in time of neede: Which hath beene
and is daily the bane of many of our yong Gentlemen, even to the
utter ruine of themselues and their posteritie for euer. Who when
like Alciates fig-tree vpon the high and innacessible hocke, (11)
they are out of reach and cannot be come vnto by men who would
dresse and preserue them; espied a farre off are onely preyed vpon
and haunted by Vultures and Dawes: and while one addeth fewell to
the fire of his expence, for the which he is like to pay twentie
for two, at twentie and one; another sootheth him in play (knowing
the best fishing is in troubled waters) another tendreth him a
match of light stuffe: all at once preying for themselues, these
greene things of sixteene or eighteene are quite devoured before
they were ripe.

Cf Frugalitie.

Wherefore I must next commend vnto you Frugality, the Mother
of vertues, (12) a vertue which holdeth her owne, layeth out profit-
ably, auidoeth idle Expences, Superfluity, lauish bestowing or giuing,
borrowing, building, and the like: yet when reason requireth can
be royally bountifull, a vertue as requisite in a Noble or Gentleman,
as the care of his whole Estate, and preseruation of his name and
posterity; yet as greatly wanting in many, as they come short of
the reputation and entire Estates of their forefathers, who account
thrift the object of the plow or shoppe, too base and unworthy
their consideration, while they impose their faire Estates and most
important businesse, vpon a cheating Steward, or craftie Bailiffe,
who in few yeares (like the young Cuckow) are ready to devour their
feeder; and themselves like sleepe Pilots, hauing no eye to the
compasse, or sounding their Estates, are runne on ground ere they
be aware.

First then assoone as you shall be able, looke into your Estate,
labouring not onely to conserve it entire, but to augment it either
by a wise forethought, Marriage, or by some other thriftie meane:
and thinke the more yee are laden with abundance, the more neede
(like a vine) ye haue of props and your soundest friends to aduise
you. Neither doe I imagine you will be so rash as to giue no eare
to good counsell, to your ruine, as Caesar did, when hee refused a
booke of a poore scholler, wherein the intended plot against him
was discovered.

Marcus Cato, who was so victorious in warre, so prudent in peace, so eloquent in the oratorie, learned in the lawes, neglected not thereby his estate, but looked, as Livie saith of him, even into his husbandry himselfe: and Plutarch writeth of Philopoemen, a great and famous commander, that notwithstanding his great affaires and employments, hee would euery morning bee stirring by breake of day, and eyther to dressing of his vines, digging or following his plough: (13) and Cicero to heighthen the Honor of king Deiotarus reporteth thus of him, in Deiotaro sunt regiae virtutes, quod te Caesar, ignorare non arbitror, sed praecipue singularis & admiranda frugalitas. (14) And the Romans had a lawe that hee who could not looke into his owne estate, and impioy his land to the best, should forfeiture the same, and be held for a fool or a mad man all his life after. (15) Aristides, albeit he was an excellent man otherwise, yet herein he was so carelesse that at his death he neither left portion for his daughters, nor so much as would carry him to the ground, and defray the charge of his funerall. (16)

Be thriftie also in your apparrell and clothing, least you incurre the censure of the most graue and wisest censor, Cui magna corporis cultus cura, ei magna virtutis incuria: and Henry the fourth, last king of France of eternall memory, would oftimes merily say, By the outside onely, he could sound the depth of a Courtier: saying, Who had least in them made the fairest shew without, inviting respect with gold lace and great feathers, which will not be wonne with toyes. Neyther on the contrary, be so basely parsimonious or frugall, as is written of one of the kings of France, in whose accounts in the Eschequer are yet remaining. Item so much for red Satten to sleeue the kings old Doublet: Item a halfepenny for liquor for his bootes, and so forth. Cr to bee knowne by a hat or doublet tenne or twenty yeares; then with some miserable vsurer curse the maker for the slighnesse of his felt or stuffe, murmuring it will not last to see the Revolution of the First Moouer. But vsing that moderate and middle garbe, which shall rather lessen then make you bigger than you are; which hath beene, and is yet observed by our greatest Princes, who in outside goe many times inferior to their groomes and pages.
The modesty and humility of Charles the fifth.

That glory and champion of Christendom, Charles the fifth, would goe (except in times of warre) as plaine as any ordinary gentleman, commonly in blacke or sadde stuffe, without lace or any other extraordinary cost; onely his Order of the golden Fleece about his necke in a ribband: and was so naturally frugall, not out of parsimonie (being the most bountifull minded Prince that euer liued) that as Guicciardine reporteth of him, if any one of his points had chanced to breake, he would tye it of a knot and make it serue againe.

And I haue many times seene his Excellence the Prince of Orange that now is, in the field, in his habite as plaine as any country gentleman, wearing commonly a suite of haire-coloured slight stuffe of silke, a plaine gray cloake and hat, with a greene feather, his hatband onely exceeding rich. And Ambrose Spinola Generall for the Archduke, when he lay in Weasell at the taking of it in, one would haue taken, but for an ordinary merchant in a plaine suite of black.

The Duke of Norfolke.

And the plainnes of the Late Duke of Norfolke derogated nothing from his Esteeme. So that you see what a pitifull Ambition it is, to strue to bee first in a fashion, and a poore pride to seeke your esteeme and regard, from worms, Shells, and Tailors; and buy the gaze of the staring multitude at a thousand, or fifteene hundred pounds, which would apparrell the Duke and his whole Grande Consiglio of Venice. But if to do your Prince Honour, at a tilting, employed in embassage, comming in of some great stranger, or you are to giue entertainment to Princes or Noble personages at your house, as did Cosmo de Medici, or haply ye command in the warres, spare not to be braue with the brauest. Philopoemen caused his souliours to bee spare in Apparrell and Diet (saith Plutarch,) and to come honourably armed into the field: wherefore hee commanded in goldsmiths shoppes to breake in peeces pots of gold and siluer, and to be imploied in the siluering of bittes, guilding of Armours, inlaying of Saddles, &c. For the sumptuous cost vpon warlike furniture, doth encourage and make great a noble heart: but in other sights it carryeth away mens minds to a womanish vanitie, and melting the courage of the mind, (as Homer saith it did Achilles, when his
mother laid new Armes and weapons at his feete.) The Spaniard when
he is in the field, is glorious in his cassocke, and affecteth the
wearing of the richest ieuels; the French huge feathers, Scarlet,
and gold lace: the English, his armes rich, and a good sword: the
Italians pride is in his Neapolitan Courser: the Germanes and low
Dutch to be dawbed with gold and pearle, wherein (say they) there
is no losse except they be lost. But herein I giue no prescription.

Of Diet.

I now come to your diet, wherein be not onely frugall for the
sauing of your purse, but moderate in regard of your health, which
is empaired by nothing more then excesse in eating and drinking
(let me also adde Tobacco taking.) Many dishes breede many
diseases, dulleth the mind and understanding, and not onely shorten,
but take away life. We reade of Augustus that he was neuer curious
in his diet, but content with ordinary and common viandes. And
Cato the Censor, sayling into Spaine, dranke of no other drinke
then the rowers or slaves of his owne galley. And Timotheus Duke
of Athens was wont to say, (whom Plato invited home to him to
supper,) they found themselues neuer distempered. Contrary to
our Feastmakers, who suppose the glory of entertainment, and giuing
the best Welcome to consist in needless superfluities and profuse
waste of the good Creatures, as Scylla made a banquet that lasted
many dayes, where there was such excessive abundance, that
infinite plenty of victualls were throwne into the River, and
excellent wine aboue forty yeres old spilt and made no account of;
but by surfetting and banquetting, at last he gat a most miserable
disease and dyed full of lice.

And Caesar in regard of his Lybian triumph, at one banquet
filled two and twenty thousand roomes with ghosts, and gaue to every
Citizen in Rome ten bushels of wheate, and as many pounds of oyle,
and besides three hundred pence in mony.

We reade of one Smyndirides, who was so much giuen to feasting,
and his ease, that hee saw not the Sunne rising nor setting in
twenty yeares; and the Sybarites forbad all Smiths and knocking
in the streetes, and what thing soeuer that made any noise, to bee
within the City walls, that they might eate and sleepe: whereupon
they banished cockes out of the city, and invented the use of
chamberpots, and bad women a yeare before to their feasts, that they might haue leisure enough to make themselues fine and braue with gold and Jewels.\(26\)

Drinking the destruction of wit, & plague of our English Gentry.

Above all, learne betimes to avoide excessive drinking, then which there is no one vice more common and reigning, and ill being a Gentleman, which if growne to an habit, is hardly left; remembering that hereby you become not fit for any thing, hauing your reason degraded, your body distempered, your soule hazarded, your esteeme and reputation abased, while you sit taking your vnwholesome healthes, - \(\text{vt iam vertigine tectum Ambulet, \\& geminis exsurget mensa lucernis.}\)\(27\)

- Untill the house about doth turne,
  And on the board two candles seeme to burne.

By the Leuiticall law, who had a glutton or a drunkard to their Sonne, they were to bring him before the Elders of the City, and see him stoned to death. And in Spaine at this day they haue a law that the word of him that hath beene convicted of drunkennesse, shall not bee taken in any testimony.

Drunkennes not many yeares since very rare in England.

Within these fiftie or threescore yeares it was a rare thing with vs in England, to see a Drunken man, our Nation carrying the name of the most sober and temperate of any other in the world. But since we had to doe in the quarrell of the Netherlands, about the time of Sir John Norrice his first being there, the custome of drinking and pledging healthes was brought ouer into England: where-in let the Dutch bee their owne Judges, if we equall them not; yea I thinke rather excell them.

Tricongius and the old Romanes had lawes and statutes concerning the Art of drinking, which it seemes, are reviued, and by our drunkards observed to an haire. It being enacted, that he who after his drinke faltered not in his speech, vomited not, neyther reeled, if he dranke off his cups cleanly, took not his wind in his draught, spit not, left nothing in the pot, nor spilt any vpon the ground, he had the prize, & was accounted the brauest man.\(28\)
If they were contented herewith, it were well, but they daily invent new and damnable kinds of carrowing (as that in North-holland and Frizeland (though among the baser sort) of vpsie Monikedam, which is, after you have drunke out the drinke to your friend or companion, you must breake the glasse full upon his face, and if you misse, you must drinke againe,) whence proceede quarrelling, reviling, and many times execrable murthers, as Alexander was slain in his drunkennesse; and Domitian, Nero's father slew Liberius out right, because he would not pledge him a whole carrowse, and hence arise most quarrells among our gallant drunkards: unto whom if you reade a lecture of sobrietie, and how in former ages their forefathers dranke water, they sweare water is the frogs drinke, and ordained onely for the driving of milles, and carrying of boats.

Neither desire I, you should be so abstemious, as not to remember a friend with an hearty draught, since wine was created to make the heart merry, for what is the life of man if it want wine? Moderately taken it preserves health, comforteth and disperseth the natural heat over all the whole body, allayes cholericke humours, expelling the same with the sweate, &c. tempereth Melancholly. And as one saith, hath in it selfe ἐλκυστικόν τι πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν, a drawing vertue to procure friendship.

At your meate to be liberall and freely merry, is very healthy and comely, and many times the stranger or guest will take more content in the chearelinesse of your countenance, then in your meate. Augustus the Emperour had alwayes his mirth greater then his feasts. And Suetonius saith of Titus, Vespasians Sonne, he had euer his table furnished with mirth and good company. And the old Lord Treasurer of England, Lord William Burghley, how employed soeuer in State affaires, at his table hee would lay all business by, and bee heartily merry.

Charles the Great vsed at his meates to haue some History read, whereof hee would afterwards discourse. And Francis the first, King of France, would commonly dispute of History, Cosmography, Poetry. His Maiesty our Soueraigne, altogether in points and profound questions of Divinity. When I was in Vtrecht, and liued at the table of that Honourable Gentleman, Sir John Ogle, Lord Gouernour, whither resorted many great Schollers and
Captaines, English, Scottish, French, and Dutch, it had beene enough to haue made a Scholler or Souldier, to haue observed the seuerall disputations and discourses among many strangers, one while of sundry formes of batailes, sometime of Fortification, of fireworkes, History, Antiquities, Heraldrie, pronunciation of Languages, &c. that his table seemed many times a little Academie.

Affability in Discourse.

In your discourse be free and affable, giving entertainment in a sweete and liberall manner, and with a cheerefull courtesie, seasoning your talke at the table among graue and serious discourses, with conceipts of wit and pleasant inuention, as ingenious Epi-grammes, Emblemes, Anagrammes, merry tales, witty questions and answers, Mistakings, as a melancholy Gentleman sitting one day at a table, where I was, started vp upon the suddaine, and meaning to say, I must goe buy a dagger, by transposition of the letters, said: Sir, I must goe dye a begger.

A plaine country man being called at an Assize to bee a witnese about a piece of land that was in controuersie, the Judge calling, said vnto him, Sirrha, how call you that water that runnes on the South-side of this close? My Lord (quoth the fellow) our water comes without calling.

A poore souldier with his musket and rest in Breda, came one day in, and set him downe at the nether end of the Prince of Orange his table, as he was at dinner (whither none might bee priviiledged vnder the degree of a Gentleman at the least to come:) the Gentle-man-vsher of the Prince demanded of him, if hee were a Gentleman: yes quoth the Souldier, my father was a Goldsmith of Andwarpe: but what can you doe in your fathers trade, (quoth he) I can set stones in morter, for he was a bricklaier, and helped Masons in their workes.

For Epigrammes, Pasquine will afford you the best and quickest I know. You shall haue them all bound in two volumes. I remember hee tells vs once vpon a Sunday morning, Pasquine had a fowle shirt put on, and being asked the cause, Pasquine made answer, because my Laundresse is become a Countesse.
You shall have a taste of some of my Anagrams such as they are.

Vpon the Prince.

C A R O L V S.
  o Clarus.

Charles Prince of Wales.

All France cries, o helpe vs.

Of the Queene of Bohemia and Princesse Palatine of the Rhene, my gracious Ladie,

E L I S A B E T H A S T E V A R T A,
  Has Artes beata velit.

Being requested by a Noble and Religious Ladie, who was sister to the old Lord, De la Ware, to try what her name would afford, it gave me this:

I A N E W E S T.
  En tua Iesu.

And vpon the name of a braue and beautiful Ladie, wife to S. Robert Mordaunt, sonne and heire to S. Le Straunge Mordaunt Knight and Baronnet in the County of Norfolke:

Amie Mordaunt.
  Tu more Dianam.
  Tum ore Dianam.
  Minerua, domat.
  Me induat amor.
  Nuda, o te miram.
  Vi tandem amor.

Vpon the name of a faire Gentlewoman this in Italian:

A N N A D V D L A E I A.
  E'la nuda Diana.

Vpon a sweete and modest young Gentlewoman, Mistris

M A R I A M E V T A S.
  Tu a me amaris
To comfort my selfe living in a Towne, where I found not a
Scholler to converse withall, nor the kindest respect as I thought:
I gaue this my Poesie, the same backward and forward

SVBI DVRA A RVDIBVS.

Of M. Doctor Hall Deane of Worcester, this, added to the body
of a Glorie, wherein was written Iehouah in Hebrew, resembling the
Deitie.

JOSEPH HALL

All his Hope.

Of a vertuous and faire Gentlewoman at the request of my friend
who bare her good will:

FRANCIS BARNEY.

Barres in Fancy.

And this,

Theodosia Dixon.

A DEO DIXIT HONOS : or

O Dea, dixit Honos.

Of my good friend M. Doct. Dowland, in regard hee had slipt
many opportunities in advancing his fortunes, and a rare Lutenist
as any of our Nation, beside one of our greatest Masters of Musick
for composing: I gaue him an Embleme with this;

IOANNES DOVLANDVS.

Annos ludendo hausi.

There were at one time in Rome very witte and vnhappy libels
cast forth vpon the whole Consistory of Cardinals in the nature of
Emblemes. I remember Cardinal Farnesi had for his part a storke
deuouring a frogge, with this, Mordeo non mordentes. Bellarmine a
Tiger fast chained to a post, in a scroule proceeding from the
beasts mouth in Italian: Da mi mia libertà, vederete chi io Sono:
that is, give me my Libertie, you shall see what I am, meaning
perhaps he would be no longer, &c. And those were very knauish
that were throwne vp and downe the Court of France, the Escotcheon
or Armes of the partie on the one side of a pastboard, and some
ingenious deuice on the other; as one had the Armes of the house
of di Medici of Florence, on the one side, on the other an inkhorne with the mouth turned downward, with this tart Pasquil: Elle faut d'encre: and so of the whole Court.

Emblemes and Impresa's if ingeniously conceived, are of daintie deuice and much esteeme. The Inuention of the Italian herein is very singular, neither doe our English wits come much behind them, but rather equall them euery way. The best that I haue seene, haue beene the deuises of Tilttings, whereof many are reserued in the priuate Gallery at White Hall, of S. Phillip Sidnie's, the Earle of Cumberland, S. Henry Leigh, the late Earle of Essex, with many others, most of which I once collected with intent to publish them, but the charge disswaded me.

But aboue all, in your talke and discourse haue a care euer to speake the truth, remembriing there is nothing that can more preiudice your esteeme then to be lauish-tongued in speaking that which is false, and disgracefully of others in their absence. The Persians and Indians had a law, that whosoeuer had beene thrice convicted of speaking vntruth, should vpon paine of death neuer speake word all his life after.(37) Cato would suffer no man to bee praised or dispraised, but vsed alwaies such discourse as was profitable to the hearers; for as one saith, Dicteria minuunt Maiestatem. Iestes and scoffes doe lessen Maiestie and greatnesse, and should be farre from great personages, and men of wisedome.
1. Ecclesiastic.
2. Psal. 119.9.
3. Athenaeus lib. 5. cap. 4.
4. Diodorus lib. 20.
5. I. Magnus lib. 7. cap. 17.
7. Xiphilinus.
8. Plutarch in Philopoem.
9. Philip Commines, c. 34.
10. Ludouic Viues.
11. In Emblem.
13. Plutarch in Philopoemen.
15. Julianus ff. de cura furio:
17. Machiauell. in Hist. Florent.
19. Plutarch.
22. Plutarch in Scylla.
24. Suetonius. Evry Romane penny was about seuen pence halfe penny of our mony.

6.1 ex B: ea A
15.1 cura B: cnra A
20.1 Coelio. B: Coetio. A
25. C. Rhodigin. lib. 6. cap. 35.


29. Proverb. 23.

30. Ecclesiast. 31. vers. 27.

31. Athenaeus.

32. Sleidan lib. 19.

33. This hapned in Norfolke.

34. Of a Souldier of Breda.

35. Pasquine, a marble Image in Rome, on which they use to fixe libels.

36. Because an Earle in Rome had married a chambermaide.

37. Plato saith, it is onely allowed, Physitions to lie for the comfort of the sicke.
CHAP. 18.

Of Trauaile.

I will conclude with Trauaile, which many disallow in Gentlemen, yea and some great travellers themselves; but mee thinke they are as one who hath filled his owne belly, and denieth the dish to his fellow. In my opinion nothing rectifieth and confirmeth more the judgment of a Gentleman in forreine affaires, teacheth him knowledge of himselfe, and setleth his affection more sure to his owne Country, then Trauaile doth: for if it be the common Law of Nature, that the learned should have rule ouer and instruct the ignorant, the experienced, the inex-perienced, what concerneth more Nobility, taking place aboue other, then to be learned and wise? and where may wisedome be had, but from many men, and in many places? Hereupon we find the most eminent and wise men of the world to have beene the greatest Travailers (to omit the Patriarches and Apostles themselves in holy writ) as Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Ozyris King of AEgypt, who travelled a great part of the world, and caused to be engraven vpon his Sepulcher, Heere vnder I lie King Ozyris, eldest sonne of Saturne, who have left no part of the world vnsearched, whitherto I haue not come, teaching againe whatsoever I haue found, for the vse and commoditie of mankind. And Xenophon to intimate vs to the benefit and excellent use of Trauaile, saith that Cambyses, by his travuaile learned many excellent things, which he taught Cyrus his sonne: and having travailed as farre as Meroë (as a perpetuall monument of his long voyage) he built a Citie in the forme of a Persian shield. And it was the vsuall boast of Alexander (said Archelaus a Cosmographer) that he had found out more with his eies, then other Kings were able to comprehend in thought: and to no small commendation of himselfe, Menelaus in Homer, reporteth that hee had beeue in AEgypt, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and seene Thebes having an hundred gates, and at euery gate two hundred horse-men for the
guard. But say some, few of our Gentlemen are bettered by their traualle, but rather returne home worse then they went in manners, and many times in Religion, therefore it were better they tarried still at home, according to Claudian:

Foelix qui patrijs aevum transegit in agris,
Ipsa domus puerum quem videt ipsa senem:
Qui baculo nitens, in qua reptuit arena,
Unius numerat Saecula longa casae.

Hee's blest who in's owne Countrie ends his daies,
Whose homestead see's his old age and his birth, &c.

But this happinesse is but puerorum beatitudo, as one saith; and the greatest vnhappinesse to the truly generous and industrious minde.

If therefore you intend to trauell, you must first propound vnto youselyf; the End, which either is ad voluptatem vel ad utilitatem, pleasure or profit. For the first, every one naturally affecteth, and the foole himselfe is tickled with the sight of strange townes, towers and habits of people. Therefore you must hold you to the other which is profit, which againe hath two branches, your owne priuate, or the publique; your priuate, as the recouery of your health, by some outlandish meanes, as the water of the Spaw, some Phisitian, famous for his cure in such & such kinds, change of aire, or gaining as a Merchant by trafique, or some profession wherein you excell others. The publique is the generall good of your Countrie, for which we are all borne, it challenging a third part of vs.

But before you trauaile into a strange Countrie, I wish you (as I haue heretofore said) to be well acquainted with your owne; for I know it by experience that many of our yong gallants, haue gone ouer with an intent to passe by nothing vnseene, or what might bee knowne in other places; when they haue beene most ignorant here in their owne native countrie, and strangers to their iust reproofe could discourse, and say more of England then they.

In your passage, I must giue you in either hand a light, Preservation, and Observation. Preservation of your minde, from Errors, and ill manners; of your bodie from distemperature, either by ouer
eating, drinking, violent or venereal exercise.

For there is not any nation in the world more subject unto surfeits then our English are, whether it proceedeth from the Constitution of our bodies, ill agreeing with the hotter climates, or the exchange of our wholesome diet and plente, for little and ill drest; or the greedinesse of their fruits and hotte wines, wherewith onely wee are sometimes constrained to fill our bellies, I am not certaine. No lesse perill there is, ab istis callidis & callidis Solis filiabus, which almost in every place will offer themselves, or be put vpon you by others.

Keepe the fountain of your minde from being empoiioned, especially by those Serpents, Error and Atheisme, which you shall finde lurking vnder the fairest flowers: and though you heare the discourses of all, and listen to the charmses of some, discouer your Religion or minde to none, but resembling the needle of the compasse, howsoever for a while moued or shaken, looke Northerly, and be constant to one. To be carried away with euery fancie and opinion, is to walke with Cain in the land of giddinesse, the greatest punishment that God laied vpon him.

Before you enter into Observation, first seeke the language that you may be fit for conference, and where the language is best spoken there settle, and furnish your selfe with the discreetest and most able Masters. For as heere in England, so in other places, the language is spoken with more elegancie and puritie in some places more then others. For the French, Orleans and thereabouts is esteemed the best, Florence for the Italian, Lipsick for the high Dutch, and Valledolid for the Spanish.

To helpe you in conjugating your verbes, you may vse the helpe a while of a Grammar of that language, but in generall you must expect your perfection from conference; for hereby the true accent, and the native grace of pronunciation (which no booke can teach) is onely attained.

Now aswell for neighbourhood sake, as that the French tongue is chiefly affected among our Nobility, it being a copious and a sweete language, wherein so many famous workes by as great wits as any euer Europe bred, haue beene published: I wish you first of all to see France, being seated vnder a temperate and most wholesome
climate, and shall not endanger your health so much, as being sent
upon the suddaine from a colde Countrey, into the scorching heate
of another more remote.

I will not stand to make any Topographickall description of the
Countrey, I being herein both preuented long since by a faithfull
pen; (6) beside I remember I am to write onely one Chapter, not a
volume.

You shall finde the French, I meane of the noblest and better
sort, generally free and curteous, vnto whom even among their Princes,
State and Maiesticque retirednesse are burthensome, so that
sometime you shall see them familiar with the meanest. La Noué speak­
ing of the French Nobilitie, saith Elle est tres vallereuse & Cour­
toise: et n'y a Estât en la Chrestienté, ou elle soit en si grand
nombre. They are exceeding valiant and curteous, and there is no
estate in Christendome where they are in so great number.

They delight for the most part in Horsemanship, Fencing, Hunt­
ing, Dancing, and little esteeme of Learning and gifts of the minde;
contrary to the Custome of the ancient Romanes, as Cato the Censor,
Caesar, Paulus AEmylius and many others, no lesse famous for knowledge
then action; whereof themselues and their friends oftentimes com­
plainte. Commines layeth the fault vpon the remissenesse of parents
in their education. Ils nourissent leur enfans seulement à faire
les sots, en habillements et en parolles: de nulle lettre il n'ont
cognaisance, They breed their children to play the wanton foole,
both in apparell and words, but as for learning they know nothing.

The French are full of discourse, quicke witted, sudden in action,
and generally light and inconstant; which Caesar found long since,
writing of them, quod sunt in consilijs capiendis mobiles, & nouis
plerumque rebus student, and else-where, he calles Gallorum subita
& repentina consilia. (7) Moreover as among the Spanish and Dutch, one
fashion of Apparell still obserued amongst them, argueth a con­
stancie of minde and humour, so their change and varietie, their
vainnesse and leuitie; for euery two yeere their fashion altereth.

Their exercises are for the most part Tennise play, Pallemaile,
shooting in the Crosse-bow or Peece, and Dancing.

Concerning their dyet, it is nothing so good or plentifull as
ours, they contenting themselues many times with meane viandes;

30 consilia. C: consilia, A
only in the solemn feasts, and banquets of entertainment, they are bountifull enough, yea farre exceed vs; as for the poore paisant, he is faine oftentimes to make vp his meale with a mushrome, or his grenoilles (in English frogs,) the which are in Paris and many other places commonly sold in the market.

Concerning their building, it is very magnificent, and I know not whether in all Europe, any buildings may for Maiesty and State be compared with those of France, (though they haue beene miserably spoiled by the last ciuill wars) they being the best Architects of the world; vpon the view of some of which (as breathing on a faire hill) I will detaines you a while. And first wee will begin with the Louvre in Paris.

The Louvre.

The Louvre is the royall seates of the kings of France, famous throughout all Europe, situate neere to the towne walles on the West side: by which runneth the riuer of Seine, which in old time serued rather for a fortresse then a Kings house, and herein was a tower wherein were kept the kings revenues and treasure. Which after by King Francis the first, was pulled downe, and in this place was begun the building of the front, which is of Masonry, so enriched with pillars, frizes, architrauues and all sort of architecture with such excellent symmetry and beauty, that throughout all Europe, you shall hardly finde the like. It was begunne by Francis the first, finished by Henry his sonne, vnder the appointment of the Lord of Clagny, and afterwards encreased by Francis the second, Charles the 9. Last of all made the wonder of all other workes by that beauti-ful Gallery, the worke of Henry the 4.

The Tuilleries

The Tuilleries sometime belonged to the Suburbes of Saint Honore in Paris, by the side of the Louvre, and was indeed a place wherein they made tiles, and by reason there were many faire Gardens about it, the Queene mother drawing the plot her selfe, seeing it a pleasant and fit place, began first to build here. It is a roiall worke all of free stone. The portail or entrance is very stately of marble pillars and Iasper.
Fontainebleau.

Fontainebleau is scituate in the forest of Biere, in a plaine encompassed with great woods, and was in olde time a retiring place for the kings of France. Francis the first, who loued to build, tooke great pleasure in this seate and builded here the house, as we see it at this present; the base Court hereof is esteemed the fairest of all France: in the second Court there is the purest and fairest fountaine esteemed in the world, wherefore it was called Belle eauë, and so Fontaine Belle eauë. K. Francis loued this place so well, that he spent most of his time here, beautifying it while hee liued with all sorts of commodities, goodly galleries, Stoues, &c. and caused the rarest Masters of Europe in painting to be sent for, for the beautifying it with all manner of Histories. Also heere he placed the rarest Antiquities he could get. In briefe, whatsoever he could wrap or wring, he thought too little for this place; it is about 14. leagues from Paris.

Blois.

Blois is an ancient Castle scituate from the River of Loire vpon an hill. Here the old Kings of France were wont to reside, especially Louis the twelfth tooke delight in this place, who was called Pater patriae. It hath belonging vnto it two goodly forrests, one on this side the riuer, the other on the other. Going forth of the gardens of the house, you passe into the forrest vnder foure rowes of elmes, at the least 12. hundred paces: this is rather remarkeable for the antiquity then the beauty. The towne standeth beneath, about the which are these faire places within 2. or 3. leagues, Bury, Beauregard, Ville-sansin, Chindony, and some others.

Amboise.

Amboise is one of the principall buildings of France, it also standeth vpon the Loire vpon a high Seate; at the foote hereof is the towne, and neere that a goodly Forrest: this castle is scene a great way off both by the hill, and the valley yeelding so goodly a prospect, as I neuer beheld a better, for from the terrasses that environ the Castle, you may easily discerne Tours and the Abbey of Marmonstier seauen leagues off; the Castle standeth vpon a Rocke, at the foote whereof there is a Cloister.
Villiers Costerets.

This house is in Picardie, upon the way from Paris to Soissons, distant from Paris 16. leagues, 5. from Soissons; it standeth close upon the forest of Retz; it is of very great receipt, as may appeare by the enclosure of the parke. Here King Francis (whose onely delight was in building) for many yeares together set Masons a worke, the rather because it adioyned vnto the greatest forrest of all France, himselfe louing hunting exceedingly. Here are the goodliest walkes in Europe, for the trees themselves are placed in curious knots, as we use to set our herbes in gardens.

Charleval.

Charleval is in Normandy vpon the way from Paris to Rovan, neere to the village of Fleury. It was built by Charles the 9. at the instance of the Lord of Durescu; it standeth in a valley enclosed with mountaines aboue, which is the Forrest of Lyons: among those Mountaines are many goodly prospects one within another, it is 3. leagues by a pleasant valley easily discerned to the riuer Seine; had it beene quite finished it had beene the chiefe building of France.

The Castle of Vincennes.

This Castle or Royal house is called Bois de Vincennes; it is scituate within one league of Paris, and two of Saint Dennis the place of buriall of the French Kings, so that these three stand in a manner in a triangle. It is a very sumptuous worke and of admirable Art: it was begun by Charles Countie of Valois, brother to Philip the faire, and finished a good while after by Charles the fift. This house hath many faire Courts in it, withall about it a Parke, containing in circuit 16. or 17. thousand paces, which amount to two leagues and an halfe, stretching on the South, even vnto the river of Seine, and by North vnto the river of Marne, which ioyning at the village of Confluence (so called of their meeting) neere Charenton fall downe vnto Paris. This in ancient times was the vsuall Court and abode of the French Kings, but now little frequented and falling in a manner to ruine.

But I omit farther to speake as well of the Royall houses, and those of the Noblesse, being indeed the beauty of France. Whereof

17 Seine G; Seime A
33 Frequented D; Frequentated A
there are many other, as S. Maur, Chenonceau, Chambourg, Boulogne, Creil, Coussie, Polembray, Montargis, S. Germain and la Muette, which are all the Kings houses and worthy your view and regard, if you happen to finde them in your way. In briefe hold France for one of the most rich, fertilest, and brauest Kingdomes of the World. 5

Of Spaine.

And since Spaine and France, are but one Continent, let vs passe the Pyrenean hills, and take some observations there.

*Spaine lyeth Southerly from France, in Northerne latitude from 37. to 44. degrees or there about, in the same heigth and paralell with the Azores Islands. It is farre hotter then France, a very dry Country, yet abounding in sweet Springs, Rivers, and all sorts of fruites. Pasture there is little or none in respect of the great heat, but infinitely furnished with Vineyards, Oliue trees, having Corne sufficient saue only in the skirts of the Country, which are mountainous, hilly and barren, yet abounding in Goates and other Cattell.*

For victuals you shall finde it very scarce, not that the Countrey affordeth not a sufficiency, but that the people being by constitution, hot & dry, are not able to digest heavy and more solid meat, like vnto ours; but rather chuse Fruits, Sallets and sweet meates, as Mermalade, by them called Membrillada (for membrillo is a Quince) and conserves of all sorts, for coolenesse and lightnesse of digestion. The people are by nature generally proud and haughty, but withall very ciuill, faithfull to their friend, and aboue all to their Prince, for seldome or never have any of that Nation bin known to haue bin Traitors: their souldiers are infatigable, resolute, and obedient vnto their Commanders, but withall lasciuiously given, and too cruelly in victory.

The Gentry affect not the Countrey, but desire to liue in walled Townes altogether, where they dedicate theirselves either to some imployment of State, or businesse of Warre, saue such who are of the better sort, dedicated to the Church, of whom there is at the least a third part.

Their habite in apparell is all one for colour and fashion, which hardly makes a distinction of parties; onely they are discerned by their servants (in whom they obserue an excellent equipage) their regelado horses, Caroches and horselitters.
The women are blacke, and little, but very well fauoured, and for discourse admirable: these haue a more eminent distinction of habit, and are all discerned by their apparell of what qualitie they are, they affect strangers much, and are liberall in their conuerece with them.

The heart of the Countrey is very scarce of fish, that which they haue, are either Tons or Pilchards, brought salted from Biscay, on the one side, and from Valencia on the other: Yea, the Church for want of fish is faigne to giue a licence to eate the entrailes of beasts upon fasting dayes.

All their meate, fruits and bred are sold by the pound, and not except before an Officer which they call Alcalda, so that no stranger can be deceiued either in weight or price.

They treade their Corne out with Oxen in the fielde assoone as it is reaped, their Mules and horses eating the Straw with Barley, for Oates they are not so well acquainted with. It is a Countrey for Trauaile very combersome in respect of lodging and dyet, except when you come into the walled Townes, where you shall according to their manner be accommodated well enough.

They trauaile all on Mules, keeping their Horses for beautie and shew, putting them to no vse, saue onely to be led vp and downe.

Their Coines are the best of Europe, since all their neighbours make a gaine of them, as a peecce of eight reals (or sixe pence of our money) goeth in France for foure shillings & sixe pence: a doublon in gold, that which is a Pistolet with them, being thirteene shillings, is in France and other places 29 reals, which is 14 s. 6. pence of our money. Most of the Coine that passeth for ordinary and triviall things, as Wine, Bread, Melons, Peaches, is of Brasse, which they cal Quartas and Quartillias. Of their Marauedies, twenty make three pence. Their buildings are faire and stately, and the King, though hee hath many goodly houses & palaces, as in Siuill, Granado, Toledo, Cordoua, Valladolid, &c. yet the Escurial, seuen leagues from Madrid, is the place where the King most resides, and this exceedes all the buildings of Christendome, for beauty and curiosity in contriving, to which is adioyned one of the goodliest Monasteries of the world, wherein are to be seene the rarest Water-
workes that men can devise.

Spaine being divided into many Kingdomes or Provinces, you are allowed to carry about you, onely but an hundred reals; what you have aboue it is forfeited, and for that purpose, at every bridge or passage where the Countries part, you are to be searched.

And I hope you have heard so much of the Inquisition and the danger thereof, that I shall not here need to give you any caueat.

Nauarre affordeth, by reason of the Mountaines, a very hard passage. Whereof Pampelona is the chiefe Citie, herein are the best Muttons, and made the strongest Wines: this Countrey is so abundant in Rosemary, that they make it their ordinary fewell in heating their Ovens, and for their other vses.

Aragon aboundeth in Wine and Corne, which Portugall so wanteth, that all the Corne in that Kingdom is not able to suffice Lisbone onely, but they are faine to haue it of the Bretaigers, Hollanderes, and from the Azores Ilands.

Last of all it is worthy the noting, how that in their Universitie, as Salamanca, Alcala, Conimbra, &c. and other of their Colledges, they care little for the Latine, but dispute and keepe their exercises in Spanish or the Portuguez tongue, yet haue they great Schollers in all professions.

Thus haue I onely giuen you a taste how and what, especially to obserue in your trauaile. I willingly omit to speake of Italie, Germany, and other Countries, by reason they haue bene so exactly described by Master Sands and others, vnto whose ample discourses (excepting your personall experience) I referr: you, it being here mine onely intent, but to give you some few directions in generall: and so I conclude, wishing all happinesse to your selfe, and prosperous successse to your studies.
3. Diog. Laert. lib. 2. in vita Archel.
4. Lipsius.
7. Caesar Com. 3.
8. Yet the finest Wooll is of Segouia.
CHAP. 19.

Of Millitary Observations.

Of Postures.

In teaching the Postures of each weapon to every single Souldier, you shall use these words which have already beene giuen you to that purpose, & no other, but when you come to Exercise the whole company ioyned, you may at some times for your owne satisfaction in the more ready & gracefull performance of them, command the Postures to bee done by the whole number at once, with such pause betweene every Posture, as may afford you meanes to discerne any faylance therein: but whenssoever you skirmish you shall use no more of direction then,

1. Make Ready.
2. Present.
3. Give Fyre.

The first importeth all the Postures vnto presenting: The second to stand ready to give fyre, but not to execute it before the command be giuen.

Of Fyles.

The whole Company is to be divided into Files, each Fyle consisting of ten men: the men in the Fyle are to be distinguished by the names of Leaders, Bringers vp and Middle-men; the two Seconds, the two Thirds, the two Fourths; by the ioyning of Fyles Hankes are formed which doe follow the Dignity of each place in one Fyle.

Hankes and their Dignitye.

1. Hankes, of Leaders.
2. Hankes, of Bringers vp.
3. Hankes, of Middlemen to the Front, is the 6.

Hankes from the Front.

4. Hankes of middle-men to the keare, is the 5.

Hank to the Front:

This chapter added B

CHAP. Editor: Chap. B 19. Editor: 16 B : XX C
21 Fourths: C; Fourths, B
5. Rancke is the second to the Front.
6. Rancke is the second to the Reare.
7. Rancke is the third to the Reare.
8. Rancke is the third to the Front.
9. Rancke is the fourth to the Front.
10. Rancke is the fourth to the Reare.

Duty of the Leaders.

The Leader houldeth the first Rancke and should be respected as the Commander of the whole Fyle, & sometimes (for ease of officers) when any new men are come into the fyle the Leader should Exercise the whole Fyle, as well to teach them the true use of their Armes, their Distances and Motions, measures of March, whither the Command be given by Drum, Voice, or any other Signal, as to enable himselfe by the exercise of that small command for a greater when his fortunes and merits shall come. Hee must diligently attend the Command given, for by his example the rest of the Fyle is to be governed.

Duty of the Bringer vp:

The Bringer vp, is as it were Leiftenant of the Fyle and is to second the Leader in every part of his duty, in his sicknesse or absence hee is to doe the same office, when the Fyle shall bee ranged he is to take some care that those four which are next him doe keepe the Fyle straight (but without noyse) and when the whole Troope or halfe of it shall front to the Reare, he is in all points to doe the duty of a Leader.

Duty of middlemen.

The Middle-men while the body remaineth entyre are but to keepe their order duly, but when the Front is doubled by them, then is the Leaders Middle-man become a Leader, and the other a bringer vp, if the body front both waies then are they both Bringers vp: The rest are onely to Imitate their Leaders in doing the things commanded, and to keepe even with their Leaders and side-men.
The dignity of files.

The righthand Leader is the most worthy whose particular duty is to begin the Arrayning of the whole Troope, and in marching to observe the appointed distance from the next body on the right hand.

The left hand leader is the second, because he is to observe the distance on the left hand.

The two middle Leaders are next in dignity, and of them he which standeth on the left hand is the most worthy, thier particular dutie is to keepe the Front even, and to observe the distance when it shall be commanded, indifferently without mention of any one hand.

The fift Fyle is the second to the right hand.
The sixt fyle is the second to the left hand.
The seventh fyle is the third to the left hand.
The eight fyle is the third to the right hand and so onward according to the number of fyles.

Generall words of Command.

Stand to your Armes.

Sylence.

Stand right after your Leaders, or fyle Euen.

Stand even with your side-men, or rancke Euen.

In your Order

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{That is fyles 3. feete a sunder, and} \\
\text{the ranckes sixe feete.}
\end{align*}
\]

In your open Crdre

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{That is fyles 6. feete a sunder, and} \\
\text{ranckes twelue feet.}
\end{align*}
\]

In your close order

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{That is fyles a foote and a halfe a sunder} \\
\text{and ranke three feete.}
\end{align*}
\]

Closer then this your Musqueteyrs must neuer bee placed, but the Pikes when they are to giue or receiue a shocks, are to be commanded.
Fykes in your closest Order, or Pikes close, powldron to powldron.

Then your ranckes must close vnto the Rapiers or Swords poyn of their Leaders.

If the wordes fyles and ranckes bee not expressed then must the Souldier understand that both are meant, but sometimes you shall command.

Fyles in your open order and Ranks in order

Fyles in order, and Ranks in close order

And this I would haue you use often.

Open your Ranks.

Motions.

Which is alwaies done backwards: and if the command is to open to a very large distance, the bringers vp are to turne faces about and to march till all the rest of the Ranks haue the distance required.

Opening and Closing of Fyles and Ranks.

Close your Ranks.

Which is alwaies done forwards, taking it from the Leaders.

Open your Fyles.

If no hand be expressed, they shall open indifferently to both, vntill the middle Leader haue the distance required, else are they to open vnto that hand which is mentioned, taking it from the contrary hand.

The same Rule holdeth also in closing of Fyles.

Places of Officers.

When you exercise Embatteled, the Captaine must for his place
be in the head or front of the Pykes, the Lieutenant in the Heare, the Ensigne in the first Rancke, the Sergeants on the Flancks, the Drums on the corners.

March.

In marching, the Fyles must bee kept straight, the Hankes even, all the Armes carried in one and the same Posture, all must move at once and begin at the same instant by the sound of the Drum or other signal to the eye.

The Drum must be taught to beate a March in three Measures.

1. The Slowe.
2. The Meane.
3. The Swifte.

Soe as all the Souldiers may proportion their pace accordingly.

The Leaders must turne and passe a long by their fyles tyll they come to the place where the Bringers vp stood, the rest must march vp to that ground where their Leaders at the first stoode; there tournig follow untill the Bringers vp be in the Leaders places.

To the Right hand.
To the Left hand as you were.
To the Left hand.
To the right hand as you were.
To the left hand about.
To the Right hand as you weare.
Fyles to the Righthand double.
Fyles as you were.
Fyles to the left hand double.
Fyles as you were.
Rancke to the right hand double.
Rancke to the left hand as you were.
Rancke to the left hand double.
Rancke to the right hand as you were.
Middlemen to the Right hand double the Front or Ranckes.

stoode;: stoode B: stood; C
Middlemen to the left hand as you were.
Middlemen to the left hand double the Front, or Ranckes.
Middlemen to the righthand as you were.

That is when the last five Ranckes fill up the spaces of the first five, but if no hand be expressed, it shall always be done to the right.

Middlemen by Deuision double the Front.

When the last five Ranckes do Front or tourne to the righthand of the righthand flank, and those of the left flank to front, or tourne to the land hand & marching, till they be without the flank, at an appointed distance, they front or turne as at first, and march up at both flank even with the front.

In this motion remember to leave a fit distance between the Pykes and the Musketers to receive the middlemen.

Middlemen as you were.

They front or turne to the reere, always turning on the contrary hand when they are to march downe, and marching till they haue their distance, then turning towards one another, they meet in their first places.

Wheele the Bodye to the Right hand.

Wheele to the Right hand.

The righthand cornerman must stand fyrme, the left cornerman must move forward, and every Leader successively after him keeping the same distance exactly which they had before they moved, when the next Leader vnto the righthand cornerman shall be advanced a little forward then shall hee turne his face to the righthand and stand that all the rest may front even with him.

Wheele to the left hand.

By the same way of proceeding the hand only changed.

Wheele about the Whole Body.

The cornerman must tourne as he did before and stopp at a halfe
tourned vntill the whole body be come even with him, soe tourning like the foote of a compass till hee haue made the whole tourne or conversion.

To Rancke more or leaft.

If you will diminish the rancks, you must breake the first rancke leaving them only so many as you specify, the remainder of that rancke so broken must begin to make another rancke right after that rancke you left and if they bee not enough to fyll vp the number required, they must bee supplyed by the former of the next rancke and so through the whole bodye.

If you will increase the rancke, the second rancke must come vp into the first and so onward, if the second alone be not sufficient, then a part of the third rancke or all of it, and so onward till so many ranckes be filled vp as the number will beare, if there be odd men they must begin a rancke in the reare.

Skirmish by Ranks, and wheele about to the Reere.

Two ranckes that are first (as the word is commanded) must alwaies make ready and being lead vp tenne paces beyond the front of the Pykes, the Captaine or officer that leadeth them, shall stand even by them, commanding the first rancke to Present, and to giue fire when he findeth it fitt, but so soone as they haue giuen fyre they shall without any commandment wheele about that rancke and march in one fyle vnto the reare not makeing ready tyll they come there, in the meane space the formost two ranckes by the Pykes shall advance vnto the skirmishers, and the rest proceeding in like manner as the first rancke did, alwayes maintaining two ranckes in a readines advanced beyond the pykes.

Skirmish by Fyles.

Two fyles must allways make ready, a Sargeant being at the head of the outtermost fyle commandeth it to present to the right or left hand, and hauing giuen fire, the fyle fronteth or tourneth as before, and standing still make ready againe: by this time the bringers vp of the next fyle will be passed, the leader of that file then must alwayes present, not goinge forward but keeping the...

1 tourning: touriug B : turning C
23 one C: on B
32 againe: by D1: againe by A
34 not D1: (not A but D1: but) B
same ground they haue, and hauing giuen fire stand fyrme, making ready vntyll the first fyle bee drawen vp to them, then follow the Troope and so of the rest: if this bee exactly done the skirmishers will neuer be aboue the length of one fyle behind the bodye of your pykes.

Skirmish in the Reere.

Is the same skirmishing by rancke in front, sauing, that in the reere they only present by tournyng their bodies allwayes to the right hand, & hauing giuen fyre wheele to the righthand and march away into the front.

The middlemen must front or tourne to the reere then the rancke present without advancing forward and hauing giuen fyre they wheele about in fyles and all into the spaces of the middle ranckes, but allwayes keeping their distance of files & ranckes which they were commanded when they began to skirmish.

The Fyles must be in open order, the first rancke presenteth, and hauing giuen fire, maketh ready in the same ground, the second rancke passeth through the spaces of the first rancke, & standeth right before it at the appointed distance, presenteth, & hauing giuen fyre standeth fyrme, and so the rest allwayes keeping the rancke of skirmishers equall with the pykes.

1 All commandements must bee giuen in the front wheresoeuer it bee, wherefore if the officer in cheife will not take the paynes to goe thyther in person lett him at lest send his direction thyther by some inferior officer.

2 Every perticular Souldier, must bee instructed not only vnto the performance of those things, but vnto the distinct knowledge and understanding of them, & first to distinguish a fyle from a rancke, and to know and find his distance.

3 For the knowledge of their distance in fyles for the most part the armes of two side men on kenbow giueth three feete which is their order, and the armes extended at length giueth six feete.
4 The Leaders, Bringers vp, and middlemen must be particularly instructed in your chamber by which means your worke will bee easie in the field, for they will be able to teach the rest.

5 Note that in all doublings every thing is undone by the contrary hand by that which was done.

6 In Skirmish let your musketers take their ayme little more than knee high.

7 When your body of pykes chargeth, let the halfe fyles, midlemen, or last five rancks only Fort ther pikes.

8 In the beginning of your Exercise, spend at the least one whole weeke in distance and doubling of files & rancks, before you passe vnto the more subtyle motions, least you over charge the memorye of beginners.

9 Soe soone as they can performe any motion perfecty standing make them doe the same marching.

10 Allow noe prompting but let every man that faileth be made to understand wherein he fayled, for while you reforme him you informe all the rest that here you.

11 Strike noe man that erreth of ignorance, nor for every negligence, but if he bee obstinate then use discreet correction.

12 But whosoeuer maketh noyse after silence commanded & will not quickly be reformed, correct him eyther by your owne hand, or by the Sargeants if the offender bee a Gentleman. I hope reprofe will be sufficient, els I leaue him to your discretion.

13 When you skyrmish by files remember to put your rancks in close order.

14 When you counter march, rancks and fyles at your open order.

15 When you wheele, your rancks and fyles at three feet.
The Postures of the Musquet.

1. March with your Musquet & Rest shouldred.
2. Prepare your Rest.
3. Slipp your Musket.
4. Pease your Musket.
5. Ioyne your Rest and Musket.
6. Take out your Match.
7. Blow your Match.
8. Cocke your Match.
9. Try your Match.
10. Guard your Pan.
12. Open your Pann.
13. Present.
15. Recouer your Musket.
16. Vncocke your Match.
17. Retourne your Match.
18. Cleere your Pann.
19. Pryme your Pan.
20. Shut your Pann.
22. Cast of your loose Cornes.
23. Cast about your Musket.
24. Trayle your Rest.
25. Open your Charge.
26. Charge your Musket.
27. Draw out your Scouring Sticke.
28. Shorten your Scouring Sticke.
29. Ram your Powder.
30. Withdraw your Scouring Sticke.
31. Shorten your Scouring Sticke.
32. Returne your Scouring sticke.
33. Bring forward your Musket.
34. Recouer your Rest and Musket into your first Posture.

6. Ioyne C: Ionye B
11. Guard C: Gaurd B
35. Posture, C: Posture B
The Musket being Ordered.

1 Shoulder your Musket.
2 Order your Musket.
3 Prepare your Cocke.
4 Make Ready.
5 Present.
6 Giue Fyre.

The use of the Musket vpon servies, all the former Postures being reduced into three: as viz.

1 Make Ready.

Which is all vntyll your Pann be guarded,

2 Present.
3 Giue Fyre.

Which doth also implye the charging of the Musket a new without any further direction.

A Generall note is that the soouldier must carefully observe the word of direction giuen to fulfill all the particularvs vnto it, and not to goe farther, but vpon the same to abide farther directions.

Postures for the Pyke.

Order your Pykes.
Advance your Pykes.
Shoulder your Pykes.
Charge your Pykes.
Order your Pykes.
Trayle your Pykes.
Cheeke your Pykes.

1 Ordered. C: Ordered, B
9 viz C: vicz B
11 guarded C: gaurded B
Charge your pykes.
Shoulder your pykes.
To the Righthand Charge.
Shoulder your Pykes.
To the lefthand Charge.
Shoulder your Pykes.
To the Reare Charge.
Shoulder:
Port your Pykes.
Comporte your Pykes.
Order your Pykes.
Concerning Fishing.

I have taken so much delight in the Art of Angling that I may well term it the honest & patient man's Recreation, or a Pastime for all men to recreate themselves at vacant hours.

For Angling there are of divers kinds, but the most useful are of two, either at the top of the water with a Flye, or at the bottom with other baits.

The Angle rod.

But for the description of the Anglers Implements I leave it to their own discretion, to use either Haysell, or Cane, but if with a flye the Haysell is better for the Cane is to carry for priuacie either in a bagg, or framed like a staffe to walke with all whose loyntes doth many times faile and deceive when a man doth strike at his baite.

The lynes.

For the lynes they must be framed according to the Fish where you Angle, for the smale Fish three good hayres taken from the tail of a good stonehorse that is lusty and in flesh, for your poore lades hayre is not so good, but if you come in place where great fishe are you must fish with lynes of sixe or eight hayres.

For the flotes they are of divers kinds, as some made of Corke with a quill, but in my opinion the floate made of two Swans quills made one in the other so it take no water, or the Bustards quills are the neatest.

And for your Hookes they are to be fitted in syze as the fish are either great or small.

Thus far having shewed the necessary Instruments appertaining
to this harmless and modest recreation, I will sett downe the baytes to Angle with, and their seasons; for bayts they are of three kindes, which are liue baitez, dead baitez, and Artificiall baitez, for your liue baitez they are worms of all kinds, especially the red worme, the Maggut (or gentle,) the Bobb, the Doare, browne flies, Froggs, Grashoppers, Hornet, Wasps, Bees, Snyles, small Roches, Bleakes, Gudgens, or Loches, Mynnowes &c. Your dead baitez are Pastes of all kindes, yong broods of Waspes dried or undried, the clottered blood of sheepe, Cheese, Bramble berries, Corne, Seeds, Cherries, and such like, your baytes which seeme to liue, yet are dead, are Flyes of all sortes and shapes, made of Silke and feathers about the Hookes fitting the seasons severally for the tymes of the yeare which being moued in the water the Fish will greedily striue to devoure.

For the seasons, in which these baytes are to be used, the redd worme will serue for small Fish all the yeare, the Maggot or Gentle in Iuly, the Bobbe and Dorre in May, the browne flyes in Iune, Froggs in March, Grashoppers in September, Hornets in Iuly, Wasps & Bees in Iuly, Snyles in August for the Roch, Bleake, Gudgin and Minnew, they serue for the Fyke and Troute at any season, all Pastes are good in May, Iune and Iulye, dryed Waspes in May: Sheeps Blood and Cheese in Aprell, For Bramble berries, Corne and Seedes at the fall of the leafe;

Of Flyes.

For Flyes, those for the Trout, the dun Flye is good in March, the stone Flye in Aprell, the redd and yellow Flyes in May, the blacke and morish Flye in Iune, the Waspe, and shell Flye in Iuly, the cloudy Flye in August.

For the making Flyes.

For the making of these Flyes the best way is to take the naturall Flye, and make one so lyke it that you may have sport, for you must obserue what Flyes haunt the waters for seasons of the yeare, and to make their like with Cottons, Woole, Silke, or feathers to resemble the like.
For preserving of live bayts.

You must not keepe your live bayts all together, but every kind by it selfe and to feed them with such thinges they delighted in when they had their liberty and to beginn with the Redd worme you shall put them in a Bagg of wollen cloth (if it be redd the better) and put ground mosse or Fenaell cut small in which they will scoure themselves, but if you mixe earth that is fatt and blacke, or Neates dunge they will liue the longer: For your Maggots or Gentles they are fed with sheepes shuett or liuers of any beasts cutt into small byts but to scour them use sand, loame or branne, and keepe them warme they will liue the longer: For Froggs and Grasshoppers wett mosse is best to keepe them in, and when you Angle with the Frogg cutt off their legs at the knees, and the Grasshoppers wings neere the body; For other wormes as the Bobbe, Cadisworme, Canker or such like, you may keepe them with the same things you take them with:

For Past.

Past is a made bayte and their are diuers kindes of them: but to make Past to last long, you may use Beane flower and those parts of a Connies legges which are called the Almonds, or a yong whelpe or catt is as good, & put the like quantity of Virgins wax and sheepes shuett, and beate them together in a morter tyll they become one body, then with a little clarifide Hony temper them before the fyer, and make them into Balles, these will keepe long, with this you must bayt your hooke with: some use the purest white bread they can gett & make it into Past to fish at the hooke, the courser Past is used to bayt the ground to intice the Fish to gather together to that place which you Angle in by flinging in small balls or Pellets of courser Past, thus much for your baytes.


Now I haue named the bayts, it is necessary to shew what fish are delighted therwith, as the Gudgin, Roch and Dace, which are Fish of eager byte and soonest deceitued and feed at the redd worme.
Carpe.

To Angle for the Carpe your Rod and lyne must be strong, he is dainty to byte; his tymes of feeding are early in a morning, or in the euening therefore is to be enticed by bayting the ground with course past, the redd worme he seldome refuseth in March, the Cadis in lune, the Greshopper in July, August and September.

Cheuin. Trout.

The Cheuin and Troute are taken at the topppe of the water with Flyes, Snayles, and Grashoppers, at the bottome with the great redd worme.


The Eele and Flounder are two greedy Fish and byte at the red worme. The best season to Angle for Breame is from the latter end of February till September, the bayts which he delights in are wormes of all sorts, Butter-flyes, greene Flyes, past of all the crummes of white bread, and the brood of waspes.

Tench.

The Tench is a Fish that euer loueth the bottome of Riuers, where the Oose or muddle is thickest, the best Angling for him is in the height of Sommer, for at other seasons he bytes more sparingly, the baytes which delight him are pasts very sweete, the browner the better being mixt with sheepe's bloud; also at the great redd worme.

Perch.

The Perch byteth at the redd worme about the middest of the water. Thus haue I briefly set downe the art of Angling, and will conclude with all seasons which are naught to Angle in, as the violent heathe of the day, heigh windes, great raynes, snow and hayle, Thunder, Lightning, or any wind that bloweth from the East, Land flouds, and thicke waters, the falling of leaues into the water and such like impedimentes which are enemies to Anglers.

FINIS.
APPENDIX I


The text is taken from the Grenville copy (G.16576) of the first edition in the British Museum.

X4

AEthelwold Bishop of Dorchester gaue Girshuna, Cuicumba, Tywe, Aegelwin, Redburne, Thuangnam, Langley, Grenburga.

One Tholfe gaue Estune and Oxaw.

One Sexi gaue Hechamsted.

One Haadh gaue Newham and Beandise.

Therefeld, a religious woman gaue a Sceanlea and Shinley.

Bridel.

Aegelwina another gaue Batesden, Offal and Standune.

One Aegelbert gaue Craniford.

Alstan, Cutesham.

Winsimus gaue Esenden.

Osulfus and his wife gaue Stodham and Wilsinam: others Walden, Cudicote, Scephal, Bethell, with sundry other Celles Churches, and goodly possessions of me vnnamed. If I should set you downe the inestimable wealth consisting in Plate, Iewells, Bookes, costly Hangings, Altar-cloathes, and the like, which by our English Kings, Nobilitie and others haue from the foundation vnto the dissolution, with the sundry priuiledges this Abby had, I should weary my selfe with writing, and you with reading; but I omit them, hauing onely proposed a mirrour to the eyes,not of the Church pillars of ancient, but the Church pillers of our times.

Hee beareth quarterly Or and Gules, ouer all a bend Vaire by the name of Sacvill.

Here you must observe, whensoeuer you meete with Vaire in any Escot-cheon, it being (as here) Argent and Azure, you needs to use no other
tearme then the very word: but if it be of any other mettall or colour, you are to name them, as the coat of the L. Ferrers, sometimes Earle of Derby, is blazoned Or and Gules.

This is a very ancient coate, and now borne by Richard Sacvile Baron of Buckhurst, a right noble and Honourable personage.

He beareth Sable 3. Hartes heads cabbaged, tired Or, by the name of Gauendish, and is borne by the right Honourable William Baron Cavendish of Hardwicke, Earle of Devon. and Vncle to William Cavendish, Knight of the Bath, L. Ogle, and Viscount Mansfield descended from the ancient family of the Cavendishes of Cavendish in Suffolke.

2. 1634 edition: the cancel X3

The text is taken from Ogden 328, D.S. Watson Library, University College, University of London.

X3 named Francesco Francia, who lived and wrought at Bologna, till at the last through meere admiration, by report of each others skill, they grew most loving friends, greeting each other by letters continually; yet had Francia neither seene Raphael Vrbine, nor any of his workes (i.e. reason he was old and could not travaile, abiding always in Bologna) untill it fortuned that Raphael Vrbine having made a S. Cicilia in a faire Altar-table, for the Cardinall De Pucci Santo quatro, which was to bee set at Bologna, at S. Giovanni Sopra Monte (or on the Hill); which Table he shut in a Case, and sent it to Francia, as unto a deare friend, that if any thing were amisse, or it happened to be defaced or injured in the carriage, hee would amend it: and beside, so much befriended him, as to set it up in the place appointed, and to see it
want nothing fitting. When he understood thus much by Raphael's Letter, he opened the Case with great joy, and set the piece in a good and faire light; which when he had throughly viewed, he was so amazed, and grew so out of conceit of himselfe and his owne worke, confessing his worke to be nothing, in respect of Raphael Urbines: which so strucke him to the heart, that he died (presently after he had set the piece in his place) Anno 1518. The fame of Raphael Urbine at this time was so great, that he was sought for and employed by the greatest Princes of Europe, as namely the Popes, Adrian and Leo; Francis the first, King of France: Henry the eight, King of England; the Dukes of Florence, Urbine, Mantua, and divers others. Those stately hangings of Arras, containing the History of S. Paul out of the Acts (than which, eye never beheld more absolute Art, and which long since you might have seen in the banqueting house at White-hall) were wholly of his invention, bought (if I bee not deceived) by King Henry the eight of the State of Venice, where Raphael Urbine dyed. I have no certainty, but sure I am, his memory and immortall Fame are like to live in the world for ever. If you would reade the lives at large of the most excellent Painters, as well Ancient as Modern, I referre you unto the two volumes of Vasari, well written in Italian (which I have not seene as being hard to come by; yet in the Libraries of two my especiall and worthy friends, M. Doctor Mountford, late Prebend of Pauls, and M. Inigo Iones, Surveyor of his Maiesties workes for building) and Calvin Mander in high Dutch; unto whom I am beholden, for the greater part of what I have heere written, of some of their lives.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Armory, or Blazon of Armes, with the Antiquity and Dignity of Heralds.

It is meete that a Noble or Gentleman who beareth Armes, and is well descended, bee not onely able to blazon his owne proper Coate, derive by pedegree the descent of his family from the originall, know such matches and allies as are ioyned to him in blood; but also of his Prince, the Nobility and
Gentry where he liveth; which is not of meere ornament, as the most suppose, but diversly necessary and of great consequence: as had I fortuned to have lived in those times, when that fatall difference of either ROSE was to be decided by the sword; with which party in aequity and conscience could I have sided, had I beene ignorant of the descent and pedegree Royall, and where the right had beene by inheritance of blood, Match, or Alliance.

How should we give Nobility her true value, respect, and title, without notice of her Merit: and how may we guesse her merit, without these outward ensignes and badges of Vertue, which ancietly have beene accounted sacred and precious; withall, discerne and know an in-
1. 1625 Frontispiece

(Folger Shakespeare Library)
THE
Compleat Gentleman
For showing him absolute in the
most necessary Commandable
Instructs concerning Minds or
Bodies that may be required
in a Noble Gentleman.

By
Henry Peacham,
Mus.-Arcs.
Sometime of Trinity Coll.
in Cambridget.

Imprinted at London
for Francis Constable
and are to be sold at
his shop in Paul's
Quarter, ye are at
(British Museum, C.175 ff. 21)
THE

Compleat Gentleman

Enlightning him, &c. to his unlimited and
necessary &c. to his limited &c.

Printed at London, for Francis Constable, and
are to be sold at his looong. in paue.

The second Impeffion, much Impeffion.

Anne 1627

(L.J. Rosenwald Collection, 094.74/p3.3.2)
THE
Compleat Gentleman

Dum indicet vel

THE
Compleat Gentleman

Practising in all actions in the
most necessary & compleat
Quality concerning Minds or
Body that may be required
in a Noble Gentleman

By

Henry Popham

Master of Arts

Sometime of Trinity Coll: in Cambridge.

— in the ele

To the Reader.
The third Impression with Inlaid
Amid. 1634.

Imprinted at London
for Francis Crevile
and are to be sold at
his house in the

Bodleian Library, Douce F.P. 233)
APPENDIX III

1. Historical Collation
The lemma gives the reading of the edited text.

p.4. 9 rather of right should appertaine] of right should rather appertaine C

17 scient] Cion C

26 writeth, Salomon] writeth, how that Salomon C: writes that Salomon D1

p.5 1 so Iosias was but] Nor was Iosias above C

2 thinkes (Sir)] thinkes a (Sir) B

3 be the top] be top B

p.6. 5-6 I take leaue, from my house at Hogsdon by London, May 30.] The unfeigned desire of, (My Lord) D1

7 who is, and shall be euer yours,] Your most happy servant, D1

8 PEACHAM] PEACHEM C

p.8 To my Reader] To the Reader D1

p.10. 1 consider arightly] we rightly consider D1

21 abuse] abuse B C

p.11.21 stealing of a] stealing a D1

p.12. 5 smilingly] smiling B C

p.13.13 Edmonds] Edmunds B C

16 Edmondes] Edmunds C

19 Edmondes] Edmunds C

p.15.36 Careaggi] Caraggi C


p.17.19 or no] Omitted D

23-4 follow the fashion] follow fashions D1
Concerning Poverty.

Concerning Advocates and Physicians.

Of Merchants.

want but I proceed.

others.

yeares, forth, but.

Gresion aminotos.

Lexico. Solomons.

Opinion the Opinion.

vented.

Psalm. Coriolano.

those these.

vegetatua vegetativa.

rated read.

discourse. Musitians proportions: nor Astronomers.

7 proportions. Astronomers proportions: nor Astronomers.

11 Natural no Natural.
p.40. 3 as he whose ] as whose C

24 Learne brauely mounted, sterne Cauleir ] Aud brauely mounted
learne, sterne Caualere B: And bravely mounted learne, sterne
Cavalere C

p.41. 1 Caudles ] Candles B C

10 can procure ] can, they will procure D1

11 Children, say Grace ] Children say Grace B: Children to say
Grace, C

p.43. 6 they ] you H

31 wrest ] rest B

p.44.23 desperate ] desperately C

p.45.13 Luiis ] Lillie B: Lilly C

p.47. 1.i. Gorgia ] Gordia B C

p.49.19 discouerer ] discouery B C

p.50. 5 partire ] partiri C

14 prodigall ] prodigally C

p.51.15 deliuered vnto him ] deliuered him B C

19 one ] owne B

p.55.21 and his ] and the B C

p.56.27 Giovanni ] Giavanni C d1

p.57. 6 fordaile ] forceable B C

18 sublesta ] sublata B C

35 ascending ] descending H C

p.58.31-2 him (whom indeed I should have preferred before, as being
honoured with ] him Salust, honoured by some with D1

p.60.10-14 Omitted D1

21 Lux ] Lex B C
p.61. 1 his ] the B C

p.62. 4 him, the vertuous and diuine Seneca ] divine Seneca D1
7 either their names ] either names B C
10 dregges ] degrees B C

p.63. 3 judgments ] judgement C

p.65.15.1 Britannia ] Britannie B: Britany C

p.75. 4 Como ] Comon C

p.74.11 others, ] other B C

p.75.33 what ] that B C

p.76. 1 Omitted D1

p.77.14 wherein ] where C

p.78. 6 his ] hir B: her C

p.79.19 barrennesse sometime ] barrennessse of sometime C

p.83. 7 See ] Sea C

p.84. 1 which ] who D1

p.85.16 compound ] compounded B C
19 euen to the ] euen the B C
29-30 life enclosed) ] life) enclosed, D1

p.86.12 of his ] by his B C: by, his G
26 dice, distinct ] dice distinct, B: dice distinct, C
27 number, ] number B C

p.88.26 now alate ] now late B C

p.90. 2.i. 11. ] 12. C
19.i δός ποδι στῶ καὶ τὴν γῆν κυνά] Omitted H
p. 91.15-16 from Flow as the Pallace ] from the Flow as Pallace B C
p. 93.26 replied excellently: ] replied: Excellently: C
p. 94.9-10 and twelve yeares ] twelve years (after his own) D1
p. 95.28 his ] this C
32 other ] other's D1
p. 96.37 finish'd it, ] finish'd B C
p.100.12 Mosse ] Koth B C
33 good ] Satyrical D1
34 Poetica his ] Poetica, by some is accounted his D1
p.101. 2 Satyres are ] Satyrs (for sharpness of reproof) are D1
p.102.35 Dauid ] Dauidis D1 G
p.104.15 he ] Omitted D1
34 and ] yet D1
p.105.19 these ] thee C: the D1 G H
p.106.34 it ] is B C
p.108. 5.i. Rowlands ] Rowlends B
5.i. vallis ] vallia B C: vallie D1 G: Valley H
5.iv. Ronceuall ] Reneuall B: Reneuall C
9.i. qui & Idea, ca. 25 ] Omitted G
18.i. Aeneid. 4. ] Aeneid. B C
p.110.15 sound ] signe B C
p.111.23 Venosa ] Venesa B
p.112.23 Alphonso ] Alphonse C
p.115. 6 Giounnani ] Guionnani B C: Giouannioni G
p.115. 7 Ferreti ] Farreti C: Ferretti G H
p.119.18 Geneus ] Genius D1 G
p.120. 9 be forgetfull ] be so forgetfull G
  33 Statues ] Statues, D1 G
p.121.21 Yorke-house, also ] Yorke-house also, G
p.125.18 Consulars, Ccco ] Consulars; (with Gorlaeus his supplement: Occo D1
p.129.19 worth, ] worth G
  22 Stater, ] Stater G
p.130. 7 drammes ] drams, D1: drammes, G
p.134.11 pence ] pence: D1: pence, G
p.136.14 pause ] praise D1
p.139.36 Baecon ] Bacon B C
p.140. 5 is a quality ] is quality B
  6 naturally ] naturall B
p.141. 2 stuffes, as cloth ] stuffes, cloth B C
  26 Harlem(1)] Harlen C
p.144.16 Seacoale blacke ] Seaocoale, blacke C
p.145. 5 white, or ] white or B C
  32 Spanish Browne ] Spanish: Browne B4
p.147.24 darker by ] darker, by D1
  35 please, mixed ] please mixed C
p.148. 1 Char-coale blacke ] Charcoale, blacke B C
  31 many ] many, B C

(1) The contracted form 'Harle' is used in editions A and B.
p.149.11 this J his B C
18 neerer J neere B C
p.150.6 Delft J Delfe C
10 Venice J Vience B
p.151.5 places J places, D1
p.152.27 heard J hard B C
p.154.28 Mary, J Mary B
33 and as J and as, B: and, as C
p.156.30 Cupids, J Cupids C
p.157.4 on, J on B C
33 Baldovinetti J Baldovinetti C
36 euer J very B C
38 Coro J Core D1: Caro G
p.159.29 manus J measus C
p.160.15 Siciliae J Sicilia D1
30 Fallaiuoli J Fallaiuoli B: Fallaiuoli C: Fallaiuoli G
36 Ferusini J Ferusini C
p.161.21 Vrbines J Vrbine D1
25 namely, J namely B C: Popes J Popes, B C
p.163.1.i. lob 39.16. J lob 29.16. B C
p.170.24 Coates J Goats D1
p.172.22 Caudium J Candium B C
34 so, many J so many C
p.173.17 Guillim J Guiliam C
32 Among all nations J Among nations B C
p.174.33 hereby J thereby B C
p.175.36 mixed mixe B C
p.176.22 Nations Nations B C
p.177.36 towne Duke B C
p.179.6 Princes Omitted B C
22 rest Crest C
p.180.3 bast best B C
p.181.2 Species Speeches B C
33 Albanes, Albanes) B C
34 and (and C
p.183.36 Cheeky Cheeky C
p.185.11 Choppin Chappin B C
30 terrae terra C meae mea C
p.188.8 Aegelwina another Aegelwina, another, B: Aegelwina, another, C
16-17 which by our which our B C
p.190.15 Sable, Sables C
17 Ashborne Asburne C
19 Edingborow Edinburgh C
20 Hertford Hertfort C
22 Ashborne Ashburne C
p.191.1 Cokine Cokaine C
6 Kokaine Cokaine C
14 Cokain Cokaine C Ashborne Ashburne C
15 Cokain Cokaine C
p.192.17 one, and one. And B C
22-23 by whom ... Hugleuill, Omitted D1
36 Buckinghamshire Buckinghamshire C
p.207.12 and worthy ] Omitted D1
Whitmore Shield ] Lacking charges C
p.208 Lucas Shield ] Lacking charges C
p.209.22 Croslets ] Crossets B C Fitches ] Fitches B: Fitches C
Dolphin Shield ] Lacking charge C
p.211.17 he Pine ] the Pine B C
18 said to ] said (to C
19 question, ] question) C
p.212.6 Omitted B C
p.213.2 base ] base G
8-15 Omitted C
p.214.2.i. lib. 2. ] lib. 1. B C
p.215.35.i-ii. Omitted B C
40.i. Omitted B C
p.217.5 ludis ] Ludis B: jugis C; ludus G
7 of no ] that it is no C
27 Graecians ] Caecians B
p.219.6 Of swimming. ] Off swimming. B.
p.220.18-19 excellence and use of this exercise, I referre ] excellence
book of M. Aschams, I referre B: excellence bookes of Mr. Aschams,
I referre C: excellence of this Exercise of Shooting, I refer D1:
excellence of this Exercise of Shooting, I referre G
p.221.26 second, ] second D1
p.222.13 odde ] olde B: old C
29 Millan ] Millant B C
32 vnto an ancient ] unto ancient B: vnto ancient C
2.ii. Nicetas, lib. 3.  j  Omitted  B  C  D  G
13.1. Chalcondylas  j  Chalcondyat  B  C

p.226.11 inbred  j  imbred  C
34-5 friends, disrepute  j  friends, the disrepute  B  C

p.227.20 plaine, his  j  plaine, that his  C

p.228. 8 one  j  on  B

p.229.11 arbitrator  j  arbitrer  D  G
12 lawe that hee  j  lawe, that hee  B:  law, Hee  C

p.230.12 stuffe  j  stuffe,  B  C
13 silkes,  j  silks  D  G
16 taken  j  taken him  B  C
26 house  j  houses  B  C

p.231.31 besides  j  beside,  B  C

p.232.29 Triconguis and the old Romances had lawes  j  Torquatus, sirnamed
Tricongius, and other Romans that gloried in that infamous practice,
had certain Laws  D
30 reuied  j  reuiled  B

p.234.1 beene  j  bee  B
13-14 at a table  j  at table  B  C

p.236. 3 Foesie  j  Posie  B  C
27 with this, Mordeo  j  with this Mordeo  B:  with Mordeo  C

p.237. 4 Impress's  j  Impressae's  G
4-5 of dainty deuice and  j  Omitted  D  G
10 the late Earle  j  the Earle  B  C

p.238. 5.i. 1. Magnus  j  Ol. Magnus  G  cap. 17  j  cap. 7  C
6.i. Spartiano]  j  Spartiane  B:  Spartan  C
p.238.10.i. Ludouic ] Ludeuis. B
22.i Omitted B C
23.ii. Ennead. ] Em. ead. B C
24.ii. of our mony ] Omitted B C

p.239.26.i. Suidas ] Suida. B C
28.i. lib. 4. Historiae sub finem. ] lib. 15. c. Historiae D
30.i. vers. 27. ] vers. 7. D1

p.241.31 knowne ] know D other ] ther B: their C

p.242.16 Northerly, and be ] Northerly, be B C
23 Masters ] Master B C
25 thereabouts ] there about B C

p.243.17 and little ] and (the more ordinary sort of them) little D1

p.245. 2 Biere ] Becre B: Becro C
11 Stoues ] Stoues B: Stroves C
17 Omitted D1
20 Lewis ] Lewis C
24 paces ] spaces B C
27 Bury ] Bure B C

p.246.15 mountaines above, ] mountaines about, B: mountaines, about C
17 river Seine ] River of Seime D
25 Countie ] Count C
29 an ] a B C

p.247. 7 Chambourg ] Cambourg C
32 dedicated ] dedicate B C
36 parties ] partis B: parts C
p.248.53 the King ] he D1

p.249.15 Bretaigners ] Bretaigners B: Britainers C

and so I conclude ... studies. ] See 'The Text', p.

p.250.8.i. Segouia ] Sageuia B C

p.258.18 the first rancke ] the Ranke C


p.264.5 Deare ] Dorre C

22 Aprill ] Aprill C

p.265.25 hooke with: ] hooke. H

p.266.30 leaues ] the leaves C

2. Press-variants

The asterisk indicates copies seen in microfilm form. Page-numbers refer to the edited text; signatures in parentheses are from the copy-test. The lemma gives the reading of the edited text.

Press-variants in A (1622)

[Copies collated: A1 (University of London Library, [D-L.L.] K0), A2 (British Museum, C.124.c.8), A3 (British Museum, G.16576), A4 (Bodleian Library, Malone 582), A5 (Hunterian Library, University of Glasgow, Co.3.12), A6 (Dulwich College Library), A7 (Shakespeare Centre, 93.02), A8 (National Art Library, Clements C.30), A9 (Trinity College Library, University of Dublin, Ee.1.34), A10 (Henry E. Huntington Library*), A11 (Harvard University Library*), A12 (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Kn 83*), A13 (Newberry Library, Case B 69.659*), A14 (Library of Congress*), A15 (Folger Shakespeare Library, copy 1*), A16 (Cambridge University Library, Syn.7.62.108) ]
p.12. 3 (B4r 26) hands, ] hands A9.
p.20.14 (D4r 2) players, ] players A (-A4 A8 A9 A12 A15)
p.40. 3 (F2r 3) Learne brauely mounted, sterne Caualeir ] Learne
brauely mounted, a sterne Caualeir A4 A6 A9 A16

p.51. 2 (G3r. 23) many ] mnay A3 A5 A8 A10 A12 A14 A15
p.66.30 (I2r. 21) we know ] know we A2
p.67.31 (I3r. 21) rather ] raither A2
p.68.32 (I3r. 26) Cristalline ] Christaline A2

Press-variants in B (1627)

Copies collated: B1 (Society of Antiquaries, 90b), B2 (British Museum,
C.175.ff.21), B3 (Bodleian Library, Malone 583), B4 (Dulwich College Library),
B5 (Folger Shakespeare Library*)

p.15.22 (C2r 29) receive ] B3 B4: receine B1 B2 B5
p.16.22 (C2r 34) eloquent ] B4: eloquent B (-B4)
p.20. 3 (C4r. 25) necessaries ] B4: nessaries B (-B4)
p.193.18 (Yl2r.3) Ermyntrude ] Ermyntrude, B (-B4): Ermyntrude B4
p.265.16 (Z2r.16) you ] B4: yon B (-B4)

Press-variants in C (1634)

Copies collated: C1 (British Museum, 721.e.17), C2 (British Museum,
G.16575), C3 (University of London Library, K°), C4 (University College
Library, University of London, Ogden 15), C5 (University College Library,
University of London, Ogden 328), C6 (Bodleian Library, Douce P.P. 233), 
C7 (Bodleian Library, Vet.A2.e.292), C8 (Bodleian Library, 4oP, 49(3) Art.)

p.56.15 (H1 v 9) wrote with C (-C3 C5 C7): with wrote C3 C5 C7
p.142.28 (S3: 23) in briefe C (-C2): in the briefe C2
p.260. 5 (2K v 33) Pease C1 C6 C7: Please C2-C5 C8
COMMENTARY

Translations of foreign phrases are given in parentheses. The lines are numbered on each page of text.

FRONTISPIECE

The fashion for engraved allegorical frontispieces originated in the emblem books. See R. Freeman, *English Emblem Books*, 1948, p. 38. Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown discuss the engraving in *The Comely Frontispiece: the emblematic title-page in England 1550-1660* (London, Henley and Boston, 1979, pp. 163-9); they classify it as 'architectural', one of the four types of title-page design in general use. The title, author's name, and Latin motto are surrounded by a framework with two symbolic personages.

On the left plinth stands Nobilitas, wearing an earl's coronet and a robe resembling a herald's tabard. The riband and Lesser George of the Order of the Garter hang round her neck. In her right hand she holds a black-tipped rod, in her left a shield blazoned with the Howard arms (gules on a bend between six crosslets fitche or) surmounted by the coronet. This figure is intended as a compliment to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, father of William Howard to whom *The Compleat Gentleman* is dedicated. The rod indicates the office of Earl Marshall held by Howard from 21 July 1621, so that the title-page must have been designed after that date.

On the right plinth stands Scientia, holding an open book and an olive branch in her right hand and a sun in the left. Rain falls from a cloud above her head. She is based on descriptions of Sapienza and Dottrina from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593, reissued with illustrations...
in 1603). Peacham had previously drawn on Ripa's book for many of
the emblems in Minerva Britanna, published 10 years before (Freeman,
pp. 74-80). His emblem Doctrina (p. 26) was copied from the woodcut
of Dottrina in Ripa's second edition. The figure of Scientia resembles
Peacham's Doctrina and also his Sapientia (MB, p. 134).

Above Nobilitas and a group of military trophies flies a putto,
holding a scroll inscribed Extra (without). Among the trophies is a
helmet, the badge of Thomas Howard. A second putto with a scroll inscribed
Intus (within) flies above Scientia and various instruments of learning.
Between the putti is a cartouche showing the emblem of a buoy tossed in
violent seas among high rocks, with the motto Dum indicco voluer (while I
speak out I am thrown about). Corbett and Lightbown (p. 170) attribute
this emblem to Peacham and interpret it as a reference to his ill-health
during the composition of The Compleat Gentleman. It does not appear to
be the device of the printer, Francis Constable. Gary Kirby's 'Consideration
of the Early English Aesthetic: a study of the renaissance art treatises,
1563-1660' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University,
1972, p. 129) also describes the iconography.

These details suggest that Peacham collaborated with the engraver,
Francis Delaram, in designing this frontispiece. Delaram, probably a
native of French Flanders, worked in England between 1615 and 1624. He
did not engrave a very large number of title-pages and this is his best
known piece in that kind. (Three examples of his work appear in A.F.
Johnson's Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages, Oxford,
1934.) The putti, relieved in light upon dark, and the architectural
frame flanked by two contrasting figures on plinths are typical of
Delaram's work (S. Colvin, Early Engraving and Engravers in England,
1905, pp. 84-9). The title-pages he engraved for Sandys' Relation of a
Journey begun An. Dom. 1610, 1615, and Wither's Preparation to the Psalter, 1619 (Johnson, 3) each contain a figure on the right-hand side which is similar to Scientia in form and pose. There is no counterpart to Nobilitas in Delaram's other work.

Beneath the title and author's name and above the date is a Latin tag:

\begin{quote}
\textit{inutilis olim/Ne videar vixisse.} (Lest I seem to have lived in vain.)
\end{quote}
The Dedication

p.3. 1-7 (To the most honourable youth of greatest hope, Lord William Howard, second son of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, High Marshall of all England, &c.) William Howard (1614-1680) was the fifth but second surviving son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. James, the eldest, died in Ghent in 1624 at the age of seventeen (G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Volume XII, edited by Geoffrey H. White, 1953, p. 188). William married Mary Stafford in 1637 and in 1640 became Viscount Stafford. He was accused on the testimony of Titus Oates and others of being involved in the Popish plot, convicted of treason, and beheaded on 29 December 1680.

Thomas Howard (1586-1645), second Earl of Arundel, was appointed Earl Marshall of England in 1621 and granted the title of Duke of Norfolk in 1646. He formed the first large collection of works of art in England.

8-11 (So long as you wish to be esteemed as of noble mind and character, quick-witted boy, you will learn these noble things. A family tree is nothing unless you furnish the mind with good manners and take pains by your studies to make yourself worthy of your noble birth.) Perhaps derived from Horace, Satirae, I. iii. 33-4:

\[
\text{ingenium ingens} \\
\text{Inculto latet hoc sub corpore.}
\]
Dedicatory Epistle

p.4. 1-2 Knight of the Honourable Order of the Bathe. Knighted when only 12 years old at the coronation of Charles I, 1 February 1626 (Cockayne, p. 188).

6-8 at your Booke in Norwich, &c. In 1620 when six years old William Howard went to Norwich to be educated under the care of Samuel Harsnett (1561-1631), Bishop of Norwich, whose 'high church' leanings would have been sympathetic to the Howards' catholicism; Inigo Jones described the journey in a letter to the Earl dated 17 August 1620 (quoted in M.F.S. Harvey, Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Cambridge, 1921, p. 169): 'Mr William was verry merry at his departure, and the bushop and he ar the greatest frends that may be.' See also the set of instructions given by the Earl to 'my son William, how to behave yourself at Norwich' (Hervey, pp. 169-70).

Thomas Fuller states that Peacham was one of William's tutors at Norwich (The History of the Worthies of England, 1662, p. 326), but the bishop's domestic records (held in Norwich Cathedral) have not survived to establish Peacham's presence there.

8-12 And indeed, to whom rather of right, &c. Compare King James, Basilicon Doron, Edinburgh, 1599, sig. A4v:

Whome-to can so rightly appertain this booke, of the Institution of a Prince in all the poynettes of his calling, as well generall (as a Christian towards God) as particular (as a King towards his people?) whom-to (I say) can it so justlie apperteine, as vnto you r a y  dearest Sonne?

17 scient. Early stage of growth; a shoot, twig, or sucker (OED).

18-20 Achilles, while hee was yet very young, &c. Findar, Nemea,iii.43-52.

21-3 Alexander also, &c. Flutarch, Alexander, xi. 3. Compare The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by ... Flutarke, translated by Thomas North, 1579, p. 727:

Furthermore, hauing intelligence that the THERBANS were revolted, and the ATHENIANS also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towards the streight of Thermopiles, saying that he would make Demosthenes the Orator see (who in his orations, whilst he was in ILLYR1A, & in the contry of the TR1B1ALLIANS, called him child) that he was growen a stripling passing through THESSALY, & should finde him a man before the walle of ATHENS.
Salomon, &c. I Kgs. 3. 7-9.

26-p.5. 1 Salomon was scarce 12. years of age, &c. St. Ignatius, Epistolae, iii. 3 (Migne, PG, V, 759), quoting the example of Josias. See also I Kgs. 3. 16-28; II Chr. 34. 1, 22. 1.

3 Cornelian Stemme, &c. The line of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, daughter of Scipio Africanus, famous for her virtue and accomplishments.

4-5 In quo (vt plura genera in vnam arborem, &c. Cicero, Brutus, lviii.213:

O generosam, inquit, stirpem et tamquam in unam arborem plura genera, sic in istara domura raultorum insitam atque innatam sapientiam!

The accepted reading is innata but A.E. Douglas notes the variant inluminatam (Cicero, Brutus, Oxford, 1966).

7 the good Duke your great Grand-father. Thomas Howard (1556-1572), fourth Duke of Norfolk, executed for attempting to marry Mary, Queen of Scots (DNB).

8 your Noble Father. See above, p.3, li. 1-7.

11 Images. Compare the Roman custom of making statues or effigies of ancestors.

12-13 by how much it is laden with Clusters, &c. These sentiments but not the simile are found in Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea, 1179b6-1180a10, discussing the necessity of the discipline of education for the young.

14-16 it hath hourely need of support and helpe. Compare Plutarch, Moralia, 4c.

33 Vlisses did Minerva at his elbow. Minerva or Athene guided Ulysses on his journey from Troy to Ithaca (Homer, Odyssey, xiii. 37ff.). Minerva is associated with wisdom, a medieval tradition that identified her with the contemplative life (quae ad sapientiam & ad veritatis inquisitionem pertinet). Quoted by Cleland, p. 255.

p.6.6 Hogsdon. Hoxton near Shoreditch.
To my Reader

p. 3-4 Plutarch, Erasmus, Vives, &c. (1) Plutarch, De liberorum educatione libellus; (2) Erasmus, De ratione studii et instituendi pueros (1512), Institutio principi Christiani (1516), De civilitate morum puerilium libellus (1526); (3) Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), Spanish humanist and educator, appointed tutor to the Princess Mary in 1523, De institutione feminae Christianae (1524), De tradendis disciplinis (1531), Introductio ad sapientiam and De ratione studii puerilis (1523); (4) Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547), classical scholar and cardinal, De pueris recte instituendis (1533); (5) Johannes Sturmius (1507-1589), German protestant teacher and commentator on the classics, De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber (1539); (6) Jerome Osorius (1506-1580), Portuguese theologian and bishop, De nobilitate civilis and De nobilitate Christiani (1542); (7) Sir Thomas Elyot, The boke named the Gouernour (1531), The Doctrinal of Princes, translated from Isocrates (1534), The Education or Bringinge up of Children, translated from Plutarch (1535), The Image of Gouernance, the acts of Alexander Severus (1540); (8) Roger Ascham (1516-1568), Reader in Greek at Cambridge and tutor to Queen Elizabeth I, Toxophilus (1545), The Scholemaster (1570).

10 deuices. Mottos or legends (CED).


16 Quartane Feuer. An ague or fever, characterized by the occurrence of a paroxysm every fourth day (CED).

17 ἀπὸ παροξυμοῦ. (Free from irritation.)
Ch. 1. Of Nobilitie in Generall: that it is

a Plant from Heauen; the Rootes,

Branches, Fruit

p. 10. 1-20 If we consider aright the Frame of the whole Vniuerse, &c. The first of a series of borrowings from Hippolytus à Collibus, Nobilis (1595) (Speculi aulicarum atque politicarum observationum libelli octo, Cologne, 1610, pp. 124-6):

Si naturae vim et universi terrarum orbis conditionem intueamur, nihil occurret quod non vel caetera dignitate vincat, vel ab alio rerum genere superetur. Cognoscemus quemadmodum omnes rerum formae inter se dissimiles sunt, ita in nullis eandem vim esse et potentiam.

Inspiciamus orbes coelestes, hi profecto non eodem in loco collocati sunt. In suprema loco coelum EMPIREUM, in secundo CHRYSTALLINUM, in tertio FIRMAMENTUM coelum stellarum multitudine nobile. Post haec siderum errantium orbes sunt, qui non tantum ordine ac specie, sed etiam virtute inter se longe dissimiles existunt, nec dubium est, quin nobiliora nobiliiora loca teneant.

Elementa quin etiam, ex quibus non animalia solum, sed plantae, lapides; et metalla coalescunt dissimilitudinem & dignitatis & potentiae habent. Ignis, qui tanquam caeterorum principis summa in loco collocatus est, calidus et siccus est; aer humidus & calidus; aqua frigida & humida; terra sicca & frigida.


Ista vero excellentia naturalis ut in sempiternis rebus semper manet, ita in iis quae oriuntur & occidunt, virtute quadam seminis manet, ita in iis quae oriuntur & occidunt, virtute quadam seminis in sobolem ipsam infunditur.

Quum igitur in belluis, rebus mutis, & caeteris omnibus, videamus hunc ordinem teneri: quid mirum, si in homine, omnium animantium principe, id observetur? Magni interesse putamus, ex quo genere sit procreatus canis, equus, ex qua arbore surculus defractus. Et quibus parentibus homo procreatus sit, non curabimus? Non ita: ne naturae repugnemus, quae vel inter homines praecipue, alios nobiles, alios ignobiles, esse vult.

Omnes boni (inquit Cicero) semper nobilitati favemus; & quia utile est nobiles esse homines, dignos majoribus suis; & quia valere debet apud nos clarorum hominum senex de Repub. meritorum memoria, etiam mortuorum.

The universe had been generally conceived as a divine, hierarchical order,

11 *Forme.* In the scholastic philosophy, the essential, determinant principle of a thing; that which makes anything a determinant species or kind of being (*OED*).

14 *Jupiters Oake the Forrests King.* Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I.i.8.8.

16 *Pom-roy.* An old variety of apple (*OED*, citing Peacham as the third example).

p.11.2-6 *Nobilitie then* (taken in the general sense), &c. *Collibus*, p.126:

> Nobiles dicitur, quasi noscibilis: unde fit, ut in generali significacione, nobilis dicatur, qui propter rem quamplam bonam vel malam, caeteris hominibus innotuit; ut contra ignobilis, cujus nomen caeteris obscurum

6-12 *Nobilitie is the Honour of blood,* &c. *Ibid.*, p. 127:

> Apud nos Nobilitas dicitur, claritudo generis, a Principe, qui jura majestatis habeat lege vel consuetudine, ob virtutes reipublicae & vitae communi salutares & commodas, scientiam scilicet, vel res praeclare gestas, familiae alci collata.

Peacham may also have seen Thomas Milles’s *Catalogue of Honor or Tresury of True Nobility Peculiar and Proper to the Isle of Great Britaine*, 1610, sigs. B2v – C2v:

> Native Nobility [is] the luster or dignity of stocke, wherein most great vertues have flourished ... For the more ancient that a stocke or family is, by so much the credit and reputation is greater, ... wise men and providers for the Commonwale, who seemed by vertue to procure unto themselves Nobility ... Nobility ... beganne of Noble and worthy acts done.

14-17 *beneficiall and vsefull to his Country,* &c. *Collibus*, p. 128:

> Subiunxi, Reipublicae & communi vitae salutares: ii enim qui sapientiae studio dediti, coetus hominum relinquunt, et oicium persequuntur, quamvis egregis virtutibus virtutibus cumulati sint, inter veros nobiles numerari non possunt. Non nostra causa nati sumus, alioquin satis esset ad summam dignitatem nostras animos recte componere.

18-21 *Honor is the reward of Vertue,* &c. *Ibid*, p. 128:

> Dixi ob virtutes; primo, ut excluderem eam quae ob flagitium confertur: exemplum sit in Cnaeo Flavio Tribuno plebis, qui a pop. Rom. & Senator & Aediles curulis factus est, ob surreptum actionum librum, ne cum nobilitas incitamentum ad res praeclare gerendas esse debeat, sceleribus ansam praebat: qua re nihil prorsus civilis disciplinae magis adversarium.

21 *Euthicratres.* A native of Olynthus enriched for betraying the city to Philip II of Macedonia (*Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica*, XVI. liii. 2-3).
21 Euphorbas. The reference is unclear. Euphorbas, the bravest of the Trojans and the first to wound Patroclus, was later slain by Menelaus.

21 Phylagrus. The reference is again unclear. Phylacus was a Trojan slain by Leitus. The Greek historian Phylarcus was accused of falsifying history by Polybius.

22-4 Cottier by Lewis the eleventh, &c. Misquoting Pedro Mexio, The Treasure of Auncient and Moderne Times, translated by Thomas Milles, 2 vols, 1613, I, 154:

Thus was the King wholly gouerned, and his Kingdomes affayres, by ... Cottier, a Physitian, Lorde Chancellor; and a mender of stockings, who was made Admirall.

23-31 Neither must we Honor, &c. Collibus, p. 128:

Deinde, ut excluderem eos qui sola Principis gratia aut prescrip-tione, vel solis divitiis, (quid enim absurdium aut perniciosius, quam dignitatem quaestu, ordinem pecuniis, nobilitatem opibus metiri,) in nobilium ordinem adsciscuntur, non enim nobilitas opinione nititur, sed natura: neque facilius Princeps solo beneficio ex ignobili nobilem facere potest, quam ex stulto sapientem.

26 Mechanicke. Involving manual labour, therefore low and vulgar (OED, citing Peacham as the second example).

29 cast. Cast-off or discarded (OED).

34 desert. Merit, excellence (OED).


Stultus agit inquit Sigismundus, qui literis militiam praefers. Num ego milites mille una die fecerim, Doctorem mille annis non fecerim.

9-10 Armis & consilio. (By arms and wisdom.) Statius, Achilleis, i. 142.

11-14 Militarie & Ciuil Discipline, &c. Collibus, p. 129:

Civili igitur tantum disciplina nobilitatem quis consequi potest: civiles disciplinas divido in militarem et ciuilem; sub military, animi magnitudinem; sub civili justiciam, magnificentiam, eliquentiam, & juris civilis prudentiam comprehendo: non minus namque his, quam illis nobilitas comparatur. Nihil sunt foris arma, nisi res sint domi consilio, & pacis artibus constitutaes.

13 Consilij fons. (The fount of wisdom.)

20-1 Eumenes, one of the best Captaines, &c. Plutarch, Eumenes, i.1.
22 Dioclesian was the sonne, &c. Eutropius, Brevisium ab urbe condita, ix. 19.
23 Valentinian, of a Rope-maker. His father Gratianus was called Fuñarius (the 'rope-man') because, when carrying some rope for sale, he successfully resisted the efforts of some soldiers to take it from him (Aurelius Victor, Epitome de Caesaribus, xlv. 1-3).
23-4 Pertinax, of a Wood-monger. Julius Capitolinus, Helvius Pertinax, i. 1-2. Peacham's marginal translation is inaccurate; the quotation given below is from Isaac Casaubon's edition of the Historiae Augustae, Paris, 1603, sig. K3v:
Publio Helvio Pertinaci, pater libertinus Heluius Successus fuit, qui filio nomen ex continuatione lignariae negotiationis, quod pertinaciter eam rem gereret, imposuisse fertur. Mexio, I, 178, gives the story.
26-33 Hugh Capet, the first of that name, &c. Jacob Wimpheling, Germania ad Republicam Argentinensem 1501, Geneva, 1874, sig. B4v:
Regnumque galliae ad Hugonem ducem cognomento capucium: quern historie populares ex laniis aut carnicidis descendisse referunt. Quot in fact succeeded Louis V, the son of Lothar, who died from a hunting accident in A.D.987. The source of this erroneous connection with Louis VI has not been traced.
34-p.13. 6 Lamusius, the third King of the Lombards, &c. Paul Warnefridus, De gestis Longobardorum, i. 15 (Diversarum Gentium Historiae Antiquae Scriptores tres, Hamburg, 1611, pp. 200-1):
His temporibus quaedam meretrix uno partu septem puerulos enixa, beluis omnibus mater crudelior, in piscinam proiecit necandos. Hoc sic cui impossibile videtur, relegat historias veterum, & inveniet non solum septem infantulos, sed etiam novem unam mulierem simul peperisse. Et hoc certum est maxime apud Aegyptios fieri. Contigit itaque ut rex Agelmundus, dum iter carpert, ad eandem piscinam deveniret. Qui cum quo retento miserandos infantulos miraretur, hastaque quam manu gerebat, huc illucque eos inverteret, unus ex illis manu iniecta hastam regiam comprehendit. Rex misercordia motus, factumque altius admiratus, eum magnum futurum pronuntiat: moxque eum e piscina levari praecipit, atque nutrici traditum, omni cum studio mandat alendum. Et quia eum
de piscina, quae eorum lingua Lama dicitur, abstulit, Lamissio eadem nomen imposuit. Qui cum adolevisset, adeo strenus iuvenis effectus est, ut & bellicosissimus extitit, & post Agelmundi funus, regni gubernacula rexerit.

14-15 Sir John Ogle. Military commander (1569-1640) for nearly thirty years in the Low Countries. In 1591 Ogle became Sergeant-Major-General there under Sir Francis Vere, in 1600 he took part as Lieutenant-Colonel in the battle of Nieuport, and in 1610, on the nomination of the stadtholder Prince Maurice, he was appointed Governor of Utrecht, where he remained until 1618 (DNB).

Peacham visited the Low Countries from 1613 to 1614; he was present with Ogle's men at the operations in Juliers and Cleves. The two works written during his visit, Prince Henrie revived and A Most True Relation of the Affaires of Cleve and Gulick, published in London in 1615, are dedicated to Ogle.

15-16 Colonell Edmondes. Perhaps Clement Edmondes (c.1564-1622), listed as the son of a yeoman in the Oxford matriculation register, mentioned in a letter from Sir John Ogle to Lord Robert Cecil in 1604 (Hatfield House, Salisbury MS Cecil, 105.21), and appointed trade commissioner to the United Provinces in 1614 (DNB).

24-5 measureth out of the whole cloath, &c. See Tilley, C433. Compare The Diall of Princes compiled by ... Don Antony of Guevara, translated by Thomas North, second edition, 1582, fo. 367b:

he shoulde cut his garraentes according to his cloth, and measure his experiences with his revenues.

25-32 in ancient times came Rome, Athens, Carthage, &c. Collibus, pp.129-30:

Atque hac nimirum ratione factum est, ut Roma, Athenae, Carthago, & aliae urbes ad tantam Imperii magnitudinem pervenerint dum enim ad honores, ad nobilitatem quisque contendit, nullum pro republic. periculum recusat. Sic duo Decii sic Forcius Cato, sic M. Marcellus, sic Iphicrates Atheniensis, sic ali nobilitati fuerunt.

Inde factum est, ut quod spondere vires hominis non possunt, magnanimis hisce viris, templae, columnae, statueae, pyræmides exstrui coepta sint, arae consecrari, decerni divini honores, mysteria sacra, quae uni Deo omnium conditori (quern tamen non noverent) iebebantur.

The Decii were father and son who died in the Latin War (340 B.C.) and in the Battle of Sentium (215 B.C.) respectively. Cat., the son of a farmer, became consul (195 B.C.) and then censor (184 B.C.). Marcellus was a general of the third century B.C.

2 Nicholas the fifth was sonne of a Poulter. Of a doctor of Saranza (B. Platina, Historia de vitis pontificum Romanorum, Cologne, 1626, p. 291).

2-3 Sixtus the fift, of a Hog-heard. Ibid., pp. 457-8. Compare The Lives of the Popes ... Written originally in Latine by Baptista Platina, continued and translated by Paul Ryesaut, 1685, p. 173:

This Pope was named Felix or Felice, born of poor, and obscure Parents at Montalto ... he was always challenging his fellow Students to Disputations, which moved them to ... revile him with the meanness of his birth, terming him with the reproach of being the Son of a Hog-driver, or the Bay of a Swineherd.

3 Alphenus but a Tailors Apprentice, &c. Collibus, p. 132:

Juristicprudentes profecto amplissima semper dignitati culti fuerunt: magnos magistratus, summam dignitates obtinuerunt: Alphenus sutorinae tabernae alumnus Romam profectus, jurisprudentiae cognitione tantum effect ut Consul crearetur: Vlpianus non usque adeo nobilis, Alexandri Imp eadem de causa tutor factus est.

7 Cicero was borne and brought vp at Arpinum, &c. Plutarch, Cicero, i. 1; compare Mexio, I, 180:

For, a poore Countrey-man, borne in Arpinum, hath bin as well called Emperor, and Father of his Countrey, as any Iulius or Augustus Caesar, descended of most auncient Houses.

8 Virgil, the sonne of a Potter. Sustonius, Vita Vergili, i. 1-3.

8-9 Horace, of a Trumpeter. Mexio, I. 178, 'Horace, the Incomparable Lyrick, was Sonne to a Trumpeter in the Warres'; his father was a minor tax official (Horace, Sat. I. vi. 72ff.).

9 Theophrastus of a Botcher. Cf a fuller (Suidas, s.v. Θεοφραστος).

11-18 For doing Iustice, the homanes of a priuate man, &c. Plutarch, Numa et Lycurgus, i. 1-2. Compare North's translation, p. 82:

Their first qualitie is, that Numa accepted the Kingdome, and Lycurgus gaue it vp. The one receyed it, not seeking for it: and the other having it in his handes, did restore it againe. The one being a stranger, and a priuate man: was by straungers elected & chosen, their lorde & King. The other being in possession a King, made him selfe againe a priuate persone. Suer it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iustice: but it is a goodlier thing to esteeme iustice aboue a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputation, that he was judged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred so noble a minde in the other, that he esteemed not to be a King.

Magnificentia quoque & liberalitate, multi ad summum nobilitatis fastigium pervenero, maximis scilicet beneficiis omcplures cives obligando hac ratione Pelos, barbarus & advena; Priscus Tarquinius exsul & ignotus; & nuper Cosmus Medices amplissimum nobilitatis nomen obtinuerunt.

Peacham refers to (1) Minos and Rhadamantes, appointed with Aeacus to be judges of the dead in consequence of their worthy life on earth; (2) Aratus of Sicyon (271 B.C. - 213 B.C.), Greek military commander who attempted to unite the Greek states against the threat of Rome and Macedonia; (3) Solon (c. 640 B.C. - c. 558 B.C.), Athenian statesman and reformer; (4) Aristides (died c. 468 B.C.), one of the democratic leaders of Athens; (5) the Emperor Trajan, reigned from A.D. 98 to A.D. 117, showed great care for the welfare of Italy and the provinces; (6) Agesilaus (c. 444 B.C. - 361 B.C.), King of Sparta who defeated the Persians in 396-5 B.C. and the Thebans at Coronea.

This Cosimo was the most esteemed, and most famous Cittizen (being no man of warre) that ever had bene in the memorie of man ... be honestlie couered.

Peacham probably refers to Mohammad I, the first Hosaini ruler, and reputedly a descendant of the prophet Mahomet (S. Lane-Poole, The Mohammedan Dynasties, 1894, pp. 57-61; E. de Zambaur, Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam, Hanover, 1927, p. 81, table C).
For as Serpents are charmed with words, &c. The emblem for eloquentia in J.P. Valerianus, Hieroglyphica, Basle, 1567, sig. t2r:

Sed qui serpentem pro astu poni docti sumus ex Aristotele dicente, animalia quaedam esse astuta per se, sicuti sunt serpentes: magis vero ex lectione sacra, quae prudenteri huic in primum animali tribuit: ea etiam de causa angues caduceo complicari putamus, quod ostendere vulerint, & calliditatem & prudentiam necessarioris eloquentiae, quae per virgam significatur, quippe quae regat dictis animos. Neque desunt qui virgam auream in Mercurij manibus, a qua Deus ipse Xερερόματι appellatūr, dignitatis & excellentiae, quae illum ornat qui quae orationem contextere, signum esse contendunt.

the onely keys to bring in tune a discordant Common-wealth. Plato, Timaeus, 47c-d.

concerning Bastardie, &c. Collibus, p. 135:

Nothi etiam & spurii nobilium, cum viles & quodammodo infames existant, nobiles non sunt, sordes enim, inquit alicubi Imp. non merentur nominari inter praecipuós.

Sordes inter praecipuos nominari non merentur. (Bastards to not deserve to be named among the leaders.)

If we speake of fruits, we shal find, that the daintiest and most excellent of all other, are such as are grafted uppon contrarie stockes, which are called constrained or Bastard fruits. They commonly are greater, fairer, sweeter, and more savoury, then such as come of Naturall plants.

Who are more famous then Remus and Romulus, &c. This passage is taken from Mexio, I, 724-5:

But let vs come to men againe, & beginne with Romulus and Remus, Founders of the verie greatest Citty in the worlde, were they not both Bastardes? What was Israel, Hercules ... What was King Arthur, & the Emperour Alexander, who for his deeds was sur-named Great? And ... let us speake of Constantine, Emperor of the Romaines ... Witnesse Duke William of Normandie, who Conquered England.

Let vs see howe manie learned men, the stolne pleasures and sweet embracings of women, have yelded vs. And we will not shame to beginne with worthy Peter Lombard, who yet to this day, (for honours sake) is called, The Maister of the Sentences.

I will not speake of the Wise Christopher Longueil, of Malignes; whome a Good and Vertuouss Byshoppe left vs, as a true Cicero of our time, besides the great knowledge he had, in the Lawes imperialis. Shall I say anything of Iacobus Faber, the restorer of Aristotles Phylosophy, and extirpater of the old most Barbarous Sophistry? Cr of Coelius Calagginus, held of his time, as well for ciuitie of good manners, as profound intelligences in the best Sciences and Disciplines) a most liuely splendour and
Ornament, to the famous City of Ferrara?

Mexio alludes to (1) Romulus and Remus, sons of Rhea Silva, a Vestal Virgin seduced by Mars; (2) Hercules, son of Alcmene and Zeus, who disguised himself as her husband Amphitryon; (3) Alexander the Great, supposedly the son of Jupiter; (4) Arthur, son of Uther and Eigr, the wife of Gorlais, Earl of Kent; (5) William the Conqueror, natural son of Robert II of Normandy and Herleva, a tanner's daughter; (6) Christopher Longolius (1490-1522), French humanist noted for his emulation of Cicero; (7) Jacobus Faber (c. 1455-1536), French classicist and theologian; (8) Celio Calcagnini (born 1479), diplomat, teacher of the classics and natural sciences, poet, and author of a commentary on Pliny and a meteorological treatise.

15 decretales. Decretalists or canonists. OED does not list this meaning.

16 beare the bell. Take first place, referring originally to the bell worn by the leading animal in a flock (OED).

16 Gratian and Lombard. Gratian (died 1159), Italian monk, an authority on canon law. Petrus Lombardus (c. 1100 - 1160), called Magister Sententiorum, theological writer and Bishop of Paris from 1159.

25-9 the Agrigentines, &c. (1) Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas, reputed to have burnt his victims in a brazen bull, and in this manner finally killed by his subjects; (2) the Tarquins, banished from Rome after the rape of Lucrece by Sextus, son of Tarquinius Superbus; (3) the Emperor Nero, who took poison when his subjects revolted against him in A.D. 68; (4) Heligabalus, slain by his troops in A.D. 22; (5) Dionysus II of Syracuse, expelled from the city for his tyranny.

31 - p.18. 2 whether Pouertie impeacheth or staineth Nobilitie, &c.

Collibus, p. 138:

Quod de infamia, idem de paupertate afferere nonnulli non sunt veriti, quasi vero puerpum vilis sit, et ignobilis. Quod absurdissimum est. Fatoer divtitias ornamentum nobilitatis, nego causam esse, nec ab opibus dari, nec ab inopia adim nobilitas potest. Sapiens itaque in parva & humili casa patremfamiliam nobilem agnoscit, atque e fictilibus olus & nasturtium sumentum. Cujusmodi olim fuisse Fabricios illos, & Curios fama est, maximorum regum victores.

Collibus refers to Plutarch, Moralia, 194f-5b.

p.17. 33-5 there lyeth more worth vnder a thrid-bare Cloake. See Tilley, C476.

p.18. 9 mulct. Penalty or fine (OED).

14 Scataphagos. χατοφαγος, eater of dirt (Aristophanes, Plutus, 706).

18-27 (1) Constantine the Great cured of leprosy by bathing in the blood of young boys (Gower, Confessio Amantis, ii. 3202-12); (2) the Emperor Hadrian disarmed and calmed a mad assailant (Aelius Spartanus, De Vita Hadriani, xii. 5); (3) Edward the Confessor; see Milles, sig. 2D4F:

He was thought to have ... had the gift of healing of infirmities and diseases. He by touching only, did help many of them, which were troubled with the disease, of the Phisitians called Struma (but commonly termed The Kings evil) and left that virtue (as it is thought) hereditary unto his successors, the Kings of England.

(4) Mithridates, from his practice of taking small doses of poison to avoid being poisoned, has had his name attached to any medicine regarded as an antidote against poison (Pliny, Historia Naturalis, XXV. lxxix. 127);

(5) Artemisia, after whom the plant artemisia vulgaris (mugwort) is named (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXV. xxxvi. 73); (6) Gentius, the discoverer of gentian (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXV. xxxiv. 71); (7) Lysimachus, King of Thrace, found the herb lysimachia (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXV. xxxiv. 72); Achilles discovered the yarrow, known as achilleos rather than achillea (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXV. xix. 42); (9) Apollo, after whom three herbs are named, apollinaria (strychnos), apollinaris (hyoscyamus) and apollinaris (solanum) (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXV. xvii. 35); (10) Fodalus, celebrated physician and son of Asclepius, the god of medicine; (11) Moses cured Miriam of leprosy (Num. 12. 13-15); (12) Isaiah healed Hezekiah (Isa. 38. 21); (13) Solomon, reputed to have introduced into Palestine the balsam-tree, from which the 'balm of Gilead', a medicinal drug, was distilled (Jer. 8. 22); (14) Hezekiah prayed at the Passover for those not cleansed (2 Chr. 30. 18-20).
25-36 Honor the Physician, &c. Collibus, p. 141:

Certe medicos honore afficiendos esse, non ex uno S. Script. loco ostendi potest: Honora medicum, inquit Ecclesiast. propter necessitatem: creavit enim ipsum Altissimus. & paulo post: A Deo est omnis medela, & a Regis accipiet donationem. Disciplina medici exaltabit caput ipsum, & in conspectu magnatum collaudabitur. ut alia omittam loca, ex quibus patet, medicum ideo nobilitatem non amittere. Medicum cum dico, excludo chirurgos, & pharmacopoeos, quorum vile; parabolanos, agyrtas, circumforaneos, quorum infame officium est.

Collibus quotes Ecclus. 38. 1-3. Similarities of phrasing suggest that Feacham was also referring to Mexio, II, 757:

Hippocrates then was the first, that devided this Art [medicine] from Philosophy ... Galen ... Wherefore that shall satisfie me, which is recorded by so great a Father, after I have made a recitall of the words of Ecclesiasticus, the wisedome of Iesus the sonne of Sirach, writing thus in his 35. Chapter, verse 1. Honour the Physician.

28-9 Ptolomy sometime obiected against Zoilus. Zoilus of Amphipolis, because of his vitriolic criticism of Homer, failed to win the patronage of King Itolemaeus Philadelphus. His name was a byword for excessive criticism. Compare the epigram in AD, sig. A 17.

29 Misiatros. (Doctor-hater.)

33 Mountebanc. Itinerant quacks (CED); Edward Phillips, The New World of English Words, 1658:

(From the Italian word Montimbanco, because he mounts upon some high bench or form) a Drug-seller, or one that buyes Drugs of Apothecaries, and by such boasting of their virtue, sells them again for choise Meedics.

34 Empiricks. Untrained practitioners in physic (CED); John Quincey, Lexicon Physico-Medicum; or, a New Medical Dictionary, 1736:

Empiric ... is strictly a Tryer or Experimenter, and vulgarly signifies those Persons who have no true education in, or Knowledge of the Ground of Physical Practice, but venture upon Hear-say and Observation only.

34 women Doctors. These would include wise women and herbalists, preferred by some, including such authorities as Burton and Bacon, to the licensed members of The Royal College of Physicians who tended to be academic theorists. See K. Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic, second edition, Harmondsworth, 1978, pp. 11-17.

p.19. 2-3 Fiftly, concerning Merchants, &c. Collibus, pp. 141-2:

Mercaturam quod attinet, quamadmodum utilissimam plerumque esse, non nego; sic sordidam, quia nihil proficiunt nisi mentiantur, ait ille, & nobilitati derogare, nisi per alios exerceretur, existimo. Id nimium illud est quod Aristoteles scripsit, apud Thebanos legem fuisse, ut nemo
idoneus ad honores Reipubl. suscipiendos esset, nisi per decennium a mercatura destitisset. Et Livius: quaestus inquit, omnis patribus indecorus est.

Notat Valerius Maximus inter caetera, quae Tarquinium Priscum, antequam Romanum imperium adeptus esset, abjectum, humilen, depressumque faciebant, illud quoque fastidiendumuisse, quod esset mercatore genitus. Nobiliores adjunt Imp. mercimoniam exercere prohibemus, ut inter plebeios & negociatores facile sit emendi, vendendique, commercium.

For Tarquinius Priscus' parentage, see above, 11. 108-9.


14-19 the ancient Romans never preferred any, &c. Franciscus Patrizi, De Institutione Reipublicae, Strasburg, 1594, p. 46:

Plerisque visum est, & doctissimis quidem viris mercatores, & opifices ad Reip. munera nonesse admittendos. Nihilque ingenui officinam habere afferit, & sordidos etiam quos putat, qui emunt a mercatoribus, quod statim minutamin (vt aiunt) vendant ... Quibus ex verbis assequimur veteribus Romanis non placuisse, vt qui Reipublicae praessent, mercatiae etiam indulgerent. Socrates autem mercatores & opifices publicis oneribus quidem esse, satis manifeste ostendit: & Aristoteles, mercatorum opificumque vitam ignaucam, virtutique aduersam putat, & proinde eiusmodi viros ad magistratus non esse admittendos.

Patrizi quotes Aristotle, Politica, 1278a.

20-2 the great Estates of Venice, &c. Collibus, p. 142:

Nobilis igitur si mercaturam exerceat, nobilis esse definit: nisi statuum aliud caveatur, quale est apud Venetos, Genuenses, Florentinos, Lucenses, ubi nobiles mercaturam exercendo, ignobiles non fiunt; quamvis aliquid de nobilitate detrahant. Hi proprie domi nobiles vocari possunt: vix enim est, ut in Germania, Gallia, vel aliis eiusmodi in locis, pro veris nobilis agnosci possint.

26 the Earth, and all that therein is. Acts 14. 24.

p.20. 4 Sensus & animi oblectamenta. (Amusements of the senses and the spirits.)

5-10 for our solace and recreation. Peacham cites II Chron. 1. 16. 5. 21. Compare Rev. 15. 12-13.

11 Mechanicall Arts. Trades or occupations concerned with tools (OED). Compare Francis Bacon, New Atlantis, 1626, p. 38:

Wee haue also diverse Mechanicall Arts, which you haue not; And Stuffs made by them; as Papers, Linnen, Silks, Tissues.

12-23 Mechanicall Arts and Artists, &c. Collibus, pp. 138-9, 142:

De iis qui vilibus & mechanicis artibus utuntur, non dubium est, quin nobilitatem amittant. id est non solum apud nos, sed apud Aegyptios,
Scythas, Persas, Lacedaemones, Corinthios, & alias nationes observatum fuisse, testatur Herodotus & Xenophon in Economico. Nam corpora exercentium attinuntur, & assidere homines atque umbratiles esse coguntur.

Ne multis morer: nobilitatem amittunt, pictores qui lucru causa pingunt. Lucrum mentionem feci, quia pictura ars nobilis est ... item comoedi, tragoeid, histriones, mimi, pantomimi, saltatores, tibicines, cytharoedi, & aliiorum instrumentorum lusores.

23-7 a Noble man borne in captiuitie, &c. Ibid., p. 139:

Quid autem in eo, qui cum verae religionis causa exul sit, nec qua alia ratione vitam toleret, sciat, mechanicas artes exercet; amittere nobilitatem? Christianam quidem non amittet, civiiero amittet; ita tamen, ut si in patriam aliquando mutato rerum statu reverti contigerit eam jure quodam postliminium recuperet.

28-32 by the law of Mahomet, &c. Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, 1621, p. 338:

The Turkes inioyne all men whatsoever, of what degree, to be of some trade or other, the grand Senior himself is not excused. In our memory (saith Sabellicus) Mahomet the Turke, he that conquered Greece, at that very time when he heard Embassadors of other Princes, did either curie and cut wooden spoones, or frame something vpon a table. And this present Sultan makes notches for bowes.

Burton's source, cited in the marginal note, is George Sandys, A Relation of a Journey begun An: D o r n: I 6 1 0, I 6 1 5, p. 73:

His occupation [the Sultan's] (for they are all tied to haue one) is the making of iuory rings, which they weare on their thumbs when they shoote, whereupon he workes daily.

Quoted also in Caution, sig. A3r.

35 the Apples of Sodome. Cornelius à Lapide's commentary on Eccles. 1, 2 (Paris, 1639, p. 17):

quare similis est promis Sodomae, quae mox ut tanguntur in fauillam & cinerem abuent: ac praestigiis magorum & sagarum, quibus Daemon epulum instruit in Specie opiparum, sed revera fallum & inane.

Compare VV, pp. 14-15:

there are ... two Townes, one called Sodom, another Gomorrah, where grow Apples, although they carry a shew of ripenesse, yet can they not be eaten, for the cover of the outermost rinde containeth within, an asheie sootie substance, which being touched, though but lightly, yeeld nothing but smoake and dust.

See also Tilley, A300.

p.21. 1 Hesperides. Three daughters of Atlas and Hesperis, appointed to guard a tree that produced golden apples, given by Ge to Juno on her marriage to Zeus.

3-26 Noble or Gentlemen ought to bee preferred, &c. Collibus, pp. 143-4:

Nobiles a nonnullis muneribus & oneribus publicis exempti sunt; ignobili vero nequaquam: plebeius adversus nobilem de dolo, alia actione famosa uti non potest: nobiles ad latus Principis semper stare debent, non plebei: nobiles cum citantur, debet citatio in scriptis fieri: nobiles non tam stricte regulariter incarcerari debent, ut ignobilis: nobilis licet in causis criminalibus per procuratorem comparere, non etiam ignobilis: nobiles non debent convenire ultra quam facere possunt: alimenta praestantiora decernenda sunt nobilibus, quam ignobilibus: nobiles denique, & eorum uxores debent praestantiumibus vestibus uti quam ignobiles. Haec, & alia nobilium privilegia quomodo intelligenda sint, late docet Tiraquellus.

For Peacham's marginal statement, see William Camden, Britannia, 1586, pp. 61-2. Compare Philemon Holland's translation, Britain, 1610, p. 168:

Germans say they [barons] import, as it were Banner-heirs, that is, Lord-bearing Banners.

27-30 Nobilitie stirreth vp emulation, &c. Collibus, p. 134:

Excitât certe nobilitas in magnis animis generosam aemulationem, non solum eorum a quibus habent partam nobilitatem, aequandi, sed super- etiam; qued de Cimone, superiore Africano, Decio filio, Alexandro Magno, & aliis multis legitimus.

Peacham refers to (1) Cimon, an Athenian commander who defeated the Persians in 479 B.C.; (2) Scipio Africanus the elder (c.236 B.C. - 183 B.C.), who saved the life of his father at the Battle of Ticinus (218 B.C.) and became consul in 205 B.C.; (3) Decius the younger, see above, p.13, 11.25-32; (4) Alexander the Great (356 B.C. - 323 B.C.); (5) Edward (1330-1376), eldest son of Edward III, who distinguished himself at the taking of Caen in 1345 and at the Battle of Crécy in the same year.

p.22. 7-10 the pittifull abuse thereof, &c. Compare below, p. 170, 11. 15-29. As a conservative, Peacham's objection was that this type of social aspiration dislocated the stable class system where each man knew his proper station. Titles and honours were subsequently debased and became subject to ridicule.

11-12 were Democritus liuing, &c. Seneca, De Ira, II. x. 5, 'Democritum contra aiunt numquam sine risu in publico fuisse'. See also Juvenal, Saturae, x. 33. See Burton, 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', p. 21.
12-21 In Naples, such is the pride of every base groome, &c. Mexio, I, 178-9:

Surely, mee thinkes it is a very strange course observed in the Kingdome of Naples, that every base Groome in the Countrey, must (at every Word) be termed Signior: And in the superscription to some slouenly Slave, hee must have the Title of Don such a one ... So, in France, every Peasant and Lucky must bee called Sir, or Monsieur: then which, no greater stile can be given to the King ... I let passe the goodly City of Venice, wherein every simple trafficker in Sugers, Cloths, Spices, &c. must be stiled a Gentleman at the least, or Messieur Magnifico.

13 di stalla. (From a stable.)

15 Calzolaio. (A shoemaker.)

18 Chequin. Chequeen (sequin), gold coin of Italy and Turkey (OED).

12-4 The word Sire immediatly proceeding from Cyrus, &c. Henricus Stephanus, Lexicon Graecolatinum, Lyons, 1602, sig. 113r, s.v. autoritas, citing Demosthenes. See also John Minsheu, Guide into Tongues, 1617, p. 450.

Stephanus's etymology is incorrect; 'sire' derives from the Latin senior (OED).

24-7 Goe but from Paris, &c. Mexio, I, 178, 'And in Aniou ... they are all Gentle-man'.

25 Esculiere. 'Iscuier, as Escuyer, an Esquire, i.e., a serving man' (R. Cotgrave, A French-English Dictionary, 1650).

33 mijn heer weert. (My worthy sir.)


3 Volans, natans. (Flying, swimming.)

5 Orbiquiers. The meaning is clear, but the origin is obscure. Not cited in OED.

6-7 Quem non fecere disertum? (Whom have they not made eloquent?)

17-21 the ordinary purchasing of Armes, &c. Clearly a reference to the sale of titles by James I. From his accession, the king had been lavish in creating baronets, and his entourage quickly began to sell recommendations to the king to those eager for honours. James went one step further and in the early years of his reign began to distribute the right of nomination among his courtiers. Many were appalled by this prodigality, and denounced
it indignantly. The official view was put forward in an essay by one
of the heralds in 1604, which firmly stated that a man who is not a
gentleman cannot be made into a knight. On the subject of purchased
titles, the herald added:

it is piteous to see either the vanity or the pride or the
arrogancy or the insolency of this tyme, when so many do desire the
reward of true honour and vertue, and so few applye themselves to deserve
it (quoted in Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, Oxford, 1965,
p. 77).

Despite these protests, the practice continued; from an average of thirty-
one a year for 1610-14, it rose to 121 a year for 1615-19, with a peak
of 199 in 1617 (Stone, p. 80). Peacham certainly saw that the cheapening
of honours would, in his terms, lead to the confusion of a well-ordered
commonwealth. See below, p. 170, 11. 18-25. See also Burton, p. 389.

20 sine sudore & sanguine. (without sweat and blood.) Cicero, De Officiis,
I. xviii. 61.

21 vena caua, called marsupium. (Hollow vein, called money-bag.)

23-5 Euripides, when his Father told him, &c. Mexio, I, 179:

The Father of Euripides, expressing some outward joy, because
on a sudden he was ennobled, received from his Sonne these words: Good
Father (quoth he) doe not rejoice so much at this matter, for the Prince
hath but given yee a thing, which anie man may haue for his money.

Compare Thomas Dekker, Jests to Make You Merrier, 1607 (Non-Dramatic Works,
edited by A.B.Grosart, 5 vols, 1884-6, II, 285):

By loure, me thinkes it is a Iraue thing to be a Knight:A braue
thing, quoth his fellow: what an asse art thou: a man may haue any thing
for money.

This story is given in TT, p. 87.

26 dum petit ardua. (As one pursues difficult things.) Virgil, Aeneid,
viii. 221.

51-36 most pitifull is the pride of manye, &c. Compare Bacon, 'Of Envy'
(Essays, 1900, p. 18):

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious toward new men when
they rise; for the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the
eye, that when the others come on they think themselves go back.

-.24. 1-14 They contemne mee as an upstart, &c. Cicero, Responsio contra
C. Sallustium Crispum, 4-5. Peacham's immediate source was Collibus, pp. 144-5:

Compare, inquit Marius apud Sallustium, me hominem novum cum
illorum superbia, quae illi audire, legere solent: eorum partem vidi, alia
egomet gessi, &c. paulo post: Contemnunt novitatem meam, ego illorum
ignoviam: mihi fortuna, illis propra objectantur, &c. item. Quod si jure
me despiciunt, faciant id majoribus suis, quibus uti mihi ex virtute nobilitas coepit: invident honori meo, ergo invidiae labori, inno centiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per illum haec coepi, & item. Cum apud vos aut in Senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione maiores suos extollunt, atque eorum fortia facta memorando, clariores se putant: quod contra est nam quanto vita illorum praec la rior tanto horum socordia flagitiosior. nunc videte quam inqui sint: quod ex aliena virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, & mihi nova nobilitas est, quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse, & paulo post: Non possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus ma jorum meorum ostentare: at sires postulat, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona: praeterea cicatrices adversos corpore: hae sunt meae imagines, haec mea nobilitas, non haereditate relictat.


15 Verdugo. Spanish commander during the Duke of Parma’s campaign in the Netherlands (1580-1589).
Ch. 2. Of the dignitie and necessity of Learning
in Princes and Nobilitie

p.27. 1-3 Learning then is an essential part, &c. Peacham's marginal quotation is condensed from Cicero, Pro Archia Poeta, vii. 15.

4 εὐγενῆς. (Patrician, of good family.)

5 πολυμαθῆς. (Having learnt, knowing much.)

11 Questa è voce d'un bue, non d'un Huomo. (This is the voice of an ox, not of a man.) Antonius Panormita, De Dictis et Factis Alphonsi sic Regis Aragonum, i. 6 (Basle, 1538, p. 2):

Cum audisset unum aliquam ex Hispaniae regibus soli turn dicere, non decere generosum & nobilem virum esse literatum, exclamasse ferunt, uocem hanc non regis sed bouis esse.

Compare Proverbs English, French, Dutch, Italian, and Spanish... by N. R., 1659, p. 136:

William the Conquerour was wont to say, That an unlearned king was a crowned asse.

22-5 What (tell me) can be more glorious, &c. Resembling Nicephorus, Antirheticus, iii. 78 (Migne, PG, C, 518-19).

25 naturall. One who is morally in a state of nature, hence a simpleton (CED).

26-7 the loftiest Cedar on Libanus, &c. I Kgs. 4. 33. Quoted in MB, p. 40.

p.28. 4 Erudimini Reges. (Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings.) Ps. 2.10.

11 Solomons foole. Prov. 15. 15.


14 discourse loathsome and heavy. Ecclus. 21. 16.

15 yourselves to be abused, &c. Compare Eccles. 2. 14.

18-20 the royall Salomon, &c. See above, p. 4, 11.24-5.

22 Quis melior quam literatus? (Who is better than a learned man?) Flavius Vospicus, Tacitus, iv. 4.

22-3 the Persians would elect none for their King, &c. Xenophon, Cyropaedia, VIII, i. 37.
24-5 great Alexander acknowledged his, &c. Plutarch, Alexander, viii. 3. Compare North's translation, p. 725:

Alexander did reverence Aristotle at the first, as his father, and so he termed him: because from his natural father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to live.

Quoted by Cleland, p. 25.

24 εὖ εἰναί. (Well-being.)

26-8 Most learned Kings and Emperours, &c. (1) Numa, see above, p. 14, 11. 11-18; (2) Augustus (63 B.C. - A.D. 14), a patron of letters and author of a lost autobiography of thirteen books; (3) Antoninus Pius, emperor from A.D.138 to 161, uninterested in learning but described as "eloquentia nitidae, litteratura praecipuæ" (Julius Capitolinus, Antoninus Pius, ii. 1); (4) Constantine the Great (q. A.D.274 - 337), the first Christian emperor; (5) Theodosius I, emperor from A.D.379 to 395, established Christianity as the religion of the Empire.

29 Learning (saith hee) reformeth the life and manners. Plutarch, Coriolanus, i. 4. Compare North's translation, pp. 237-8:

And to saye truly, the greatest benefit that learning bringeth men vnto, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compassé and rule of reason, to be ciuill and curteous, & to like better the meane state, then the higher.

33 Mot. A motto or saying (CED).

33 Pestes Reipublicae literae. (Letters are the disease of the republic.) Eutropius, Romana Historia, x. 5.

34-5 qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare. (One who does not know how to dissemble does not know how to rule.) Ascribed to Louis XI by Vicentius Lupanus (De Magistrationibus Francorum, Paris, 1533, fo. 20b) and P. Camerarius (Opera Horarum, Frankfurt, 1602, p. 289). Compare the variant version attributed to the Emperor Sigismund in Panormita's De Dictis & Factis Alphonsi, i. 17 (1700, p. 6):

Ignarum esse regnandi, qvi simulare nesciret. Vera ratio, nec vultum nec animum mendacio obtegentem regem probat.

Quoted in TT, p. 18.

p.29. 3 Princes undergoe but lamely, &c. See Chrysostom, De comparatione regis et monachi opusculum (Migne, FG, XLVII, 387-92).

11 are admired of Ideots, &c. Plutarch, Moralia, 360c. See also Erasmus, Adagia, 854e.


Hic Sigismundus cum moerore dicebat, sese erubere propter ignorantiam principum electorum, qui Latinas literas neque legere neque intelligere possent.

28-9 the unnecessitie of learning in Nobilitie. See Tilley, L156.

30-2 that rotten Chest to AEthiopia, &c. Pandora's box, when opened, let forth all the evils that afflicted mankind (C. Julius Hyginus, Fabellae, 142). Compare Burton, pp. 2-3:

The impulsive cause of all these miseries in man, this privation or destruction of Gods Image, the cause of death and diseases, of all temporall and eternall punishments, was the sinne of our first parent Adam, in eating of the forbidden fruit, by the Divells instigation and allurement. His disobedience, pride, ambition, intemperance, incredulity, curiosity, from whence proceeded originall sinne, & that generall corruption of mankind, as from a fountaine flowed all bed inclinations and actuall transgressions, which cause our several calamities, inflicted vpon vs for our sinnes. And this belike is that which our fabulous Poets have shadowed vnto vs in the tale of Pandoras box, which being opened through her curiosity, filled the world full of all manner of Diseases.

34-5 Octavius said to Decius, &c. Appian, De bellis civilibus, III. xi. 80.
Ch. 3. Of the time of Learning, Dutie of Masters, and what the fittest Method to be observed

p. 31.5 ἰδιὰν εὐθὺς, &c. Plato, Republica, 485d4. 
Compare Leges, 765e.

8 Our ground is hard, &c. Plato, Phaedrus, 246a, presumably referring to the comparison of the soul to a charioteer with two horses.

10 To looke that the seed be good. Euripides, Supplices, 917.

10-12 in the foundation of youth, &c. Plato, Republic, 424-5a.

14-15 like the young Hop, &c. See Tilley, H594.

15-16 the time (as Waxe), &c. See Tilley, W175-6.

17 wits. Learned, clever, or intellectual persons (CED); not until after the Restoration did the term denote ingenuity or sophistication (CHEL, VII, 329, n. 1).

19-20 Quo semel. Horace, Epistulae, I.ii.69-70; compare John Brinsley, Ludus Literarius, 1612, p.10:

      So great a thing it is (according to the old proverbe) to accustome children, even from their tender yeeres; and so undoubtedly true is that common verse,
      Quo semel est imbusta recens seruabit odorem testa diu.

The phrase can be translated as, 'the jar will keep the fragrance of what it was first steeped in for a long time'.

20 fit for the best Wine, &c. See Tilley, W470.

24-9 the fault upon bad Masters, &c. A standard complaint; compare Elyot, sig. D4r:

      For the natures of children be nat so moche or sone advanced by thinges well done or spoken, as they be hindred and corrupted by that, which in actis or wordes is wantonly expressed. Also by a cruell and irous maister the wittes of children be dulled: and that thinge, for the whiche children be often tymes beaten, is to them euer after fastidious.

Roger Ascham (Scholemaster, 1570, sig. C 4r) similarly inveighed against schoolmasters of 'so crooked a nature', who chose to 'break' and 'marre' their pupils, and Vives gave over much of the second book of De Disciplinis (1531) to the choice of a good master.

p. 32.2-4 the first and maine Error, &c. Compare Ascham, sig. C4v:

      But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punishe nature, as they do correcte faultes. Yea, many times,
the better nature, is sorer punished: For, if one, by quicknes of witte, take his lesson readelie, an other, by hardnes of witte, taketh it not so speedelie: the first is alwaies commended, the other is commonlie punished: when a wise scholema-ter, should rather discretelie consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so mochiew what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likelie to do hereafter.

8 complexions. Physical constitutions (OED).
10 apprehensiue. Intelligent, discerning (OED).
11 yet may that dullard, &c. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. 1180b15, stresses the importance of individual treatment for each pupil.
13 carterly. Boorish, ill-bred (OED).
15 αὐτοδίδακτος. (Self-taught).
16 Costardmonger. An apple-seller, especially from a stall in the open street (OED).
24-5 Quo quisque est solertior, &c. (The more clever and more talented one is, the more one is inclined to anger.) Cicero, Pro Sex. Hoscio Amerino Cratio, 31.
26-7 there is no other Method, &c. Quintilian, Institutio Cratoria, I.iii.13-14.
29 egregious. Remarkable in a bad sense, gross or outrageous (OED).
29-30 Correction without instruction is plaine tyrannie. Quintilian, Inst. Orat. I. iii. 15.
32 fax mentis honestae. (Torch of the fine mind.) Not Virgil but Silius Italicus, Punica, vi. 332, 'abripuit ... virum fax mentis honestae gloriae'.
33 disposition. Temperament (OED).
33.4-5 this disposition to make his orator, &c. Quintilian, Inst. Orat. I. Pr. 9.
7 Plagosi Orbiliij. From the epithet plagosus, given by Horace (Hist. II. i. 70-1) to his notoriously harsh teacher, Pupillus Orbilius.
7-11 Dionysius himselfe, &c. After his exile in 357 B.C., the tyrant of Syracuse kept a school in Corinth.
11-12 Ingenuitas (saith Seneca) non recipit contemptum. From Publius
11-12 (continued)

Syrus, Sententiae, 240 (edited by E. Woelflin, Leipzig, 1869, p.82), 'Ingenuitas non recipit contumeliam'. Peacham cites De moribus, a set of sententiae by Publius Syrus, falsely attributed to Seneca, as for example by J. Wimpeling (Adolescentia, Strasburg, 1500, sig. H2°).

17 Ferula. Whip, or rod, for caning (OED).

18 Aiaces flagelliferi. (Whip-bearing Ajaxes.) Ajax flagellifer was the eponymous hero of a play by Sophocles. The play was performed frequently in various Latin translations: Queen Elizabeth I was to have seen a production at King's College, Oxford, in 1564 (E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols, Oxford, 1923, I, 127), and in August, 1605 a version of it was presented before James I and Prince Henry at Christchurch Hall, Oxford (Anthony Nixon, Oxford's Triumph, 1605, sig. C1°).

18-20 fitter far to keep Bears, &c. Pliny, Hist. Nat. VIII, liv. 129.

22 Ludus literarius. J. Sturmius, De literarium ludis recte aperiendis liber, Strasburg, 1539. Compare Brinsley, p.50:

Make the Schoole-house to bee Ludus literarius, indeede a Schoole of play and pleasure (as was said) and not of feare and bondage.

Brinsley adapts from Vives, De Disciplinis ([Leyden], 1612, p.254).

28-31 Canendum a plagis, &c. These sentiments but not the exact quotation are expressed by Quintilian, inst. Orat, i.i.20, iii.14-17. Compare Elyot, sig. C2r°:

I wolde nat haue them inforced by violence to lerne, but accordyng to the consaile of Quintilian, to be swetely allured therto, with praises and such pryty gyftes as children delite in.

32-3 a reciprocall and mutuall affection, &c. Vives, pp.244, 263:

In discipulos affectu erit patrio, vt illi sint ei filiorum loco, nec quantum ab illis aut a professione redeat, spectabit. Magistri erga discipulum affectus erit patris, amabit vere atque ex animo tanquam suam foeturam.

36-p.34.1 Patris in illum inhendo affectum. Erasmus, Farrago Nova Epistolae, Basle, 1519, p.302 (Opera, III, 68).

1-2 Ancor, non artifice docente, &c. Pliny, Epistulae, IV. xix. 4.

4 discreet. Judicious or discerning (OED).

5 to play at Tennise. Probably referring to a game played by schoolboys with their hands, rather than a racket. For a description, see Erasmus, Lusus pueriles, 1522 (Opera, I, 646-7), and also M3, p.113. Royal or court
5 (continued)
tennis was mainly a pastime of the nobility.

6 rouers. Mark selected for archery (OED).

6-8 profit him more in one moneth, &c. Erasmus, Declamatio de Pueris ad Virtutem ac Literas Liberaliter, 1529 (Opera, I, 511-12). Compare
A treatise of Schemes & Tropes ... by Rychard Sherry ... Wherunto is added
a declamacion ... by Erasmus, 1550, sigs. 02r-03v:

The englyshe men delyte principally in shotynge, and teache it
their chyldren fyrst of all: wherfore a certen father that had a good
quicke wyt perceiuinge his sonne to have a greate pleasure in shotyng, brought
hym a pretie bowe & very fayr arrowes, & in al partes both of hys bowe &
arrows were letters painted. Afterwards insted of markes, he set vp the
fashion of letters, fyrste of Greke, and after of laten: when he hyt, &
tolde the name of the letter, besyde a greate reioysinge, he had for a
reward a cherre, or some other thynge that chyldren delyte in .. By thys
deuise it was broughte aboute that the chylde wythin a fewe dayes playnyng,
had perfityely lerned to know & sound all hys letters whych the common sort
of teachers be scarce able to brynge to passe in the whole yeres wyth their
beatynge threatynge, and brawlynges.

8-12 many of our Masters,&c. Erasmus, Declamatio de Pueris (Opera, I, 504).
Compare A declamation, sig. L7v:

And thei [the schoolmasters] thynkyng they haue gotten a kingdome,
it is maruyele to see howe they set vp the brystels because thei haue rule,
not upon beastes ... but vpon that age whiche ought to be cheryshed wyth
all gentlenes. You wolde saye it were not a schole, but a tormentynge place.
Compare also Burton, p.192-3.

17 Otij non minus quam negotij, &c. (There should be reason for leisure
no less than for work.) Cicero, Pro Cn. Plancio Oratio, 66.

23 Themes. Set exercises demonstrating certain rhetorical devices;
Brinsley, pp. 172-3:

I haue then giuen them a Theame to make, following the example
in their booke, to prosecute the same parts of the Theame; as Exordium,
narratio, confirmatio, confutatio, conclusio, and also to follow the
seuerall places, to amplifie each thing by. I haue withall shewed them how
to doe it: as to trie what they could gather of themselues; and withall
to seeke Tullies sentences what they could finde out of it, or out of other
books to their purpose.

23 Verses. The composition of Latin and Greek verse; Brinsley, p. 191.

32-3 Istud ediscendi taedium protinus a pueris deuorari. Quintilian,
Inst. Orat. XI. ii. 41.

p.35.6 rampire. Rampart (OED). For Antwerp, see J.B. Grammay, Antuerpiae
Antiquitates, Brussels, 1610, plate 3; for Breda, see J. Blaeu, Novum ac
Magnum Theatrum Vrbium Belgicae Regiae, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1649, II, plate 8; and for Utrecht, see P. Heylyn, Cosmographie, 1625, ii. 26.

10-11 ingenia vegeta, must have suo recessus. The reference to Lipsius is untraced but compare Vives, p.284:

Sed quatenus & animorum & corporum nostrorum vires non solum finitae sunt, verum imbecillae admodum, ac tenues, concedendae sunt illis quaedam refectiones, ac reparationes, vt diutius labori sufficient: aliqui exiguo tempore exhaustae, nihil deinceps valerent. Exercitamenta corporum crebra sint in pueris, nam aetas illa incrementis indiget, ac confirmatione roboris idcirco nec premendi sunt nimium, nec ad opus urgendi, sed permittenda laxamenta intentionis, ne studia odisse incipiant priusquam amare: sic tamen vt ne ad spurcas voluptates delabatur, vnde studia ipsa & infestius oderit.

Compare also Elyot, sig. C5.²

16-17 Stulti in contraria currunt. (Fools run in a contrary direction.)

Horace, Sermones, I. ii. 24. Quoted in Dialogue, sig. A3.²

22 Birding-peece. Fowling piece (OED).

24-5 Rumour layeth each fault, &c. Plutarch, Koralia, 172c. Quoted in North's translation of Plutarch, sig. A7.²

26-9 Protagoras, &c. Diogenes Laertius, De vitis et moribus philophorum, ix.56.

26 a Bird of the same feather. See Tilley, B393.

p.35.6 (continued).

p.36.1 Zani. The clownish servant in commedia dell'arte.

1 Pantaloun. Pantalone, a mask of the Venetian comedy, played as a lean, foolish old man, wearing spectacles, pantaloons, and slippers.

2 Comedy of Pedantius, &c. A Latin play by Anthony Wingfield, first performed on 6 February 1581, probably in the Hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, and printed for the first time in 1631 (G.C. Moore Smith, 'Pedantius, a latin comedy formerly acted in Trinity College, Cambridge', in Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, GeBd, Louvain, 1905, pp. ix-xix). Pedantius was a stock figure in university Latin drama. See also John Harington's note on the play in his translation of the Orlando Furioso, 1591, p.111.

3 Priscianus vapulans. Nicodemus Frischlin's comedy (Strasburg, 1580), one of the many German Latin plays that were often performed by students in universities, which concerns an old grammarian who, after being flogged by scholastics of every kind, finds refuge with Erasmus and Melancthon. It may
be the same play as Puer vapulans, a Latin comedy performed at Jesus College, Cambridge in 1581 or 1582. See F. S. Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age, Oxford, 1914, p. 388. Compare FPD, p. 2.

21 Lillies. William Lily's Latin Grammar, first printed in 1513, and finally issued in the standard version, A Shorte Introduction of Grammar generally to be used, in 1574. From 1540 to 1660 it was the official Latin textbook in English schools.

22 posted. Hastened (CED).

25-6 all Masters to be tyed to one Methode. Attempts to standardize the teaching of Latin grammar had little success, because of the argument about the importance of grammar itself. Writers such as Elyot, Ascham, and Vives minimized grammar study in favour of literature, whilst others like Brinsley saw grammar as an important independent tool of the scholar. See Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 276-92.


28-9 let every Master, &c. Compare Joseph Webbe, Appeale to Truth, In the Controversie betweene Art, & Vse; About the best and most expedient Course in Languages, 1622, pp. 50-1:

Grammar doth defraud vs; nay, it doth confound and drown [poetic licence]. And this begets that other latine Tongue which is adulterate, and daily depraved with new rules and precepts; and so involved and intricate, that how thou should'st either reade, write or speak, saith [Cicero], thou knowest not. And this almost every man perceives, that hath betaken himself to reading of antient Authors, and begins but to taste their elegancie: And this, should every man of wisdome look vnto. For, there is no diligence or subtilty, saith he, that can bring vs to the latin elegancie, vnless we absolutely so renounce Grammar, that wee doe not regard so much as the least rule thereof; but onely rely vpon the judgement and pleasure of the eare, and speake after Custom, so far as it is limited by antient Authors. And thus without any toil we shall bee eloquent. For, Grammar is so far from seeing the foundation of the latine Tongue (or any other); that it is rather the greatest hinderance therein, and cause of all the errors and contentions that daily rise among Grammarians.

32-4 Virgil, Georgicon, iii. 291-5.

p. 37.4 Castalie. A spring on Mount Parnassus, sacred to the Muses.

12 cast. To lay out a piece of ground according to plan (CED).

19-20 first by translating out of Latine, &c. The method of double translation approved by Ascham (sig. CIV).
22 Dosetus. A Sententia Ciceronis by this author has not been traced.

Keacham may intend Dositheus, a Greek grammarian of the fourth century A.D., or Aelius Donatus, whose Latin grammar remained in use throughout the Middle Ages and was recommended by Melancthon.

23 Manutius. Aldo Manutius the younger, Phrases linguae latinae, Cologne, 1571; Brinsley (p.218) recommends 'Manutius phrases and short Epistles'.

23-4 Erasmus his Copia. De duplici copia verborum et rerum, Paris, 1512, a collection of short expressions, phrases and set passages in the tradition of the commonplace book. It had become a classic textbook by Peacham's time and was recommended by Brinsley (p.218). To assure copia, or the free flow of discourse, Erasmus advised that the student collect copia verborum (epithets, idiomatic phrases and figures of speech) and copia rerum (witty sayings, anecdotes, myths and historical incidents of moral interest). See De copia verborum et rerum, i. 7 (Opera, I, 5-6).

24 Drax his Callipeia. Thomas Draxe, Calliepeia: or, a rich store-house of proper, choise and elegant Latin words and phrases, collected for their most part out of all Tullies works, 1612, a collection of Latin and English synonyms; recommended by Brinsley (p.218).

26 haurire ex ipsis fontibus. (To drink from the fountains themselves.)

27 Declamation. Set speech in rhetorical elocution (OED); Brinsley, p.184:

The Declamation being nothing else but a Theame of som matter, which may be controverted, and so handled by parts, when one taketh the Affirmative part, another the Negative, & it may be a third moderateth or determineth betweene both ... [or] a more vehement inuective against some vice ... [or] of praise and dispraise, of persons, cities, or the like.


28 disputation. An exercise in which parties formally attack, defend or question a thesis (OED). Because disputation involved some knowledge of Logic, it was usually reserved for universities. Disputation in schools was practised only in connection with grammar.

31-3 ill example of life, &c. Plato, Leges, 813c-d. See also 766a, 809-10.


p.36.3 disposition. Arrangement or order (OED).

5 nerui orationis. (The sinews of speech.) Compare Cicero, Orator, xix.62, 'Tamen horum oratio neque neruos neque aculeos oratorios ac forense habet'.

Fontanus. Joannes Pontanus (1426-1503); his astronomical treatise, De rebus coelestibus, first appeared in Naples in 1512.

Tullies Offices. Elyot, sig. F1r:

By the time that the childe do com to xvij. yeres of age, to the intent his courage be bridled with reason: hit were nedefull to rede vnto hym some warkes of philosophie: specially that parte that may enforme hym vnto vertuous maners: whiche parte of philosophie is called morall, wherfore there wolde be radde to hym for an introduction two the fyreste bokes of the warke of Aristotel, called Ethicae ... Forthe with wolde folowe the warke of Cicero called in latin De officiis: whervnto yet is no propre englishe worde to be gyuen: but to prouide for it some maner of exposition, it may be sayde in this fourme: Of the dueties and maners appertaynynge to men.

Esopes fables in greke: in whiche argument children moche do delite. And surely it is a moche pleasant lesson ... also in those fables is included moche morall and politike wisedome, wherfore in the teachinge of them, the maister diligently must gader to gyther those fables, whiche may be most accommodate the advancement of some vertue, wherto he perceiuth the childe inclined: or to the rebuke of some vice, wherto he findeth his nature disposed.

And for the most part, wherein and good is done, that is ordinarily effected by the endlessse vexation of the painefull Maisters' (Brinsley, A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles, 1622, p.2).

And hit shal be no reproche to a noble man, to instruct his owne children, or at the leest wayes to examine them by the way of valiaunce or solace, considerynge that the emperour Octavius Augustus, disdayned nat to rede the warkes of Cicero, and Virgile, to his children and neuews. And why shulde nat noble men rather to do, than teache their children howe at dyse and cardes they may cunningly lese & consume theyr owne treasure and subsance: Moreover teachyng representeth the auctoritie of a prince: wherfore Dionyse kynge of Sicile, when he was for tyranny expelled by his people, he came in to Italy, and there, in a commune schole taught grammer, where with when he was of his enemies embraided & called a schole maister, he answered them: that although Sicilians had exiled hym, yet in despite of them all he reigned, notyng he therby the authorite that he had over his scholers.

Elyot quotes Suetonius, Vitae Duodecim Caesarum, ii. 64, and Valerius Maximus, Facta et Dicta, VI. ix. 6.
Ch. 4. Of the dutie of Parents in their Childrens Education

p.40. 1-3 fond and foolish Parents, &c. Plato, Gorgias, 502e.

3 cockering. Pampering (OED).

6 the Law of Lycurgus, &c. Plutarch, Lycurgus, xvi. 4-7.

9 Lucania. A district of southern Italy.

15-21 Horace, Carmina, III. ii. 1-6. The translation is by Peacham.

30 Mercers might saue some paper. The mercer's book, proverbial in the Elizabethan period, kept account of the debts of gallants (OED); Thomas Nashe, A Wonderfull, strange and miraculous, Astronomicall Prognostication, 1591 (Works, 5 vols, edited by R.B. McKerrow, 1904-10, III, 393):

But Jupiter in his exhaltation presageth that divers young Gentlemen shall creepe further into the Mercers Booke in a Moneth then they can get out in a yere.

30-p.41.1 Cittie Laundresses goe make Caudles, &c. Referring to the ingredients of 'yellow starch', a dye much used at that time; Barnaby Rich, The Irish hubbub or the English hue and crie, 1619, p. 4:

Yellow bands are become so common, to euery young giddy-headed Gallant, and light-heel'd Mistresse, that me thinks a man should not hardly be hanged without a yellow band, a fashion so much in vse with the vaine fantastick fooles of this age.

1 Caudle. A warm drink or thin gruel, mixed with wine or ale and sweetened and spiced (CED).

1-2 ten shillings Ordinaries. Fashionable eating-houses, characterized by a set-price meal followed by gambling (OED).

3 Wheele. Spinning-wheel (Heltzel, p. 45, n. 5).

11 serve the Cure. To fulfill the offices of a curate (OED).

12 Impropriation. The annexation of a benefice or its revenues to an individual (OED).

15 aduouson. The right of presentation to a benefice or living (OED).

16-22 if it chance to fall in his time, &c. Compare TT, pp. 21-3:
let him expect no further preferment, but onely (for the present) his bare stipend: But some may tell him, his Master hath many Benefices in his gift; but beleve me, not any that ever he shall be better ... For Simoniacall Patrones are like pick-pockets in a throng, they will not have the purse and money found about them; they presently turne it off to another of their consorts not farre off, who, to avoyd the danger of the Law, hath taken in lease his Advouzons.

23-6 Most Gentlemen will giue better wages, &c. Compare Cleland, p. 29: It is pittie that men should more regard their Horse-boy then their sonnes Tutor, they denye it in words but confirme it in deeds. For to the one they wil allow a pension of twentie or thirtie pounds yearlie, to the other they will not so easilie afford so manie shillings. But this their liberality is worthilie rewarded, when they haue horses wel broken, and varulie sonnes.

27 Dogges are able to make Syllogismes in the fields. The celebrated Cambridge disputation, 'whether dogs can make syllogisms', held before King James I in 1614. See Samuel Clark, A Generall Martyrologie, 1615, pp. 478-80.

29-30 Looke vpon our Nobilitie and Gentry now adaies, &c. Philippe de Comines, Les Memoires de Messire Philippe de Comines, Paris, 1661, pp. 64-5: Et s'il n'eust eu la nourriture autre que les Seigneurs que j'ay veu nourrir en ce Royaume, je ne croy pas que jamais se fust ressours car ils ne les nourrissent seulement qu'à faire les fols en habillemens & en paroles. De nulles lettres ils n'ont congoissance. Vn seul sage homme on n'entremet à l'entour. Ils ont des Gouverneurs à qui on parle de leurs affaires, & à eulx riens: & eulx là disposent de leurs dicts affaires: & tels Seigneurs y a qui n'ont que treize livres de rente, qui se glorifient de dire: Parlez à mes gens: cuydans par cette parole contrefaire les très grans Seigneurs.

35 to view one of them rightly, &c. Seneca, Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales, xxi. 9-10.

p. 42. 4-6 a great blame and imputation, &c. Compare TT, p. 90.

7-8 in recording, and giuing them encouragement, &c. Terence, Hauton Timorumenos, 991-3.

9 long of. Owing to (OED).

17 Origen. Early Christian author (c.185 - c.253), scholar of the Alexandrine school. He combined orthodox Christianity with personal speculations which were rejected by the Church.

18 Porphyrie. Greek Neo-Platonic writer (233 - c.301) celebrated for his antagonism to Christianity.

25 flidge. Fledged, fit to fly (OED).
35 Aristotles Categories. The ten categories or predicaments (substance, quantity, quality, relation, action, passion, where, when, site, habit) were fundamental concepts of Aristotelian logic. Their study had been emphasized by royal reforms of the previous century, and the method, doctrine and terms of the student, in Peacham's time, remained completely Aristotelian. See W.T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, pp. 51-2; Watson, pp. 86-92.

p.43. 3 Ολεσίκαμποι. (To shed fruit immaturity.) Homer, Od. xi. 510.

4 rather Cockles with Caligulas people on the Sand. Suetonius, Vitae, iv. 46.

10 time, the Phisition of all. Diphilus, fr. 117 (T. Knock, Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta, II, 576) from Stobaeus, Florilegium, 124, 25 (Wachsmuth's edition, V, 1129, I Hense). The Greek marginal note translates as 'time is the healer of all grief'.

16-17 Vellem (saith he) in adolescente aliquod redundans, &c. Cicero, De Cratore, II. xxi. 88:

20-1 divino satu editum. (Of divine origin.)

21-2 qui non fit ex quouis ligno. (Which is not made of just any kind of wood.) Erasmus, Adagia, 556D, punning on the wooden statue of Mercury and his name. Quoted by Cleland, p. 13.

25 Lycurgus his whelpes. Plutarch, Moralia, 3a-b, 225f.

27 peccare in genium. (To sin against inclination.) Erasmus, Adagia, 546D.

31 addiction. Inclination (CED, citing Peacham as the second example).

31 Genius. The natural abilities of a person (CED, citing 1649 as the first instance).

32 to contend with her. Cicero, De Cffic. I. xxxi.111:

33 the Spaniel to carrie the Asses loode. See Tilley, 3577.
p.44. 1-2 invita Minerva. (Against the grain.) Cicero, De Cffic.I.xxxi.110-11:

Ex quo magis energit quale sit decorum illud, idem, quia nihil decet
invita (ut aiunt) Minerva, id est adversante, et repugnante natura.

This was a commonplace; compare Vives, De Disciplinis, p. 260, quoting
Horace (De Arte Poetica, 385).

29 Non ulteriorius. (No further.) Perhaps derived from Claude Paradin's
emblem for Charles V, a representation of the pillars of Hercules with the
motto, plus ultra (Symbola Heroica, Antwerp, 1562, sigs. C2v-C3r). Compare
MB, p. 73. For the pillars of Hercules, see Pliny, Hist. Nat. II. lxvii. 167.

33-4 Octavius Augustus Caesar, read the workes of Cicero, &c. See above,

34 p.45.1 Anna the daughter of Alexis, &c. Presumably Anna Comnena's
only work, the Alexiad, a history of the life and times of her father, the
Emperor Alexis I, in which she describes her own education (Migne, PG,
CXXXI, 81-2). She is cited not, as the marginal note suggests, in Jewel's
Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana (1562) but in his later work of 1567,
Defence of the Apologie of the Churche of England, vi. 4 (Works of John


15-16 quod me (saith he) aut mei similem esset remoraturum. (That she
would leave me or one like me behind.) Erasmus, Epistolae ad diversos,
Basle, 1521, p. 652 (Opera, III, 678-9). The marginal attribution, to
Erasmus's Farrago Nova Epistolarum (Basle, 1519) is incorrect.

17 those foure sisters. Mildred, Ann, Elizabeth and Katherine Cooke.
The two oldest were considered the most learned women in England.

20 eternized already by the golden pen. Of George Buchanan (1506-1582),
in his poem, Ad Antonium Cucum Equitem Anglium, & filias doctissimas (Opera
omnia, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1715, II, 95).

20 the Prince of Poets. 'Poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps', the
epithet given to Buchanan on the title-page of his Psalmorum Davidis
paraphrasis poetica (Paris, 1566) by the printer Henricus Stephanus.

30 Geta. The Getae, a Thracian tribe whose name was synonymous with
barbarism. See Cicero, Ad T. Pomponium Atticum, IX. x. 3.

31 Cratippus. The teacher of Cicero (De Cffic. i. 1).
32-5 he proved so notorious a drunkard, &c. Fliny, Hist. Nat. XIV. xxviii. 147, referring to Cicero's son.

p.46. 1 Αὐτοί δὲ ἄκτος. See above, p. 32, l.15.

3-4 Se didicisse Aristotelis Categorias, &c. St. Augustine, Confessiones, iv. 16 (Migne, PL, XXXII, 704):

Et quid mihi proderat quod annos natus ferme viginti, cum in manus meas venissent Aristotelica quaedam, quas appellant decem Categorias; quarum nomine, cum eas rhetor Carthaginensis magister meus buccis typho crepantibus commemoraret, et alii qui docti habebantur, tanquam in nescio quid magnum et divinum suspensus inhisbam; legi eas solus et intellexi?

9-10 he was once at Rome. William of Malmesbury, De gestis regum Anglorum (Migne, PL, CLXXIX, 1014-15), but Bede, in Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, v. 24 (Migne, PL, XCV, 288) claims to have stayed always at Jarrow.

10 Joseph Scaliger. Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), the greatest classical scholar of the Renaissance and the founder of ‘historical criticism’. He issued critical editions of many classical authors, reconstructed the lost chronicle of Eusebius and revolutionized ancient chronology by insisting on the recognition of historical material relating to the Jews, Persians, Babylonians and Egyptians.

16-17 Pace matris Academiae. (With respect to the Alma Mater.) See ME, p.98.
Ch. 5. Of a Gentlemans carriage in the Vniuersity

p.48.6-7 Limbus puerorum. (Border of youth.)

7-8 well-willer. One who is favourably inclined (CED).

10 the Vniuersitie, whereinto you are embodied. To St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1624 he matriculated as a fellow-commoner (aged ten). (Venn, II, 417).

15 nucibus relictis. (The nuts having been left behind.) Erasmus, Adagia, 194E, on the relinquishment of childish sports, alluding to the habit of Roman children to gather nuts.

15 with your gowne you haue put on the man. See Tilley, G388.

26 knot. A patterned flower-bed (CED, citing Peacham as the fourth example).

p.49.17-18 For conference and conuerse was the first Mother, &c. Euripides, Andromache, 683-4. Compare TT, pp. 86-7:

The best acquaintance is with such as you may better your self by, any way, especially in knowledge by discourse and conference (which was the ancient course of learning, according to Euripides, ὑπερμιλίες ἐτεκε ἁγκας, Converse was the mother of Arts) either with general Scollers, Travellers, such as are skilled in the tongues, and in mechanicall Arts, for by conversing with such as you shall husband your time to the best, and take the shortest cut to knowledge, beside, the keeping of such company getteth you the reputation of being understanding and learned as they are, though yet a puisne and a novice in their studies and professions.

21 φιλομαθη, φιλήκουν, και δητητικόν είναι . Plato, Respublica, 535d. See also the discussion of the philosopher's character (535a-b).

24-9 For the companions of your recreation, &c. Compare TT, pp. 76-7:

I have ever found the most solid and durable friendship to have beene among equalls, equalls in age, manners, estates, and professions; that with inferiours is subject to many inconveniences, as lavish & needlesse expending, lending, importunity of entreaty, and sometimes discredit. On the contrary, that with superiours (which I cannot properly call friendship) but raiseth or depresseth a man in valuation high or low, as they please themselves; and this friendship is but a kinda of subjection or slavery.

30 Tanquam in statera. (As if in balance.)

31-2 with Vlysses, to have Minerua, &c. See above, p.5, 1.33.

p.50.2-3 The greedy desire of gaining Time, &c. Seneca, De Brevitate Vitae, i.1-4; iii.1-4.

4 aduice of Erasmus, &c. Erasmus, Confubulatio pia (Opera, I.650).
p.50.4-5 the practise of Flinius secundus, &c. Pliny the Younger, Epistolarum, iii.5, describing the timetable of his uncle, Pliny the Elder.

9-10 Julius Caesar having spent the whole day, &c. Plutarch, Julius Caesar, xvii. 3. Compare North's translation, p.771:

For the most nights he slept in his coch or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do some thing: and in the daytime, he would trauell vp and downe the contrie to see townes, castels, and strong places. He had always a secretarie with him in his coche, who may be still wryte as he went by the way, and a souldier behinde him that caried his sword ... In his warres in CAVLE, he did further exercise him selfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupie two secretaries at a time.

See also Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, liv. 4.

12-13 So carefull and thriftie were they, &c. Erasmus, Declaratio de Fueris (Opera, I, 513-14). Compare A declamation, sig. O7r-O7v:

It is never learnt tymely inough that never is ended. For we muste euer learne as long as we lyue. And in other thyngs the lucre that is loste by slackenes, may be recovered by diligence. Time when it is once flowne awaie (and it flyeth awaie very quickly) may be called againe by no inchauntmentes. For the poets do trifle whiche tell of a fountayne, wherby olde men do as it were wake yong agayne: and the phisicians deceiue you, whych promise a gay flourshyng youth to old men thorowe a certeyn foliche fyte essence I wote not what. Here therfore we ought to be very sparyng, because the losse of tyme may by no meanes be recovered.


23-6 Politian a Canon of Florence, &c. Peacham's source is probably the introduction to Peucer's edition (1588) of Melancthon's Latin translation of Pindar (W.J. Clausius, Politianus, siue de Angeli Bassi Politiani ... vita, scriptis et moribus liber, Magdeburg, 1718, p.50). The story does not appear in Christopher Pezel's edition (1600) of Melancthon's works, cited by Peacham.


28-31 the word of God, &c. Chrysostom, In Epistolam ad Colossenses, ix. 1 (Migne, PG, LXII, 361-2).

32-3 who read ouer the Bible not once, &c. Panormita, ii. 17 (1538, p.41):

Gloriatum assidue Regem scimus, quod Biblia quater & decies cum glossis & commentarijs perlegisset.

33 Postils. Commentaries upon a text of Scripture (OED).

Burgensis. Paul of Burgos (1351-1435), whose Additiones (1429-31) complemented the Postillae of Nicholas of Lyra.

Pro lege & Grege. (For the law and the people.) The Old Testament and the New Testament. See King James, p. 10:

The whole scripture ... is composed of two parts, the Olde and New Testament. The ground of the former is the Law, which sheweth our sinne and conteyneth justice. The grounde of the other is Christ, who pardoning sinne contayneth Grace.

The holy Scriptures and the workes of the Fathers, &c. Einhard, Vita et Gesta Caroli Magni (Migne, PL, XC VII, 48-9):

Legebantur ei historiae et antiquorum res gestae. Delectabatur et libris sancti Augustini, praecipueque his qui de civitate Dei praetitulati sunt.

that even in bed, he would haue his Pen and Inke, &c. Peacham misquotes Einhard (ibid., XC VII, 50):

Discebat artex computandi, et intentione sagaci syderum cursus curiosissime rimabatur. Temptabat et scribre, tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effingendis absesceret; sed parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus.

Compare Cleland (p. 139) who also misreads Einhard:

Charles the Great was very diligent in reading the Bible, & composed great volumes, whereof the Germans brag at this day.

See also Panormita, iv. 31 (1538, p. 115).

that device of Paradine, &c. The emblem first appeared in Gabriele Simeoni's Le Sententiose Imprese, et Dialogo, Lyons, 1560, p. 10, which in 1562 was combined in the same volume with Claude Paradin's Devises Heroiques, Lyons, 1557. Peacham's source was either this collection, Heroica H. Claudii Paradini, Belliicensis Canonici, & D. Gabrielle Symeonis, Symbola, Antwerp, 1562, sig. X9V, or its English translation (1591, p. 336).

Ex vtroque Caesar. (By both Caesar.)

a Serpent wreathed about a Sword, &c. The emblem Initium Sapientiae in KB (p. 2).

Initium Sapientiae. (The beginning of wisdom.) Prov. 9.10, 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom'.

Ch. 6. Of stile in speaking and writing,
and of History

p.53.1-2 Since speech is the Character of a man, &c. Peacham cites De Oratore but the most likely reference is Cicero, Tusculanae Disputationes, V.xvi.47:

qualis autem homo ipse esset, talem eius esse orationem; orationi autem facta similia, factis vitam.

6-9 Where there is a judicious fitting of choise words, &c. Cicero, De Oratore, I.v.17-18.

10 ampullous. Turgid (CED).

13 Plate. A dish or flat sheet of metal engraved with designs or inscriptions (CED).

19 vinetrie. Ornament (CED).

21-2 Hem bene disposita vel verba invita sequuntur, &c. Horace, Ars Poetica, 311. The translation is Peacham's. The first English version of the Ars Poetica was that of Thomas Drant (1567). Ben Jonson's version was not printed until 1640 although composed before 1619.

26-8 Herein were Tiberius, M. Antonie, and Moecenas, &c. Suetonius, Vitae, lxxxvi.2.

28-p.54.1 Verbum insolens tanquam scopulum effugiens. (Avoiding the strange word like a rock in the sea.) Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, I.x.4, and Suetonius, Vitae, ii.86:

Genus eloquenti secutus est elegans et temperatum vitatis sententiarum inepitii atque concinnitae et 'reconditorum verborum' ut ipse dicit, 'fetcribus'; praecipuamque curam duxit sensum animi quam opertissime exprimere.

2 (as Tully willeth) without affectation. Cicero, De Optimo Genero Cratorum, 4:

Nam quoniam eloquentia constat ex verois et ex sententiis, perficiendum est, ut pure et emendate loquentes, quod est Latine, verborum praeterea et propriorum et translatorum elegantiam persequamur: in propriis ut lautissima eligamus, in translatis ut similitudinem secuti verecunde utamuralienis.

3-4 Dum tersiori studemus eloquendi formulae, &c. (While we aim at a more refined eloquence, we lose, without being aware of it, that open and clear
manner of expression.) Peacham gives the wrong source; the letter first appeared in the Opus Epistolarum D. Erasmi, Basle, 1529, p.973 (Opera, III, 1840), and not in the earlier Farrago (1519).

6-7 like rich hangings of Arras or Taiistry, &c. Plutarch, Themistocles, xxxix.3. Compare North's translation, p.139:

That mens wordes did properly resemble the stories and imagery in a pece of arras: for both in the one & in the other, the goodly images of either of them are seene, when they are vnfolded and layed open. Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut up, & close folded.

15-18 Sir Nicholas Bacon, &c. Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie, 1589, p.117:

I haue come to the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, & found him sitting in his gallery alone with the works of Quintilian before him, in deede he was a most eloquent man, and of rare learning and wisedome, as euer I knew England to breed.

16-17 Lord of S. Albanes. Bacon was ennobled in 1621.

29-35 as Longolius was laughed at by the learned, &c. Longolius (see above, p.17, 11.9-10) became a byword for slavish Ciceronianism in the sixteenth century. 'Longolius simiolus est Ciceronis' wrote Vives (De Disciplinis, p.297). He had bound himself by an oath to abstain not only from every word but also from every case and number of a word that could not be found in Cicero. See Erasmus, Ciceronianus (Opera, I, 1016ff.).

34 esse posse videatur. (Seem to be.)

p.55.2 Complexion. The appearance of the skin as painted by an artist, with a pun on 'combination' (a second meaning of 'complexion'), in the sense that the complexion is made from the mixing, or combining, of paints. Compare Heltzel, p.56, n.9.

4 A gift of heaven. Exod. 4.12; God promised eloquence to Moses.

17-20 There wanted not in him (saith Tacitus), &c. This is the first of many borrowings from Elyot, first noted briefly by D.T. Starnes ('Elyot's Governour and Peacham's Compleat Gentleman', MLR, 22 (1927), 319-22). Starnes listed only six of these corresponding passages.

These lines, together with 11.20-4, are drawn directly from Elyot, sig. H2r-v:

In so moche as Cornelius Tacitus, an excellent oratour, historien, & lawiar, saith: Surely in the bokes of Tulli, men may deprehende, that in hym lacked nat the knowledge of geometrie, ne musike, ne grammar, finally of no maner of art that was honest: he of logike perceived the subtilitie of that parte that was mocall all the commoditie, and of all things the
chiefe motions and causis. And yet for all this abundance, and as it were a garnered heaped with all manner sciences; there failed nat in him substantiall lernyng in the lawes Ciule, as it may appiere as wel in the bokes, whiche he him selfe made of lawes, as also, and most specially, in many of his most eloquent orations, whiche if one well lerned in the lawes of this realme, dyd rede and wel vnderstande, he shulde finde, specially in his orations called Actiones agayne Verres, many places where he shulde espie, by likelihode the fountaynes, from whense proceeded divers groundes of our commune lawes.

The quotation is from Tacitus, Dialogus de Oratoribus, 30.

26-7 A recta conscientia transuersum vnguem, &c. (It is always wrong for anyone to depart from a consciousness of right.) Cicero, Epistolarum ad Atticum, xiii. 20.

28 Gyges ring. Cicero, De Offic. III. ix.38. The shepherd Gyges became king of Lydia by means of a gold ring which made him invisible. Cicero’s discussion is about apparent expediency and justice and personal advantage versus moral rectitude.

28-30 whiche booke let it not seeme contemptible, &c. Jewel, Oratio contra Khetoricam (Works, VIII, 218):

Nostri homines proximis hisce annis, cum ne umbram (non dicam eloquentiae) sed Latini purique sermonis attigissent: cum Cicero, contemptus et spretus, in situ et tenebris jaceret: cum Scotus omnes scholarum aditus et itinera literarum possideret.

By Peacham's time all Cicero's works had come to be regarded as suitable school and university textbooks. See Ascham, sig. K3r, and Elyot, sig. H2r.

33-5 being sufficient (as one said of Aristotles Rhétoriques), &c. Compare William Cecil, Certaine Precepts, Or Directions, For The ordering and carriage of a mans life, 1617, pp.1-2:

In mentioning whereof I meane not only a bare and Hystoricall knowledge, but with a reall and practical vse adioyned, without which, though with a seemely assumption, you could expresse to the Worlde in a former habite and living portrayture, all Aristotles Morall vertues, and walke that whole booke in Life and Action.

p.56.9-11 Et hanc bene loquendi laudem, &c. (And he sought to bring to perfection that merit of correct speech by diligent and enthusiastic studies of a recondite and esoteric kind.) Cicero, Brutus, lxxi. 252:

tamen, ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multi litteris et eis quidem reconditis et exquisitis summoque studio et diligentia est consecutus.

Caesar was generally regarded as a stylistic exemplar in the sixteenth century and Cicero's praise was often quoted in this context. Compare Jean
Bodin, Methodus Historica (Basle, 1576, p.47):

praesertim cum Ciceronis grauissimo testimonio Caesar omnes historicos superasse videatur, ob id ipsum, quod eius historia nuda, simplex, recta, & quasi omnibus detractis ornamentis vnicuique iudicanda proponatur.

Compare also Vives on Caesar, 'cui Cicero laudem tribuit puri & incorrupti sermonis Latini' (p.293).

11-13 In quo (saith Quintilian) tanta vis, &c. Quintilian, Inst. Orat.X.i.114.

20-1 Ex tignis, trabibus, fibulis, sublicis, longurijs. (From beams, tree trunks, iron clasps, stakes, nails.) Caesar, Commentarii de Bello Gallico,iv.17.

26-8 Lipsius, Ramus, Giovann de Hamellis. (1) Justus Lipsius, De militia Romana (Antwerp, 1595); (2) Petrus Ramus, Liber de Caesar Militia (Paris, 1559); (3) Agostino Ramelli, Le diverse ed artificiose machine (Paris, 1588): this work discussed, among other things, the mechanics of classical military machines.

29 Sir Clement Edmondes. Edmondes (1564-1622) translated all Caesar's works, except book viii of Commentarii de Bello Gallico. His Observations, vpon the fiue first books of Caesars Commentaries (1600) was a translation of de Bello Gallico, i-v, with notes on the text. The translation of books vi and vii appeared in 1604, and a further edition of books i-vii in the same year. In 1609 these were combined with Edmondes's translation of de Bello Civili, i-iii. The only previous English versions were John Tiptoft's translation (1530) of Caesar's description of Britain and Golding's De Bello Gallico (1565).

31 his Astronomy. De Astris. Two other works by Caesar have not survived, De Analogia and Anticatones. See Suetonius, Vitae,ii.56.

p.57.2 E cuius ore nil temere excidit. (Nothing fell from his lips casually.)

4 a kind of loftie State and Maiestie. Compare Elyot, sig. E8v:

the consultations & orations wryten by Tacitus do importe a maiestie with a compendious eloquence therin contained.


9-11 a farre greater worke, &c. Savile (1549-1622) was one of the forty-seven scholars commissioned to prepare the Authorized Version of the Bible
9-11 (continued)
(1611). His contemporary reputation for learning is supported by his
great edition of the works of Chrysostom, published in eight volumes
between 1610 and 1613.

11 Suus cuique linguae genius. (A genius for every language.)

18 sublesto fide. (Ready deserters.) Plautus, Bacchides, III.vi.13.

24 Titus Liuius, whom like a milky Fountaine, &c. Elyot, sig. E7:

And than accordyng to the counsayle of Quintilian, it is best
that he begynne with Titus Liuius, nat onely for his elegancie of writinge,
whiche floweth in him like a fountaine of sweete milke.

27 In his first Decade. Livy's history of Rome, Ab Urbe Condita, consisted
of 142 books, divided into decades of ten books.

p.52.17-18 the Law of Volumnius Saxa, &c. Livy records that Quintus Voconius
Saxa promulgated the law forbidding women to inherit property (XLI).

20-1 Quintus Curtius, who passing eloquently, &c. Elyot, sig. E7:

Quintus Curtius, who writeth the life of kyng Alexander elegantly
& swetely. In whom may be founden the figure of an excellent prince, as
he that incomparably excelled al other kinges and emperours, in wysedome,
hordynes, strength, policie, agilite, valiaunt courage, nobilitie, liberal-
itie, and curtaisie, where in he was a spectacle or marke for all princes
to loke on. Contarye wise, when he was ones vainquisshed with voluptie &
pride, his tyranny and beastly crueltie abhorreth all reders.

27 ἐνώσιον ἄχθος ἀρκύρη. Homer, Iliad, xviii.104; the
marginal note is inaccurate.

p.59.7-13 The Romane Souldiers being amazed, &c. Sallust, Bellum Iugurthin-
um, xxxviii.5-6.

15-16 why lugurtha assaulted Cirtha, &c. These are two of the main events
in Sallust's Bellum Iugurthinum. Jugurtha, King of Numidia, besieged a
rival in the garrison of Cirta. Two embassies from Rome attempted unsuccess-
fully to persuade him to raise the siege. Numidia was the province assigned
to Metellius who repeatedly defeated Iugurtha but found it impossible to
subdue him. Jugurtha was finally captured by the Romans and executed in
104 B.C.

20 shutting vp. Condensing in brief expression (OED, citing Feacham as
the first example).

22 Asyndeta's. Greek corresponding to the Latin dissolutio; the absence
of connecting particles between phrases.
22-3 as the most learned have out of him observed. J.C. Scaliger, Poetices, iv. 28 (Lyons, 1561, p.198):

Paratur haec figura ad amplificationem, ad celeritatem, ad impetum animi.

The marginal reference is inaccurate.

25-6 non in Philosophia solum, &c. (Not only in Philosophy but in the exercise of speech to join the Latin with the Greek.) Cicero, De Offic. i.1.

28-p.60.2 that golden Cyri paedia of Xenophon, &c. Cicero, Tusc. Disput.II. xxvi.62, but Peacham's source is Elyot, sigs. E7*-E8*:

Xenophon, being both a philosopher and an excellent capitaine, so invented and ordered his warke named Paedia Cyri: which may be interpreted the Childedhode or discipline of Cyrus, that he leaueth to the reders thereof an incomparable swetenes and example of lyuynge, specially for the conducystynge and well ordring of hostes or armyes. And therefore the noble Scipio who was called Affricanus as well in peace as in warre was never seene without this boke of Xenophon.

Hoby (sig. H3r) gives the story.

5 That I account vniuersall, &c. Compare Bodin, pp.13-15:

Communis plurium hominum vel ciuitatum gesta narrat; idque bifariam: aut enim plurium populorum, puta Persarum, Graecorum, Aegyptiorum: aut omnium quorum modo res gestae proditae sunt, vel maxime illustrium ... Vniuersam historiam appello, quae vel omnium, vel maxime illustrium populorum, vel quorum facta prodita sunt, ab ortus cuiusque principio res bello domique gestas complectitur.

8-9 Justine, &c. (1) Justin (second or third century A.D.). A Latin abridgement of the universal history of Trogus Pompeius; (2) Diodorus Siculus (c.40 B.C.). Bibliotheca Historica, a history of the world from mythical times to Caesar's conquest of Gaul; (3) Zonaras, twelfth-century monk at Mount Athos and private secretary to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus. Annales traced events from the creation to the death of Alexius in 1118; (4) Grosius (c.A.D.500), associated with St.Jerome and St.Augustine. Historia adversus Paganos, a universal history and geography, translated into English by King Alfred; (5) Marcus Sabellicus (1436-1506), Italian scholar. De situ urbis Venetae and Rerum Venetiarum ab urbe condita libri xxxiii; (6) Joannes Carion (1499-1537), Protestant scholar and theologian. Chronica (Wittenberg, 1532), a summary of world history.

A more comprehensive list of universal and special histories is given by Vives, pp.354ff.

11 For speciall Historie, &c. Compare Bodin, p.76:
Deinde ab universis paulatim ad singula delabemur, eo tamen ordine quo in tabulis chronicorum sunt comprehensa. Et quoniam a Chaldais, Assyris, Phaeniciis, & Aegyptis, Reipublicae gubernandae ratio, disciplinas, humanitas denique ipsa profecta est, imprimis illorum antiquitates investigabimus; non solum in scriptoribus qui proprie de illis scrips sunt, vt Berosus, Metasthenes, Herodotus.

Peacham has omitted modern vernacular historians, such as Comines and Guicciardini, whom he himself quotes. See Cleland, pp.152-3, and Vives, p.360, who writes that Valera, Froissart, Monstrelet and Comines are as worthy of note as Greek and Latin writers:

quorum multi sunt legi & cognosci non minus digni, quam plerique de Graecis, vel Latinis.

16-17 the first spreadeth it selfe, &c. Compare Bodin, p.19:

Haec autem quae a nobis de ordine historiarum dicta sunt, Cosmographiae similitudine facillime intelliguntur, huius enim tanta est cum historia cognatio & affinitas, vt altera alterius pars esse videatur, & vero Scytharum, Indorum, Aethiopum, Americorum historias, a geographis duntaxat haussimus & expressimus, praeter haec historici geographicis descriptionibus vtuntur, & historici terrarum regiones semper describunt, vt si ars vlla historico necessaria sit, profecto geographia summe necessaria videatur.

18-19 the second, groweth and gathereth strength, &c. Ibid., p.13:

quod item multis modis fieri solet, cum vnius temporis, scilicet diei cuiusque, vel mensis, vel anni: vnde ephemerides siue diurna, & annales dictae: aut ab ortu cuiusque ciuitatis, vel ab extrema memoria, vel ab orbe condito Kerumpublicarum initia, incrementa, status, conversiones, exitus memorantur: quod bifariam quoque fit, breuiter aut copiose: ex quo nomen habent chronica & chronologiae.

20 the golden Bow Proserpina gave Aeneas. The golden bough. See Virgil, Aeneid, vi. 136-211.

21 Lux veritatis. (The light of truth.) Cicero, De Orat. II.ix.36:

Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi oratoris, immortalitati commendatur?

This frequently quoted phrase had appeared in the frontispiece to Raleigh's History of the World (1614).

23 For all Historie in times past, &c. Compare Bodin, p.13:

Annales vero a Cicerone dicuntur, cum sine vllis ornamentis, sine anxia causarum disquisitione, gesta cuiusque; anni narrantur, erat inquit Cicero, historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio.

24 Annalium Confectio. Cicero, De Orat. II.xii.52, 'Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio'.
ne sis peregrinus domi. Cicero, De Crat. I. lviii. 249, 'in nostra patria peregrini'. The phrase also was a commonplace. Compare Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia (Opera, Edinburgh, 2 vols, 1715, I, fo. *1b) and Cleland, p.149. Peacham uses the same expression in TT, pp.143-4.

M.Camden. William Camden, Britannia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et Insularum adjacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio (1586); Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, ad annum Salutis MDLXXXIX (1615).

Antiquarian studies in the sixteenth century arose partly from the patriotic wish to record the topographical history of a country and partly from the humanist's desire to imitate the earlier antiquarian works of classical writers such as Strabo, Varro and Pausanias. Their English followers, Camden and Selden, both mentioned by Peacham, were among the best known, but he omits the equally important Leland, Lambarde, Harrison and Stowe, appearing unaware of the significance of English antiquarian studies, which first attempted to apply a humanist' methodology to English history. See G.P. Krapp, The Rise of English Literary Prose (New York, 1915), pp.438-48.

M. John Selden. John Selden, Jani Anglorum facies altera (1610); Titles of honor (1614). Selden's Mare Clausum, seu de Dominio Maris libri duo, written at the request of James I in 1618, supported the English claim to the dominion of the seas. Although it was not published until 1635, Peacham knew the manuscript version.

Giraldus, Geoffrey, Ranulph Higden, &c. (1) Giraldus Cambrensis (c.1146-c.1220). De rebus a se gestis, an account of his life and times; (2) Geoffrey of Monmouth. Historia Regum Britanniae, first issued c.1139; (3) Ranulf Higden (d.1364), Benedictine monk. Polychronicon, a universal history down to his own time; (4) Thomas Walsingham, fifteenth-century monk. Of six chronicles assigned to his name, the most important is the Historia Anglicana. This runs from 1272 to 1422 and is practically the only account of domestic affairs during the first twenty years of the fifteenth century.

cum saeculo caecutire. (Become blind with age.)

Polydore Virgil, &c. Vergil (1470-1555), commissioned by Henry VII to write a history of England, published his Anglicae Historiae Libri XXVI between 1534 and 1555. It was the first English history to use the humanist scientific method, and because it rejected the legends of King Arthur and the Trojan settlement of Britain was strongly criticized by English readers. After the Reformation Vergil and his work also came under attack because
8-16 (continued)
of his Catholicism, but his reputation was most damaged by the false
accusation, first made by John Foxe in Actes and Monuments (1563, p.174), that
he burnt his original sources, civil and ecclesiastical documents and
records. In Feacham's time Vergil's 'embezelments' were still deprecated.
Not until the nineteenth century were historians able to demonstrate the
existence of records assumed to have been destroyed (The Anglia Historia
of Polydore Vergil, edited by Denys Hay, 1950, p.xxxiv; J.W. Thompson,
22-4 what can be more profitable, &c. Diodorus Siculus, Bib. Hist. i.1.

25-8 Bodin tells vs of some, &c. Bodin, pp.5-6:

> quae certe voluptas est eiusmodi, vt omnibus interdum corporis
> & animi morbis sola medeatur. testes sunt, vt alios omittam, Alphonsus
> ac Ferdinandus Hispaniae & Siciliae reges, quorum alter a T. Liuto, alter
> a Q. Curtio valetudinem amissam, quam a medicis non poterant, recuperarunt.
> testis est etiam Laurentius Medices (is qui literarum parens usurpatur) qui
> sine villis medicamentis (quanganquam historia salutare est medicamentum) a
> morbo conualuisse dicitur, ex eius historiae narratione quae furtur de
> Conrado III. Imper. qui cum Guisilphum Bauariae ducem obsidione diuturna
> fregisset, nec villis conditionibus a propsectaque vbris euersione deducetur, ad extremum victus nobilium obscura quaerantur, ut inuioiatae abirent, ea lege, vt nihil ex vribe, nisi quod humeris possent, exportarent. tum illae confidentia maiore dicam an pietate, ducem ipsum, maritos, liberos, parentes ab humeris suspenses gestare coeperunt: ex quo
> Imperator tantam voluptatem coepit, vt effusis prae gaudio lachrymis, non
> modo feritatem & iracundiam ex animo penitus deposeverit, verumetiam vrbi
> pepercerit, & amicitiam cum hoste omnium acerrimo contraxerit.

See Burton, p.354.

28 my late quartane ague. See above, p.8, I.16.

29-30 Valeat Avicenna, vivat Curtius. (Farewell Avicenna, long live Curtius.)

Fanornita, i.43 (1538, pp.14-15):

> Aegrotat rex Capuae, & multi multa pro suo quisque ingenio,
> ac studio oblectamenta manyaque aegro regi cum excogitarent, ego quoque
> a Caieta accersitus statim aduolaui, deferens & ipse mecum fomenta &
> medelas meas, hoc est libellulos, quos ego intellegebam, illi quam maxime
> placituros, in quibus Curtiam bonis, ut a iunt, auspicijs legendum exhibui.
> Ille res gestas Alexandre a disertissimo uiro prescriptas: ea hilaritate,
> ea auiditate, ea denique felicitate coepit audire, ut quod medici obstupescerent
> eodem ipso die, quo legere coeperamus, aegra omni valetudine leuatus ac pene
> confirmatus euaserit. Itaque posthabitis caeteris omnium acerrimo aceremo
> cum hoste omnium absoluimus. Exque eo die frequenter in medicos rex locatus, Auicennam velut
> parabolam parufacere, Curtium laudibus cumulare.

The medical writings of the Persian philosopher and physician Avicenna (980-
1037) were widely read in European universities in the Middle Ages and early
Renaissance. Quintus Curtius was a first-century Roman historian of Alexander
the Great. North (sig. A6°) gives this story.
the Chians their Hippocrates. Peacham confuses the celebrated physician, Hippocrates of Cos, with Hippocrates of Chios, a Pythagorean philosopher.

the opinion of Gaza, &c. North (sig. A7\textsuperscript{r}) gives the story.

p.62.4-7 he liued so neere the times of the Apostles, &c. Seneca (C.4 B.C.-A.D.65) and St. Paul (d. A.D.67), born within a few years of each other, were both executed under Nero. Their supposed correspondence was held to be authentic by St. Jerome (De \textit{Viribus illustribus}, 12). Although early Renaissance scholars had conclusively proved that these letters were not genuine, Peacham is reluctant to dismiss the idea that Seneca knew St. Paul. See J.B. Lightfoot, 'St. Paul and Seneca', in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, edited by J.B. Lightfoot, 1879, pp.270-333.

7-8 to haue beene a Christian. Tertullian (A.D.160-240) first described Seneca as 'saepe noster' (De \textit{Anima}, 20). This view persisted throughout the Middle Ages, when the \textit{Epistolae ad Lucilium} and Seneca's moral essays, \textit{De Clementia} and \textit{De Beneficiis}, were credited with Christian principles, as was the work of Plutarch. See Theodoretus, Bishop of Cyprus, Graecarum affectionum curatio, ii.10 (Migne, PG, LXXXIII, 860-1, 1061-4).

11-13 he came ouer hither into Brittaine, &c. Dion Cassius, \textit{Historia Romana}, LXII.ii.1.


25 Loy talking to his pigges. This and the following line are found in Thomas Nashe's \textit{Lenten Stuffe} (1599) (Works, edited by R.B. McKerrow, 5 vols, 1904-10, III, 148). St. Loy (or St. Eligius), goldsmith and patron saint of horses and farriers, appears in Chaucer's Friar's Tale.

25-6 John de Indagine declaiming in the praise of wild geese. In \textit{Lenten Stuffe} (Works, III, 149), Nashe mentions 'Iohannes de Indagine and his quire of dorbellists'. Of the two writers of this name, a Carthusian monk of the fifteenth century and a writer on astrology and physics of the early sixteenth century, McKerrow suggests that Nashe refers to the former (IV, 376).

30-1 the life of richard the third written by Sir Thomas Moore. More's \textit{Life of Richard III}, composed about 1513, was not published in an authentic form until 1557 (in English) and 1566 (in Latin). Despite its occasionally archaic language, this first English humanist biography was recognized by


The Histories written by Sr Thomas More, (some few Antiquated Words excepted) contain a clear and proper Phrase.
The Arcadia of Sr Philip Sidney is most famous for rich Conceit, and Splendour of Courtly Expressions, warily to be used by an Historian ... Mr Hookers Preface to his Books of Ecclesiastical Policy is a singular and choice Parcel for our vulgar Language. Dr Hayward's Phrase and Words are very good; only some have wish'd that in his Henry the 4th he had not called Sir Hugh Linn by so light a Word as 'Madcap', tho' he were such ... Most of all Sr Francis Bacon's Writings which have the freshest, and most savory form and aptest utterances, that (as I suppose) our Tongue can have.

32 one of the foure columnes of our language. Du Bartas, *La Seconde Semaine* (Oeuvres, Paris, 1611, 2 vols, II, 211):

> Le parler des Anglois a pour fermes piliers<br>Thomas More & Bacon, tous deux grands Chancelliers:<br>Qui seurant leur langage, & le tirant d'enfance,<br>Au scauoir politiques ont conioint l'eloquence.<br>Et le Milor Cydne qui Cigne doux-chantant,<br>Va les flots orgueilleux de Tamise.<br>

Compare Sylvester's popular translation (1605-6, 2 vols, I, 433), which loses the image of the 'piliers':

> Cur English Tongue, three famous Knights sustaine;<br>Moore, Bacon, Sidney: of which, former twaine<br>High Chancellors of England weaned first<br>Our Infant-phase (till then but homely nurst)<br>And childish toys, and rudenes chacing thence,<br>To ciuill knowledge, ioyn'd sweet eloquence.<br>And (world-mourn'd) Sidney, warbling to the Thames<br>His Swan-like tunes, so courts her coy proud streams.

Du Bartas' reference to these English writers was well known; it was mentioned in 1592 by Nashe in *Pierce Penilesse* (Works, I, 193-4).

33-4 other peeces of the excellent Master, &c. Peacham's note refers to The historie of the raigne of King Henry the seventh, entered in the Stationers' Register on 9 February 1622 and published later that year.

35-6 both by Father and Mother. For Bacon's father, see above, p.54, 1.15. His mother was Ann, second daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. See above, p.45, 1.17.
36 M. Hooker his Politie. Richard Hooker, Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie (1594-7).

36-p.63.1 Henrie the fourth, well written by S. John Hayward. The first part of the life and raigne of King Henrie IIII (1599).

1-2 that first part of our English Kings by M. Samuel Daniel. The first part of the historie of England (1612); The collection of the historie of England (1618). The former ends at 1154 and the latter at 1307.

2 There are many others I know. Peacham does not name Holinshed, Speed, or Edward Hall.

4 the last Earle of Northampton. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton (1540-1614). His reputation as a writer rests on A defensatiue ag. the poyson of supposed prophesies (1583), an attack on judicial astrology, on devotional treatises and much private correspondence.

12 Sir Bevis. Bevis of Hampton, a popular verse romance of the early fourteenth century; seven editions appeared between 1500 and 1625.

13 Owleglasse. The English form of Eulenspiegel, the scapegrace hero of a collection of German or Flemish satirical tales published in 1519. An abridgement was translated into English by William Copland as Howleglasse about 1560.

13 Nashes herring. A burlesque panegyric of the red herring in Thomas Nashe's Lenten Stuffe.

27 Poldavie. Coarse canvas or sacking (CED).

p.64.8-16 King Alphonsus about to lay the foundation, &c. Panormita, i.44 (1538, p.15):

Cum inclytam illam arcem Neapolitanam instaurare instituisset, Vitruuij librum, qui de architectura inscribitur, afferri ad se iussit. Allatus est, quandoquidem in promptu erat Vitruuius meas ille quidem, sine ornatu aliquo, sine asseribus: quem rex simul atque inspexit, non decere hunc potissimum librum, qui nos quomodo, contegamur, tam belle doceat, detectum incedere, eumque mihi perquam polite ac subito cooperiri mandauit.

22 Pale. Dim (CED).
Ch. 7. Of Cosmographie

p.66.4 Ariadne. Gave Theseus the thread that guided him out of the Cretan labyrinth (Hyginus, Fabella, 42).

6 Coelestiall Sphaere. Peacham bases his account of the cosmos on Thomas Blundeville's Exercises (1594).

10 fixed stars. Thought to be fixed in the eighth sphere; Blundeville, Exercises, 1594, sigs. T4V-T5F:

They are fastned in this heauen, like knots in a knottye board, hauing no moouing of themselues, but are mooued according to the moouing of this eight Sphaere or heauen wherein they are fixed.

10 erratique. The planets, from the Greek ολανιτζε, 'wanderer'.

15-19 the subject of Geographie, &c. Ptolemy, Geographia, i. i. Compare C. Müller's translation, 2 vols, Paris, 1883, I, 3:

Geographia pictura lineari imitatur cognitam terrae partem universam cum iis solummodo rebus quae universe ei sunt annexae.

The quotations from Ptolemy are probably drawn from such popular textbooks as that of Blundeville (F.K. Johnson, Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England, Baltimore, 1937, p.16).

p.67.7-9 we doubt at Paris, &c. Etienne Labourot, Les Contes Facecieux Du Sieur Gaulard, Paris, 1608, sig. E9r:

Se pourmenant sur le pont de Dole, & voyant la Lune pleine apparente proche l'Horizon, qui se monstrloit fort grande. Il vous assure, dit-il, que nous sommes bien-heureux en ce pays: car nostre Lune est plus grande que celle de Paris. Il pensoit qu'il y en avoit une pour chaque ville.


18-20 what a memorable victorie, &c. Leonidas' great defence of Thermopylae, a narrow pass between Mt. Oeta and the sea on the coast of Thessaly, took place in 480 B.C. The Greeks were finally overwhelmed by the Persians, Leonidas was killed, having been betrayed by Ephialtes, a Malian.

21-3 the foule overthrow that Crassus receiued, &c. Defeated by the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 B.C., Crassus was subsequently murdered by them.

24-8 Alexander, therefore taking any enterprise, &c. Strabo, Geographia, II. i. 6.
Edward Wright (c.1558-1615), wrote mainly on navigation. His major work, *Certaine Errors in Navigation*, 1599, corrected Mercator's projection for the transference of the map of the sphere onto a plane. For his acquaintance with Prince Henry, see Thomas Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, 1760, pp. 389, 453.

Punctum, or a pricke. Blundeville, sig. R7v:

A point called in Latine punctus, is a thing supposed to be indivisible, having neither length, breadth, nor depth.

A Line. Ibid., sig. R7v:

A line called in Latine linea, is a supposed length, having neither breadth nor thickness.

Superficies either plaine, Convexe or Concave. Ibid., sig. R7v:

Superficies or upperface, is that which onely hath length and breadth, without depth, which is twofould, that is to say, plaine and crooked ... A plaine superficies is that which lyeth straight betwixt his lines ... & a crooked superficies is that which goeth bowing and lyeth not straight betwixt his lines ... Againe superficies being considered in an hollow body, as a barrell, tunne, or vault, may be devided into two other kinds, that is Conuexe, and Concaue, for the upper part of such vault is said to be conuexe, & the inward part concaue.

Your Angels right, blunt and sharpe. Ibid., sigs. R7v-R8v:

A plaine Angle is when two lines being drawne vpon a plaine superficies not directly one against another, but so as by meeting or touching one another in one selfe point, they may make a plaine Angle ... For if two lines be drawne directly one against another, though they meete in one point yet they make no Angle, but rather one selfe line ... Of plaine Angles, some are called right line angles, because that both the lines whereof it consisteth are right, and some are called crooked line angles, because that both lines are crooked, & some are said to be mixt, because the one line is crooked and the other right ... If one right line standing vpon another right line do make two equall angels, that is to say, of ech side one, then eyther of those Angles that is a right Angle, and the line so standing upon his fellow, is called the perpendicular or plumble line ... A blunt Angle, is that which is greater then a right Angle ... A sharpe Angle, is that which is lesser then a right Angle ... so as there be in all three Angles, that is right, blunt, and sharpe, in Latine rectus, obtusus, & acutus.

Figures, Circles, Semicircles, &c. Blundeville (sig. R8v-v) discusses these shapes.

'The first booke of the Sphaere. *A plaine Treatise of the first principles of Cosmographie, and specially of the Sphaere*, the second of six treatises in the first edition of Blundeville's *Exercises*.
What special kindes of knowledge are comprehended under this Science [cosmography]?

These foure, Astronomie, Astrologie, Geographie, and Chorographie.

What is Astronomy?

Astronomy is a Science, which considereth and describeth the magnitudes and motions of the celestiall or superiour bodies.

What is Chorographie?

It is the description of some particular place, as Region, Ile, Citie, or such like portion of the earth seuered by itselfe from the rest.

12-17 The Cœlestiall bodies, &c. A description of the Ptolemaic universe.

Peacham cites Christopher Clavius, In Sphaeram Ioannis De Sacro Bosco (Rome, 1581), an elementary redaction of the Ptolemaic system according to Sacro Bosco's Tractatus de Sphaera (Ferrara, 1472).

26-7 The Imperiall Heauen, &c. Blundeville, sig. T1r:

The imperiall heauen (as our auncient Deuines affirmes) is immooueable and being created by God the first day that he began the first creation of the world, was by him immediately replenished with his ministers the holy Angels, and this heauen being the foundation of the world, is most fine and pure in substance, most round of shape, most great in quantitie, most cleare in qualitie, and most high in place, where God and his Angels are said to dwell.

28-31 The tenth Heauen or first mouer, &c. Ibid., sig. T1v:

This heauen is also of a most pure and cleare substance and without starres, and it continually moueth with an equall gate from East to West, making his resolution in 24. houres, which kind of mouing is otherwise called the diurnall or daily mouing, & by reason of the swiftnesse thereof, it violently carieth & turneth about all the other heauens that are beneath it from East to West, in the selfe same space of 24. houres, whether they will or not, so as they are forced to make their owne proper revolutions, which is contrary from West to East every one in longer or shorter time, according as they be far or neare placed to the same.

32-p.69.3 The ninth, or Christalline heauen, &c. Ibid., sigs. T1v-T2r:

The ninth heauen is also cleare of substance, and without starres, hauing two mouinge, the one from East to West vpon the poles of the world, according to the daily mouing of the first moueable, and the other from West to East vpon his owne poles, according to the succession of the signes of the Zodiakhe, which is the first moueable, turning so slowly about as it maketh but one degree in 100. yeares, and accompliseth his full resolution in 36000. yeares, or as Alfonse saith in 49000. yeares ... Yet Plato was of another opinion, and therefore this resolution was called, magnus annus Platonis, that is to say, the great yeare of Plato, because hee affirmed that when this resolution was once compleat, all things should be in the same estate wherein they were at the first, and that he should then stand reading to his Schollers in the selfe same chaire wherein he stood at that present ... Some do call it the Christalline heauen, because of the clearnesse thereof.
The eight heavens otherwise called the firmament, is a most glorious heaven adorned with all the fixed stars. The motion of this heaven is threefold, for first it turneth about every day from East to West in 24 hours, according to the motion of the first moveable, otherwise called the diurnal motion. Secondly it moveth from West to East, according to the motion of the ninth heaven, which maketh but one degree in 100 years, and this motion is called motus angium Stellarum fixarum. Thirdly it moveth sometime towards the South, and sometime towards the North, by virtue of his own proper motion, called in Latin motus trepidationis, that is to say, the trembling motion.

secundum primum Mobile. (According to the first mover.)

motus trepidationis. (Motion of trepidation.)

The sphere of the world, &c. Blundeville, sig. T4v:

Of circles which are imagined to be in the firmament, and whereof a sphere representing the shape of the world is commonly made, be in all 10 that is to say, the Equinoctiall, the Zodiacal, the two Colures, the Horizon, the Meridian, the two Tropiques and the two polar circles, of which circles some be greater and some lesser.

The Equinoctiall is a great circle, which being in every part equally distant from the two poles of the world, deuideth the sphere in the very midst thereof, into two equal parts, and therefore it is called of some, the girdle of the world ... And by reason that this circle deuideth the world in the very midst, those that dwell right under it, are said to have no Latitude either Northward or Southward, to whom the dayes and nights are always equal.

The Zodiacal is an oblique circle, &c. Ibid., sig. T5v:

It is a broad, oblique, or slope circle, having a circular line in the midst thereof, called the Ecliptique line, and deuideth the sphere into two equal parts, by crossing the Equinoctiall with oblique angles in two points, that is, in the beginning of Aries ... the firmament is deuided by the spaces described in the Zodiacal, and appointed to the 12 signes ... it hath 16 degrees in breadth, that is, eight degrees on each side of the Ecliptique line ... the whole longitude thereof containeth 360 degrees ... The Zodiacal turneth about upon his own proper Poles from West to East.

Blundeville describes in detail the signs of the zodiac, sig. T8r.

The two Colures, &c. Ibid., sig. V5v:

They are two great moveable circles, passing through the Poles of the world, crossing one another in the said Poles with right Sphærical angles, by means whereof they deuide the whole sphere into four equal parts, of which two colures the one is called the Colure of the Equinoxes, and the other the Colure of Solstices.

The Horizon, is a Circle, &c. Ibid., sig. V6r:

It is a great immovable circle which deuideth the upper Hemi-sphere, which is as much to say, as the upper half of the world which we
see, from the nether Hemisphere which we see not, for standing in a plaine field, or rather upon some high mountaine void of bushes & trees, and looking round about, you shall see your selfe incircled as it were with a circle, and to be in the verie midst or centre thereof, beneath or beyond which circle, your sight cannot passe, and therefore this circle in Greeke is called Horizon, and in Latin Finitor, that is to say, that which determineth, limiteth or bounceth the sight, the Poles of which circle are imagined to be two points in the firmament, whereof the one standeth right over your head, called in Arabick Zenith: and the other directlie vnder your feete, called in the same tongue Nadir, that is to say the points opposite.

30-p.71.5 The Meridian is an immoueable circle, &c. Ibid., sigs. V\^7-V\^8:

It is a great immoueable circle passing through the Poles of the world, and through the Poles of the Horizon. ... when the sun rising aboue the Horizon in the East, commeth to touch this line with the center of his body, then it is midday or noonetide to those, through whose Zenith that circle passeth. And when the Sun after his going down in the west commeth to touch the self line again in the point opposit, it is to them midnight. ... such distance betwixt the two severall Meridians, is called the difference of longitude. ... The Astronomers doe appoint for every two degrees of the Equinoctiall a Meridian, so as they make in al 180. ... This circle deuideth the East part of the world from the West and also it sheweth both the North and South.

7-10 The first Meridian, &c. Ptolemy chose the island of Ferro Hiero in the Canaries, then the most westerly place known, as the prime meridian of longitude; Blundeville, sig. 2A\^7:

the first Meridian on the left hand is put to signifie according to Ptolomie, that which passeth through the Fortunate Islandes or by the Azores according to the modern Cosmographers.

11 Brazen Circle. The meridian on a brass model of the world.

24-30 The Tropicke of Cancer, &c. Blundeville, sig. X\^2:

The Tropicke of Cancer is a Circle imagined to bee betwixt the Equinoctiall and the Circle Arctique, which Circle the Sunne maketh when he entreteth into the first degree of Cancer, which is about the twelfth or thirteenth day of June being then in his greatest declination from the Equinoctiall Northwarde, and highest to our Zenith, being ascended to the highest point that hee can goe, at which time the dayes with vs be at the longest, and the nightes at the shortest. And so from thence hee declineth to the other Tropicke called the Tropicke of Capricorne, which is a Circle imagined to bee betwixt the Equinoctiall and the Circle Antarctique, which the Sunne maketh when he entreteth into the first degree of Capricorne, which is about the twelfth or thirteenth day of December at which time he is againe in his greatest declination from the Equinoctiall Southwarde, and furthest from our Zenith.

32-p.72.5 The Arctique Circle, &c. Ibid., sig. X\^2:

The Arctique Circle is that which is next to the North pole, and hath his name of this worde Arctos, which is the great beare or Charles wayne, which are seuen starres placed next to this Circle on the
outside thereof, and it is otherwise called the Septentrionall Circle of this word Septentrio, which is as much to say as seuen Oxen, signified by the seuen starres of the little Beare, which doe mooue slowely like Oxen, and are placed all within the sayde Circle, and the bright starre that is in the tippe of the tayle of the sayde little Beare, is called of the Mariners the loade starre or North starre ... the Centre of this Circle is the North Pole ... the Antarctique Circle ... is that which is next vnto the South Pole, and it is so called, because it is opposite or contrarie to the Circle Arctique.

18 Mauritania. Libya.
19 Mar del zur. (South sea.)
27 Vermilius. Vermilion Bay, off the coast of Louisiana.
27 Gangeticus. The Bay of Bengal.
30 Anian. Not identified, possibly the straits of Messina.

p.73.3 Lake Asphaltites. The name given by Josephus (Bellum Judaecorum, i. 657) to the Dead Sea, from the bituminous deposits which floated to the surface of the lake and washed ashore.

12 quasi in Salo. A false but current etymology; compare Peter Heylyn, Microcosmus, 1621, p. 2. The correct derivation is from the Latin insula.
16 Cimbrica. Jutland.
16 Chersonesus. The Latin form of the English 'chersonese', first used by Philemon Holland in 1601 (OED).
16 Taurica. The Crimea.
16 Aurea. Malaya.
17 Achaica. Achaia, a region of ancient Greece on the north coast of the Peloponnesse.

22-5 Philip the second, King of Spaine, &c. F.L. de Gomora, a Spanish historian, submitted a memorial to Philip II in 1551 urging him to undertake the project. The idea was abandoned after the Spanish government decided that it was more important to preserve their control of the New World than to open a passage to the East.

28 Cape De Buona Speranza. The Cape of Good Hope.
29 Cape Mendozino. Cape Mendocino, on the coast of Argentina.
S. Vincent. Cape St. Vincent, the southeast extremity of Portugal.

Cape Verde. A promontory off Senegal, the westernmost point of Africa.

Cape S. Augustine in America. Cape Santa Agostino on the coast of Brazil.

beginning first with Europe, &c. Ptolemy, Geog. II. ii-iii.

the Orchades, and Thule. The classical names for the Orkney Islands and Iceland respectively. In Peacham's time Thule was identified with the largest of the Shetland Islands.

neuer bee perswaded, that there were Antipodes. St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, xvi. 9 (Migne, PL, XL, 487-8); Lactantius, Divinarum Institutionum (Adversus Gentes) Libri VII (Migne, PL, VI, 425-8). Until the ninth century the Church Fathers had taught that the earth was flat, using the Scriptures as their authority. Lactantius (c.A.D.240 - c.A.D.320), the most conservative of the Fathers, became to later generations the symbol for this type of scriptural interpretation. He bitterly attacked scientific learning in general, and reverted to the most primitive ideas about the nature of the universe, backed up always with scriptural quotations. Copernicus singled out Lactantius for criticism in De revolutionibus, Nuremberg, 1543, sig. i4v:

Non enim obscurum est Lactantium, celebri alioqui scriptorem, sed Mathematicum parum, admodum pueriliter de forma terrae loqui, cum deridet eos, qui terram globi formam habere prodierunt.

the situation of Germany, &c. Arrian, Anabasis Alexandri, I.iv.6-8.

Vienna was a Citie of Galilie. Stephanus of Byzantium, Lexicon, s.v. πεισσα; Galilæa is now emended to Gallia (Gaul).

Danubius hath his head, &c. Strabo, Geog. I.iii.15.


the Mariners Compassé, &c. Blundeville, sig. 2D2v:

But the Mariners of these our latter daies, to be the better assured of their routes and courses on the sea, do deuide euery quarter of the Horizon into 8. severall windes, so as they make in all 32. windes, which of the Spaniards are called Rombes.

Rombes. Rumbo; 'a point of a compass, a line drawn directly from Winde to Winde, in a compasse, in a trauers board, or in a Sea-card' (Minsheu, Guide into Tongues, 1625, s.v. roumb).
Columbus and Vespuvius, Italians, &c. Blundeville, sig. 2D1:

the names of the 8. windes are commonly expressed in the
Italian tongue thus: Thramontano, North, Mezzodi, South, Leuante, East,
Ponente, West, Griego, Northeast, Garbino, Southwest, Maistro, Northwest,
Syroccho, Southeast, which names are often vsed by Christopher Columbus,
Albertus Vesputius, and others that sayled first into the East and west
Indies.

13 Flowre-deluce. Fleur-de-lis; the standard form in English until the
nineteenth century (OED). The compass is so represented by Blundeville,
sig. 2D2.

26-35 French Cards to play withall, &c. Playing cards with maps of the
world or questions and answers on geographical subjects were issued in
France and Italy from the late sixteenth century. In the seventeenth
century they became very fashionable; Le Jeu de Géographie, a set of cards
designed expressly to interest and educate the children of the French
nobility, appeared in Paris in 1644. The earliest English geographical
cards begin with a series issued in 1675, but as Peacham implies, European
sets were imported before this date (C.F. Hargrave, A History of Playing
Cards, 1930, pp. 175ff.).
Ch. 8. Observations in Survey of the Earth

p.77.4-10 one Countrey, in one place or other, &c. Joseph de Acosta, Historia Natural y Moral Delas Indias, Seville, 1590, pp. 69-71; compare Edward Grimstone's translation, The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies, 1604, pp. 64-5, 67:

We must seeke out both for men and beastes, the way whereby they might passe from the old world to the new. Saint Augustine, treating uppon this question, by what reason you shall finde in some Ilands, Wolves, Tigers, and other ravenous beastes, which breede no profit to men, seeing there is no doubt, but Elephants, Horses, Oxen, Dogges, and other beastes which serve man to vse, have been expressly carried in shippes, as we see at this day brought from the East into Europe, and transported from Europe to Peru, although the voyages be verie long. And by what means these beastes which yeeld no profit, but are very hurtefull (as Wolves, and others of that wilde nature) should passe to the Indies, supposing, as it were certaine, that the deluge drowned all the earth. In which Treatie, this learned & holy man labours to free himselfe of these difficulties, saying that they might swim vnto these Ilands, or that some have carried them thither for their delight in hunting: or that, by the will of God, they had been newly created of the earth, after the same maner of the first creation.

If these beasts then came by Sea, wee must beleive it was by swimming, which may happen in some Ilands not farre distant from others, or from the mayne land.

Quoted in II, TT, ppj 151-2.

24 Nova Francia. Canada.

p.78.7-14 the Atlantick or Westerns Ocean is most rough, &c. Burton, p.319:

I would obserue al those motions of the Sea, and from what causes, from the Moone, or earths motion. Why in that Ocean of Sur is it scarce perceaved, in our Brittish Seas most violent, in the mediterranean and Red Sea so vehement, irregular and diverse? Why the current in that Atlantick Ocean should still be towards the North, and why they can come sooner then goe? And so from Moabar to Madagascar in that Indian Ocean, the Marchants come in three weekes, as Scaliger discusseth, they goe backe scarce in three months, with the same or like winds.

15-18 vpon the Coast of Scythia, &c. J.C. Scaliger, Exotericarum Exercitationum liber quintus decimus de Subtilitate, ad Hûronymum Cardanum, Paris, 1557, ff. 61b-62a:

Neque igitur dixit Aristotelis, neque uerum est: aquas non admitti eam in partem, quae sub polo iacet. An uero per id mare possit ad Sinas institui naviagatio,alia aliis adducta sunt in utranque partem argumenta: varieque assensum est. Nostra tamen haec sunt. A Duuinae fluuij ostiiis, unde cursum auspicantur, legendum esse totum illum tractum, qui uniuersam ambit Scythiam ad eius orientalem usque angulum: in cuius flexu Septentrionem, aut Aquilonem cum perpetuis illis Fauoniis commutandum.
p.78.25 Euripus. The west coast of the island of Euboea.

29 Wood into Stone. Lime in the water solidifies objects as at the Knaresborough dropping well in Yorkshire.

p.79.9 Guiana. Guinea, the general name for the west coast region of equatorial Africa.

26 the islands of the Echinades, &c. Strabo, Geog. I.iii.18.

28 Melon Anaphe. Melos and Anaphe, islands of the Cyclades group in the Aegean Sea.

30 Alone. The island of Aspronesi in the Aegean Sea.

31 Automate. Of their own accord.

p.80.4 Boetia. A province of Greece extending from the Aegean Sea and the Channel of Egripos to the Gulf of Corinth.

4 Macris. Originally the ancient name of Euboea. In Peacham's time it was used for the island of Chios.

5 Berbycus. Berecyntus, a mountain on the bank of the river Sacari in Asia Minor.

5 Bythinia. A province in Asia Minor between Propontis and the Black Sea.

5 Leucosia. The island of Licosa off the south Italian coast.

5-6 the Promontorie of the Syrenes. An extremity of the southwest coast of Italy, near the three small, rocky islands of the Syrenes.

6 Lesbos from Ida. Strabo, Geog. I. iii. 19. Mount Ida stands on the coast of Turkey.

6-7 Prochyta and Pithecusa from Misena. Ibid., I. iii. 19, referring respectively to the islands of Procida and Ischia, and the promontory Punto di Miseno.


For between ... Kent and Calais in France it so advanceth it selfe, and the sea, is so streited, that some thinke the land there was pierced thorow, and receiued the seas unto it, which before-time had been excluded.

12 Gessoriacum. The Roman name for Boulogne.

19 Junius in his Bataua. Adrianus Junius (1511-1575), Dutch physician
and scholar; his Batavia (Antwerp, 1588) is a Latin history of Holland.

20 Alex: ab Alexandro. Alessandro Alessandri, fifteenth-century Italian jurisconsult, author of Dissertationes IV de rebus admirandis, quae in Italia nuper contigere; Dies geniales, a miscellany modelled on Noctes Atticae by Aulus Gellius and Macrobius’ Saturnalia.

26 Vastitie. Waste, desolate space (CED).


29 In the raigne of Nero, Vectius Marcellus, &c. Ibid., II. lxxxiii. 199.

34 Pleurs. Town near the Plessur river in the Swiss canton of Grisons.

p.81.2 ἄνειρονα. (Limitless.) Recurrent Homeric epithet, as Od. 198.

3 Numa Pompilius dedicated a Temple, &c. Flutarch, Numa, xi. 1.

6-7 the Center of the vniverse, &c. Aristotle, Meteorologica, 339b-340a; for Ptolemy, see above, p.66, 1.6. For the marginal reference to the ninth-century Arab mathematician, Alfraganus, see his Elementa astronomica (Frankfurt, 1540, pp. 20-3).

p.82.4-5 M. Blundeule in his treatise of Cosmographie and the Sphaere. See above, p.66, 1. 6.

5 D. Dee. See below, p.89, 1. 1.

5-6 M. Cooke in his principles of Geometrie, Astronomie and Geographie. The principles of geometry, astronomie, and geographie...Gathered out of ... Georgius Henischius. By Francis Cooke, 1591.

6-11 Gemma Frisius, Ortelius, Copernicus, &c. (1) Gemma Frisius (1508-1550), Dutch physician and astronomer; De Principiis Astronomiae, Cosmonomiae et Cosmographiae, deque usu globi cosmographia, Paris, 1547; (2) Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp (1527-1598), geographer, designed the first modern atlas, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Antwerp, 1570; (3) Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543), Polish astronomer, in De revolutionibus (Nuremberg, 1543) propounded the theory that planets including the earth move in orbits round the sun as centre, in opposition to Ptolemy's geocentric universe in which the sun and planets move round the earth; (4) Christopher Clavius, see below, p.89, 1. 2; (5) Joannes de Monte Regio (1436-1476), German mathematician and astronomer: Ephemerides ab Anno 1475-1506, published in
1473, was an important navigational guide for those years; (6) Gerardus Mercator of Flanders (1512-1594), geographer, devised the form of map known as 'Mercator's Projection', in which a map of the sphere was transferred onto a plane sheet (Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium accommodata, 1568); (7) Sebastian Münster (1489-1552), German geographer: Cosmographia universalis, Basle, 1544, was the first detailed, scientific and popular account of the world in German; (8) Johannes Honterus, Rudimentorum cosmographiae libri duo, Cracow, 1530; (9) Jodocus Hondius (1563-1611), Flemish engraver, illustrated the 1606 edition of Mercator's atlas and Hues's Tractatus de globi coelesti et terrestri, 1597; (10) Peter Plancius (1552-1622), Netherlands theologian and geographer: his universal maps were used by Blundeville (see above, p.66, 1.6).

11-13 the late discoverie made by Schouten, &c. Cape Horn, named in 1616 by the Dutch mariner William Schouten (c.1567-1625).

13-14 late M. Henrie Hudson. Hudson died in northern Canada in 1611, having failed in his attempt to find the northwest passage.

15 that terrible voyage of Barentson, &c. In 1596 Barents's ship was trapped by ice off Novaya Zemlya in the Arctic Circle. He had to winter there and died in the following year.

16-17 out of a Dutch translation you may reade in English. Gerrit de Veer, Waerachtighe Beschrijvinghe van drie seylagien, Amsterdam, 1598; translated by William Phillip, The true and perfect Description of Three Voyages ... by the ships of Holland and Zealand, 1609.
Ch. 9. Of Geometrie

p.84.1-2 Plato would not suffer, &c. Plato, Leges, 810c.

2-4 Xenocrates turned away his auditors, &c. Diogenes Laertius, De vitis, iv.10.

7 the Princesse and mother of all Sciences, &c. Philo, Quaestiones in Exodum, ii.103; De Congressu Querendae Eruditionis Gratia, ii.11-12.

8 God did alwaies, &c. See the discussion of geometry in Plato, Respublica, 524-8; the Greek translates as 'geometrize'.

9-10 God did dispose all his creatures, &c. Wisd.11.22.

16-19 worthy the contemplation, &c. This passage has nothing to do with Petrarch. The reference cited belongs to De Regno et Regis Institutione Libri IX, ii.14, 'De Geometria' (Paris, 1567, sigs. L3°-L6°) by F. Patrizi, but it is not a direct quotation. Peacham may have confused Patrizi with Fyrbach, a much earlier writer who had published a simple textbook of geometry in 1316 - but again this is not a direct quotation.

20-2 The subject of Geometrie, &c. Proclus, Commentarii in Euclidem, ii.14. Compare Dee's preface to Billingsley's translation of Euclid, 1570, sig. a3°:

First, then, from the puritie, absolutenes, and Immaterialitie of Principall Geometrie, is that kinde of Geometrie derived, which vulgarly is counted Geometrie: and is the Art of Measuring sensible magnitudes, their just quantities and contentes.

23-9 It hath properly the name, &c. Proclus, Commentarii, ii.4; Martianus Capella, De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii et de septem artibus liberalibus libri novem, Lyons, 1592, p.253:

Verum Aegyptus introrsum ad meridiem tendit, donec atergo Aethiopes obuersentur, cuius inferiorem situm Nilus dextra, leuaque diuisus amplectitur, ut Aegyptum Nili possis insulam uocitare. Nam ab ambitu circumfluentis amnis, etiam Deltae literae figuram creditur detinere: sed a principio fissurae ipsius fluuisalis ad Canopicum ostium millia centum guadraginta sex.

p.85.2 Out of Egypt, Thales brought it into Greece. Diogenes Laertius, De vitis, i.24-9.

9 Exosters. Hanging bridges used in the siege of a city (OED).

9 Sambukes. A military engine for storming the walls of a city (OED).

9 Testudo's. A screen or shelter with a strong arched roof that was wheeled up to the walls of a city by the besiegers. They were then able to attack in safety (OED, citing Peacham as the second example).
p.85.10 Scorpions. An ancient military engine that hurled stones, darts and other missiles; it was used in the defence of a city (OED).

10 Petardes. A small engine, charged with powder and fired by a fuse, used to breach a wall or to weaken a city gate (OED).

12-13 Coaches (which were invented in Hungary, &c. See CS, sig. E1\textsuperscript{v}.

26-30 wooden dove of Archytas, &c. Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. X. xii. 9-10, quoting a description of the dove by the philosopher Favorinus.

32-p.86.2 he is able to make of his owne inuention, &c. Closely following Scaliger, Exotericarum Exercitationum, fo. 444\textsuperscript{b}:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

4 Mensorem, &c. Horace, Carm. I. xxviii. 1-2:

\begin{quote}
Te maris & terrae numeroque carentis harenae mensorem cohibent, Archyta.
\end{quote}

8-9 that woodden Eagle, &c. Du Bartas, I, 303. Compare Sylvester's translation, I, 221:

Why should I not that wooden Eagle mention
(A learned Germanes late-admir'd inuention)
Which mounting from his fist that framed her,
Flew farre to meet an Almain Emperour;
And hauing met him, with her nimble Traine,
And warie wings, turning about againe,
Follow'd him close vnto the Castle Gate
Of Noremberg.

In a marginal note, Sylvester attributes the invention to 'Iohn de Monte-Regio: or Regi-Montanus'.

9-10 yron flie, &c. Du Bartas, I, 303. Compare Sylvester's version, I, 221:

Once as this Artist (more with mirth then meat)
Feasted some friends that he esteemed great,
From vn'der's hand an iron Flie flew out,
Which hauing flowne a perfect Hound about,
With warie wings, return'd vnto her Maister,
And as iudicious, on his arme she plac'd her.
O deuine wit, that in the narrow wombe
Of a small Flie, could finde sufficient roome
For all those springs, wheeles, counterpoize, & chaines,
Which stood in stead of life, and spurre, and raines.
p. 86.11-13 the invention of either of these, &c. Petrus Ramus, Prooemium mathematicum, Paris, 1527, pp. 277-8.

14-20 Callicrates, &c. Pliny, Hist. Nat. VII.xxi.85, but details of wording suggest that Peacham's source is Adrianus Junius, Animadversorum libri sex, Basle, 1556, pp. 20-1:

Idem Plinius Callicratem quendam formicas eiusque generis alia animalcula tam minuta ex e bore fabricasse scribit, vt eorum partes a caeteris discerni nequirent. Rursus Myrme ciden in eo genere clarum, qui ex eadem materia quadrigan fecerit, quam musca alis integeret: item nauem, quae pennis apiculæ abscondetur.

21-3 how small peeces of this nature, &c. Varro, Lingua Latina, VII.i.1.

25-7 a cherrie stone cut in the forme of a basket, &c. Junius, p.20:

Memini ante annos aliquot spectasse me non sine magna animi voluptate Mechliniae, nobili Brabantiae oppido, cerasi calculus in modum quasilli exculptum, quo continebantur quindecim alearum paria, suis punctis affabre distincta, ita vt acie oculorum dignoscì potuerint clare, cui tamen non dubia aut tenebrosa erat illa oculorum lux, ne discedam longius a proposito: istud mecum oculta fide testari plures possunt, fuerat autem emptus is calculus ab Hagano quopiam apud Confluentes Rhini & Mosellae.

28-9 the Ilias of Homer, &c. Pliny, Hist. Nat. VII.xxi.85, but Peacham's source is probably Junius, p. 20:

Memorat Plinius lib. 7. eiusque plagiarius Solinus, de Iliade Homeri, quam nucis putæmini inclusam vidisse se testetur Cicero.

29-30 Alexander thought it worthy of a farre better case, &c. Plutarch, Alexander, xxvi. 1.


5-9 a flea he saw with a long chaine of gold, &c. Scaliger, Exoticarum Exercitationum, fo. 444b:


9 ματαιοτεχνιαν. (Useless art.)

9-12 Alexander wittily scoffed, &c. Quintilian, Inst. Orat. II.xx.3.
p.87.15 Claudian wrote a witty Epigram. Claudian, *Carminum Minorum* Corpusculum, li, 'In sphaeram Archimedis'.

16-20 Sapor King of Persia, &c. Du Bartas, I, 303. Compare Sylvester's translation, I, 222:

A Persian Monarch, not content, wel-nigh
With the Earths bounds to bound his Emperie:
To reigne in Heau'n, rais'd not with bold defiance
... Another Babel, or a Heape of Hilles:
But, without moving from the Earth, he builds
A Heau'n of Glasse, so huge, that there-vpon
Sometimes erecting his ambitious Throne,
Henceforth his proud feet (like a God) he saw
The shyning Lamps of th'other Heau'n, to draw
Downe to the Deepe, and thence againe advance
(like glorious Brides) their golden Radiance:
Yet had that Heau'n no wondrous excellence,
Saue Greatnes, worthie of so great a Prince.


Verum quod ad Persicum attinet tumorem, adnotatu digna Saporis
Iersarum regis epistola, quam ad Constantium imperatorem is dedit sic
exorsus: Rex regum Sapor, particeps syderum, frater solis & lunae, Constantio
fratri meo salutem plurimam dico.

23-8 that heaven of silver, &c. Du Bartas, I, 304. Compare Sylvester's version, I, 223:

Nor may we smother, or forget (ingrately)
The Heau'n of Silver, that was sent (but lately)
From Ferdinando (as a famous Worke)
Unto Bizantium to the Greatest Turke;
Wherein, a Spirit still moving to and fro,
Made all the Engine orderly to goe;
And though th' one Sphere did alwaies slowly slide,
And (opposite) the other swiftly glide;
Yet still their Starres kept all their Courses even
With the true Courses of the Starres of Heau'n:
The Sunne, there shifting in the zodiac
His shining Houses, never did forsake
His pointed Path: there, in a Month, his Sister
Fullfill'd her course, and changing oft her lustre
And forme of Face, now larger, lesser soone;
Follow'd the Changes of the other Moonne.


32-3 The foundation thereof shall never bee moved. Ps. 96. 10.

34-5 he could by his skill draw after him, &c. Alluding loosely to Plutarch, *Marcellus*, xiv.8.

35-p.88.3 devise (at the cost of Hiero) those rare engines, etc. Ibid., vv-xvi.
halfe Moones. The fortification known as 'demilune', an outwork resembling a bastion with a crescent-shaped gorge, constructed to protect a bastion or curtain (OED).

23 Casamates. Casemate, a vaulted chamber built in the ramparts of a fortress; for use as a barracks or battery (OED).

23 Ravelins. Ravelin, an outwork in a fortification consisting of two faces forming a sharp angle (OED).

35 Cooke's Principles. See above, p.82, ll. 5-6.


1 M. Blundeuile. See above, p.66, l. 6.


2 Clauius. Christopher Clavius, Euclidis Elementorum libri XV (Rome, 1574), a standard school test. Opera Mathematica (5 vols, Mainz, 1611-12), contains his practical arithmetic (first published separately in 1583), practical geometry (1604) and algebra (1608).

3 Melanchthon. Euclidis ... Elementorum Geometricorum ... Cum praefacione F. Melancthonis (Wittenberg, 1536).

3 Frisius. Gemma Frisius, Arithmeticae practicae methodus facilis (Antwerp, 1540).

3 Valtarious his Geometry Military. Roberto Valturio (died c.1482); known only for De re militari (Verona, 1472).

3-4 Albert Durer, &c. Underweyssung der messung, mit dem zirckel und richtscheyt, in Linien, ebnen unnd gantzen corporen (Nuremberg, 1525), translated as Elementa geometrica (Paris, 1532).

Ch. 10. Of Poetrie

p.91.8 that Laurell Maia dreamed of. While being visited in her sleep by Zeus, who became the father of her son Hermes.

12-14 Tullie was long ere he could be delivered, &c. On Cicero, Flutarch, Cicero, ii. 4; on Ovid, Seneca the elder, Controversiarum Libri decem, IV. x. 8.

20-2 who having their feathers moulted, &c. Alluding to Plato, Phaedrus, 246e; the wings of the soul are nourished by wisdom, beauty and goodness and destroyed by opposite qualities such as viliness.

24-5 all learning by divine instinct, &c. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. I. xxvi. 64.

26-7 Poetrie was the first Philosophie that ever was taught. Strabo, Geog. I. ii. 3.

28-p.92.16 nor were there ever any writers thereof knowne, &c. Borrowing from Puttenham, p. 6:

Poets were also from the beginning the best persuaders and their eloquence the first Rhetoricke of the world. Even so it became that the high mysteries of the gods should be revealed & taught, by a manner of utterance and language of extraordinary phrase, and brief and compendious, and above all others sweet and civil as the Metrical is ... they were the first Astronomers and Philosophers and Metaphysicks. Finally, because they did altogether endeavor themselves to reduce the life of man to a certain method of good manners, and made the first differences betweene virtue and vice, and then tempered all these knowledges and skills with the exercise of a delectable Musicke by melodious instruments, which withall served them to delight their hearers, & to call the people together by admiration, to a plausible and vertuous conversation, therefore were they the first Philosophers Ethick, & the first artificial Musiciens of the world. Such was Linus, Orpheus, Amphion & Museus the most ancient Poets and Philosophers, of whom there is left any memorie by the profane writers. King David also & Salomon his sonne and many other of the holy Prophets wrote in metters, and used to sing them to the harpe.


31-p.92.1 that dittie Iopas sang to his harpe at Dido's banquet. Virgil, Aeneid, i. 740-6.

6 Sed velutis pueros absynthia tetra medentes, &c. Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, i. 936-9, borrowed by Torquato Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata (1581), I. iii. 5-8, and translated by Harington in the preface to his version of Ariosto (Orlando Furioso, 1591, sig. ¶ 3vertis). Peacham gives his own translation. This was a favourite sententia; compare Sidney, B2vertis:
hee [the poet] commeth to you with words set in delightfull proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for the well enchanting skill of Musicke, and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you, with a tale, which holdest children from play, and olde men from the Chimney corner; and pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the minde from wickednes to vertue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste: which if one should begin to tell them the nature of the Alloes or Rhabarbarum they should receive, wold sooner take their phisick at their eares then at their mouth, so it is in men (most of which, are childish in the best things, til they be cradled in their graues) glad they will be to heare the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Aeneas, and hearing them, must needes heare the right description of wisdom, value, and justice.

17 a bunch of keies. St. Hilary, Prologus in Librum Psalmorum (Migne, PL, IX, 236):


19 a Diuine Poeme. Sidney, sigs. B3^B4^:

And may not I presume a little farther, to shew the reasonableness of this word Vatis, and say that the holy Davids Psalms are a diuine Poeme?

21 Maiestie of God. Fs. 80. 1-19.

22 the miserable condition of the wicked? Ps. 90. 3-10.

23 the righteous man to a baie tree. Peacham has confused Ps. 37. 35, 'I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree', with Ps. 92. 12, 'The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree'.

23-4 the Soule to a thirstie Hart. Fs. 42. 1.

24 untie to oyntment, and the dew of Hermon. Fs. 133. 1-3.

25 the vine planted in AEgypt. Misreading Ps. 80. 8, 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt'.

26 Epiphonema's, prosopopoea's. Epiphonema: an exclamation or sententia at the end of a sentence; conformatio or prosopopoeia: personifies inanimate objects or abstract things.


From the reading of these and such-like filthy writers, it is convenient that the youth do abstain; lest by the reading of them they make shipwreck both of their faith and manners, and in their tender years drink in such corruption as shall be noisome unto them all their life after. For, as he saith: 'Evil words corrupt good manners'.


p.93.7 make the lewd honest. Scaliger, Poetices, v.2 (p.214):

Virgilius vero artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectoris naturae studiis, atque judicio ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis.

12 Telesilla, a noble and braue Lady, &c. Flutarch, Moralia, 245c-f.

16 Camisado. A night attack (OED).

22-3 Alexander by the reading of Homer, &c. Flutarch, Alexander, viii.2.

24-8 Leonidas also, that braue King of the Spartanes, &c. Flutarch, Cleomenes, ii. 3.

29-30 What other thing gave an edge to the valour, &c. Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, iv. 152; Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 447-9.

p.94.3 his Nephew Roulands Epitaphe. Presumably Charlemagne's lament in La Chanson de Roland, laisse 204, 11.2855ff.

4-5 Alphonsus king of Naples, whose onely delight, &c. Panormita, i. 32 (1538, p.10):

Cum legeremus aliquando Didonis Virgilianae mortem, & inter legendum terra moueretur, atque ob id qui aderamus omnes improuisa & repentina re perculsos, rex intueretur, Nouum ne, inquit, uobis uidetur, si in morte tarna celebris reginae terra intremiscit.

See also iii.18 (Ibid., p.112).

5-6 Robert King of Sicilie. Perhaps Robert of Naples (1275-1343), patron of letters, and particularly of Petrarch.

6-10 that thrice renowned and learned French King, &c. The story is probably apocryphal. On Petrarch's tomb, see J.F. Tomasini, Petrarcha Revivus, Padua, 1635, pp.176-93. André Thévet, writing in 1571, recorded that Francis I of
France visited the tomb of Laura de Sade (one of many suggested as Petrarch’s Laura) while at Avignon in 1533 and was inspired to compose some verses, later inscribed on the tomb. See Abd-el-Kader Salza, ‘Da Valchiusa ad Arqua: note sui pellegrinaggi petrarcheschi’, in Raccolta di studi di storia e critica letteraria dedicati a Francesco Flamini, Pisa, 1918, pp.737-49.

11-12 Augustus Caesar, Octavius, Adrian, Germanicus. For Augustus, see Suetonius, Vitae, ii. 85; for Hadrian, Aelius Spartanus, Hadrian, xvi.1-7; for Germanicus, Quintilian, Inst. Crat. X.i.91.

13-19 how deare the workes of Homer were vnto Alexander, &c. Peacham follows Puttenham, p.12:

in all former ages and in the most ciuill countreys and commonwealthes, good Poets and Poesie were highly esteemed and much fauoured of the greatest Princes. For proofe whereof we read how much Amyntas king of Macedonia made of the Tragicall Poet Euripides ... In what price the noble poems of Homer were holden with Alexander the great, in so much as every night they were layd vnder his pillow, and by day were carried in the rich iewell cofer of Darius lately before vainquished by him in battaile ... And since Alexander the great how Theocritus the Greeke Poet was fauored by Tholomee king of Egypt & Queen Berenice his wife, Ennius likewise by Scipio Prince of the Romaines, Virgill also by th'Emperour Augustus. And in later times ... Geoffrey Chaucer, father of our English Poets by Richard the second, who as it was supposed gave him the maner of new Holme in Oxfordshire. And Gower to Henry the fourth.

20-5 The Lady Anne of Bretaigne, &c. The story made its first appearance, with Margaret of Scotland as heroine, in Jean Bouchet’s Annales d’Aquitaine, 1524 (Poitiers, 1644, p.252). Peacham’s source is a version by Puttenham, p.15:

that noble woman twise French Queene, Lady Anne of Britaine, wife first to king Charles the viij. and after to Lewes the xij. who passing one day from her lodging toward the kings side, saw in a gallerie Master Allaine Chartier the kings Secretarie, an excellent maker or Poet leaning on a tables end asleepe, & stooped downe to kisse him, saying thus in all their hearings, we may not of Princely courtesie passe by and not honor with our kisse the mouth from whence so many sweete ditties & golden poems haue issued.

29 Aretino. Pietro Aretino (1492-1556), 'the scourge of princes', was notorious for his scurrilous letters, printed in six volumes between 1537 and 1557, and the realistic, sensual dialogue, I Ragionamenti (1534-6). He also wrote plays and satirical and devotional poems. He left Rome in 1527 and went to Venice, where he remained until his death.

29-33 Aretino (being demaundedy wry Princes, &c. This seems to be an exact borrowing from Stefano Guazzo’s Civil Conversatione (1574) in George Pettie’s
Arestinus being askt, why few Princes now adaies extend
their liberalitie to those that are excellent in Poetrie or other artes,
as they were wont to doe in times past: answered, for that their conscience
giueth them how vnworthie they are of the praises, which by Poets are giuen
vnto them: and for other artes, it is dailie seene, that a man maketh no
account of that which he knoweth not. Therefore I would in anie wise haue
a Prince learned, both for this and other causes, by you alleadged.
The sentiment is typical of Aretino; see Lettere: il primo e il secondo
reference has not been located.
Peacham gives the story in TB (epigram 38) and TT (pp.35-6). John L.
Lievsay (Stefano Guazzo and the English Renaissance, Chapel Hill, 1961,
pp.244-7) first noted this use of Guazzo and further borrowings in TB.

Prudence, Efficacie, Varietie, and Sweetnesse, &c. Scaliger,
Poetices, iii. 25 (p.113), 'Poetae prudentia, varietas, efficacia, suavitas'.

J.E.Spingarn (Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, 3 vols, Oxford,
1908-9, I, 242-3) first noted that Peacham's account of poetic theory and
the classical poets is summarised from the third and sixth books of Scaliger's
Poetices (1561). The translations of Virgil are Peacham's own.

Prudentia philosophis habitus est, quo futura ex factis prospicim.
Verum eius vocis significatio amplificatio fuit: vt eum quoque comprehend-
eret habitum, qui deduceret omnia sua facta ac dicta e rationibus ad fines
suos sine offensione.

Grammatici enim in cymbis quidem sunt, marisque transmittunt
superficiem Maroniani: nihil tamen expiscantur.

Item quae de anima disputat, & scite dicuntur ex Platonicis, &
apti ibi collocata sunt. Nam & AEneae interroganti, deque re difficillima,
atque etiam nunc vel ignota, vel maxime controversa dubitanti, & inter animas,
& in loco animis attributo, & ab vna animarum differuntur. Anni quoque
partes, ac tempora, & cognoscenda, & describenda. Mane, serum, creperum,
concubium, intempestum, conticinium, diluculum, meridies: eorumque tum
naturae, tum effectiones. Nec minus eae, quas Graeci vocant, propterea
quod annum partiantur, eiusque partibus fines statuunt. Ver (dico) hyems,
aestas, autunnus. Ventorum quoque numeros, nomina, naturae, loca , non tam
descibere, quam attingere. Ne cum Hesiodo reprehendi merearis, qui aut
tres tantum nouisse videtur ventos, aut non recte disposuisse.

Veneris autem filius AEneas dictus, propterea quod eius Horoscopi
erat domina. Idque cum Ioue ... Sequenti anno Venus min bene collocata, non
potest, quin amittat classem AEneas, & foeminae auspiciis, & foeminarum manu.
Intermiscibis autem non nisi magnis negotiis, summisque necessitatibus. Neque enim oportet sic temere pati viros fortes, aut morte affici vulgari. AEneae igitur Genium quoque asciptit, quem Achatem vocat: est enim $\chi\os{\alpha}r\eta\varsigma$. Non quo vir tans moeret: sed quod inter tot aerumnas ad summam virtutem perpetuandam excitetur.

23-5 What immooued constancy, when no teares or entreaty of Eliza, &c. Virgil, Aeneid, iv. 330-61; Scaliger, iii. 26 (p.114):


25-30 the Divine Poet gaue him leaue to be wounded, &c. Scaliger, iii.26 (p.114):

Cum vellet Camillam fortissimam, atque congressu inuictam ostendere, nunquam obiicitAEneae: & ex infidiis telo petitam missili, cadere facit.

33-4 that Tarchon and she might shew their braue deeds, &c. Virgil, Aeneid, xi.727-59; Scaliger, iii.26 (p.114):

Nequeo & id satis laudare. Absentem enim ... & Tarchontis, & Camillae ostentet facinora.

34-5 when Turnus so resolutely brake into his Tents. Virgil, Aeneid, ix. 691-881; Scaliger, iii. 26 (pp.114-15):

Sic & absente AEnea Turnum castra inuadere: atque intra ipsa tam fortiter facere. So quoque & illud pertinet.

35-p.96.2 what excellent iudgement sheweth he, &c. Virgil, Aeneid, xi. 741-4; Scaliger, iii. 26 (p.115):


Scaliger quotes Suetonius, Vitae, i. 73.
8-13 Efficacie is a power of speech, &c. Scaliger, iii. 27 (pp.116-17):

Ea est vis orationis repraesentantis rem excellenti modo.
Intelligo nunc non verborum virtutem, sed Idaearum, quae rerum species sunt.
Nam tametsi in verbis esse videtur: tamen in rebus ipsis est primo ...
Famae species ... Inferorum loca. Sagitta Acestae ignita ... Flamma circum Ascanii tempor.

15-20 At trepida & coeptis immanibus effera Dido, &c. Virgil, Aeneid, iv. 642-7; quoted by Scaliger, iii. 27 (p.117).

p.97.1-2 that lively combat betweene Nisus and Volscens. Virgil, Aeneid, ix. 420-45; Scaliger, iii. 27 (p.117), 'Adsum etiam Niso, quis enim recuset esse tali cum viro?'. Scaliger quotes Virgil, ix. 438-43.

7-10 the description of young Pallas, &c. Virgil, Aeneid, xi. 64-6.

11-14 Qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem, &c. Ibid., xi. 68-71.


27-8 Flowery, as having in it a beautie, &c. Pseud. Plutarch, De Vita et Poesi Homer, 73.

29-30 Varietie, is various, &c. Scaliger, iii. 28 (p.119):

igitur quum semper sit ille sublimi spiritu, & generosa oratione:
nu quam tamen est sui similib. Librorum quidem exitus omnes Tragici sunt, praeter primum. Tam diversa tamen rerum compositione, vt in animis ingeniosque diuinis mirificam excitam admirationem: tanta tamque diversas varietas est ...

32-p.98.16 our Divine Poet so much, &c. Ibid., iii. 28 (p.119):

23-6 At veluti annosam valido cum robore quercum, &c. Virgil, Aeneid, iv. 441-4.

27-35 As when the Alpine winds, &c. Peacham's own translation of Virgil, Aeneid, iv. 441-6.

he saw Virgil but once in all his life. Ovid, Tristia, IV. x. 51.

his Epistles are most worthy your reading, &c. Scaliger, vi. 7 (p. 329):

Epistolae omnium illius librorum politissimae. Nam & sententiae sunt illustres, & facilites compositae, & numeri poetici. Quaesitus quoque splendor ex imitatione simulatae veteris simplicitatis.

that of Acontius is somewhat too wanton, &c. Ovid, Heroïdes, 20, 1, 2, and 5, described by Scaliger, vi. 7 (p. 331):

Acontii epistola tenuis admodum & lasciua: neque satisfacit. Quae iccirco aliquando pene persuasit mihi, se non esse Ouidii. Responsio vero duriuscula, quamquam arguta, facit etiam plus dubitare. Tres epistolae, Vlyssis, Demophoontis, Paridis ad Oenonen, sane parui sunt momenti.

Amorum and de Arte amandi, &c. Ibid., vi. 7 (p. 331-2):


Parthenius of Nicea (first century B.C.) was reputedly the author of a lost work, Metamorphoses.

About the yeare 1581., &c. Peacham translates Laurentius Surius, Commentarius Brevis Rerum In Orbe Gestarum, third edition (Cologne, 1586), pp. 1026-7:


Est autem huius sepulcri locus ad fines Graeciae, non procul a Ponto Euxino, quondam habitatus, vt ex ruinis aedificiorum, vrbiumque facile videtur.

Surius enters this story under the year 1581; it does not appear in the first (1568) or the second (1574) editions of the Commentarius.

24-33 his Stile is elegant, pure and sinewie, &c. Scaliger, vi.7 (pp.338-9):

Carminum igitur libri. Vel iucunda inuentione, vel puritate sermonis, vel figurarum tum nouitate tum varietate, maiores sunt omni non solum vituperatione, sed etiam laude: neque solo dicendi genere humili, quemadmodum scrpisit Quintilianus, contenti: verumetiam sublimi maxime commendandi ... Nam & Pindaro accuratior est, & sententiis crebrior, neque sibi, vt ille indulgens ... quorum similis malim compositasse, quam esse totius Tarraconensis rex ... Principio nos offendit idem argumentum to locis tractatum. nam vt omittam quae in Satyris atque Epistolis ad hanc eandem tractantur rationem: vide nihil differre materiam primae cantionis primi, & primae tertii.

Scaliger quotes Quintilian, Inst. Orat. X. i. 96.

p.101.2-4 Iuvenal of Satyrists is the best, &c. Scaliger, vi. 6 (p.323):

IUVENALIS autem candidus; ac Satyrorum facile princeps. Nam eius versus longe meliores quam Horatiani: sententiae acrores: phrasis apertior.

6-7 Persius, I know not why, &c. Ibid., vi. 6 (p.323):

PERSIVS ostentator fabriculosae eruditionis caetera neglexit.

11-14 In Martial you shall see a divine wit, &c. Ibid., vi. 6 (p.323):


16-22 Lucane breathes with a great spirit, &c. Ibid., vi. 6 (p.325):


24-8 Seneca, for Maiestie and state, &c. Ibid., vi. 6 (p.323):

Quatuor supersunt maximi poetae ... quorum SENECAS seorsum suas tuetur partes, quem nullo Graecorum maiestate inferiorem existimo: cultu vero ac nitore etiam Euripide maiorem. Inuentiones sane illorum sunt: at maiestas carminis, sonus, spiritus ipsius.

30-2 Claudian, is an excellent and sweete Poet, &c. Ibid., vi. 6 (p.321):
Maximus poeta CLAVDIANVS, solo argumento ignobiliore oppressus, sedit de ingenio quantum de est materiae. Felix in eo calor, cultus non inuisus, temperatura judicium, dictio candida, numeri non affectati, acute dicta multa sine ambitione.

Statius is a smooth and a sweete Poet, &c. Ibid., vi. 6 (pp.324-5):

Cura igitur & cultu detractum vel robur orationi, vel numeros versibus, vel gratian vtrisque. At ego contra sentio: Magnum in vtrisque: maiores vbi ille esse conatus est ... Qui vero Syluas praeponunt, nugantur: delectati calore illo vago, cuius impetu quasi per saltus omnia carpat oratio. Quae desultiorum poema Syluas ipsas appellare solitus sum. Multa tamen aut aliter dicta, aut non dicta ab eo vellem. Nam quae fuit illius audacia, quum in ludis funebribus cursus certamen scribit post Virgilium ... Deinde sequitur nobilissima comparatio. Quae sola satis esse possunt ad ineundam rationem contemplandi cultissimi poetae atque ingeniosissimi artificium. Neque enim vilius veterum aut recentiorum propiis ad Virgilianam maiestatem accedere valuit. Sittiam propinquior futurus, si tam prope esse noluisse. Siquidem natura sua elatus, sicubi excellere conatus est, excrevit in tumorem. At profecto Heroicorum poetarum, si phoenicem illum nostrum eximas, tum Latinorum, tum etiam Graecorum facile princeps. Nam & meliores versus facit quam Homerus: & figuris frequentior, & officiorum, habitudinum, animorum prudentior distributor, & castigationum author sententiarum.

Propertius is an easie cleare and true Elegiacke, &c. Ibid., vi.7 (p.329), 'Facilis, candidus, vere elegiacus'.

Among Comicke Poets, &c. Ibid., vi. 2 (p.296):


Buchanan. George Buchanan (1506-1582), Scottish humanist, regarded as the foremost Latin poet of his time. De jure regni apud Scotos (1579), his most important work, is a defence of limited monarchy and sets out the duties
of monarchs and subjects to each other. It was widely read, although suppressed by an act of parliament in 1584; three editions appeared in three years. *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582) is addressed to the young king, James VI, whom Buchanan tutored from 1569 until 1578.


31 B. Rhenanus. Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), German humanist and disciple of Erasmus.

33-p.103.1 *Mihi spiritus divinus, &c.* (His divine spirit pleases me when it has proceeded from the Father, and they annoy me who expect David to produce through the use of excessive ornamentation perfect psalms quite worthy of praise.) Peacham adapts from Scaliger, vi, 4 (p.308):

> Equidem aut aliter dicta, aut rudi oratione soluta maluerim legere. Quemadmodum piget illorum operae, qui Dauid Psalmos suis calamistris inustos sperarant efficere plausibilliores. Mihi Spiritus diuinus eius modi placet, quo seipsum ingessit a Patre: non quemadmodum ab hominibus distortus est. Neque Dauid illa cantica admirabilia sunt mihi, nisi quibus legibus ab illo dicta sint, hauriantur.

8 Cineri supposta dolorosi. (Hidden beneath sad ashes.)


Editions of *De Bello Trojano* (Cologne, 1470), with the authorship ascribed to Nepos, were published at Basle in 1558 and 1583.


> Video, video, prorsus seculum quoddam aureum exoriri, si Principibus aliquam multis tuus iste incessat animus.
Sir Thomas More, &c. Probably suggested by Beatus Rhenanus's prefatory epistle to More's Epigrammata, Basle, 1518, p.168:

Candidus est argutus, latinus. Porro gratissima quadam festuítate sic omnia temperat, ut nihil unquam uiderim lepidius. Crediderim ego Musas quicquid usquam estiocorum, leporis, salium, in hunc comítisse. Quam lusit eleganter ad Sabinum alienos pro suis tollentem liberos? Quam salse Lalum ridet, qui uideri Gallus tam ambitiose cupiebat?

ad lepores fuisse nati. (To have been born to agreeableness and pleasantry.)

the Arch-cuckold Sabinus, &c. Thomas More, Epigrammata, Basle, 1518, pp.246, 250-1, 256; 209-11; 242-6. The third set of epigrams was provoked by Brixius's poem Chordigera, a celebration of the destruction of an English ship by the French vessel, the Cordelier, in 1512; the first is entitled 'In Brixium Germanum Falsa Scribentem De Chordigera, Nave Gallorum, Et Herveo Eius Duce'.

Pot-aster. Poetaster.

his gratulatorie verse to King Henrie, &c. (1) 'In Suscepit Diadematis Dion Henrici Octauui, Illustrissimi ac Faustissimi Britanniarum Regis, Ac Catherinae Reginae Eius Felicissimae, Thomaæ Mori Londoniensis Carmen Congratulatorium', presented in 1509, and first published in Epigrammata, Basle, 1518, pp.181-9; (2) the epigrams, 'In Nicolaum Malum Medicum' and 'Epitaphium Abyngdonii Cantoris' (Epigrammata, pp. 211, 231-2); (3) the letter of 1519, 'T. Morus Margaretae Elizabetheæ Ceciliae ac Ioanni Dulcissimis Liberis' (The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More, edited by E.F. Rogers, Princeton, 1947, pp. 154-6).

before it our age hath not seen, &c. The preface by Budaeus to the third edition of More's Utopia (Basle, 1518), p. 10:

Eius enim, historiam aetas nostra, posteraeque aetates habeunt uelut elegantium, utiliumque institutionum seminarium, unde translatitios mores in suam quisque ciuitatem importent & accommodent.

Peacham also read Rhenanus's letter in Epigrammata (p.169):

Caeterum quemadmodum hi lusus MORI ingenium ostendunt, & insignem eruditionem, sic ludicum nimimur acre, quod de rebus habet, ex VTOPIA cumulâtissime eluxerit. De qua paucis obiter meminero, quod hanc accuratissimus in literis BVDEVS, incomparabilis ille melioris eruditionis antistes, & ingens, atque adeo unicum Galliarum decus, ita ut decebat, luculenta praefatione laudauit.

Epigrammata was first published in the same volume as the 1518 edition of Utopia.
7-17 In his yonger yeeres, &c. Compare Rhenanus's letter (Epigrammata, pp.169-70):

Postremo si hoc quoque scire cupis, Guil. Lilius, MORI sodalis, cum quo uertendis Graecis epigrammatibus iam olim collusit, quae Progymnasmatum titulo sunt inscripta, Britannus est, uir omnifariam doctus, non modo Graecos autores, sed & eius nationis mores vernaculos domestice notos habens, ut qui in insula Rhodo fuerit aliquot annos commoratus is nunc ludum literarium, quem Londini Coletus instituit, magna cum laude exercet.

Progymnasmata, containing translations by More and Lily from the Greek Anthology, was first printed with Epigrammata and Utopia in 1518.

18-p.105.7 Sir Thomas Challoner, &c. Born in 1521, he accompanied Knyvet's embassy in 1540, and in the same year went to Algeria. The accident at sea took place in 1541. He was knighted in 1547 and became Spanish Ambassador in 1561. He died in 1565 and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral (20 October 1565). His book, De Rep. Anglorum instauranda decem libri, was printed posthumously in 1579.

Chaloner's son, Thomas (1561-1615) became governor to Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1603, and his chamberlain in 1610.

14-33 Of English Poets of our owne Nation, &c. Puttenham, pp.49-50:

But of them all particularly this is myne opinion, that Chaucer with Gower, Lidgat and Harding for their antiquitie ought to haue the first place, and Chaucer as the most renowned [sic] of them all, for the much learning appeareth to be in him aboue any of the rest. And though many of his booke be but bare translations out of the Latin & French, yet are they wel handled, as his booke of Troilus and Cresseid, and the Romant of the Rose, whereof he translated but one halfe, the deuice was John de Mehunes a French Poet, the Canterbury tales were Chaucers owne inuention as I suppose, and where he sheweth more the naturall of his pleasant wit, then in any other of his workes, his similitudes comparisons and all other descriptions are such as can not be amended.


26-7 Hee was a good Diuine, &c. Peacham echoes Sidney, sig. H3\^{v}:

Chaucer undoubtedly did excellently in his Troilus and Cresseid: of whome trulie I knowe not whether to mervaile more, either that hee in that mistie time could see so clearly, or that wee in this cleare age, goe so stumblingly after him.

'Diune' carries here the sense of diviner or seer, possessing special insight and perception (OED).
28 the Ploughman. Chaucer, General Prologue, 529-32:

With hym ther was a plowman, was his brother,
That hadde ylad of dong ful many a fother;
A trewe swynkere and a good was he,
Lyvynge in pees and parfit charitee.

28 the Parsons tale. A discourse on the Seven Deadly Sins, concerned with 'moralitée and vertuous mateere' (38).

35-p.106.8 his verses to say truth, &c. Puttenham, p.50:

Gower sauing for his good and graue moralities, had nothing in him highly to be commended, for his verse was homely and without good measure, his wordes strained much deale out of the French writers, his ryme wrested, and in his inuentions small subtillitie: the applications of his moralitie are the best in him, and yet those many time very grossely bestowed, neither doth the substance of his workes sufficiently aunswere the subtillitie of his titles.

For Gower's monument in the Chapel of St. John, St. Mary Overies, Southwark Cathedral, see 'To the Reder', De confessione Amantis, 1532, sig. 2a3v:

John Gower prepared for his bones a restynge place in the monastery of saynt Marye Cueres, where somwhat after the olde fasshion he lyeth ryght sumptuously buryed with a garlande on his heed, in token that he in his lyfe dayes flourysshed fresshely in literature and science.

8-15 He was a Knight, as also was Chaucer, &c. Puttenham, pp. 48, 50:

And those of the first age were Chaucer and Gower both of them as I suppose Knightes. After whom followed John Lydgate the monke of Bury, and that nameless, who wrote the Satyre called Piers Flowman, next him followed Harding the Chronicler, then in king Henry th'eight times Skelton, (I wot not for what great worthines) surnamed the Poet Laureat.

Lydgat a translatour onely and no deuiser of that which he wrate, but one that wrate in good verse.

In fact neither Chaucer nor Gower was knighted.

Peacham misread Puttenham and wrongly attributed Piers Flowman to Lydgate (Pitman, p.122).

17 an Epitaphe upon King Henry the seaventh, at Westminster. John Weever, Ancient Funerall Monuments, 1631, p.476:

Here lieth buried in one of the stateliest Monuments of Europe
... the body of Henry the seuenth ... This glorious rich Tombe is compassed about with verses, penned by the Poet Laureate (as he stiles himselfe) and Kings Orator, John Skelton: I will take onely the shortest of his Epitaphs or Eulogiums, and most to the purpose.

In the latter end of King Henry the 8., &c. Puttenham, pp.48-9, 12:

In the latter end of the same kings raigne [Henry VIII] sprong vp a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyat th'elder & Henry Earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who hauing travailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie as nouices newly crept out of the schooles of Dante Ariosto and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude & homely maner of vulgar Poesie, from that it had bene before, and for that cause may lusty be sayd the first reformers of our English metre and stile. In the same time or not long after was the Lord Nicholas Vaux, a man of much facilitie in vulgar makings. Afterward in king Edward the sixths time came to be in reputation for the same facultie Thomas Sternehold, who first translated into English certaine Psalmses of Dauid, and John Hoywood the Epigrammatist who for the myrth and quicknesse of his conceits more then for any good learning was in him came to be well benefited by the king.

And king Henry the 8. her Maiesties father for a few Psalmses of Dauid turned into English metre by Sternehold, made him groome of his priuy chamber, & gaue him many other good gifts.

Sternhold's Certayne Psalmses chosen out of the Psalter of Dauid, published not earlier than 1542, was the first metrical version of the Psalms in English to be used generally in England and Scotland.

For Peacham's note on Heywood, see MM, epigram 38. More Hall or Gobions was owned by More's father, Sir John. More himself never owned Gobions; at his father's death in 1530, it passed to his widow Alice (J.E. Cussans, History of Hertfordshire, 3 vols, 1870-81, III, 287).  

About Queene Maries time, flourished Doctor Phaer, &c. Peacham again misreads Puttenham, p.49:

In Queene Maries time flourished aboue any other Doctour Phaer one that was well learned & excellently well translated into English verse Heroicall certaine bookes of Virgils Aeneidos. Since him followed Maister Arturhe Golding, who with no lesse commendation turned into English metre the Metamorphosis of Ouide, and that other Doctour, who made the supplement to those bookes of Virgils Aeneidos, which Maister Phaer left vnDONE.

Thomas Phaer's translation of the first seven books of the Aeneid was printed in 1558; books i-ix, and part of book x, appeared in 1562. In 1573 a complete translation was published consisting of Phaer's work, and the rest of the Aeneid translated by Thomas Twyne. Golding's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses appeared in 1565-7.

In the time of our late Queene Elizabeth, &c. Puttenham, p.49:

And in her Maiesties time that now is are sprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maiesties owne seruauntes, who have written excellently well as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest, of which number is first that noble Gentleman Edward Earle of Oxford. Thomas Lord of Bukhurst, when he was young, Henry Lord Paget, Sir Philip Sydney, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Master Edward Day, Master Pulke Greuell, Goscen, Britton, Tiberuille and a great many other learned Gentlemen, whose names I do not omit for enuie, but to auoyde tediousnesse, and who haue deserved no little commendation.
Peacham shortens Puttenham's account of the English poets by omitting Fulke Greville, Gascoigne, Breton and Turberville. No verses by Henry, Lord Paget (c.1537-1568), are extant.
Of Musicke

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Ch. 11. Of Musicke

p. 109. 3 adeo ἀνουσιον. (So unmusical.)

6 champaigne. Level open country, in contrast to the city (OED).

9 so rash a censure of these as Findar doth. Findar, Isthmia, i.13-14.


20 Song of Moses. Deut. xxxii.

20-1 those divine Psalms of the sweete singer of Israel. Ps. xxxiii.2.

21 psalterie. An ancient stringed instrument resembling the dulcimer but played by plucking the strings with the fingers or a plectrum (OED).

24 Psalme 33, 21, 43 and 4, 108.3. The Psalms intended must be 21, 13, 33, 2-3, 43, 4, 108. 1-3.

26-9 But, say our Sectaries, &c. Leaders of the English Reformation adopted strict Calvinist rather than Lutheran attitudes to church music. Their intention was to replace the elaborate choral service with the simple singing of the words of the Scriptures in the vernacular, after the Genevan model (F.A. Scholes, The Puritans and Music in England and New England, 1934, pp. 214-28).

During the reign of James I choral services were common in larger Anglican churches, despite the protestations of reforming clergymen. The ensuing controversy led to such statements as Richard Hooker's eloquent defence of choral music (Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie [1593] - 1597, v, 75):

Touching musicall harmonie whether by instrument or by voyce, it being but of high and low in sounds a due proportionable disposition, such notwithstanding is the force thereof, and so pleasing effects it hath in that very part of man which is most divine, that some haue bene thereby induced to thynke that the soule it selfe by nature is, or hath in it harmonie. A thing which delighteth all ages and besemeth all states; a thing as seasonable in griefe as in ioy; as decent being added vnto actions of greatest weight and solemnitie, as being used when men most sequester themselves from action ... In harmonie the very image and character even of vertue and vice is perceived, the minde delighted with their resemblances, and brought by hauing them often iterated into a loue of the things themselves. For which cause there is nothing more contagious and pestilent
then some kindes of harmonie; then some nothing more strong and potent vnto good. And that there is such a difference of one kinde from another we neede no proove but our owne experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of some more inclined vnto sorrow and heauines; of some, more mollified and softned in minde; one kinde apter to stay and settle vs, another to moue and stirre our affections; there is that draweth to a maruelous graue and sober mediocritie, there is also that carryeth as it were into exstasies, filling the minde with an heavenly ioy and for the time in a maner suauering it from the body.

p.110. 2 Miriam the Prophetesse, &c. Exod. 15.21.

7 Symphoce. A figure consisting in the repetition of one word or phrase at the beginning, and another at the end, of successive clauses or sentences.

7 Anaphora. The repetition of the same word or phrase at the beginning of several successive clauses.

11-12 in the numbers of Sapho; another while of Alcaeus. St. Jerome, Epistolae, 53 (Migne, PI, XXII, 547-8). Alcaeus of Mytilene, the earliest of the Aeolian lyric poets, wrote poems constructed in short, single strophes, in all of which the corresponding lines were of the same metre.

15 Doe we not make one sound, &c. II Chron. 5.12-13.

17 Donee (as S. Jerome saith) reboet laquear templi. A Sapphic line alluding to Lucretius, De Rerum Natura, ii. 28.

23-4 the exercise of singing, openeth the breast and pipes. Compare William Byrd, 'Reasons briefly set downe by th' auctor to perswade every one to leerne to singe' (Psalmes, Sonets, and songs of sadnes and pietie, 1588, sig. A3v):

> First, it is a knowledge easely taught, and quickly learned, where there is a good Master, and an apt Scoller.
> 2 The exercise of singing is delightfull to Nature, & good to preserve the health of Man.
> 3 It doth strengthen all parts of the brest, & doth open the pipes.

24-5 it is an enemy to melancholy, &c. Burton, p. 373:

> it [music] is a soueraigne remedy against Despaire and Melancholy, and will driue away the Divell himselfe.

27-8 Apuglia, in Italy, &c. The tarantula's bite was generally believed to cause tarantism, a disease or form of hysteria that occurred in southern Italy from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. The victim wept, skipped about and went into a wild dance. A reputed cure was the tarantella, a folk-dance in rapid 6/8 time, usually performed by one couple surrounded by others
p.110.27-8 (continued)

and characterized by light quick hops and tapping foot movements. The
spider and the dance both derive their name from the town of Taranto in
Apulia.

30  it is a most ready helpe for a bad pronunciation, &c. Byrd, sig. A3v:  

It is a singular good remedie for a stutting & stamering in  
the speech ... It is the best meanes to procure a perfect pronunciation  
& to make a good Orator.

Susan Hankey, in a forthcoming article in Music and Letters, suggests that
Peacham here borrows directly from Byrd.

34-5  A divine and heavenly practise, &c. Plato, Respublica,531c, but Peacham's
source, first noted by Hankey, is Thomas Morley's Plaine and Essie Introduction
to Practical Musicke, 1597, p. 183.

36-7  Musitian are worthy of Honor, and regard of the whole world. Homer,
Od. viii. 479-81.

37-p.111. 2  albeit Lycurgus imposed most streight and sharpe Lawes, &c.
Flutarch, Lycurgus, xviii.2, xxiv.4.

3-4  Musicke to be the onely disposer of the mind to Vertue, &c. Aristotle,
Política, 1337b-1340b.

7-9  there consisteth in the practise of singing, &c. Cicero, Tusc. Disput.
I. ii. 4-5.

10-11  Stabilem Thesaurum, qui mores instituit, &c. Untraced; there is a
reference to music in Tusc. Disput. (I.ii.4-5), cited by Peacham.

20-2  King Henrie the eight could not onely sing, &c. The exact phrase has
not been located but Erasmus gives a general description (Opera, III, 460-1)

Cum is [Henricius] a poeticiis numeris esset alienissimus, alioqui
non imperitus Musices.

See also Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII. Selections of Despatches
written by the Venetian Ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, translated by
Rawdon Brown, 2 vols, 1854, I, 86.

24  the Duke of Venosa. Carlo Gesualdo (1560-1613), author of six books
of madrigals, published in 1585 and 1613.

29-35  Maurice Lantgraue of Hessen. 1572-1632, composer of church music,
Latin psalms, motets and Magnificats. A marginal note in MB, p. 101, reads:

This most noble Prince beside his admirable knowledge in all
learning, & the languages, hath excellent skill in musick. Mr Douland
hath many times shewed me 10 or 12 severall sets of Songes for his Chappell
of his owne composing.
See also Caution, sig. A3r.

p.112. 2 his Vniuersitie of Marpurge. The Collegium Mauritanium, founded in 1595 by Maurice at Kassel.

19-20 Europus King of Macedonia, &c. Peacham cites Joannes Cuspinianus, De Turcorum origine (1541), or De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis (1540).

20-1 Domitian his recreation, &c. Suetonius, Vitae, xii. 3.


24 Rodolph the late Emperour. Rudolf II (1552-1612), Holy Roman Emperor from 1576.

p.113. 6 His Cantiones Sacrae. Peacham refers to Byrd's Cantiones sacrae (1589, 1607), rather than the earlier work of 1575, Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur, composed jointly under the same title by Byrd and Thomas Tallis.

6 his Gradualia. The first set of Gradualia, a number of pieces written for the Catholic church service, appeared in 1605, the second in 1607.

9 his Virginella. 'La virginella e simil'alla rosa', in Byrd's Psalmes, Sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie (1588, 24). It was included in Nicholas Yonge's Musica Transalpina (1588, 44), Peacham's major musical source.

12 Ludouico di Victoria. Tomas Luis di Victoria (1548-1611), Spanish composer of church music.

13 Orlando di Lasso. Roland de Lassus (1532-1594), Netherlandish composer.

15 the Duke of Bauier. Albert V (1520-1579), Duke of Bavaria. In 1556 Lassus entered the choir at his court in Munich, where he remained until his death in 1594.

17 his seuen poenitentiall Psalms. The Seven Penitential Psalms were presented to Duke Albert between 1563 and 1570.

17-18 that French Set of his wherein is Susanna vn jour. First published as Tiers Livres Des Chansons, Louvain, 1562 (fo. xxvi-xxvii, 'Svsanne vng iour d'amour sollicitée') but Hankey suggests Vautrollier's later edition, Receuil du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, printed in London in 1570, and the most likely source for Yonge's 'Susanna faire' (19).
Luca Marenzio. The greatest Italian master of the madrigal (1533-1599). In 1592 he went to Poland to attend the court of Sigismund III at Cracow.

24-5 an over-sight (which might be the Printer's fault), &c. Yonge's version (22) of the canzonet, 'I must depart all haples', closes with the tenor and bass in parallel fifths and a semibrief rest, and not with the conventional madrigalian ending of a long of indeterminate value. The second part of the madrigal is not printed in Musica Transalpina and Yonge himself added the parallel fifths to conclude the prima parte. Hankey suggests that Peacham knew only Yonge's reprint of Marenzio's madrigals; he fails to notice that there should be a second part, which is clearly indicated by ending in the dominant with a minim rest.

27 artificially. Ingeniously (OED).

28-30 Thyrsis, Veggo dolce mio ben, &c. Peacham refers to: (1) 'Tirsi moror, voles': in Yonge, 16, as 'Thirsis to dye desired'; (2) 'Veggo dolce mio bene': in Thomas Watson's First sett, Of Italian Madrigals Englished (1590, 3) as 'Farewell cruel & unkind'; (3) 'Che fa hogs'il mio sole': in Yonge, 27, as 'What doth my pretty darling'; (4) 'Cantava': in Watson's First sett, 17, as 'Sweet singing Amarillis'. The collections of Yonge and Watson, which introduced Marenzio's work to England, are most probably Peacham's source. Yonge prints seven out of the fourteen songs mentioned by Peacham; details of phrasing also suggest that he was copying from the indexes of Musica Transalpina and First sett, which list both English and Italian titles.

Alphonso Ferrabosco the father, while he liued. Ferrabosco (1543-1588) was a routine madrigal composer but nevertheless of importance in English musical history. He entered the service of Queen Elizabeth I in 1562 and remained in England for the next sixteen years.

5-6 for judgment and depth of skill. Peacham borrows from Morley, p. 180:

In this kind [madrigals] our age excelleth, so that if you would imitate any, I would appoint you these for guides: Alfonso ferrabosco for deepe skill, Luca Marenzo for good ayre and fine invention.

6 his sonne yet liuing. Alfonso Ferrabosco the younger (1575-1628), music master to Henry, Prince of Wales, and to his brother, Charles.

8 though Master Thomas Morley censureth him otherwise. An allusion to Morley's slighting judgement of the madrigal, in comparison with serious
church music, in Plaine and Easie Introduction, pp. 179-80:

the light musicke ... the best kind of it is termed Madrigal ...
it is next vnto the Motet the most artificiall and to men of understanding most delightfull. If therefore you will compose in this kind you must possessse your selfe with an amorus humor ... so that you must in your musicke be wauring like the wind, sometime wanton, sometime drooping, sometime graue and staide, otherwhile effeminat, you may maintaine points and reuert them, vse triplaies and shew the verie vtttermost of your varietie, and the more varietie you shew the better shal you please.

9 I saw my Ladie Weeping. Yonge, 23.

9-11 the Nightingale, &c. Yonge, 43. Byrd's contribution to the debate appeared in Songs of Sundrie Natures (1589, 9), 'The nightingale so pleasant'.

14 mine owne Master, Horatio Vecchi of Modena. This statement is the only evidence for the claim that Peacham travelled to Italy and there studied under Vecchi (Alan K. Young, 'A Biographical Note on Henry Peacham', NQ, May-June 1977, 215). Vecchi (1550-1605) was a teacher, composer and poet at the court of Modena between 1595 and 1604, and he died early in 1605, so that it must have been before this date that Peacham knew him. But it remains equally likely, until conclusive proof appears, that Peacham is simply offering Vecchi as his favourite composer.

17 his Madrigals of five and sixe. Vecchi's madrigals for six and seven voices appeared in 1583, for five voices in 1589. Peacham had probably not seen a book of Vecchi's madrigals, but Yonge and Morley (Selected Madrigals, 1589) had published some for five voices in their collections.

18 his Canzonets, &c. Vecchi, Canzonette a Quattro voci (Nuremberg, 1600). Peacham seems to have known this collection at first hand; it contains the three following madrigals.

19 Viuo in fuoco amoroso Lucretia mia. Peacham confuses 'Vivo in foco amoroso' with 'Lucretia mia quelle tue treccie d'oro', numbers 8 and 48 respectively in Canzonette a Quattro voci.

19 Io catenato moro. Peacham misquotes 'Son le cathen'ond'io legato moro', the refrain of 'Lucretia mia'.

22-3 in S'io potessi raccor'i mei Sospiri, &c. The musical example Peacham gives is the text 'i mie sospiri' (Canzonette a quattro voci, 49), where there is a crotchet rest inserted between the second and third words; the rest produces the effect of a sigh to illustrate 'sospiri'.

Peacham responds to one of the portrayals of madrigalisms in Vecchi's *Canzonette*, 40, 'Fa vna Canzone senza note nere'. The image, 'Falla d'un tuono ch'invita al dormire', is illustrated by a musical text which leaves out the top voice and has a reduced voice texture and a low lying range. The music is tranquil and soothing, appropriate to the textual invitation to sleep.

27 that grand Master, &c. Giovanni Croce (1587-1609).

30-1 His Poenitentiall Psalms. Septem Psalms poenitentiales (Nuremberg, 1590).

34-p.115. 2 Peter Phillips. English composer (fl. 1580-1621), organist at the Brussels court of the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella, regents of the Netherlands from 1596 until 1621.

3 Motets. A vocal composition in harmony, set usually to words from the Scriptures, intended for church use (OED).

5-12 many other Authors very excellent, &c. (1) Giovanni Boschetti (1570-1622), Italian composer of madrigals, canzonette and church music; (2) Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), Italian composer who led music from the polyphonic compositions of the late Renaissance to new forms of opera, cantata and orchestrally inspired church music; (3) Giovanni Ferretti (born 1540), Venetian composer of canzoni and madrigals; (4) Stephano Felis (born 1550), Italian composer of masses, motets, madrigals and songs; (5) Giulio Renaldi, sixteenth-century Italian composer of madrigals and canzone; (6) Philippe de Monte (1521-1603), prolific Netherlandish composer of madrigals, French chansons and villanelles, as well as church music; (7) Andrea Gabrieli (1520-1586), Italian organist and composer; (8) Cipriano de Rore (1515-1565), Flemish composer active mainly in Italy. His work combined northern polyphony and Italian lyricism and was admired by contemporary composers; (9) Benedetto Pallavicino (died 1601), Italian composer of madrigals popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; (10) Geminiano Capilupi (1573-1616), pupil of Orazio Vecchi, succeeded him in 1604 as maestro di capella at Modena. Besides madrigals and canzonets he composed large-scale motets.

Hankey notes that, with the exception of Felis, Pallavicino and Gabrieli, these composers all appear in Morley's Introduction. Music by Felis and Gabrieli is printed by Yonge and Peacham may have also known Gabrieli's work through the editions of the Phalèse press of Antwerp.

14-16 the rest of our English Composers, &c. (1) John Dowland (1563-1626), virtuoso lutenist, singer and composer well known throughout Europe in all
three fields; (2) Thomas Morley (1557-1603), organist, theorist and composer; (3) Alfonso Ferrabosco (see above, p. 114, l. 5); (4) John Wilbye (1574-1638), one of the greatest of the madrigal writers; (5) George Kirby (1565-1634), madrigal composer; (6) Thomas Wilkinson, sixteenth and seventeenth-century composer; (7) Michael East (1580-1648), composer of madrigals and fantasie for the viol; (8) Thomas Bateson (1570-1630), an accomplished madrigal writer; (9) Richard Dering (1580-1630), composer and organist.


31 The ancient Gaules in like manner, &c. Julian, Misopogon, 337c.


1 Reuert. 'The reuerting of a point (which also we terme a reuert) is, when a point is made rising or falling, and then turned to go the contrarie waie, as manie notes as it did ye first' (Morley, p. 85); OED cites Peacham as the second example.

1 Antistrophe. The repetition of the last words of successive phrases.

3 Antimetabole. A figure in which the same words or ideas as repeated in inverse order.

10 Diapason. The interval of an octave, the consonance of the highest and lowest notes of the musical scale (OED).

12 Gamma. The first, or lowest note in the medieval scale of music, answering to the modern G on the lowest line of the base stave (OED).

12 G sol re vt. The note G one octave above Gamma, taken from Guido's hexachord, 'ut re mi fa sol la'.
Ch. 12. Of Antiquities

p.118. 20 Virtuosi. Having a passionate interest in the fine arts, particularly painting, antiquities and science, with an emphasis on the rare and the curious. The standard article is W.E. Houghton, 'The English Virtuoso in the Seventeenth Century', JHI, 3 (1942), pp. 51-73, 109-219. See also R.L.W. Caudill, 'Some Literary Evidence of the Development of English Virtuoso Interests in the Seventeenth Century, with particular reference to the Literature of Travel' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1975). Peacham's use of the word predates OED which gives Brent, 1651, translating Sarpi, as the earliest example, followed by Boyle, 1660, as the first independent usage.

24 similis simili gaudet. (Like pleases like.) Macrobius, Somniam Scipionis, VII.vii.12, 'similibus enim similia gaudent'.

26 Cabinets. Cases or rooms displaying collections of art, antiquities and curiosities. For a description, see Caudill, pp. 9-15.

26 the Great Duke of Tuscany. Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany from 1621 to 1670. For an account of the Medici collection, see E. Müntz, 'Les Collections d'antiques formées par les Médicis au XVIe siècle', Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, 35 (1896), 85-167 (pp. 165-6).

28-p.119.1 those which Peter de Medicis lost at Florence, &c. Comines, p.565:

Le peuple pilla tout. La Seigneurie eut partie des plus riches bagues, & vingt mille Ducats contans, qu'il avoit à son banc, en la ville, & plusieurs beaux pots d'Agatte: & tans de beaux Camayeulx, bien taillez, que marveilles, qu'autrefois i'avoye veus, & bien trois mille medales d'or & d'argent, bien la pesanteur de quarante livres: & croy qu'il n'y avoit point autant de belles medales en Italie. Ce qu'il perdit ce iour en la cité, valoit cent mille Escus, & plus.


2-4 the Dukes of his House, &c. Ferdinand I, first Duke of Tuscany (1587-1609), laid the foundation of the prodigious Medici collection, described by Müntz, 'Collections', p. 108:

C'est certainement le musée le plus considérable de l'Italie après celui du Vatican. Si les Médicis s'étaient laissé distancer par les papes pour les oeuvres monumentales, ils l'emportaient incontestablement sur eux
par la richesse de leur médaillier, de leurs sérées de pierres gravées, de
vases, de bronzes, pour ne point parler de leurs incomparables collections
d'oeuvres du moyen âge et de la Renaissance.

For an account of the collection in the sixteenth century, see pp. 130-59.

Diana of Ephesus, &c. Acquired by Francis I, the statue stood in the
Louvre in the Salle des Antiques (now known as the Salle d'August); Henri
Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, 3 vols,
Paris, 1724, II, 42:

De haut en bas, ce ne sont que marbres noirs, rouges, gris, jaspés,
rares, bizarres, bien choisis, enchâssés, en manière d'incrustation dans le
parterre, aussi bien que dans les murailles, qui rendent le lieu asséns
semblable à des reliquaires ou à des cabinets d'Allemagne fort historiés:
les trumeaux sont ornés de colonnes fuselées & de niches garnies de statues
de marbre, entre-autres d'un More, d'une Diane, d'un Fluteur, & d'une Venus
qui meritent l'admiration de tout le monde.

Laocoon and Nilus. The Laocoon group was unearthed in January 1506; in
March Pope Julius II had it placed in the newly-erected statue court of the
Vatican Belvedere (H.H. Brummer, The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere,
Stockholm, 1970, pp. 75-119; C.C. van Essen, 'La Découverte du Laocoon',
Medelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd.
Letterkunde, XVIII, 12 (1955), 293). The Nilus was installed in 1513 by
Pope Leo X (Brummer, pp. 191-204; J.S. Ackerman, The Cortile del Belvedere,
Vatican City, 1954, p. 54).

Toro, &c. The sculpture consists of the bull, Zethus, Amphion and Dirce,
and several subsidiary figures. Found in the Baths of Caracalla in 1546, it
was placed in the second courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese (P. de Navenne,
Rome le Palais Farnèse et les Farnèse, Paris, [1914], pp. 451-4). Statues
were also contained in a chamber outside the palace (L. Mauro, Le Antichità
de la Città di Roma, Venice, 1556, pp. 150, 162-3). In Fulvio Orsini's
inventory of 1587, the Toro was valued at eighty écus (Navenne, p.669).


formall. Of the outward shape or appearance of an object (OED).

Abraham bought the field, &c. Gen. 23. 15-16.

pecunia numerata. (Money counted.)

At Rome, Servius was the first, &c. W. Snellius, De Re Nummaria,
Leyden, 1613, pp. 1-2:

Sed ad Romanam rempublicam me confero. Serviun Rex primus signavit
aes, antea rudi vsos Romae Remeus tranit. Signatum est nota pecudum, vnde &
pecunia appellata.
For Numa Pompilius, see St. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, xviii. 6 (Migne, *PL*, LXXXII, 585).

3  **Penates.** Household gods (OED).

4-5  **Aeneas brought with him from Troy, &c.** Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 378.

15  **Magazine.** A repository for goods (OED).

18  **Gennets in Spaine.** See above, p. 248, ll. 20-1.

20  **Grand Signiors Dominions.** The Turkish Empire.

29  **Thomas Howard Lord high Marshall of England.** See above, Frontispiece.

34  **Arundel-House.** The London residence of the Duke of Norfolk, near the Temple (Stow, II, 92).

p.121.3-4  **A great part of these belonged to the late Duke of Mantua.** Charles I purchased the Duke of Mantua's entire collection for £20,000 between 1627 and 1628. For its contents, see A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzage venduta all' Inghilterra nel 1627-8*, Milan, 1913; H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 3 vols, 1888, I, 265.

4-7  **Old-greek-marble-bases, &c.** Digby (1603-1665) collected the antiquities from Delos in September 1628 (*Journal of a Voyage in the Mediterranean by Sir Kenelm Digby A.D. 1628*, edited by John Bruce, 1868, pp. 56-7).

8  **halfe a dozen brasse statues, &c.** A series of bronzes from famous antique models, now in the East Terrace Gardens at Windsor, cast between 1631 and 1634. In 1631 Le Sueur had brought 'Moulds and patterns of certain antiques' from Italy (FKO, E404/52; Exchequer for Receipt Issue Warrants, 1630-1; C.C. Stopes, 'Gleanings from the Records of the Reigns of James I and Charles I', *Burlington Magazine*, 22 (1922), 282).

9-10  **Hubert Le Sueur, &c.** Le Sueur (fl. 1610-1643) was engaged by James I in 1619 and appointed principal sculptor of the works (K.A. Esdaile, 'New light on Hubert Le Sueur', *Burlington Magazine*, 35 (1935), 177). In 1626 he was living near Drury Lane ('List of Names, descriptions, and residences of all foreign strangers residing within the county of Middlesex', PRO, SP, Dom, Charles I, 1626, vol. 44, no. 47); by 1630 he had moved to the parish of St. Bartholomew where he remained for at least five years (T.C. Noble, *Memorials of Temple Bar*, [1896], p.81, n.).

12-14  **the Gladiator, &c.** This statue, now in the Louvre, seems to have been cast before Le Sueur's journey to Italy in 1631, since a pedestal for a 'brass gladiator' had been made for the Privy Garden at St. James's in 1629-30 (FKO,
The dimensions were acquired in Rome by George Gage (1614-1640), Sir Dudley Carleton's agent. For an account of the Stanza del Gladiatore in the Villa Borghese, see J. Manilli, Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana, Rome, 1650, pp. 80-1; D. Montefatici, Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana, Rome, 1700, pp. 216-218.

16-17 great Horse with his Majestie upon it. Le Sueur's equestrian statue of Charles I was commissioned by Lord Treasurer Weston in 1630. Buried during the Commonwealth, it was finally erected at Charing Cross about 1667.

18-20 that of the New-bridge at Paris, &c. Giambologna's equestrian statues of Henry IV (Pont-Neuf, Paris, 1614), Cosimo I (Palazzo della Signoria, Florence, 1594) and Philip III (Casa del Campo, Madrid, 1616). It is possible that Giambologna (1524-1608) taught Le Sueur, but this seems unlikely on grounds of style.

21 Yorke-house. A mansion in the Strand, acquired by the Duke of Buckingham in 1622 (Stow, II, 100).

22-3 those Romane Heads, &c. Buckingham purchased Rubens' famous collection of antiquities and paintings in 1625; it remained at York House after his death in 1628. See W.N. Sainsbury, Original Unpublished Papers illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, 1859, pp. 65, 70-7; Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 1758, printed from the manuscript catalogue made about 1650.

23 Sir Peter Paul Rubens. Knighted 21 February 1630.

25-8 John de Bologna's Cain and Abel, &c. Entitled Samson and a Philistine, the sculpture was presented by Philip III to Charles I when, as Prince of Wales, he visited Spain in 1623. It subsequently passed to the Duke of Buckingham. In 1624 the sculpture was still known by its original title but by 1634 it had been renamed Cain and Abel, having lost the ass's jawbone; the correct identity was finally established in 1778. See J. Pope-Hennessy, 'Samson and a Philistine', V. and A. Monographs, 8 (1954).

p.122.24-5 Icones statuarum quae hodie visuntur Romae. (Images of statues which can today be seen at Rome.) Probably referring to Antiquarum Statuarum Vrbis Romae, quae in publicis locis visuntur, Icones, Rome, 1584, a collection of sixty-one plates, mainly engraved by G.B. Cavalieri. In 1621 an enlarged edition was published with 157 plates.
p.122.36-7 sub dio. (Under heaven.)

p.123.10 Rounds. A form of sculpture in which the figure stands clear as distinguished from a relief. OED gives no example earlier than 1811.

23 Tombes. Tombs.


p.124.4-6 (1) Dijs Manibus, in the hands of the gods; (2) Lubens Meritoque, deserving and with merit; (3) Dat, Dicat, Dedicat, he gave, he ordered, he dedicated; (4) De Suo Posuit, he places it about himself.

7 Plagiary. Plagiarist (CED).

12-13 Marcus Durmius triumvir, &c. (Marcus Durmius triumvir, by acquiring and by minting gold, silver and bronze.)

15-17 Imperator Caesari Trajano, &c. (To the Emperor Caesar Trajan, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacius, Pontifex Maximus, tribunate power, Consul for the sixth time. Father of his country.)


Qui a faict que quelques vns, & parauanture non sans apparence de raison, ont estimé que ce mot de Papa ait esté composé de deux mots. Car comme ainsi fust que l'on appellast quelquesfois les vieux peres avec tiltre, & preface d'honneur Patres Patrum, & que par vne abreuiation on meit à quelques inscriptions Pa.Pa.


p.125.10-20 divers learned men, &c. (1) Gulielmus Budaeus, *De asse et partibus*, Paris, 1514; (2) Georgius Agricola the elder, *De re metallica*, Basle, 1530; (3) Andrea Alciati, *Libellus de ponderibus et mensuris*, Hagenau, 1530; (4) Charles du Moulin, *Tractatus commerciorum et usurarum redituumque*
pecunia constitutorum et monetarum, Paris, 1546; (5) Francois Hotman, De re numaria populi romani liber, Paris, 1585; (6) Diego de Covarruvias, Veterum collatio numismatum, Granada, 1556; (7) Willebrordus Smellius, see above, p.119, l.36; (8) Edmund Brerewood, De ponderibus, et pretiis veterum nummorum, eorumque cum recentioribus collatione, 1614; (9) Hubert Goltzius, Graecia, siue historiae urbiim et populorum Graecias ex antiquis numismatibus restitutae, Bruges, 1576; (10) Fulvius Ursinus, Familiae Romanae quae, reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab urbe condita ad tempora ... Augusti, Rome, 1557; (11) Adolphus Ccco, Imperatorum Romanorum numismata a Pompeio Nago ad Heraclium, Antwerp, 1579; (12) Levinus Hulsius, XII. primorum Caesarum et LXIII. ipsorum uxor um et parentum ex antiquis numismatibus, Frankfurt, 1597; (13) Louis Savot, Discours sur les medailles [sic] antiques, Paris, 1627.

26-7 A Shekel with its parts, &c. Edward Brerewood, De ponderibus et pretiis veterum nummorum, 1614, p. 1:

De veterum itaque Nummorum ponderibus & potestate dicturus, incipiam a nummis Hebraeorum: Illi vero nullum habuerunt proprium ex argento, praeter Siculum & eius partes.

3-5 The Shekel of the Sanctuary, &c. Ibid., p. 2. From details of phrasing it seems likely that Peacham also referred to B. Arias Kontanus, Antiquitatum Iudaicarum Libri IX, Leyden, 1593, p.126:

Siculum esse dimidiam argentii, quod Manna plenum in sacra arca ad saeculorum monumentum, Dei iussu & Moysis procuratione fuerat repositum: & in altero ramus ille admirabilis, quem in fasciculum virgularum plurimarum Aaronis nomine illatum (cum illius sacerdotali dignitati ab aemulis quibusdam obtrectaretur) postera die populos omnes florentem, amygdalaque explicantem vidit, inscriptiones etiam fuisse in eodem nummo Samaritanis characteribus, quae olim communes totius Israels litterae fuerant, ante discessionem decem tribuum a duabus, lingua plane Hebraica, quarum exemplum ex altera parte erat SEKEL ISRAEL, quod Latine sonat Siclus Israelis: ex altera vero IERUSALEM KEDESSAH, hoc est Jerusalem sancta.

5-6 The Kings Shekel, &c. Brerewood, p.3.


8-11 a brasse Shekel, &c. Savot, pp. 335-6:

l'autre sicle de cuiure [decrit par Chokier, après Vilalpandus] a d'vn costé vne figure qu'ils prennent pour la racine du baulme qui croissoit en la Iudée, & de l'autre celle d'vne palme.
Wasserus ne s'accorde point, car il fait deux autres sortes de sicle, l'un qui estoit celuy du sanctuaire pesant quatre drame Attiques, qui sont trois gros & demy de nostre poids, l'autre estoit selon l'opinion de quelques-uns le sicle commun, n'ayant que la moitié du premier.

Le premier a pour figures d'un costé vne forteresse, qui represente a ce qu'il dit la ville, ou le Temple de Hierusalem, avec vne inscription Hebraïque, qui signifie ces mots, Hierusalem ville de sainteté; de l'autre costé il y a d'autres lettres Hebraïque qui veulent dire en Francois, David Roy, & son fils Salomon Roy.

11-15 they say that in the time of Iulius the second, &c. Ibid., pp. 336-7:

Il dit encore que du temps du Pontificat de Iules second, & de Leon dixiesme, furent trouuees encore deux autres sortes de monnoyes Hebraïques, tant en cuire qu'en argent; l'une ayant d'un costé l'image de nostre Seigneur emprunte avec le nom de IESVS, & de l'autre des lettres Hebraïques, voulant dire, Le Roy sacré ou oinct est venu avec paix, Dieu a esté fait homme.

L'autre est tout semblable à la premiere d'un costé, mais de l'autre il y a d'autres lettres Hebraïques, qui signifient, Et la lumière de l'homme a esté faite vie.

Ces deux derniers espaces sont manifestement fausses, mesme toutes ces pieces Hebraïques, qui sont d'argent doivent estre soupçonnees.

Dauantage celle qu'on dit avoir leur legende en characteres Syriques, me semblent fort suspectes, dautant que lesdits characteres n'ayant aucune ressemblance, ny avec les lettres Syriques d'aujourd'huy, ny avec les antiques qui sont en la Bibliothèque du Vatican, ie m'estonne comment on peut dire que ce soit des letters Syriques, & par mesme moyen comment on les a peu lire, puisque elles n'ont aucune conformité ny avec les characteres antiques, ny avec les modernes.

27-30 Gherah, Agorah, and Keshitah, &c. Brerewood, pp. 4-5; Peacham's material on coins is taken entirely and almost verbatim from Brerewood.

32-3 A Shekel of gold, &c. Ibid., p.9* For Peacham's valuation of gold coins, see below, p. 127, 11. 27-30.

p.127. 1 Angel gold. Standard or 'guinea' gold (OED).

2 Rose-nobles. A gold coin stamped with the figure of a rose, current in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (OED).

4-10 Adarcon, Ezra 8.27. and of Drakmon, &c. Brerewood, pp. 9-11, citing Plutarch (Artaxerxes, xvii.3, xx.4) and Herodotus.

12-25 the Summes of the Hebrewes, &c. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

27-30 I differ from Brerewood, &c. Ibid., p.23, 'Vnciam auri habet, Valetque; nostri ... 3.li'.

32-4 a talent of silver, &c. Ibid., p.27.

35-p.128.2 the Talent of gold in Greece, &c. Ibid.,pp.17-18, citing Pollux.

3-7 1.Chro. 22.14, &c. Ibid., pp. 16-18; see also p.15 for his estimate of the cost of the temple.
The Attique dramme, &c. Ibid., pp. 18-23.
The Daric and Sizycen Staters, &c. See Brerewood, pp. 23-5.
There were also in some countreys, &c. Ibid., p. 27:
Nam etiam obseruo minora quaedam talenta fuisset in usu, quae
tamen videntur talenta non nisi exorbitante nominis notione appellata.
The Sicilian Talent of old, &c. Ibid., p. 28.
Hem tibi talentum argenti, &c. Plautus, Truculentus, 952.
As, quasi aes, &c. Brerewood, pp. 31-3, citing Pliny, Hist. Nat.
XXXIII.xiii.42-7.
there were some sembella, &c. Ibid., V.xxxvi.174.
Triens, the third part of an assis, &c. Brerewood, p. 33.
Decussis, Vicesiss, Tricessis and Centussis. Varro, De Lingua
Latina, V.xxxvi.170.
Denarius, so called, because it was worth tenne' asses. Ibid., V.xxxvi.173.
The Consular peecces, &c. Brerewood, p. 35.
Sestertius, so called because it was worth halfe, &c. Ibid., p. 41.
Compare Varro, De Lingua Latina, V.xxxvi.173, 'sestertius, quod semis tertius'.
Sestertius was also of brasse, &c. A misreading of Pliny, Hist.Nat.
XXXIV.ii.4; the best brass was 'Marianum'.
Obolus, &c. Brerewood, p. 35, citing Celsus.
The Semissis weighing a dram, &c. Ibid., pp. 39-42.
Talentum, 24 sestertia, &c. Ibid., p. 42, citing Galen.
Sportula was a small summe, &c. Ibid., p. 42.
Cardecu. An old French silver coin worth about 1s.6d. in the seventeenth
century (OED).

Eusebius, Evangelica Demonstratio, x.475 (Migne, PG, XXII, 737).
The Revenue of the Romanes, &c. Plutarch, Pompey, xlv.3.

24 Lituus. The crooked staff carried by the augurs.

27 Sellae Curules. The sella curulis was the official chair of consuls and praetors.

27-8 mural Crownes. The mural crown was the garland given to the first soldier who scaled the walls of a besieged town.

28 Ancilia. The ancile was a small, oval shield.
Ch. 13. Of Drawing, Limning and Painting:
with the lives of the famous Italian Painters


23 Simples. Medicinal plants and herbs (OED).

p.139. 2 the feather of the Peacocke. Job 39. 13:
Gavest thou the goodly wings unto the peacocks? or wings and
feathers unto the ostrich?

5-8 in ancient times painting was admitted into the first place, &c.
Fliny, Hist.Nat. XXXV.vi.17 - x.28.

14-22 the first of that name, &c. Ibid., XXXV.vii.19. Quoted in AD,
sig.A3^v, and GE, p. 3.

22 Quintus Fabius pinxi. (I, Quintus Fabius, painted this.)

27-30 Francis the first, king of France, &c. G.F. Lomazzo, Trattato dell'arte
de la Pittura, Milan, 1584, p.20. Compare Richard Haydocke's translation, A
Tracte containing the Artes of curious Painting Caruininge & Buildinge, Oxford,
1589, sig. B1^v:
For we reade of the French king Francis, the first of that name,
that hee oftentimes delighted to handle the pencell, by exercising drawing
and painting. The like wherof is reported of divers other Princes, as well
auncient as late. Amongst whom, I may not conceals Charles Emanuell Duke
of Sauoie.

34-5 Master Nathaniel Bacon of Broome in Suffolkes. Seventh son (fl. 1640)
of Sir Nicholas Bacon. He became a knight of the Bath at the coronation
King Charles I in 1626. Although he studied painting in Italy, his style
was markedly Flemish.

36 Sir Nicholas Baecon, Knight and eldest Barronet. Created premier baronet
of England on 22 May 1611.

p.140. 1-2 that right noble and ancient family. The most notable members
were: (1) Sir Nicholas Bacon (1509-1579), see above. ch. 6, Cf stile in
speaking &c., p.54, ll. 15-18; (2) Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, created
sheriff of Norfolk in 1599; (3) Edward Bacon (d. 1613), created sheriff of
Suffolk in 1601; (4) Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), Viscount St. Albans,
Lord Chancellor during the reign of James I; (5) Anthony Bacon (1558-1601),
diplomat and friend of the Earl of Essex.
when I was of Trinitie Colledge. Peacham was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, on 11 May 1593. He graduated B.A. in January 1595, and M.A. in 1598.

he construed vnto me the beginning of the first Ode in Horace, &c. The line was well-known as an example of Asclepiad metre in Brevissima Institutio seu ratio grammatices cognoscendae, published as the second part of Lily's Grammar (1567, sig. G7'). Peacham tells the story in PPD, p.5.

p. 141. 2 stuffes. Woven material of any kind used for making garments (OED).
2 cloth. Woollen fabric (OED).

7 a booke of Drawing and Limning. The Gentlemans Exercise (1612), also issued in the same year as Graphice or the most auncient and excellent Art of Drawing and Limning; a second edition appeared in 1634. It is unlikely that Peacham refers to his more modest Art of Drawing with the Pen, and Limming in Water Colours (1606).

15-17 a very learned booke of Symmetrie and proportions, &c. Albrecht Dürer, Herinn sind begriffen vier Bucher von menschlicher proportion (Nuremberg, 1528), translated by J. Camerarius as De symmetria partium in rectis formis humanorum corporum libri in latinum conversi (Nuremberg, 1528). This and Dürer's other treatise, Elementa geometrica (Paris, 1532), being well-known in England, contributed to his high reputation as an artist. Dürer was eulogized by Erasmus and later writers, for example, Bacon, Dee, Haydocke and Donne, cited him as a great painter. See Lucy Gent, Picture and Poetry 1560-1620: Relations between literature and the visual arts in the English renaissance (Leamington Spa, 1981), pp. 33, 74-5.

21 a great D in an A. Dürer's famous signature.

24 Goltzius. Presumably referring to Hendrik Goltzius of Mulbracht (1558-1617), the outstanding line engraver of his day. He was the leader of a group of Mannerist artists who worked in Haarlem.

24-5 Popes head alley. The White Horse in Popes Head Alley in Cornhill, premises of John Sudbury and George Humble, printers and booksellers. Their firm, established around 1599, was the first in England to specialize in the sale of engravings, maps and copy-books.

27 etchinge. This emendation would predate OED, which cites John Bate, The Mysteryes of Nature, and Art; contained in foure severall Tretises, the first of Water workes, the second of Fyer workes, the third of Drawing, Colouring, Painting, and Engrauing, the fourth of divers Experiments (1634), as the
earliest instance. 'Etching' derives from the Dutch verb 'etsen', to etch; Peacham's knowledge of Dutch may explain his early use of the English form of the word. The original reading, 'a Hinge', probably resulted from the compositor's lack of familiarity with the neologism.

32-3 his famous piece, of the last judgement. Lomazzo, p.21. Compare Haydocke's translation, sig. B2v:

that famous picture of the last Judgement, donne by the hande of the Divine Michael Angelo in the Popes Chappell at Rome.

p.142. 2-7 Hans Holben was likewise an excellent Master, &c. Holbein first came to England in 1526, four years after the visit of the Emperor Charles V in 1522. The rebuilding of the palace of Bridewell (demolished in 1864) for this event is described by Stow, II, 43-4:

Bridewell, of olde time the kings house: for the kings of this realme haue beene there lodged, and till the ninth of Henrie the thirde, the Courtes were kept in the kings house wheresoeuer he was lodged...King Henrie the eight builded there a stately and beautiful house of new, for receit of the Emperor Charles the 5, who in the yeare of Christ 1522, was lodged himselfe at the blacke Friers, but his Nobles in this builded Bridewell, a Gallery being made out of the house over the water, and through the wall of the Cittie into the Emperor's lodging at the Blacke Friers: King Henrie himselfe oftentimes lodged there also.

The design for a chimney-piece is probably the pen and ink drawing by Holbein in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1854-7-8-1, formerly in the collections of Horace Walpole and Jonathan Richardson (Walpole, I, 98). For its description, see Laurence Binyon, Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists of Foreign origins working in Great Britain, 4 vols, 1900, II, 330. Peacham's note refers to the painting of Joseph of Arimathea in the Whitehall chapel, burnt down in 1689 (Walpole, I, 82). The chapel of St. James was destroyed in 1809 but it is likely that Holbein's Lazarus had already been defaced in 1643 by order of the Commons (Journal of the House of Commons, 3 (1803), p.145).

3 against. In preparation for (OED).

9 Shadan. The engraver Jean Saenredam (1565-1607), a pupil of Goltzius and Jacques de Gheyn.

9 Wierix. One of the three Wierix brothers, a Flemish family of engravers: Jean (1550-c.1615), Jerome (1551-1619) and Anton (1555-1624).

10 Crispin de Pas. Crispin van de Passe the elder (d. 1637), Netherlandish engraver noted for his portraits of British sitters. His earliest engraving
is dated 1589. In 1613 he moved from Cologne to Utrecht and remained there for most of his life. Despite imprints of London on several of his plates there is no record that he ever visited England. His four children were engravers as well; the eldest son, Crispin, worked in Paris between 1622 and 1623 and Simon, Willem and Magdalena visited London. The family produced a large number of English portraits and their work in *Hervologia Anglica* (1620), a portrait book of English heroes, had a great influence on British portrait engraving.

18 *wort*. A pot-herb (OED).

20 *Gentlemans Exercise*. See above, p.141, l. 7.

28 *card*. Stiff paper or thin pasteboard (OED, citing Peacham as the second example).

30 *shells*. Shells were used to hold paint; 'your great muscle shelles commonly called horse muscles are best for keeping colours' (GE, p.69).

34 *Emblems, Anagrams*. See above, p. 235 ff.


7 *Michael Ianns of Delf in Holland*. Michel Janssens Mierevelt (1567-1641), portrait painter to the House of Orange and one of the most successful and prolific artists in his trade.

20 *Spanish white*. Finely powdered chalk used as a pigment (OED); GE, p.78:

> There is another white called Spanish white, which you may make your selfe in this manner, take fine chalke and grind it, with the third part of Alome in faire water, till it be thicke like pap, then roule it vp into balles, letting it lie till it be drie, when it is drie, put it into the fire, and let it remaie till it bee red hote like a burning coale, and then take it out, and let it coole: it is the best white of all others to lace and garnish, being ground with a weake gumme water.

23 *red lead*. Red oxide of lead (CED, citing Peacham, GE, 1612, as the fifth example).

32 *white lead*. A compound of lead carbonate and hydrated oxide of lead (OED, citing Peacham, CG, 1634, as the third example).

33 *Lake*. A reddish paint, originally obtained from lac (CED, citing Peacham as the second example).

33 *luorie blacke*. A fine soft black pigment made by calcining ivory in a closed vessel (CED, citing Peacham, GE, 1634, as the first example).
p.143. 33 **Seacoale.** Mineral (ordinary) coal as opposed to charcoal (OED).

34 **lampe blacke.** Almost pure carbon powder; the soot is produced by burning oil (OED, citing Peacham, GE, 1612, as the second example).

34 **umber.** A brown earth (OED, citing Peacham, GE, 1612, as the fourth example).

34-5 **verdigreace.** Verdigris; a green or greenish-blue pigment obtained artificially by the action of dilute acetic acid on thin plates of copper, or naturally from the green rust that forms on copper and brass (OED).

35 **Masticot.** Yellow protoxide of lead (OED).

p.144. 2 **char-coale blacke.** A pigment obtained from charcoal (OED, citing Peacham as the only example).

p.145. 30-1 **Browne of Spaine.** Spanish brown; a kind of earth with a reddish-brown colour due to peroxide of iron (OED, citing 1660 as the earliest example).

p.146. 1 **Smalt.** A species of glass, usually coloured a deep blue by oxide of cobalt, and after cooling finely pulverised for use as a pigment (OED, citing Peacham, GE, 1612, as the third example).

28 **Popiniay.** The prevailing shade of green in the plumage of the green parrot (OED, citing Peacham as the sixth example).

p.148. 5 **sallow.** A willow tree (OED).

9 **Rice.** A dull blue pigment obtained from smalt (OED).

26 **Mullar.** A stone with a flat base used, in conjunction with a grinding stone or slab, to grind painters' colours (OED).

34 - p.149. 3 **the Battaille of Doomes day, &c.** Perhaps The Battle of Lepanto, painted in 1571 by Andrea Vicentino, in the Sala del Gran Consiglio of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice. Peacham probably confuses Vicentino with Gentile Bellini (c.1429-1507), who redecorated the Sala del Gran Consiglio and in 1479 went to paint at the court of Mahomet II in Constantinople.

4-13 **A very rare and admirable peece in Andwarpe, &c.** The Lamentation altarpiece (1507-9) by Quentin Massys in the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Antwerp, now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. The painting was sold in 1577 but later redeemed for the city for 1500 florins. The story of Massys (1465/6-1530) and his wife was founded on a line of verse, 'Connubialis amor de Mulcibre fecit Apellem', at the base of his portrait by Lamponius in the Cathedral. For a full account, see An accurate Description of the Principal Beauties, in ... Antwerp, 1765, pp. 23-4.
Page 149.20 - p.150. 7 Ioannes Cimabus, &c. Peacham's material on Italian painters is taken from Carel van Mander's Leven der moderne oft dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders (Haarlem, 1603), a condensed translation into Dutch of sixty-two of the 190 major lives in the second, enlarged edition of Vasari's Vite de più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani (Florence, 1568), accompanied by Van Mander's original account of Italian painters who worked after 1568. Peacham selects eighteen of the sixty-two lives; twelve derive from the first part of Vasari's Vite which deals with the Trecento, five come from the second section (the Quattrocento), and only the life of Raphael is taken from the third part (the Cinquecento). Van Mander's more recent biographies are ignored. Peacham's translation is literal and exact but he abbreviates Van Mander's material considerably. Het Leven der moderne oft-dees-tijtsche doorluchtighe Italiaensche Schilders was included in Het Schilderboeck (1604), Van Mander's well-known handbook for artists which also contained about 175 lives of Northern painters, and the Lehrgedicht, a practical set of instructions set out in verse.

For his account of Cimabue, compare Van Mander, Het Schilderboeck waer in voor eerst de leerlustighe Jueght den grondt der Edel vry Schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorgedragen, Haarlem, 1604, fo.94a-b.

8-15 Andrea Taffi, &c. Van Mander, ff. 94b-95a.
16-25 Gaddo Gaddi, &c. Ibid., fo. 95a.
26-31 Margaritone, &c. Ibid., fo. 95a-b.
32-p.154.23 Giotto, &c. Ibid., ff. 95b-97a.

p.152.11 Pope Benedict. It was Boniface VIII (pontificate 1293-1303) who sent for Giotto in 1298.

30 More round then Giotto's Circle. Van Mander, fo. 96b, 'Ghy zyt veel ronder als de O van Giotto'. In the Dutch translation, the proverb loses its punning character. The Italian version, 'Tu sei piu tondo chel O. di Giotto' (Vasari, Vite, Florence, 1550, p.142), translates as 'you are more simple than Giotto's circle', with a pun on tondo (meaning both 'round' and 'simple').

36 - p.153. 2 in Mosaque, &c. The Navicella, set above three doors of the portico in the courtyard of St. Peter's, was completed in 1298.

2-3 At Avignon, hee wrought for Pope Clement the fift. It is unlikely that Giotto ever went to Avignon although he was certainly summoned there by Pope Benedict XII in 1334.
he was much holpen by his deare and ingenious friend Dantes the Poet. More precisely, by Dante's poetry; the poet had died in 1321.


Occhio di Natura. Compare Van Mander, 'den Aep der Natueren' (fo. 97b) and Vasari, 'la scimia della Natura' (p.152).

Petro Laurati of Siena, &c. Van Mander, fo. 98a, on Pietro Lorenzetti; his Polyptych is in the Pieve di Santa Maria, Arezzo.

Bonamico Buffalmacco, &c. Ibid., ff. 98a-99b. Buffalmacco's pupil, Bruno di Giovanni, painted historical scenes at Pisa. Giovannozzo di Perino, known as Calandrino, was a painter in Florence at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The foure Patriarkes, &c. At Settimo.


Petro Cavallini, &c. Ibid., ff. 99b-100a.

Simon of Siena, &c. Ibid., fo. 100a, referring to Simone Martini (1284-1344). Petrarch commended Martini in two sonnets, 'Per mirar Policlet o a prova fiso' (Rime, LXXVII), 'Quando giunse a Simon l'alto concetto' (LXXVIII), and in a letter, V.xvii.6-7 (Opere, volume XI, Le Familiari, edited by Vittorio Rossi, Florence, 1934, p.39):

Atque ut a veteribus ad nova, ab externis ad nostra transgrediar, duos ego novi pictores egregios, nec formosos: Iottum, florentinum civem, cuius inter modernos fama ingens est, et Simonem senensem; novi et sculptores aliquot, sed minoris fame - eo enim in genere impar prorsus est nostra etas.

Andreas Orgagna, &c. Van Mander, ff. 100b-101a.

One of his best peeces, &c. The Last Judgement in the Campo Santo, Pisa.


He dyed aged 60. yeares, 1389. The correct date is 1368; the error originates with Vasari and is repeated by Van Mander.
32-6 **Fryer John of Fiesole, &c.** Referring to: (1) Fra Angelico (c.1400-1455); (2) Fra Filippino Lippi (c.1457-1504); (3) Alessio Baldovinetti (1425-1499); (4) Andrea del Castagno (1423-1457); (5) Andrea del Verrocchio (1435-1488); (6) Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-1494); (7) Sandro Botticelli (1444-1510); (8) Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519); (9) Pietro Perugino (1446-1523); (10) Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco (1475-1517); (11) Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515); (12) Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564); (13) Raphael Sanzio (1483-1520).

38 **Hannibal Caro.** The celebrated Italian author and translator of the Aeneid, Hannibal Caro (1507-1566).

p.157.18-23 **Thomas Masaccio, &c. Van Mander, ff. 102^{a}-103^{a}.**

p.158.1-11 **Leon Battista Alberti, &c. Van Mander, ff. 102^{b}-103^{a}.** Alberti was born in Venice; the error originated with Vasari (p.375) and was preserved by Van Mander. His works referred to are: (1) *De re aedificatoria* (Florence, 1485), published posthumously by his son Bernardo; (2) *De Pictura, praestantissima et nunquam satis laudata arte libri tres* (Basle, 1540), written in 1435, translated in Italian as *Della pittura*; (3) *Trattato sui pondi, leve e tirari*, written about 1447, now lost; (4) *Momus* (Rome, 1520), *Trivia, sive de causis senatoris* (Basle, 1538), *Opera de republica* (Florence, 1500).

12-p.159.35 **Frier Phillipo Lippi, &c. Van Mander, ff. 103^{a}-104^{a}.**

p.158.31 another **Altar-table.** The Coronation of the Virgin, painted for the altar of S. Ambrogio in 1447, now in the Accademia, Florence.

p.159. **The excellence of rare Spirits, &c. Van Mander, fo. 103^{b}:**

want (seyde hy) d'excellentie der seltsame gheesten zijn Hemelsche beelden en geen lastdraghende Dracht-Aselsn.

Compare Vasari, p.396:

che l'eccellenza de gli ingegni rari sono forme celesti, & non asini vetturini.

18 **a sonne, named also Phillip.** The painter Filippino Lippi.

19 **Frier Phillips workes are to bee seene at Prato.** In S. Domenico and S. Francesco, the **Duomo.**

20 **S. Bernard layed out dead, &c. Painted for the Duomo in Prato.**

23-4 **the Martyrdome of S. Stephen, &c.** The painting, begun in 1456, is found on the right-hand wall in the Chapel of the High Altar in the **Duomo in Prato.**
He died aged fiftie seuen, &c. Lippi died in 1469; his tomb was erected in the Duomo, Spoleto.

Antonello de Messino, &c. Van Mander, ff. 104^a^ - 105^b^.

The story of Messino and Van Eyck is certainly apocryphal; Antonello was born in 1431 and Van Eyck died nine years later, in 1440.

Dominico Girlandaio, &c. Ibid., ff. 105^a^ - 106^a^.

Bellino, Pallaiuoli, &c. Referring to: (1) Giovanni (1428-1516), Gentile (1426-1507) or Jacopo Bellini (c.1400-c.1464); (2) Antonio (1432-1496) or Piero Pollaiuolo (1443-1496); (3) Francesco Francia (1450-1517); (4) Michelangelo Buonarroti.

Raphaell D'Vrbine, &c. Van Mander fo. 117^a^, in his life of Raphael, whose father is named by Vasari (p.636) but not by Van Manger.


The Popes Adrian and Leo. Adrian VI succeeded to the pontificate in 1522, two years after Raphael's death in 1520. Leo X was pope from 1513 to 1521.

Those stately hangings of Arras, &c. One of four sets of tapestries woven after the original series in the Vatican designed by Raphael. The English set of nine pieces was reputedly presented to Henry VIII by Pope Leo X in 1520 or 1521; the others were acquired by Ercole Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, Francis I of France, and the Spanish king, Philip II. The tapestries are probably those listed in the Hampton Court inventories of Henry VIII (B.M. Harleian MS 1419 A, fo. 208^a^) and Charles I ('Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods 1649-1651', edited by Oliver Millar, Walpole Society, 43 (1970-2, p.143)). In 1662 they were sold to the Duke of Alba and were later observed in Spain by eighteenth-century travellers (Henry Swinburne, Travels through Spain, 2 vols, second edition, 1787, II, 167). The Berlin Museum bought the tapestries in 1844; they were destroyed in 1945. See John Shearman, Raphael's Cartoons, 1972, p.143.

Venice. Raphael died in Rome.

The two volumes of Vasari. See above, p.149, l. 20. As Peacham suggests, Vasari's Vite was rare in England in the seventeenth century; one copy appears in John Dee's catalogue (1563) and another, donated in 1601 by Richard Haydocke, in the Bodleian Library catalogue of 1605. For an account of Vasari in England, see Gent, p. 72.
M. Doctor Mountford, &c. Thomas Mountford (d. 1633), Prebendary of Westminster and mentioned as one of the 'Doctors in Divinity, and Residentaries of this Church' by William Dugdale (The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, 1658, p. 158), listing the directors of King Charles I's Commission for the repair of the Cathedral, set up on 10 April 1631. Mountford's Vasari has not been traced and there is no record of a copy in the cathedral library (W. Sparrow Simpson, St. Paul's Cathedral Library. A Catalogue, 1893).

Inigo Jones, &c. Jones (1573-1652) was appointed Surveyor of the Works for Prince Henry in 1610 and for James I in 1615, a position which he held until 1643. His copy of Vasari's Vite is located in Worcester College Library, Oxford. See John Harris, Stephen Orgel and Koy Strong, The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court, 1973, pp. 63-7, Appendix 3.

Caluin Mander. See above, p.149, l. 20. His translation does not seem to have been widely available in England; it is not listed in any surviving contemporary catalogues. See Gent, p.68.
Ch. 14. Of sundry Blazons, both Ancient and Moderne

p.164.6 Ignoratis terminis, ignoratur & ars. (When the boundaries are unknown, art itself is unknown.)


11-26 fourteene sundry kindes of Blazons, &c. Peacham follows Ferne, The Blazon of Gentrie, 1586, sig. M\textsuperscript{4}.

27-p.165.4 in the time of King Henrie the fift, &c. Gerard Legh, The Accedens of Armory, 1562, sig. A\textsuperscript{6r-v}:

And there are, thre other also, but they be of neuer tyme. As blason by the dayes in the weke, deuised by Fawcon, principall Herhaught of Englande, in the tyme of the famous kynge Edwarde the thyrde. Also blasonne by flowers, deuised by a frenche Herehaught, called Mallorques, in the tyme of Charles the seuenth frenche Kinge. And laste, the blasonne by the principall partes of mannes bodye, deuyed by an Almayne, in the time of kyng Henry the fift.

5-p.168.13 The Table of Blazons, &c. An exact transcription of Ferne, sigs. M\textsuperscript{5r-M6r}.

15-17 three onely are ancient, &c. Compare Ferne, sig. M\textsuperscript{2r}:

The Herealde would blaze, either, by the names of colours, or of planets, or of Gemmes, or of dayes in the weeke, which foure sorts of blazon, containe all the maners of blazon that euer were yet inuented.

36 sic de reliquis. (So much for the rest.)
Ch. 15. Of Armorie, or Blazon of Armes, with the Antiquity and Dignitie of Heralds

p.170.22-9 There being at this instant the world ouer, such a medley, &c. See above, p.23, 11.17-21.

p.171.7-16 Signeur Gaulart, a great man of France, &c. The exact anecdote is untraced but Peacham may have based his version on Tabetourt, sig. B4^T-v:

Il rencontra vn iour le sieur Grollepoux, duquel s'enquerant ou il auyoit souppi le iour precedent: Monsieur, dit-il, i'ay souppé avec Monsieur d'Aupareil, vostre cousin, qui nous a fait tres-bonne chere, & outre cela sur le dessert nous a donne d'vn bon & sauoureux Epigramme. Dont aduint que le soir mesme, se trouuant vn peu degousté, il se fascha aigrement, & manda son cuisinier, auquel il reprocha que c'estoit vn lourdant, vn sot, qui ne scquoit que l'ordinaire des vulgaires cuisiniers, & que iamais n'auoit eu l'esprit de le servir d'vn Epigramme.

17-p.172.4 The dignitie and place of an Herald, &c. Translated from Balthazar Ayala, De iure et officiis bellicis et disciplina militari libri III, Douai, 1582, sigs. A2^F-A3^F:

Ac belli quidem aequitas, vt inquit Cicero, sanctissime facialis populi Romani iure perscripta erat. ex quo intelligi potest, nullum bellumuisse iustum, nisi quod aut rebus repetitis geretur, aut denunciatum ante esset, aut indicatum. quod ius Ancus Martius rex, ab antiqua gente AEquicolis descripsit. a quo bellicae caerimoniae, vt non gererentur solum, sed etiam indicentur bella aliquo ritu, primum Romanis, vti Livius testatur, sunt prodictae: licet alij hoc Numae Pompilio tribuant, a quo septima sacrarum legum parte, collegium facialis institutumuisse asserunt. Officium vero facialis (cuius summa semper apud Romanos fuit auctoritas) in summa erat: dare operam ne Romani vllii foederatae ciuitati, in iustum bellum inferrent; & de bellis, foederibus, factionibus, & iniuriis, sociis, aliquo confederatis gentibus illatis cognoscere. quod si qua prior, contra foederis conditions, aliud commississet, legatos mittere, & verbis primum ius suum repetere & res sibi dari clara voce poscere (qua clarigatio dicta) his verbis: Iouem ego testem facio, si ego impie iniusteque, illas res dedier populo Romano, mihique exposco, tunc patriae compotem nunquam sinh. Quod si dedignaretur facere postulata, renunciata prius societate & amicitia (si qua forte est) post triginta demum dies, qui solennes fuere, bellum indicere, captaque & hostili modo deuastata, belli iure repetere. Facialis certe probantibus, aut non probantibus, neque consuli, neque senatui, neque populo, arma in hostes sumere licebat.

Peacham repeats Ayala's marginal references to Livy (Ab Urbe Condita, i.32) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Antiquitates Romanae, ii.72).

p.171.31-3. Iouem ego testem facio, &c. (I call Jupiter to witness: if against duty and justice I demand this reparation for the Roman people and myself, mayest thou never allow me to return safely to my fatherland.) Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, i.38.
Among the Heralds, &c. Ayala, sig. A3^:

Maximus vero erat inter feciales, quem Patrem patratum apellabant. is autem erat, qui liberos haberet, viuo adhuc patre suo, quem fecialis, verbena caput & frontem cingens, indicendi belli, aut percutiendi foederis, principem faciebat.

The most ancient form of denouncing war, &c. Ibid., sig. A3^:

Tybarenos tamen adeo iustos fuisse memoriae proditum est, vt non prius cum hoste congrederentur, quam diem, locum, & decertandi horam, ex fide per feciales hosti denunciarent, quod & a veteribus illis Romanis, nonnunquam factum fuisse legimus. Formulam vero, & ritum belli indicendi, antiquissimum refert Liuius.

Peacham incorrectly translates indicendi ('declaring') as 'denouncing'. He cites Ayala's marginal references.

Moreover, if any complaint by the enemy, &c. Ibid., sig. A4^:


Peacham supplied the marginal reference to Livy; other citations are from Ayala.

Dedamur per feciales, &c. (Let us be surrendered by the heralds, naked and bound; let us free the people from any obligation wherewith we may have bound them; so that no obstacle may remain, either under divine or human law, to a just and pious war being entered on afresh.) Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, ix.8.

Quandoquidem hisce homines, &c. (Whereas these men, without warrant from the Roman commonwealth of Quirites, have pledged themselves that a treaty should be concluded and thereby have done a wrong, for that cause, with the intent that the Roman people may be rid of impious guilt, I surrender these men to you.) Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, ix.10.

Heraldes also examined, &c. Ayala, sigs. A3^—A4^:

Feciales itaque, si qui illatam contra foedus iniuriam querebantur,
causam eorum cognoscebant, & comperto crimen, somtes comprehensos
laesiis deedere item de legatorum iniuriis, qui iure gentium
sancti fuere: atque ita, si a quouis populo, aut natione violati forsent,
vte hi qui iure gentium temere violassen, dedereunt, per feciales
causebatur idque etiam iure nostro cautum est. Dabat quoque operam
feciales, vt suavarentur conditiones foederis, pacem faciebant, & si parum
legitime facta videbatur, irritan reddebat. Non aliter tamen foedera
cum sociis, aut hostibus sancire, aut pactiones concipere poterant, quam
si consulis, aut praetoris auctoritate, intercedente S. C. iussque populi,
permissum foret denique si quid imperatorum, vel duces contra iurisurandi
religionem pecassent, feciales cognoscebant, atque expiabat. Verba autem iuris
fecialis haec erant: Belli, pacis, foederum, indutiarum, oratorum, feciales
judices sunt.

Peacham cites Ayala's marginal reference to Cicero.

5-6 Belli, pacis, foederum, &c. (Cf war, peace, treaties, truces, envoys,
let the heralds be the judges.) Cicero, De legibus, II.ix.21, 'Foederum
pacis belli indotiarum oratorum fetiales indices suntii suntio'.

7-9 Spurius Fusius, &c. Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, i.24, but Peacham's immediate
source may have been Jehan le Feron, De la primitive Institution des Roys,

12-13 Jehan le Feron, &c. See above, p.173, 11. 7-9.

16-18 Bara, Vpton, Gerrard Leigh, &c. (1) Hierome de Bara, Le Blason des
armoires (Lyons, 1581); (2) Nicolaus Upton, De studio militari (written
before 1446), consisting of four sections: i. De Coloribus in Armis et eorum
Nobilitate ac Differentia, ii. De Regulis et de Signis, iii. De Animalibus
A partial translation was included in the treatise on heraldry in The Boke
of St. Albans (1486). The complete work was first printed in 1654, edited
by Sir Edward Bysche from a manuscript owned by Sir Robert Cotton; (3) Gerard
Legh, The Accedens of Armory (1562), a popular textbook, reprinted five
times by 1612; Sir John Ferne, see above, p.164, 1.8; (4) John Guillim, A
Display of Heraldrie (1610). Appointed Rouge-Croix Pursuivant in 1618, he
died in this office on 7 May 1621. See GE, p.140.

36-p.174.5 The word Escotcheon; &c. John Guillim, A Display of Heraldrie,
1610, pp.28-9:

An Escoccheon is the forme or representation of a Shield of what
kinde soeuer, and is so called of the Latine word Scutum, which Rath the
same signification: whence also an Esquire or Page, takes his name, of
Scutiger, signifying primarily a Target-bearer. And the Target is not
vnaply deduced from the Latine word tergus, a beastes hide, whereof at
first Shields were made... Whence Virgil calls Aiax his Buckler, Septempex,
for the seuen-fold doublings of leather; as elsewhere he describes a Target,
- duo taurea terga : made of two Oxe-hides.
4-5 Quae nisi fecissem, &c. (Had I not done this, in vain would the son of Telamon have worn on his left arm the sevenfold bull's hide shield.)

Ovid, Met. xiii.347.

6-10 Caesar (saith Cambrensis), &c. The correct source is Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora (edited by H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, 7 vols, 1872-80, I, 72):


15-16 Clypeis autem Romani vsi sunt, &c. (The Romans had used small round shields; then after they began to serve for pay, they made oblong shields instead of round ones.) Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, viii.8, 'Clypeis antea Romani usi sunt'.

17 the great eye of Cyclops, &c. Virgil, Aeneid, iii.637.

21 Scutis protecti corpora longis. (Bodies covered by long shields.)

Ibid., viii.662.


35-p.175.6 he who lost or alienated the same, &c. Plutarch, Pelopidas, i.5.

Compare Guillim, p.29:

And it was held more dishonourable for a man to lose his Buckler, then his sword in field, because it is more praise-worthy to defend a friend than to hurt a foe, as a Noble General once said: Mallem vnum Ciuem, &c. I had rather saue one good subiect, then kill an hundred enemies.

18-19 Armes or Ensignes, &c. Guillim, p.3:

The principall end for which these signes were first taken vp, and put in use, was that they might serve for notes or markes to distinguish Tribes, Families, and particular persons each from other.

25 where there is wanting colour or mettal, &c. Ferne, sig. M2r:

Armes that are called false or falsefied, be either of colours alone, or of mettals alone : such, are not worth the receaung, except in some speciall cases. The Armorries, which are called Vera, bee composed, either of mettal and colour, or els of furres.
Blacke, (sayth Aristotle) is the privacion of whyte, or clearenes that is engendred of darkenes, whereby it shoulde appeare, to be the auncientest emongest colours. For, in the first of Genesis it appeareth, that darkenes was before God made lyght, and then darkenes would haue been fellowe with light, if God had not separated them.

See also Ferne, sig. 2Br-v:

The colour of blacke is likewise the most auncient of all other colours, for in the beginning there was darkenes over the face of the earth.

(As if colour were not a quality visible thanks to light, and its absence were to give rise to the forms of things.)


19-21 Or & Argent, &c. Peacham gives a detailed account in GE, pp.144-51. See also Legh, sigs. A2r-C6v; Guillim, pp. 9-12.

On 'Tenne', Legh, sig. C4r:

It is a worshipfull colour, and is of some Herhaughtes called Bruske, and is most commonlye borne of Frenche gentlemen. But very fewe Englishe men beare the same.

See also Ferne, sig. M1r.

25-8 The Alani, &c. Peachel gives the story in TT, pp.44-5.

30-1 Quod & inuiersarum auium regnum habeat, &c. (Because it is the king and the bravest of all birds.) Josephus, De Bello Judaico, iii. 122-3.

32 So did the Thebans and Persians. Quintus Curtius, Historia Alexandri Magni, III.iii.16, noting the golden eagle borne by the Persians.

32 Forcatulus. Stephanus Forcatulus, Polonia Foelix, Leyden, 1574, p.31, commenting on the Roman use of the eagle as a military sign.

33-4 in the armie of Cyrus a golden Eagle, &c. Xenophon, Cyrop. VII.i.4.

37 Fortius Latro. Peacham may intend Porcius Laeca, friend and fellow-conspirator of Catiline, rather than the Roman rhetorician Porcius Latro (d. 4 B.C.).

p.177.3-4 the Wolfe, &c. Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, i.5.

6-15 they aduanced the Minotaure, &c. Ferne, sigs.L3r-L4r:

for, they aduanced in theyr Standard always some signe Armoriall, as sometimes a Wolfe, otherwhile a Horsse, then a Minotaure, after that, a Boare, and lastly, an Eagle.
The Hogges face. Valerianus, sig. 12v:

Porcum sane Romani inter signa militaria non sunt admittere
dedignati, quae quintum obtinebant locum, & instructae aciei rationem
figuramue quandam, porcinam frontem apellabat.

See also sigs. 12v-13r.

18-19 I shall haue elsewhere occasion, &c. This work is not known.

21-7 The kings of Portugal, &c. J. Osorius, De Regis Institutione et
Disciplina libri VIII, Cologne, 1572, sig. 2G6r-v:

Non certe, vt alios reges sanctitate praestantes omittam, ea mens
erat Alfonsi primi Lusitaniae regis, cuius animus semper fuit studio
religionis inflammatus. Qui Christum Crucii affixum sereno in coelo
contemplatus, praelium illud memoria immortalis dignissimum agressus est :
in quo quinque regis maximis exercitibus constipatos profugauit; qui cum
Scallabim expugnaret, cum iam ciuitatis fores effractas & repagula conuulsa
cerneret, in medio portae genibus flexis antequam ferrum stringeret, tam
incenso studio Deum veneratus est, vt in celo versari sibi videretur.

A version of the coat is illustrated in Bara, Blason des armoiries, Lyons,
1581, p.206.

Peacham gives the story in GE, p.171.

30-5 The Dukes of Bavaria, &c. Marquardus Freherus, Originum Palatinarum
commentarius, Heidelberg, 1586, pp.118-21; for Virgil, Peacham follows
Freherus, p.120:

Caeterum Virgilius (cui nullum temere verbum excidit) Gallos
Capitolii obsessorae, caesarie & vestibus aureis, sagulis descripsit
virgatis : sive gentis morem sequutus, sive picturam antiquam aliquam,
utrumque potuit.

Illustrated by Bara, p.215.

34 Virgatis lucent Sagulis. (They shone in their striped cloaks.) Virgil,
Aeneid, viii.660.

The citie of Antwerp, was at the first but a castell, which as
some say, was kept of a Giant inhabiting therin, it toke the name by a hande,
which smitten of, was cast into the riuer Schelt.

32-6 The Mound or Ball with the Crosse, &c. Freherus, p.128, but noting
only that Charles V conferred the arms on Frederick II, Elector Palatine.

The family of the Haies in Scotland, &c. A precise but abbreviated
transcription of R. Holinshead, The Historie of Scotland, 1585 (Chronicles,
2 vols, 1587, I, 155-6). The note on the crest is by Peacham.
Coates sometimes are by stealth purchased, &c. See above, p. 170, ll. 22-9.

25 Inopem me copia fecit. (Riches made me poor.)

27 Accidence. The rudiments or first principles (OED, citing Legh, 1562, as the earliest example.)

27-8 Master Guillims Display. See above, p. 173, ll. 16-18.

29-30 those Coats which consist of bare and simple lines, &c. See Guillim, pp. 16-21.

34 fields. Guillim, p. 41, 'The Field is the whole surface ... of the Shield overspread with some Mettall, Colour, or Furre, and compreheneth in it the Charge, if it hath any'.

34-p. 181.11 lines, as Quarterly, Bendey, Barrey, &c. (1) Quarterly, divided into four equal parts; (2) Bendy, divided into an equal number of pieces in a slanting direction from the dexter chief to the sinister base; (3) Barry, transversely divided into several equal parts fessways, or two or more tinctures interchangeably disposed; (4) Gyronnée, composed of gyrons (the space between two straight lines from the dexter fess and chief points, meeting in an acute angle in the fesspoint); (5) Checky, divided into small, equal squares of different tinctures; (6) Mascle, a charge in the form of a lozenge with a lozenge-shaped opening through which the 'field' appears; (7) Indented, drawn with teeth, notched like a saw; (8) Embattled, crenellated like the battlements of a castle; (9) Nebuly, wavy like clouds; (10) Dancettée, when the teeth of a zigzag line are large and wide: there are three complete teeth to the length of the field; (11) Ordinary, a charge of the earliest, simplest and most common kind, usually bounded by straight lines but sometimes wavy, indented and so on. The nine principal ordinaries are: Chief, Pale, Bend, Bend-sinister, Fess, Bar, Chevron, Cross, Saltire; (12) Fess, ordinary formed by two horizontal lines drawn across the middle of the field: it contains one-third of the escutcheon; (13) Bar, straight horizontal band; (14) Barruly, a band half the width of the bar; (15) Cost, a version of the cotise: Scottish term for 'riband', when a single bendlet appears as a difference mark; (16) Bar-gemelle, a double bar or two narrow bars placed near and parallel to each other; (17) Bend, ordinary occupying one-third of the field and drawn diagonally from the dexter chief to the sinister base; (18) Bendlet, half the width of the bend; (19) Cotise, ordinary, one-fourth the width of the bend, usually
occurring in pairs, one on each side of a charge; (20) Fur, two most important are ermine (white with black dots) and vair (blue and white); (21) Counterchanging, alternate changing of the colours; (22) Bordure, bearing encompassing the escutcheon like a hem, one-fifth the width of the field; (23) Tressure, diminutive of the orle, narrow band one-quarter the width of the bordure; (24) Orle, narrow band half the width of the bordure following the outline of the shield but not extending to the edge; (25) Fret, two long pieces in saltire, extending to the extremity of the field and interlaced within a mascle in the centre; (26) Roundle, small, circular piece which can only be used when composed of fur, when the colour is unknown or when composed of more than one colour; (27) Bezant, circular piece of gold; (28) Plate, round piece of silver; (29) Pommice, green roundle.

18-20 Coates of augmentation, &c. Guillim, pp.256-7:

I come to [Marshallings] as betoken a gift of the Soueraigne by way of augmentation. These are bestowed, either for fauour or merit ... The Lady Jane Seymour, afterward wife to King Henry the eighth, and mother to the most noble Prince, King Edward the sixth; received as an augmentation of honour to her Family by the gift of the said King her husband, these Armes borne on the Dexter side, of the Escocheon, viz. Sol on a Pile Mars, betweene sixe Flovre de luces Jupiter, three Lions Passant gardant of the first: impaled with her paternall Coat, viz. Mars, two Angels wings, palewaies inuerted Sol.

Upon like consideration the said King Henry the eighth gaue vnto the Lady Katharine Howard his fourth wife, in token of speciall fauour, and as an augmentation of honour, these Armes on the Dexter part of this Escocheon, which for like respect were preferred before her Paternall Coat, viz. Jupiter, three Flovre de luces in Pale Sol, between two Flaunches Ermine, each charged with a Rose Mars, conioned with her Paternall Coat, viz. Mars, a Bend betweene sixe Crosse Croslets Fitchee Luna.

Moreover, the said King Henry the eighth for the respect aforesaid, gaue vnto his sixth and last Wife the Lady Katharine Parre, as an increase of honour to her and to her Family, these Armes on the dexter side of the Escoheon [sic], viz. Sol, on a pile between six Roses Mars, three others Luna; annexed to her paternall Coat, scil. Luna, two Bars Jupiter, a Bordure Ingrailed Saturne.

Guillim illustrates these coats.

21 Cantons. Ibid., p.60:

A Canton is an Ordinarie barred of two straight lines, the one drawn perpendicularly from the Chiefe, and the other transuerse from the side of the Escocheon, and meeting therewith in an Acute-Angle, neere to the corner of the Escocheon.

22-4 King James, Molino, the Venetian Embassadour, &c. Ibid., p.258:

He beareth Azure, the wheele of a Watermill or. This was the
Coat-armour of that worthy Gentleman, Nicolas de Moline, a noble Senator of the Magnificent State of Venice, who being employed by the most Noble Duke and the State in Ambassage to the sacred Majesty of our dread Soueraigne, King James, upon acceptable service by him performed both to his Maiestie and to the said State, it pleased his Highnesse not only graciously to remunerate him with the dignity of Knighthood in an honourable assembly of many noble Peeres, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlemen; but also for a further honour by his Highnesse Letters Patents vnder his great Seale of England, to ennoblish the Coat-armour of the said Nicolas de Moline, by way of augmentation, with a Canton Argent, the Charge whereof both participate of the Royall Badges of the severall Kingdomes of England and Scotland, viz. of the Red Rose of England, and Thistle of Scotland, conioyned Palewaies.

Illustrated by Guillim.

25 **Labels.** Label, figure of three points to distinguish the eldest son (and of five points for the grandson), borne during the life of the father (**OED**).

26 **Quarterings.** Dividing a shield into quarters; marshalling various coats onto one shield to denote the alliances of one family with heiresses of others (**OED**).

p.182.10-11 Charles the Seuenth, &c. Peachem translates Jean du TillTl, Chronique abbrevée ... des Roys de France, Paris, 1580, p.226:

> Le Roy Charles septieme le 10. May 1432 permet à Nicolas Duc de Ferrara porter les fleurs de lys en son escu au cousté droict, auec vn bord dente d'or & de gueules, ayant l'ancienne armoirie de Ferrare au cousté gauche. Et en reconnoissance de ce, le dit Duc feit au Roy serment de fidelité, ligue & confederation, promettant seruir les Roys de France en leurs guerres à ses despens.

16-18 Lewis the eleuenth, &c. Ibid., p.226:

> Le Roy Loys vnzieme en May 1465. donna permission à Pierre de Medicis de porter trois fleurs de Lys en son escu.

183.14 **Bend Baston.** The baton, an ordinary one-quarter the width of a bend, does not touch the ends of the escutcheon but is broken off to resemble a truncheon; used in English coats-of-arms only in the form of the baton sinister, the badge of bastardy (**OED**).

28-9 **the great Chancell window in the Church of Kymbalton.** Listed by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald, on 13 August 1613, during his visitation of Huntingdonshire (**The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon ... A.D. MDCXIII**, edited by H. Ellis, Camden Society, 1849, p.22) but later destroyed during the Civil War.

33-7 Mons. Hugues, &c. Du Tillet, p.227:
Monsieur Hugues de France frere du Roy Philippes. I. espousant l'heritiere du Comte Herbert de Vermandois, accorda prendre les armes de sa femme, laquelle portoit d'or eschiqueté d'azure. Et pour montrer qu'il estoit issu de la maison de France adiouta cinq fleurs de lys au dessu de son eseu [sic].

Du Tillet illustrates this coat.

Robert Count de Dreux, &c. Ibid., p.228:

Monsieur Robert de France, Comte de Dreux, frere du Roy Loys le Jeune, porta d'azur eschiqueté d'or à la bordure de gueules, qui estoit l'armoirié de sa femme Agnes Comtesse de Brenne, qu'il print, & sa branche par contract de mariage, non le surnom, combien que son fils aîné ne portast fleurs de lys en son escu.

Illustrated by Du Tillet.

Monsieur Robert de France Duc de Bourgoigne, frere du roy Henry premier, print l'ancien escu des Ducs de Bourgoigne, qui portoient bande d'or & d'azur à la bordure de gueules. Afferment aucuns que celle armoirie fut donnée par Charlemagne, à Sanson Duc de Bourgoigne, sans la chercher si loing.

Robert Duke of Burgogne, &c. Ibid., p.226:

Monsieur Robert de France Duc de Bourgoigne, frere du roy Henry premier, print l'ancien escu des Ducs de Bourgoigne, qui portoient bande d'or & d'azur à la bordure de gueules. Afferment aucuns que celle armoirie fut donnée par Charlemagne, à Sanson Duc de Bourgoigne, sans la chercher si loing.

we in England allow the base sonne, &c. Guillim, pp.52-3:

Batune ... is the proper and most usuall note of illegitimation (perhaps for the affinitie betwixt Baston and Bastards; or else for that Bastards lost the privilege of Freemen, and so were subject to the seruile stroke;) and it containeth the fourth part of the Bend sinister ... Every Bastard may have his Batune of what colour he will, but not of Metall, which is for the Bastards of Princes ... they bear the coat-armour of their reputed Ancestors, with a signe of bastardie.

Amaulry Earle of Montfort, &c. Du Tillet, p.227:

Amaulry Comte de Montfort fils bastard du Roy Robert portade gueules au lyon d'argent à la queue fourchée ou passe en sautour, la maison de France rejetant les bastards ne leur eust enduree son armoirie tant fust elle barree.

Peacham misquotes the description of the charge. Du Tillet illustrates the coat of arms.

Crests, the Helmet, &c. Guillim, p.263:

These are certaine Ornaments externally annexed to the Coat-armour of any Gentlemen, by reason of his advancement [sic] to some honour or place of eminency by the gracious fauour of the Soueraigne, as an Honourable addition to his generous birth. Of these there are divers particulære, which being conoined and annexed to a Coat-armour doe constitute an Atchiuement.

An Atchiuement, according to Leigh, is the Armes of euer Gentleman wel Marshalled with the Supporters, Helme, Wreath and Crests with Mantles and Words, which of Heralds is properly called in Blazon, Heawme and Timbre.

For a detailed account, see Guillim, pp.263-8.
23-416

Simon Simonius de Nobilitate, &c. (1) Simon Simonius, De vera Nobilitate (Leipzig, 1572); (2) Bartholomaeus Chassenaus, Catalogus gloriae mundi (Leyden, 1546); (3) Hippolitus à Collibus, see above, p.11, 11.18-21; (4) anonymous, Conclusiones de Nobilitate (1621); (5) Petrus Fritzius, Conclusiones de Nobilitate Politica et Civili (Jena, 1614); (6) Baptista Lionellus Bartholinus, De Praecedentia Hominum (Perugia, 1601); (7) Johannes de Arce Arze Offalora, Summa Nobilitatis Hispanicæ (Venice, 1584); (8) El Fuero privilegios franquezas & libertades delos Cualleros hijos dalgo del senorio de Vizcaya: confirmados por el Emperador y Rey nuestro senor y delos Reyes sus predescesores (Burgos, 1528); (9) Ludovicus Molina, De Hispanorum primogeniis libri quatuor (Alcala de Henares, 1573); (10) Josef de Sesse, Decisionum ... Senatus ... Regni Aragonum, et curiae domini justitiae Aragonum causarum (Frankfurt, 1619); (11) D. Gonzalo Argote de Molino, Nobleza del Andaluzia (Seville, 1588); (12) Scipione Mazzella, Descrittione del regno di Napoli (Naples, 1586); (13) Paulus Merula, Cosmographiae Generalis libri tres: item Geographiae Particularis libri quatuor, quibus Europa in genere, speciatim Hispania, Gallia, Italia descritur, cum tabulis geographicis aeneis (Leyden, 1605); (14) Jean du Tillet, see above, p.182, 11. 10-11; (15) Jehan le Feron, see above, p.173, 11. 7-9; (16) Charles Loyseau, Cinq livres du droit des offices (Chasteaudun, 1610); (17) René Chopin, De privilegiis rusticorum (Paris, 1575); (18) André Favyn, Le Théâtre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie, ou Histoire des Ordres militaires des Roys, et Princes de la Chrestienté, et leur généalogie: De l'Institution des Armes, et Blasons: Roys, Herauds, et Poursuivants d'Armies; Duels, Ioustes, et Tournois; et de tout ce qui concerne le faict du Chevalier de l'Ordre (Paris, 1620); (19) Adamus Contzen, Politicorum libri decem (Cologne, 1621); (20) Melchior Goldast, Monarchia S. Romani Imperii (Frankfurt, 1611-14).

19-p.188.14 Offa King of the Mercians, &c. Peacham summarizes Matthew Paris's account in Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, continued by Thomas Walsingham, edited by H.T. Riley, Rolls Series, 3 vols, 1867-9, I, 4-253.

28-30 Ad Honorem Dei Patris, &c. (To the honour of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit and His own martyr Alban, the first martyr of my country.)

p.186.8 Anno 828. Paris gives the year as 796 (I, 8).

31 Leostan. 'Leofstanus' in Paris (I, 39).
24-31 William by the Divine Providence, &c. William Laud (1573-1645), elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford on 12 April 1628 and appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on 6 August 1633. His hostility to Puritanism and his conception of church and episcopacy *jure divino* contributed to the causes of the Civil War. He was executed 'for popery' on Tower Hill (DNB).

20-4 the North Window of the Chancell, &c. The coat-of-arms is placed in the right-hand panel of the East window of the chancel in St. Andrew's Church, Weston-under-Lizard. The glass seems to have been removed from its original position and rearranged during restoration work in 1700 and 1876. A carved oak effigy, dating from the early fourteenth century, probably of Sir Hugh de Weston (d. 1305), lies on the South side of the chancel.

15 ieloped. Wattled; having the wattle of a specified tincture different from that of the body and head (OED, citing CG, 1634, as the second example).

4-9 Richard Earle of Portland, &c. Richard Weston (1577-1635), served as a diplomat from 1620. In January 1621 he was sworn of the Privy Council and subsequently appointed Lord High Treasurer on 23 July 1628. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Weston of Neyland on 13 April 1628 and on 17 February 1633 created first Earl of Portland (DNB).

11-13 Mary Countess of Nottingham, &c. Mary Cokayne married Charles, Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham on 22 April 1620. Martha (or Margaret) Cokayne's husband, John Ramsay, Viscount and Earl of Holderness, died in February 1626. Sir William Cokayne, one of the most successful merchants of the period, was Lord Mayor of London in 1619 and 1620. He died on 20 October 1626 (DNB)

p.187.21 Garmus. 'Garinus' (Ibid., I, 194).

p.188.3 Thuangnam. 'Thwantuna' (Ibid., I, 39).

p.189.11-17 Sir Thomas Coventry, &c. Coventry (1578-1640), appointed Attorney-General on 11 January 1621, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal on 1 November 1625 and created Baron Coventry of Aylesborough, Worcestershire, on 10 April 1628 (DNB).
died on 28 March 1624 and was succeeded by his brother Edward (1591-1652). On 3 August 1626 Edward Sackville was called to the Privy Council and on 16 July 1628 he was appointed Lord Chamberlain to the Queen (DNB). He was installed as Knight of the Garter on 13 December 1625 (Cokayne, IV, 424).

p.192.3-4 Withyham Church in Sussex, &c. The church was destroyed by lightning in 1663.

12-16 the better sort about the time of the Conquest, &c. Camden, Remaines, pp. 92-6:

About the yeare of our Lord 1000. (that we may not minute out the time) surnames beganne to be taken vp in France, and in England about the time of the Conquest, or else a very little before, vnder King Edward the Confessor who was all Frenchified. And to this time doe the Scottishmen referre the antiquitie of their surnames, although Buchanan supposeth that they were not in use in Scotland many years after.

But in England certaine it is, that, as the better sort, even from the Conquest by little and little tooke surnames, so they were not setled among the common people fully, vntill about the time of King Edward the second... The most surnames in number, the most antient, and of best accompt, have been locall, deduced from places in Normandy and the countries confining, being either the patrimonaill possessions or native places of such as served the Conquerour, or came in after out of Normandy... Neither is there any village in Normandy, that gave not denomination to some family in England; in which number are all names, having the French De, Du, Des, De-la prefixt, & beginning or ending with Font, Fant, Beau, Sainct, Mont, Bois, Aux, Eux, Vall, Vaux, Cort, Court, Fort, Champ, Vil, which is corruptly turned in some into Feld, as in Baskerfeld, Somerfeld, Dangerfeld, Trublefeld, Greenefeld, Sackefeld, for Bqskervil, Somervil, Dangervil, Turbervil, Greenevil, Sackvil.


22 Alfage & Hugleuill. Aufay and Heugleville-sur-Sie in Normandy.

24 Godscall. 'Godescalcus' in Ordericus Vitalis.

p.193.9-11 Hubertus de Anestie tenet, &c. (Hubert of Anestie holds two treaties in Anestie, and little Hornmead, and half a treaty in Anestie from the honour of Richard de Sackvyle.)

31-3 William Baron Cavendish, &c. Cavendish (1552-1626), created Baron Cavendish of Hardwick, Derby, on 4 May 1605 and first Earl of Devonshire on 7 August 1618 (Cokayne, IV, 339-40).

34-6 William Cavendish Knight of the Bath, &c. Cavendish (1592-1676) was created Knight of the Bath at the investiture of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales in 1610. He became Viscount Mansfield on 3 November 1620, Earl of
Newcastle on 7 March 1628 and on 4 December 1629 the barony of Ogle was revived in favour of his mother, Lady Catherine Cavendish. On 16 March 1665 he was made Duke of Newcastle (DNB).

Sr. William Cavendish, &c. Cavendish (c.1505-1557) became Treasurer of the King's Chamber in 1546 and was subsequently knighted and sworn of the Privy Council. He continued in his office under Edward VI and Mary. In 1553 Cavendish began to build the great mansion at Chatsworth in Derbyshire, completed by his widow, Elizabeth Hardwick (DNB).

William, Earl of Devonshire, &c. William, first Earl of Devonshire, died on 3 March 1626. He was succeeded by his second son, William (1591-1628), a leader of court society and an intimate friend of James I (DNB).

Thomas Cavendish. Circumnavigator (1555-1592), who sailed round the world between 1586 and 1588. He became a popular figure and his fame was freely expressed in contemporary ballads. His last voyage, intended for the south seas and China, was one of great hardship. Cavendish died on the homeward journey from Brazil (DNB).

Richard Hakluyt, The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation, made by sea or over land ... whereunto is added the last most renowned English navigation round the ... earth, 1589.

Henry Lord Carey, &c. Fourth Lord Hunsdon (c.1580-1666), succeeded to the title on 17 April 1617, created Viscount kochford on 6 July 1621 and Earl of Dover on 8 March 1628. His heir, John (1608-1688), became Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I on 1 February 1626 (Cokayne, IV, 445-6).

William Luxon Lord Bishop of London, &c. Juxon (1582-1663), Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord High Treasurer of England, was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal early in 1633. Later in that year, on 3 October, he became Bishop of London. Peacham gives an incorrect version of his arms,
or, a cross gules between four blackamoors' heads couped wreathed about, proper (DNB; T. Hobson, The British Herald, 3 vols, Sunderland, 1830, II, s.v. Juxon).

13-18 He beareth gules, &c. Guillim (p.116) gives a version of this coat-of-arms but with ten cinquefoils and attributes it to 'the worshipfull Family of Barkley of Wymundham, which is descended out of the right noble progenie of the Lord Barkley'.

20-7 a Lozenge, &c. See Feme's account, sigs. 2F2r-2F3r.

28-p.196.2 Lady Mary Sidney, &c. Mary Sidney, born about 1586, married Wroth (1576-1614) on 14 March 1614. The Countess of Montgomerie's Urania was published in 1621. Her father, Robert Sidney (1563-1626), became Baron Sidney of Penshurst in 1603, Viscount Lisle in 1605 and first Earl of Leicester in 1618. On 26 May 1616 he was created Knight of the Garter (DNB).

2 her Immortall Vncl. Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), her father's brother.

3-5 Or, a Pheon Azure, &c. Legh, illustrating the coat-of-arms, sig. Y7r, 'The field Or, a Pheon Azure, whiche signifieth the hedde of a Darte'.

10-12 Iulius Caesar, &c. Caesar (1558-1636) was knighted by James I at Greenwich on 20 May 1603, sworn of the Privy Council on 5 July 1607 and succeeded as Master of the Rolls on 1 October 1614 (DNB). Peacham presented his emblem collection, Emblemata Varia, to Caesar in 1621 or 1622.

23-34 Sir Thomas Richardson, &c. Richardson (1569-1635) was called to the degree of Serjeant-at-Law on 13 October 1614, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons on 30 January 1621, knighted at Whitehall on 25 March 1621, succeeded Hobart as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas on 28 November 1626 and appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench on 24 October 1631. He married twice; his first wife, Ursula, died in 1624 (DNB).

p.197.1-3 Hee beareth Sable, &c. Guillim (p.87) gives this coat-of-arms:

Hee beareth Sable, a Starre of eight points, Or, between two Flaunches Ermine, by the name of Sir Henry Hobart, his Maiesties Attourney generall.

Sir Henry Hobart was created a baronet in May 1611 and appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas on 26 November 1613. He died on 26 December 1625 (DNB). He started building Blickling Hall in Norfolk shortly after 1616; it was completed by his son after his death. The plasterwork ceiling in the Long Gallery contains twenty-one devices copied from Minerva Britanna.
Sir James Hobart of Hales Hall, Norfolk, Henry Hobart's great grandfather, was appointed Attorney-General by Henry VII in 1486. He died in 1507 and his tomb lies in the north aisle of the nave of Norwich Cathedral. Two facing pillars bear his shield, sable, an estoile or between two flaunches ermine, one with helmet and mantling, the other with supporters, a bird and a bull.

So the distinct families of the Constables in the County of Yorke, are said to have taken that name, from some of their Ancestours which bare the office of Constables of some Castles.

Conestabilis, & Constabularius, siue magister militum. (Count of the stable, and Constable, or master of infantry.)

King William the Conquerour, &c. From Camden, Britannia, pp.345-6. Compare Britain, pp.611-12.

Ita libere ad gladium, &c. Camden, Britannia, p.345, 'totumque hunc Comitatum tenendum sibi, & haeredibus, ita libere ad gladium: sicut ipse Rex tenebat Angliam ad Coronam, dedit. Compare Holland's translation, p.611, 'he gave unto him & his heirs all this country to be held as freely by his sword, as the King himselfe held England by his Crowne'.

After that Hugh Lupus had receyued the Countrey, and Countie Palatine of Chester, by the gifte of the Conqueror, he vnderstood how neere hys dwelling was to euill neighbors the Welshmen, which used continually to commit greate cruelties and rapines in that parte of the Realme. Wherefore, he devised both for the more peacefull gouernement of hys Countrey, as lyke-wyse to restrayne the furie of those people, to ordeyne vnder hyra foure valiant and discreet Barons, they all beinge hys trustie freends, and loyall vassals.

Amongst those, hee created Nigeld, (otherwise called Neale, and by others cleped Nichol) his Cosen, Baron of Halton; and for that valiant courage and boldnesse which Earl Hugh had often experienced to be in the man, he ordeyned hym also Connestable of Chester, an office of speciall affyance and trust, as in whome is reposed, the charge and guiding of all the Soldyors, Horsses, Armor, and other provision of warres appertayning to the sayde Lupus, which then was a princely person, and of great estate.

Heerein riseth a doubt with some men, for that they wyll haue thys to bee the Coate of Lacy: but I rather hold it to bee Nigelds Coate-armor, and the former in truth, to be the right Coate of Lacy. And heere also, others will not haue this coate (viz. Cr Lyon rampant purpre) to be the Coate of Nigeld Baron of Halton.

They say, that hee shoulde beare a pale fusill gules, in a feeld Or.
21-8 (continued)

The lyke devise I haue seene in the Couent seale of the Priory of Norton in Chesshire ... whereby I rather conjecture, that the pale fusill shoulde belong to the name of Eustace, that married both the heyres of Nigeld and Lacy, and was a founder of the same Pryorie.

28-32 Nigell was sonne of Iuon, &c. Ibid., sig. 2H4\(^\text{v}\), but 'Agnes' is named 'Mawde'.

32-5 Eustace Fitz-Iohn, &c. Peacham's marginal note cites Roger de Hoveden, Chronica (edited by W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 4 vols, 1868-71, I, 193), 'Eustachius filius Johannis, luscus et proditor nequam, tenuit castellum de Malton'.

p.199.16-17 Eustace Fitz Iohn, &c. Ferne, sig. 2H4\(^\text{v}\).

20-3 Richard Fitz Eustace, &c. Camden, Britannia, 1600, p.618:


This passage was added to the fifth edition (1600) of Britannia. Compare Holland's translation, p.695:

This Henrie had a sonne named Robert; who having no issue, left Albreda Lisors his sister by the mothers side, and not by the father, to be his heire, because he had none other so neere in bloud unto him: whereby she, after Robertes death, kept both inheritances in her hand, namely of her brother Lacies, and her father Lisors. And these be the very words of the book of the Monasterie at Stanlow. This Albreda, was married to Richard Fitz Eustach, Constable of Chester, whose heires assumed unto them the name of Lacies, and flourished under the title of Earles of Lincolne.

30-1 Iohn Constable of Chester, &c. Roger de Hoveden (III, 88), 'Johannes constabularius Cestriae obiiit in terra Jerusalem apud Tyrum'.

32-4 Roger Constable of Chester, &c. Ferne, sig. 2H5\(^\text{v}\).

p.200.7-19 He beareth Azure, &c. Guillem, p.158:

The Field is Saphire, an Eagle displeied, Pearle, Membred Gules. These Armes appertaine to the Right worthy S'. Robert Cotton, of Connington Knight, a learned Antiquary, and a singular fauourer and preserver of all good learning and Antique Monuments.

Cotton (1571-1631) was famous for his great library of books and manuscripts. It was especially rich in pre-Norman history and was used by such men as Speed, Selden, Dugdale, Raleigh, Savile and Camden.
Sir Philip Woodhouse, &c. For the pedigree of the Woodhouse family, see The Visitations of Norfolk ... 1563 ... and 1613, edited by W. Rye, Harleian Society, 32, 1891, pp.321-2. Sir Philip Woodhouse of Kimberley Hall, Norfolk, was created baronet on 29 June 1611; he died on 30 October 1623. See John Norden, The Chorography of Norfolk (written c.1600-10) edited by C.M. Hood, Norwich, 1938, p.123.

Rex dilecto clerico suo Roberto de Woodhouse, &c. (The king sends greetings to his beloved cleric Robert de Woodhouse, the archdeacon of Richmond and his treasurer. We entrust to you our business and touching the state of the kingdom including all other matters overlooked.)

Blanch. In the Woodhouse pedigree (Visitations, pp.321-2) Philip marries 'Grysold', daughter of 'William Yelveston of Hougham in Norf.', but Rye notes that his wife is usually thought to be Blanche Carey.

He beareth quarterly, &c. Granted to Rivers of Chafford, Kent, in 1583 (Robson, II, s.v. Rivers).

Robert Ashfield, &c. His tomb, bearing the Ashfield arms, lies on the North side of the chancel of St. George's Church, Stowlangtoft.

He beareth partie per pale, &c. Illustrating the coat-of-arms, Guillim, p.243:

He beareth parted per Pale, Argent and Gules a Bend Counter-changed. This Coat pertaineth to the famous and learned Poet Geoffrey Chaucer Esquire.

The field is parted, &c. The arms of Sir Robert Coke (1587-1653) of Huntingfield Hall, Suffolk, son of the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke.

Sir Thomas Lovell, &c. Thomas Lovell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was knighted in 1487 and subsequently installed as a Knight of the Garter. He died on 25 May 1524 (DNB). He built the gate at Lincoln's Inn in 1518 and placed on it the king's arms, the Earl of Lincoln's and his own (Stow, II, 73). He had already built a chapel in connection with the Augustinian Priory of St. John the Baptist, Holywell, in Shoreditch by 1513. There is no direct evidence that he rebuilt the priory although he certainly added to its endowment in 1511 (Survey of London, Volume VIII, The Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, edited by James Bird, 1922, pp. 153-5). Henry Ellis, The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Saint Leonard Shoreditch, 1798, pp.193-9, summarises various accounts of Lovell's connection with the priory.

The pedigree of the Lovells of Barton Bendish is given in F.Blomfield, An Essay towards a topographical History of the County of Norfolk, 11 vols, 1805-10, I, 323.
4-6 Morley Church, &c. There is no stained glass earlier than the last century in the Church of St. Botolph, Morley (Wymondham, Norfolk) nor in its chapel of St. Peter.


30-3 the head of any Beast, &c. Ferne, sig. 2D2r-v:

If you see the part of any beast borne in Armes, you shall saye that it is most honorable to beare the head: for that signifieth, how that the bearer forced not to stand to the face of his adversary. The bearing of the foote, or any other part, is not so full of honour. Quia Arma tanto magis laudabilia, quanto res in eis signata, ad alias comparata, laudabilior existit.

Compare James Bossewell, Workes of Armorie, 1572, sig. 2C1r:

His field is Sable, a cheuron betwene iij Leopards heads de Or: & borne by the name of Wentworth. I read in an auncient worke of Armory, that a Cheuron or a Barre doth signify the perfection & finishinge of anye thinge, which before was not perfect nor finished, wherein consisteth Prudence, the first soueraigne vertue to attayne the honor.

p.206.2 FACIE TENUS. (Up to the face.)

6-32 the Cheueron, &c. Ferne, sig. N3r-v:

I haue heard that Cheuerons were first giuen as a note of cunning in Architecture, and that they were first borne by Carpenters, bycause they resemble the sparrs & couples of houses ... he that said so, had even the same reason to tell you also, that a Maunch was first giuen to a Taylor, bycause it was sometimes a sleeue wrought by those craftsmen, and then had he made two lies, whereby he might perchance haue attained the whetstone. You must knowe, that marks of gentlenesse be no fit badges for every handycrafts man to assume, especially the honorarble ordinary charges wherof the cheueron is one. But to tell you who bare the Cheueron first, I can not say, yet I am sure, it hath beeene as aunciently borne, as either
6-32 (continued)

barre, bend, pale, fesse, or the like ... The Cheueron is an auncient English charge in Armes, being borne both by Guy the valiant Earle of Warwick, who coate was (as every man knoweth) Checquie Or: and B cheueron Ermin, and also by Robert Baron of Stafford, that are Or: cheueron G. and both of these liued before the Conquest. For the Cheueron, although it may be taken to be a signe of Architecture, yet it hath more good, and honorable significations: for it is sometimes resembled to the front and forme of a battaile, ranged & marshalled in that forme. Also, it doth signify an achtiueing or finishing of any notable matter or enterprise.

See also Bossewell, sig. Q3\textsuperscript{r}:

The French call thys signe a Cheueron ... in Englishe it is a rafter of an house, which beareth the rooffe: and of vs Northerne men, it is called a Sparre, or Sparres, of others the barge coples. The whiche signes by all likelyhode were first borne of carpenters, and makers of houses: for an house is neuer made perfecte, till these coples be put vpon it, by the maner of an heade: and two suche ioyned together, make a capitall signe.

34-5 Tignum non habet inimicum, &c. (A block of wood does not have an enemy except out of ignorance.)

p.207.3-5 Sir Edward Barkham, &c. For the pedigree of Barkham of 'Dunegate Ward', London, see The Visitation of London 1635-4, edited by J.J. Howard and J.L. Chester, Harleian Society, 15, 1880, p.50. Barkham served as Lord Mayor from 1621 until 1622. He was knighted on 16 June 1622.

13-15 George Whitmore, &c. Whitemore, Master of the Haberdashers' Company, served as Sheriff of London from 1621 to 1622, was chosen Lord Mayor in 1631 and was knighted on 27 May 1632. He died on 12 December 1654 (DNB).

21-5 He beareth Fusilie, &c. Guillim, p.247:

The Field is Fusilie, Ermine and Sable, on a Chiefes of the second three Lilies, Argent. These Armes are belonging to Magdalene Colledge in Oxford, which was founded by William Waineflete, Anno 1459. sometimes Bishop of Winchester.

Io. Buddenus (in Wainflets life) affirmeth his name to be Fatten, of which Family this is the paternall Coat.

28-32 He beareth Azure, &c. Legh, sigs. L3\textsuperscript{r}-L4\textsuperscript{r}:

He bereth Geules, two Lyons endorsed Argent. Thys is, lyke, as when there is a challenge of combate betwene two valiant menne, and they keepe both appoyntment, and come into the campe. The Prince, of hys fauour that he hath to them, taketh the matter into hys handes: then turne theye backe to backe, and goe the one, one waye, and the other, the other. For theyr stoute stomackes, will not suffer them to goe both one way: for it is counted an iniurye to hardinesse, to goe first out of the fiedle. Therefore is it determined, as I sayd before. But for the cote, it is honorable. For Achilles, at the siege of Troye, bare Azure, two Lyons endorsed Or.

See also Guillim, p.141, citing Legh.
Thomas Lucas of Colchester, &c. Thomas Lucas of St. John's Abbey, Colchester, died on 25 September 1625. His eldest son, John (1606-1671), was created Lord Lucas of Shenfield in 1645. Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the most ancient Town and Borough of Colchester* (1748, II, 19-21), gives an account of the family.

18 *Intra domesticos parietes.* (Between the walls of the house.)

27-8 He beareth Ermine, &c. The arms of the Jenney family of Norfolk and Knotishall, Suffolk. See *Visitations of Norfolk*, pp.169-71.

20-9 He beareth quarterly, &c. *Visitation of Norfolk* (pp. 46-8) gives the pedigree of Bramptons of Brampton, Norfolk, and lists Henry, son of Thomas Brampton of 'Blownortorn ... gent., heir to his mother Ann Brome'. The coat-of-arms includes 'a crescent azure for difference' in the first and fourth quarters; Norden (p.91) gives the same escutcheon as Peacham.

30-p.210.4 He beareth Or, &c. Compare Guillim, p.168:

The field is Jupiter, a Dolphin Hauriant, Sol. This Coat is euermore borne quarterly with the three Flowres de Lices Sol, in a Field Jupiter, by the Kings Eldest sonne, who beareth the title of the Dolphin of France; and is thereby knowne to be Heire apparant to the Crowne of that kingdome. The Naturalists write ... that Dolphins haue fallen so exceedingly in loue with faire youthes, as that they became most familiar with them, and afterward wanting their company, haue died for griece.

See also Bossewell, sig. N4v.

13-17 He beareth empaled, &c. Ferne, sig. Q5r, illustrates the Wingfield coat-of-arms.

30-3 Edward Harby of Adston, &c. Edward Harby, the son of Francis Harby of Adston, died on 9 July 1674 aged seventy-one. He did not have an uncle named Erasmus. Peacham probably refers to his cousin, Sir Erasmus Harby of Aldenham, Hertfordshire, the son of his uncle Job Harby (*The Visitation of Northamptonshire*, 1681, edited by H.I. Longden, Harleian Society, 87, 1935, pp. 84-6).

Tobias Wood, &c. The Visitations of Essex ... 1552 ... 1634 (edited by W.C. Metcalfe, Harleian Society, 13, 1878, pp. 342, 367) lists 'T. Wood of Low-Layton', who died in February, 1632. He had two daughters.

Hope anciently was painted, &c. Compare Cesare Ripa's description of 'Speranza' (Iconologia, Padua, 1611, pp. 496-7):

Donna vestita di verde, con vna ghirlanda de fiori, tenendo Amore in braccio al quale dia a suggere le proprie Mammelle.

The arms of the Guntons of Northamptonshire and also of Louis Malet of Normandy, 'sire de Greville ... Admiral de France en 1511', who died in 1516 (Robson, I, s.v. Gunton; H. Jougla de Morenas, Grand Armorial de France, 7 vols, Paris, 1925-52, IV, 512). On the buckle, compare Legh, sig. X4V:

The buckle was of such estimation in ye old time, that fewe of honor, weare their girdles without whose propertie is to kepe close the garments of man to the body, for the health of hym.
Ch. 16. Of Exercise of the Body

p.216.2-5 some honest recreation, &c. Aristotle, Politica, 1337b.

6-11 Anciely by the Civill Law these kinds of Exercises, &c. Lambertus Dannaeus, Le ludo aleae, Geneva, 1579, pp.45-6:

Quanquam autem veteres a nostris quidem, quas nunc habemus, fuerint diversae: tamen ad militarium armorum, quibus tunc vtebantur, rationem comparatae erant. Quum enim illo seculo, etsi pila eminus torquerent, tamen sclopetos non haberent, sed pugnarent comminus, atque haeret pede pes, & viro vir, inter eos quoque haec quinque publicae exercitationis genera fere locum habuerunt, Lucta, Discus, Cursus siue Saltus, Cestus, & certamen Equestre vel curule, quae etiam apid Homerum libro octauo Odysseae, Maronem libro 5. AEneidos, & Pausaniam commemorantur.

Peacham quotes from Od. viii. 120-30, cited by Dannaeus.

9 Tilt-barrians. Tilt-barriers.

14 ἵπποχάρμης and ἰππόδαμος. (One who fights from a chariot and a tamer of horses). Recurrent Homeric epithets, as Od. ii. 259; Ili. ii. 23.

20-5 Iugurth, &c. Sallust, Bellum Jugurthinum, vi. 1. Peacham's immediate source is Guido Panciroli, Rerum Memorabilium, Frankfurt, 1660, ii. 23 (p.301):

Quamvis autem Salustius Venationis stidium servile dixerit, minime tamen damnavit illud Iugurtha: quem scribit in bello Jugurth. milenem se luxui & inertiae corrumpendum dedisse, sed pleraque tempora venando transegisse.

25-9 Caesar vsed the exercise of riding, &c. Plutarch, Julius Caesar, xvii. 4.

29-p.217. 1 Marius after he had beene seauen times Consul, &c. Plutarch, Caius Marius, xxxiv. 3. Quoted by Cleland, p.220.

1-2 The like also did Pompey, &c. Plutarch, Pompey, lxiv. 1-3.

4-5 Venatus invigilant pueri, &c. (The boys give great attention to hunting and tire the forests; they wheel their horses in games and shoot shafts from the bow.) Virgil, Aeneid, ix. 605-6. Quoted by Panciroli, ii. 23 (p.301), and by Cleland, p.22.

12 Henry the French King. Henry II (1519-1559) received a fatal head wound when tilting against the Comte de Montgomery.

14-29 Tilting and Torneaments, &c. Freely translating from Panciroli, ii. 20 (p.289), who cites Nicetas.
30-1 launces now adayes (of what wood soeuer they are made of).
Originally ash, but cypress was also used. For the decline of lances in favour of shot, see H.C.B. Rogers, Weapons of the British Soldier, 1960, p.60.

35 Spinola. Ambrosius Spinola (1569-1630), Genoese general, directed the Spanish campaigns in the Low Countries from 1604 until 1628.

36 Grobbendoncke. Godefridus van Grobbendonck, Dutch cavalry leader, fought with the Spanish against the Netherlands. In 1607 he made s'Hertogenbosch (Bois-le-Duc), the capital of North Brabant, his base for attacks on the Low Countries.

p.218.3-5 throwing and wrestling, &c. Recalling Hoby, sig. M2V:

But whoso wyll wrastle, runne and leape with men of the countrey, ought (in my judgement) to do it after a sorte: to proue himselfe and (as they are wonte to says) for courtesie, not to trye maistry with them: and a man ought (in a maner) to be assured to get the vpper hand, elles let him not meddle with al, for it is to ill a sight and to foule a matter and without estimation to see a Gentilman overcome by a Cartar and especially in wrastling. Therfore I beleue it is wel done to abstaine from it, at the leastwise in the presence of many, because if he overcome, his gaine is small, and his losse in being overcome very great.

Compare Cleland's recommendation of wrestling, p.220.

17 in grosse. In a body (OED).

21 the epithite of ὠκύνος, &c. Homer, Il. i. 148, but Peacham borrows directly from Elyot, sig. H8v:

Semblably before him dyd the worthy Achilles for whiles his shippes laye at rode, he suffred nat his people to slomber in ydlenesse, but daily exercised them and himselfe in rennyng, wherein he was moste excellent and passed all other: and therfore Homere throughout all his warke, calleth hym swifte foote Achilles.

This passage occurs in Cleland, p.219.

22 Alexander we resde excelled all his Court in running. Plutarch, Alexander, iv. 5, but compare Elyot, sig. H8v:

The great Alexander beyng a childe, excelled all his companions in rennyng.

Quoted by Cleland, pp.200-1.


25 Inuious. Pathless (OED, citing Peacham as the first example).

25-35 Metellus being sent with a powerful Army, &c. Plutarch, Sertorius, xiii. 4-5; Pompey, xix. 2-4.
Quoted by Cleland, p.219.

7-10 The skill and art of swimming, &c. Elyot, sig. H8v:

There is an exercise, which is right profitable in extreme danger of warres, but by cause there seemeth to be some peril in the learning thereof: And also it hath not bene of longe tyme moche used, specially amongst noble men: perchance some reders will litle esteeme it: I weave swymynge.

Peacham had also read Quercetan (Joseph du Chesne), Diaeteticon Polyhistoricon, Paris, 1606, sig. V3v:

Restât de natandi exercitio differere, quod in aquis perficitur, quodque non minus, ac alia quaeuis, scitu vtile ac necessarium est: vt pote cuius beneficio saepenumero magni viri, in grauissimis periculis constuiti, sese saluos ac incolumnes morti eripuerint: vt interim nihil dicam, de singulari eius utilitate, ad corporis sanitatem conservandum, desperdamque restituendum.

10-18 Horatius Cocles onely by the benefit of swimming, &c. Livy, Ab Urbe Condita, II.x.1-11. From Elyot, sig. I7r-v:

What benefite receiued the hole citie of Rome, by the swummynge of Oratius Cocles: whiche is a noble historie, and worthy to be remembred.

After the Romanes had expelled Tarquine their kyng ... he desired ayde of Porsena, kyng of Thusscane, a noble and valiant prince, to recouer eftsones his realme and dignitie: who with a great and puissant hoste, besieged the citie of Rome, and so sodaynely and sharply assaulted it, that it lacked but litle, that he ne had entred in to the citie with his host, over the bridge called Sublicius: where encountred with hym this Oratius with a fewe Romanes: And whiles this noble capitayne beinge alone, with an incredible strengthe resisted all the hoste of Porcena, that were on the bridge, he commanded the bridge to be broken behinde hym, where with all the Thusscane theron standyng fell in to the great riuer of Tiber, but Oratius all armed lepte in to the water & swamme to his company, al be it that he was striken with many arowes & dartes, & also greuouslye wounded. Nat withstandynge by his noble courage and feat of swymmyng, he saued the citie of Rome from perpetuall seruitude, whiche was likely to haue ensued by the returne of the proude Tarquine.

Quoted by Cleland, p.220.

19-23 the attempt of a number of Romane Gentlemen, &c. Elyot, sig. I3r:

What vtilitie was shewed to be in swymmyng at the first warres which the Romanes had agayne the Carthaginensis: it happened a bataile to be on the see betwene them, where they of Carthage, beinge vainquisshed, wolde haue sette vp their sailes to haue fledde, but that perceiynge divers yonge Romanes, they threwe them selfes in to the see, & swymmyng into the shippes, they enforced theyr enemys to tryke on lande, and there assaulted them so asprely, that the capitaine of the Romanes, called Luctatius, mought easily take them.

Quoted by Cleland, pp.220-1.

24-9 Gerrard and Harvey, &c. Thomas Gerard and one Harvey were members of the raiding party which in 1588 seized the Spanish galleon Praetoria
(William Camden, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum Regnante
Elizabetha, 1615, pp.491-2*).

30-5 Scaeuola, a man of inestimable courage, &c. Plutarch, *Julius Caesar,*
xvi. 3-4, who does not name the soldier. Peacham's direct source is
Quercetan, sig. V4r-5, misreading Plutarch:

Quintus Sertorius, & M. Scaeuola, sola arte bene natandi, vterque
magna cum admiratimine, & insuper armis induti, euaserunt hostium impressionem:
Vnus quidem non mediocriter sauciatus, natando traiecit Rhodanum fluuium
rapidissimum, in ipso hostium conspectu: alter vero vndique ab hostibus
circumuallatus neque aliud refugium praeter mare videns in id praeceps irruit,
ac exercitum Caesaris Ducis sui insecutus est.

36-p.220.5 the Romanes were so skilfull in swimming, &c. Elyot, sig. l1r:

The Romanes, who aboue all thinges, had mooste in estimation martiaall
prowesse: they had a large and spacious felede without the citie of Rome,
which was called Marces felede, in latine *Campus Martius,* wherin the youth
of the citie was exercised: this fele adjoynd to the ryuer of Tyber, to
the intent that as well men as children shulde wassehe and refreshe them
in the water aft their labours, as also lerne to swymme: And nat men &
children only, but also the horses: that by suche vsaige they shulde more
aptely and boldly passe over great riuers, and be more able to resist or
cutt the waues, & not be aferde of pirries or great stormes.

4 whirlpits. Whirlpools (OED).

7-11 Shooting also is a very healthfull and commendable recreation, &c.
Although superseded by shot in war, the bow remained popular for hunting.
Compare Ascham, *Toxophilus, The schole of shootinge, 1545,* sig. B3r:

And the labour which is in shoting of al other is best, both
bycause it encreaseth strength, and preserueth health moost, beinge not
vehement, but moderate, not overlaying any one part with werysomnesse,
but softly exercisyngye every parte with equalnesse, as the armes and
breastes with drawinge, the other partes with going, being not so paynfull
for the labour as pleasaunt for the pastyme, which exercise by the judgemen
of the best physicians, is most allowable.

See also Elyot, sigs. M6v-N1r, and Cleland, p.219.

11-14 Herein was the Emperour Domitian so cunning, &c. Ascham, *Toxophilus,*
sig. B2r:

Domitian the Emperour was so cunning in shoting that he coulde
shote betwixte a mans fingers standing afarre of, and neuer hurt him. Comodus
also was so excellent, and had so sure a hande in it, that there was nothing
within his retche & shote, but he wolde hit it in what place he wolde: as
beastes runninge, either in the heed, or in the herte, and neuer mysse, as
Herodiane sayeth he sawe him selfe, or els he coulde neuer haue beleued it.

Ascham cites Herodian (*Historia, I. xv. 1-5*), and, in the margin, Suetonius
(*Vitae, xii. 19*). Quercetan, sig. T6r-v, gives both stories.

Hunting especially, which Xenophon commendeth, &c. Translated from Panciroli, ii.23 (pp.300-1), citing Xenophon (Cyropaedia, I.kk.9-11), Eusebius (De praeparatione euangelica, viii.5), Joannes Langius (Epistolarum Medicinalium, 2 vols, Frankfurt, 1589, II, 84) and Quercetan (sigs.VI^v-V2^v). Compare Burton, pp.339-40, citing Quercetan and Langius.

The old Lord Gray, &c. Arthur (1536-1593), Lord Grey de Wilton, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1580 to 1582. His son Thomas (1576-1614) accompanied him to Ireland but William was not born until 1592.

in this manner the Spartans, &c. Plutarch, Lycurgus, xiv.6-xv.5.

Hawking was a sport utterly vnknowne, &c. From Panciroli, ii. 23 (p.302), citing P. Giovio, Neuescomensis Libellus de Legatione Basilij magni principis Moschouiae ad Clementem VII, Basle, 1527, pp. 33-4, and Julius Firmicus Maternus, Astronomicon, Basle, 1551, v.8 (p.139). Compare Burton, p.340, who notes Firmicus. For Camerarius's edition (Augsberg, 1596) of De arte venandi cum aibus by Frederick II, with Albertus Magnus's De falconibus asturibus et acciatribus, see J.E. Harting, Bibliotheca Accipitraria, 1891, p.169. By 1600 this sport seems to have been almost wholly restricted to England. Fynes Moryson (cited by E.S. Bates, Touring in 1600, 1911, p.153) saw hawking only twice in six years of travel, once in Bohemia and once in Poland.

Budaenus hath also written a large Discourse, &c. G. Budaeus, Traité sur la chasse du cerf, de venatione (Basle, 1533).


By the Canon Law Hawking was forbidden, &c. Translated from Panciroli, ii.23 (p.303), who gives these references: 'in concilio Aurelianensi can.4. Agathensi can.55. Epaunensi can.3 ... tot. t. ext. de clerico venator'.

For attitudes of English clergy on hunting, see the account of the visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1567 in The Victoria History of the Counties of England. Norfolk, 2 vols, 1901-6, edited by William Page, II, 265; one article raised was 'whether ... Parsons, Vicars, and Curates be common gameners, hunters'.

[from vol. 6, continued by C. Parkin], IV, 533-5, lists the property of the See of Norwich appropriated under the 1538 Act of Henry VIII.

21 yellow. An aged or jaundiced complexion (OED).


27–p.223.3 Mahomet Sonne to Amurath, &c. Peacham misquotes Laonicus Chalcocondylas, De Rebus Turcicis, vii. 200 (Migne, PG, CLIX, 372-3), who sets the number of men at 7,000.
Ch. 17. Of Reputation, and Carriage in generall

p.225.5 the Diamond without his foile. Compare Marlowe, The Jew of Malta, II. 816, 'What sparkle does it give without a foile?'.

5 foile. A thin leaf of metal placed under a precious stone to increase its brilliancy (OED).


14-16 we are commonly beholden, &c. Galen, Methodus medendi, translated by Thomas Linacre, edited by G. Budaeus, Paris, 1519, sig. B17:

quippe ostensum est vnamquanque rerum talem esse qualis est, propter calidi, frigidi, humidii, & sicci temperamentum. Ideoque, si quid horum magnopere immutatum sit: aut plane non videbit: aut male videbit animal.

Compare Cleland, pp.14-15:

With that supernatural helpe of praier, chieflie naturel moanes wil suceed the better, which I think consists chieflie in the temperature of the elemental qualities, (as the most learned physisons saie, and some of the most judicious Poets; Naturalae sequitur semina quisque suae,) even at their forming, nor expecting the influence of the stares, and conjiuction of Planets, at their hower of Natuitie; nor yet the guydance al their life time, by a poetical Fate.

13-19 to correct the malignitie of our Starres, with a second birth. L. Beccatelli, Vita Reginaldi Poli, translated by A. Dudith, Venice, 1563, sig.L17:

Quidam, Astrologiae perquam studiosus, cum eius se genituram ad astrorum positus examinasse diceret, & magna quaedam de eo portendi affirmaret; tum Polus, fieri quidem posse, quae ille asseueraret, sed meminisset, iterum se natum esse, atque eum quidem natalem diem, quo renatus esset, priori illi tenebras offudisse. significabat autem sacrum baptismatis lauacrum.

Compare Camden, Remaines, pp.230-1:

When one very skilfull in Astrologie tolde him, that hee had very exactly calculated his nativity, and found that great matters were portended of him: Poole aunswered, Perhaps it may be as you affirme, but you must remember that I was borne againe by baptisme, and that day of nativity wherein I was borne againe, doth eclipse the other before.

23 we are dead long before we are buryed. Compare Erasmus, Adagia, 523F-524B.

25 by keeping, saith he (oh Lord) thy Statutes. Ps.119. 5-8.
Citius Solem e sua sphaera diuelli, &c. (The sun could more quickly have been torn from its orbit than Fabius from honesty.)

a Christian who carrieth the lanterne, &c. Ps. IIQ, i. 119. 105:
Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.

vt in Honore cum dignitate vivamus. (That we may live in honour with dignity.) Compare Cicero, De Lege Agraria, i. 27; Caesar, De Bello Civili, i. vii. 1.

informitie. Deformity, used fig. with reference to the intellect or manners (CED, citing Feschain as the second example).

converse of old was the mother of skill. See above, p. 48, 11.17-18.

You will rejoice less, but you will grieve less.) Martial, Epigrammata, XII. xxxiv. 2.

Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Asia, &c. Athenaeus, Dei p. 193d, with a play upon Antiochus' surname Epiphanes ('illustrious') and his nickname Epimanes ('mad').

Appius Claudius was deprived of his Office, &c. Diodorus Siculus, Bib. Hist. xx. 36.

a certaine King of the Gothes, &c. Peacham gives a correct marginal reference and abbreviates the following paragraph from Historia Ioannis Magni Gothi sedis Apostolicae Legati suetiae et Gotiae, Rome, 1554, vii.17 (p.242-3):

Fliolmus vero milites suos indulgentius quam prudentius tractans, non solum commilitones, sed combibones suos effect, quotidianaque conuictu ad exemplum Saturnalium festorum, quae servos dominis in mensa coaequant, vna cum eis comedere, & in longam noctem potare vtile, honestum que putauit. Quod nimirum sub termino vitae suae expertus est, vt honestate vacuum, ita neque vllam vtilitatem affere potuisse. Cum enim solito & turpi more, noctem cum suis potando duceret, ab ipsis ebrietate suffusis, in ingens dolium cereali liquere repletum, quod pro explenda bibacia gula in media aula collocatum erat, per ludibrium praecipitatus interiit, relicto ad posteros Principes documento, quod quamuis fideles serui diligendi, iuuandi, promovendi sint, attamen a nimia familiaritate (quae contemptum parit) prudentius coercean tur. Hic erat exitus bibacis Regis admodum ridiculus, quem commemorando non minore rubore perfundor, quam Saxo Danicus, quando cogitur suorum Danorum ebrietates ad memoriam reuocare, inductis verbis equitis Britannici, qui asserit Danos faciius vitam, quam vinum deserturos.

from the Court to the Cottage. See Tilley, C722.
13-16 Adrian the Emperour, &c. Erasmus, Opera, IV. 280:

In colloquiis etiam humillimorum mire civilis erat, eosque
detestari solebat, qui hanc humanitatis voluptatem ipsi inviderent hoc
praetextu, quod dicerent, Principis majestatem ubique servandam.

16-19 Vespasian in like manner, &c. Xiphilinus, Epitome (edited by H.

19-21 Philopoemen was so curteous, &c. Plutarch, Philopoemen, ii. 1-3.

24-6 There is no better signe, &c. Comines, p.195:

C'est grand'richesse à un Prince d'avoir un sage homme en sa
compagnie, & bien seur pour luy, & le croire, & que cestuy là ait loy
de dire vérité.

See also Bacon 'Of Friendship' (Essayes, pp.106-15).

p.228.3 Alciates fig-tree vpon the high and innaccessible Rocke. Alciati,
Emblemata, 93 (pp.333-4).

7-8 to pay twentie for two, at twentie and one. Probably related to the
card game vingt-et-un, for which OED gives 1781 as the first instance.
There is a reference to a game called trentuno in Henry VIII (V. i. 7).

9 a match of light stuffe. Presumably to provide a woman for his pleasure
(Heltzel, p.148, n.17). Compare Love's Labour's Lost, IV. iii. 385, 'Light
wenches may prove plagues to men forsworn'.

14-15 Frugality, the Mother pf vertues, &c. Justinus, Hist.Phil. xx. 4:

Inter haec velut genericem virtutem frugalitatem omnibus inger-
ebat.

32-3 the more neede (like a vine), &c. See above, p.5, 11.12-13.

p.229.2 Marcus Cato, who was so victorious in warre, &c. Livy, Ab Urbe
Condita, XXXIX. xi. 4-8.

5-6 Philopoemen, a great and famous commander, &c. Plutarch, Philopoemen,
iv. 1-2. Quoted in WF, p.28.

10-12 in Deiotaro sunt regiae virtutes, &c. (Deiotarus possesses the royal
virtues, a fact, Caesar, of which you are not ignorant, but especially the
virtue of a singular and admirable frugality.) Cicero, Pro Rege Deiotara,
ix. 26.

15-18 Aristides, albeit he was an excellent man, &c. Plutarch, Aristides
xxvii. 1.
20-1 Cui magna corporis cultus cura, ei magna virtutis incuria. (Excessive attention to the body results in great neglect of virtue.) Cato, Disticha de moribus, 78: 'magna cura cibi, magna virtutis incuria'. Quoted in TT, pp. 74-5.

21-6 Henry the fourth, last King of France, &c. Compare TT, p.60:

Henry the 4. [used] to say usually of his Counsellors, and learned sort of Courtiers, that they had so much within them, that they never cared to beg regard from feathers and gold lace.

Compare also WP, p.28.

33 First Monuer. See above, p.68, 11.28-31.

p.230.2-9 Charles the fift, would goe, &c. Peacham's immediate source is probably The Historie of all the Romane Emperors (1604), a translation by W. Treheron of the first edition of Pedro Mexia's Historia imperial y Cesarea (Seville, 1547), ending with Maximilian I, and his second edition of 1561, including Charles V. Compare The Historie of all the Romane Emperors, 1604, p.850:

[Charles V was] clad in no better then in silke, or cloath, close made, more like a private gentleman then a great Lord ... in all these his disports he spent not an hundred crownes in the yeere; so much did he applie himselfe to matters of importance. He used the like sparing in cladding his court, in his stable, in the furniture of his house, and such other ornaments; insomuch that if in trussing himselfe a poynet brake, he would tie it together, & keepe it, for not to lose so much time as till another was fetched.

Guicciardini (and P. Giovio) is cited in the opening paragraph of the chapter on Charles V. Most details of the emperor's dress, however, can be traced back to Pietro Giustiniani who was writing in 1541. See Edward Armstrong, The Emperor Charles V, 2 voils (1902), II, 376-7. Quoted also in TT, pp.60-1, and WP, pp. 17, 28.

8 points. Tagged laces which fastened the breeches to the doublet (CED).

12 haire-coloured. Yellow-brown. OED gives no example earlier than 1678.

12 slight stuffe. Thin material (CED).

15-16 he lay in Weasell, &c. The city was captured by the Spanish after two days of fighting in September 1614 (The Wars in Germany with the taking of seuerall generall townes by the Marquess of Spynota, 1614. sig. B3¹). Peacham gives a detailed account in A Most True Relation of the Affaires of Cleve and Glick (1615). For Spinola, see above, p.217, 1.35.

18 the Late Duke of Norfolke. Thomas Howard (1536-1572), fourth Duke of Norfolk. See above, p.5, 1.7. After his execution for high treason, the
18 (continued)
title fell into abeyance; on 6 June 1646 it was restored to Norfolk's grandson, Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel.

21 worms. A worm, one who preys on society (CED).
21 shells. Pear ornaments (CED).

23 Grande Consiglio of Venice. The ruling body of the city, comprised of all eligible citizens from the patrician class (CED).


26-9 Philopoemen caused his soldiours, &c. Plutarch, Philopoemen, ix. 4-7.

36-p.231.1 Achilles, when his mother laid new Armes, &c. Homer, Il.xix.15-30.

2 cassocke. A long coat or cloak worn by soldiers; the ecclesiastical use appears to date from the Restoration (CED).

5 low Dutch. Netherlandish. See below, p.242, 1.27.

14-15 Augustus that hee was neuer curious in his diet, &c. Suetonius, Vitate, ii. 78.

16-17 Cato the Censor, sayling into Spaine, &c. Fliny, Hist.Nat. XIV.xiv.91.


22 good Creatures. Food and other things that minister to man's comfort (CED); from I Tim. 4. 4, 'Every creature of God is good'.

22-7 Scylla made a banquet, &c. Peacham abbreviates a passage from N.A. Sabellicus, Enneades, ii. 8 (Venice, 1498, fo. C9b).

29-30 gave to euery Citizen in Rome, &c. Suetonius, Vitate, i.38.

32-4 Smyndirides, who was so much giuen to feasting, &c. Rhodiginus, xi. 13 (p.411).

Smindyrides Sybarita luxu & felicitate diffiuens annis plus minus uiginti, nec orientem se uidesse solem dicebat, nec occidentem.


11-12 vt iam vertigine tectum Ambulet, &c. Juvenal, Sat. vi. 504-5.

Peacham gives his own translation. Quoted in TT, p.185.

15-17 who had a glutton or a drunkard to their Sonne, &c. Deut. 21. 13-17.
21-8 it was a rare thing with vs in England, to see a Drunken man, &c.
Evidently borrowed from William Camden, Annales Rerum Anglicarum, et
Hibernicarum, Regnante Elizabetha, ad Annum Salutis M.D. LXXXIX, 1615,
1627, pp.317-18. Compare The Historie of the most renowned and victorious
princesse Elizabeth, late Queene of England ... Composed by way of Annals
[by William Camden], translated by W. Norton, 1630, iii. 5 (sig.2A^):
Captaine Thomas an Albanois, challenged at this time Generall
Norris to a single combat, and Sir Roger Williams, his Lieutenant accepted
the challenge ... after they had bickered together a little while in the
view of both Armies, and neither of them hurt, they dranke a carowse, and
so parted friends. Yet this is not to be omitted, that the English,
cf all the Northerne nations had beene least drinkers, and most
commended for their sobriety, learned by these Netherland warres to drowne
themselves with immoderate drinking, and by drinking to others healths,
to impair their owne. And euer since, the vice of drunkennesse hath so
spread it selfe over the whole nation, that in our dayes came forth the
first restraint thereof by seuerity of lawes.
See also TT, pp.185-6, and MM, sig. E3^.

25 Sir John Norrice. Norris (c.1547-1597) was regarded as one of the
most successful military commanders of the day; his achievements in Holland
(1573-84) and Brittany (1591-4) supported this reputation.

29-31 Tricongius and the old Romanes had lawes, &c. See Fliry, Hist.Nat,
XIV. xxviii. 140-3.

p.233.7-8 Alexander was slaine in his drunkenesse. Probably an allusion
to Alexander's drunken attack on Cleitas (Plutarch, Alexander, li. 5-6).

8-9 Domitius, Nero's father slew Liberius, &c. Suetonius, Vitae, vi. 5.

16 for what is the life of man, &c. Ecclus. 31. 27.

15-14 chollericke humors, &c. According to contemporary medical theory,
as set out in the works of Hippocrates, Aristotle and Galen, the cardinal
humours or four chief fluids of the body, blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black
bile, determined its physical and mental qualities. Hence illness sprang
from an imbalance between the four humours; diagnosis consisted in establish­
ing which humour was at fault, and treatment in restoring the balance. A
melancholy humour, the result of too much black bile, was characterized by
sadness, and a choleric humour, from excess yellow bile, by irascibility.

20-1 ἐλτακτικής της φιλίας. Athenaeus, Deip. 185c.

25-6 Augustus the Emperour had alwayes his mirth, &c. Suetonius, Vitae,
i. 14. See also TA, sig. C2^.

31-2 Charles the Great, &c. Einhard (Migne, PL, XCVII, 48), 'Inter caenandum aut aliquod acroama aut lectorem audiebat'.

32-4 Francis the first, &c. Briefly summarizing the words of J. Sleidan, Commentariorum de Statu Religionis et Reipublicae Carolo Quinto Caesare libri XXVI (Strasburg, 1572, sig. 2P^r):

Francisci regis interitus ualde incommode accidit uiris literatis atque studiosis. nam artes omeis liberales nemo uehementius amauit, aut liberalius est prosecutum. Multa iam consuetudine variam sibi cognitionem comparauerat. nam prandens atque coenans fere loquebatur de literis, & auidissime quidem, usus ad eam rem per multos annos Iacobu Colino, homine docto, & in lingua populari mirabiliter facundo. post hunc subiit Petrus Castellanus. Ab iis, quicquid est in poetarum, historicorum, cosmographorum libris, hauserat.


p.234.10-11 ingenious Epigrams. Puttenham, pp. 43-4:

But all the world could not keepe, nor any ciuill ordinance to the contrary so prevaile, but that men would and must needs vtter their splenes in all ordinarie matters also: or else it seemed their bowells would burst, therefore the poet deuised a pretty fashioned poeme short and sweete (as we are wont to say) and called it Epigramma in which every merie conceited man might without any long studie or tedious ambage, make his frend sport, and anger his foe, and giue a prettie nip, or shew a sharpe conceit in few verses: for this Epigramme is but an inscription or witting made as it were vpon a table, or in a windowe, or vpon the wall or mantell of a chimney in some place of common resort, where it was allowed every man might come, or be sitting to chat and prate, as now in our tauernes and common tabling houses, where many merry heads meete, and scrible with ynke with chalke, or with a cole such matters as they would every man should know, & descant vpon. Afterward the same came to be put in paper and in bookes, and vsed as ordinarie missiues, some of frendship, some of defiaunce, or as other messages of mirth.

12 Emblemes. See below, p.237, 1.4.


31-2 Pasquine will affoord you the best, &c. It was customary to affix lampoons (pasquinades, pasquils) to the pedestal of Pasquin, a statue set up in the Piazza Pasquina in Rome. A collection of the original Latin pasquinades, Pasquillorum tomi duo, edited by Caelius Secundus Curio, was published in 1544 at Basle. Peacham's example, which he also gives in TT (pp.55-6) and WP (p.12), does not, in fact, appear in this edition.

p.235.1 Anagrams. A popular pastime; see Camden, Remaines, pp.150, 153:

The onely Quint-essayence that hitherto the Alchimy of wit coulde draw out of names, is Anagrammatisme, or Metagrammatisme, which is
dissolution of a Name truly written into his Letters, as his Elements, on a new connexion of it by artificiall transposition, without addition, subtraction, or chang of any letter into different words, making some perfect sence applicable to the person named.

In England I know some who 30. yeares since have bestowed some idle hours herein with good success. See also Puttenham, p.\[90\]:

a thing if it be done for pastime and exercise of the wit without superstition commendable enough and a meete study for ladies, neither bringing them any great gayne nor any great losse vnlesse it be of idle time.

5 o Clarus. (C distinguished one.)

11 Has artes beata velit. (May the happy one like these arts.) First printed in MB, p.14.

13 the old Lord De la Ware. Thomas, Baron De La Warr (1577-1618), succeeded to the title in 1602.

16 En tua Iesu. (Jesus, behold thine own.)

21-6 Tu more Dianam, &c. (Thou outdoest Diana in behaviour / Thou outdoest Diana in presence / Minerva conquers / May love envelop me / O unadorned one, I wonder at thee / To the end, love with strength.)

29 E' la nuda Diana. (She is the unadorned Diana.) From MB, p.175.

32 Tu a me amaris. (Thou art loved by me.)

p.236.4 SVBI DURA A HVDIRVS. (Endure harsh things from rude people.) A figure which Peacham expands in TT, p.123:

I once lived in a towne, where scarce a gentleman, or any of civil carriage lived, and having found but ill requitall for good deserts, I caused this to be written over the porch of their free-schoole doore, Subi dura a rudibus: It is Palindrome, the letters making the same againe backwards.

This, with some of Peacham's anagrams, was inserted in the 1636 edition of Camden's Remaines, edited by J. Phillipotts.

5 M. Doctor Hall. Joseph Hall (1574-1656), Protestant theologian, became Dean of Worcester in 1616, Bishop of Exeter 1627-1641, and of Norwich 1641-1647.

16-17 ADEO DIXIT HONOS: or O Dea, dixit Honos. (Honour has spoken from God: or O goddess, honour has spoken.)

18 slipt. Neglected to take advantage of (OED).

23 Annos ludendos hausi. (I have used up years in playing.) From MB, p.74. Later borrowed by Thomas Fuller in The History of the Worthies of England, 1662, p.244.
25 Consistory. An ecclesiastical senate (OED).

26 Cardinall Farnesi. Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), patron of scholars and artists, created cardinal when fourteen years old.

27 Mordeo non mordentes. (I do not devour those who bite.)

27 Bellarmine. Italian cardinal and theologian Roberto Bellarmine (1542-1621), regarded as one of the most enlightened and controversial thinkers of his day. His Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei adversus huius temporis hereticos (1586-93) comprised a scholarly statement of Catholic doctrine.

33 pastboard. Thin sheets of paper pasted together, which could be substituted for wooden board (OED).

p.237.2 Pasquil. See above, p.234. 11.31-2.

2-3 Elle faut d'encre. (It needs ink.)

4 Emblèmes and Impresa's. These were recognised as two separate forms, the emblem being a complicated allegorical picture accompanied by an explanatory poem, and the impresa, or device, a representation of a single object with an interpretative poem (Freeman, p.34). See the address to Samuel Daniel in his translation of Giovio's Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amorose, 1555 (The Worthy tract of P. Iovius, 1585, sigs. *6v-*7r):

They are disseuered by sondrie Cognisances, established by reason and confirmed by reading, and may bee authorised by experience. The mot of an Impresa may not exceede three wordes. Emblems are interpreted by many verses. An Impresa is not garnished with many different Images, Emblems are not limited. In Deuises it is enacted that the figure without the mot or the mot without the figure should not interprete the Authors meaning. In Emblems is more libertie and fewer lawes. Impresses manifest the special purpose of Gentlemen in warlike combats or chamber tornaraents. Emblems are general conceiptes rather of moral matters then particular deliberations: rather to giue credit to the wit, then to reveale the secretes of the minde.

The fashion reached its height in England with the publication of the works of the English emblematisists, chiefly George Wither (A Collection of Emblemes, ancient and moderne, 1634-5) and Francis Quarles (Emblemes, 1635). Devises, originally borne on the clothes and banners of knights, and displayed in state ceremonies, had become, in Puttenham's words (p.85):

such as a man may put into letters of golde and sende to his mistresses for a token, or cause to be embrodered in scutchions of armes, or in any bordure of a rich garment to giue by his noueltie maruells to the beholder.

8 the deuises of Tiltings, &c. See John Aubrey, The Life of Sir Philip
Tilting was much used at Wilton in the time of Henry Earle of Pembroke, and Sir Philip Sidney. At the Solemnization of the great Wedding of William the 2nd Earle of Shrewsbury, here was an extraordinary Shew; at which time a great many of the Nobility and Gentry exercised: and they had Shields of Pastboard painted with their Devices, and Emblemes: which were very pretty and ingenious: and I believe they were most of them contrived by Sir Philip Sidney.

See also Camden, Remaines, pp.165-6, 174-5 and MB, p.114.

I once collected with intent to publish them. See the final lines of MB, p.212:

Now what they were, on every Tree,
Devises new, as well as old,
Of those braue worthies, faithfullie,
Shall in another Booke be told.

This material was apparently never printed.

The Persians and Indians had a law, &c. Compare Strabo, Geog. XV. i.54, iii.18.

Cato would suffer no man to bee praised, &c. Plutarch, Marcus Cato, xix. 5.
Ch. 18. Of Trauaile

Of Travaille


17-19 Heere vnder I lie King Csyris, &c. Diodorus Siculus, Bib. Hist. I. xxvii. 5.

20 commoditie. Benefit (OED).

25-7 the vsuall boast of Alexander, &c. Misreading Diogenes Laertius, De vitis, ii. 17; compare F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, no. 123.


11 puerorum beatitudo. (The happiness of boys.)

15-16 ad voluptatem vel ad vtilitatem. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 593.

19-26 two branches, your owne priuate, or the publique, &c. Contemporary discussions of the reasons for travel are found in James Howell, Instructions for Forreine Travell, 1642, p. 203, and Thomas Palmer, An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraigne Countries, the more profitable and honourable, 1604-1667, 1952, p. 368.


p.242.6-9 ab istis callidis & calidis Solis filiabus. ('Those over-hot and crafty daughters of the Sunne', ALL, sig. A3r.) Justus Lipsius, Epistola de Peregrinatione Italica, Hamburg, 1721, p. 158. Quoted also in TT, pp.150-1.
For the French, Orleans. Compare The Diary of John Evelyn, edited by E.S. de Beer, 6 vols, Oxford, 1955, II, 38:

The Language for being here [Orleans] spoken in great Purity, as well for divers other Priveleges.

Lipsick. Leipzig.

high Dutch. German; 'low Dutch' was the language of the Netherlands.

I wish you first of all to see France. France drew many English travellers in the seventeenth century, particularly to the school of the Louvre. See J.W. Stoye, English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667, 1952, pp.33-105.

seated under a temperate and most wholesome climate. From R. Dallington, The View of France, 1604, sig. B1f:

France then is seated under a very temperate and wholesome climate.

Peacham does not seem to have known France at first hand (but compare p.245, ll. 31-5). The source of his information is Dallington, whom he follows closely.

a faithful pen. Dallington.

the noblest and better sort, generally free and courteous, &c.

Dallington, sig. H3v:

Hee [the King] is naturally very affable and familiar, and more (we strangers thinke) then fits the Majesty of a great King of France. But it is the fashion of this Countrie of France.

See also Howell, pp. 192-3.

Elle est tres valleuse & Courtoise, &c. François de La Noue, Discours politiques et militaires, Basle, 1587, p. 426, but Peacham's immediate source is Dallington, sig. H4v:

Concerning the Nobility of France, Elle est (saith La Noue) tres valleuse & courtoise; & n'y à Estat en la Christienté, ou elle soit en si grand nombre: They are exceeding valorous and courteous; and there is no State in Christendome, where they are in so great number.

They delight for the most part in Horsemanship, &c. Ibid., sigs. S2v-S4r:

These are they, among whome the proverbe is still currant, Vn homme de guerre ne deuoit sçauoir, si non escrire son nom: A man of War should have no more learning, but bee able to write his owne name: And therefore their profession is only Armes & good horsemanship, wherein if they have attained any perfection, they little esteeme other vertues, not caring what the Philosopher saith, Vne seule anchre
n'est par suffisante pour tenir ferme vne grande nauire: One onely Anchor is not sufficient to hold a great Ship. Nor considering that the olde Gallants of the world were wont to ioyne the one with the other: and ancient Painters were accustomed to paint the Muses altogether in a group, to signify, that in a Nobleman they should not be parted.

Bodin sayth, it is reported of Cato Censorius, that hee was a valiant Captayne, a sage Senator, an upright judge, and a great Scholler. The world reputed Caesar to have been a Politician, an Historian, an Orator, a Warrior, excellent in all ... The occasion of this French humour, so much to esteeme Armes, and nothing at all to regard learning, or it may be oftentimes to contemne both, is imputed to the careless indulgence of Parents, by Comines, Ils nourissent leurs enfants ceulment à faire les sots, en habillement & en paroles: de nulle lettre ils n'ont connoissance. They bring vp their children onely to play the fondlings both in apparell and words, but of learning they haue no knowledge at all.

For Comines's statement, see above, p.41, ll. 29-30.

26-30 The French are full of discourse, &c. Dallington, sig. V4r-v:

It now remaineth I speake of the French nature and humour: which by the change of his speech, apparrell, building, by his credulity to any tale which is told, & by his impatience & haste in matter of deliberation, whereof I shall not omit presently to speake, ye may judge to be very idle, wauering and inconstant ... And yeeshall reade in Caesars Commentaries very often, how hee taxeth them of this legerity and suddennesse: His de rebus Caesar certiorfactus, et infirmitatem Gallorum veritus (quod suns in consiliis capiendis mobiles, et nouis plerunque rebus student) nihil his committendum estimauit: Caesar being enformed of these matters, and fearing the vnstableness of the Gaules (as being sudden and wauering in their resolutions, and generally desirous of innovation) he thought fit not to trust them. And in another place, Cum intelligeret Caesar omnes fere Gallos nouis rebus studere, & ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque incitari, &c. Caesar understanding, that almost all the Gaules were naturally hungry of change, and vnconstantly, and suddenly stirred to warre, &c. And againe, Vt sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia: As the resolution of the Gaules are sudden, and vnlooked for, &c.

Peacham quotes Caesar, Commentariorum Belli Gallici, iv. 5; iii. 8.

32-3 their change and varietie, &c. Dallington, sig. T4r:

This Author reprooueth two things in the French apparrell. First, that every Gallant forsooth, must haue many suits at once, and change often in the yeere ... The second thing he dislikes, is this, that De deux ans en deux ans les façons changent: Every two yere the fashion changeth.

34-5 Their exercises are for the most part Tennise play, &c. Ibid., sigs. T4v-V2r:

I am now by order to speake of his Exercises, wherein, me thinks, the Frenchman is very immoderate, especially in those which are somewhat violent; for ye may remember, ye haue seene them play Sets of Tennise in the heat of Summer, & height of the day, when others were
scarce able to stirre out of dores ... Among all the exercises of France, I preferre none before Palle-maille, both because it is a Gentleman-like sport, not violent, and yeelds good occasion and opportunity of discourse, as they walke from the one marke to the other ... Concerning their shooting with the Crossebowe, it is vsed, but not very commonly. Once in a yere, there is in each city a shooting with the Peece at a Popingay of wood, set upon some high steeple ... As for the exercise of Tennis play, which I aboue remembred, it is more here vsed, then in all Christendome besides; whereof may winnes the infinite number of Tennis Courts throughout the land, insomuch as yee cannot finde that little Burgade, or towne in France, that hath not one or moe of them ... Neither should I speake of Dancing ... saue onely ... for methodes sake, hauing vndertaken to speake of the French exercises, not to omit that of Dauncing, wherein they most delight, and it is most generally vnsed of all others.

The game of 'pallemaille' was played by driving a wooden ball through an iron ring set in a long alley; it did not reach England from Europe until the seventeenth century (OED, citing Peacham as the third example).

36-p.244.5 their dyet, it is nothing so good, &c. Dallington, sigs. T3^r-v:

The French fashion (as you see dayly) is to larde all meats, whose prouision ordinary is not so plentifull as ours, nor his table so well furnished: howbeit, in banquets they farre exceede vs ... As for the poore Faisant, he fareth very hardly, and feedeth most vpom bread and fruits.

Compare Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary, 1617, sigs. 3P6^r-3Q1^r:

At this day none eate less Bacon or dried flesh for ordinary diet, then the French, yet I cannot commend their temperance, since all, as well Men as Weomen, besides dinner and supper, use breakfasts and beuers, which they call collations and gouster, so eating foure times in the day ... but their Feasts are more sumptuous than ours, and consist for the most part of made fantasticall meates and sallets, and sumptuous compositions, rather then of flesh or birds.
Le corps de logis d'une grandeur démesurée & d'une magnificence admirable, mais plein de défauts, qui tient à ce Pavillon, est de la conduite de Philibert de Lorme. Ses faces sont rehaussées d'une ordonnance de colonnes & de pilastres de son invention, qu'il admire lui-même & l'appelle Françoise ... Il est composé de plusieurs pieces de marbre & de pierres, chargées de basses-tailles, & de devises, & de plus incrustée de diverses sortes de marbre, de bronze doré & marcassite, & d'autres pierres minérales, qui le rendent magnifique à la vérité, mais très-irregulier.

Francis II started improvements in 1528; see Sincerus, p. 316. Feacham refers to la grande cour or la cour du cheval blanc (P. Dan, Le tresor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau, Paris, 1642, p. 39).

The purest and fairest fountaine, &c. Sincerus, p. 321: 

Areas aliquot habet latissimas, quarum nomina quantum recordor haec sunt: La cour de la fontaine, in qua fons perelegans, cui imposita statua Mercurij, duaeque aliae nudorum hominum.

Dan, pp. 4-13, describes the fountain of Mercury and suggests alternative etymologies.

whatever he could wrap or wring. Compare Tilley, A210.

Blois, &c. Louis XII was Comte de Blois; on his succession he made it a royal seat. See F. and P. Lesueur, Le Château de Blois, Paris, 1914-21, p. 41, table 3, for the plan by J.A. du Cerceau; Sincerus, pp. 102-6.

Ville-sansin, Chindony. Valançay and Chinon.

Amboise is one of the principall buildings of France. Made a royal seat by Charles VII in 1434.

the Abbay of Harmonstier. Sincerus, p. 115.


Charleval, &c. Begun in 1570 on a vast scale, but very little was actually built.

the village of Confluence. Conflans; 'In proximo hic est alius vicus Confluenter, vulgo Conflans dictus' (Sincerus, p. 323).

Les Espagnole sont personnes de haut goust et de grand appetit, ne se lavans d'ordinaire les mains avant manger, chacun estant presupposé les auoir nettes, et se mettent à table avant qu'aucune viande y soit posee. Et tout d'abord vient le fruict, qu'ilz mangent au contraire de nous le premier, oranges entières et en rouelles sucrees, sallades, raisins vers, grenades, melons d'hyuer qu'ilz nomment inuerninos, gardés toute l'annee comme citrouille.

See Howell, p. 59, and also Palmer, p. 83.

23 by nature generally proud and haughty. Stock characteristics; Turler, The Traveler, 1575, p. 40:

The Spaniard, [has] a commendable gate, maners, and gesture, a proude looke, a flexible voyce, a fine speach, exquisite apparel.

26 infatigable. Indefatigable (Heltzel, p. 168, n. 20).

34-7 Their habit in apparell is all one for colour, &c. A frequent observation; Joly, p. 606:

Pour habit dont ilz vsent, le noir est la couleur et le velours figuré l'estoffe plus ordinaires.

See also the anonymous Journey into Spain, 1670, p.37.


p.248.7 Tons. Tunny.

12 Alcalde. 'A Judge, a Justice, a Sheriff, a Constable' (Minsheu, s.v. 'Alcade'; a civic official.

20-1 They travaile all on Mules, &c. Horses were scarce and expensive in Spain and Portugal because mares were used to breed the more profitable mules. In Portugal laws were passed to forbid the use of mules (Journey into Spain, pp. 58-9).

22-3 Their Coines are the best of Europe, &c. With ready supplies from their American colonies, the Spanish maintained a high content of gold and silver in their coins in the sixteenth century, while other European countries debased the internal currency. Spanish coin, accordingly, became highly valued abroad, and the French and Italians deliberately
peddled merchandize in Spain to obtain good coin, or they replaced it with bonds, credit, promisory notes and bad currency (P. Vilar, A History of Gold and Money, translated by Judith White, 1976, pp. 160-6).

24-30 A doubloon in gold, &c. A doubloon equalled two pistolets, which in turn were valued at between 5s.10d. and 6s.8d. each. A quartas was a farthing, and a quartillias, about one quarter of a reale. The maravedi, valued at one-third of a farthing, was the smallest Spanish coin.

35-p.249.1 one of the goodliest Monasteries, &c. The Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, with the fountains in the Court of the Evangelist.

18 Salamanca, Alcalá, Conimbra. The university of Alcalá de Henares, in the province of Madrid, was founded in 1510; it ranked second to Salamanca. Coimbra (Conimbriga), founded in 1290, was Portugal's oldest university.

19 they care little for the Latin. Joly, p. 611:

Leurs liures ne sont que rapsodies et larecins de pages entieres d'aultry qu'ilz s'attribuent, ne se trouuans pas, apres avoir dict beaucoup de paroles, auoir guere dict en substance que pour estre en ignorance tous des lettres humaines et des bons autheurs antiens, grecqz et latins, esquelles consistent toutes les graces des science et histoires. Le ridicule langage latin, ignorant et incorrect, qui s'vse par toute lerus escoles, et le peu d'industrie que le people demonstre en tous les artz mechaniques qu'ilz exercent, sont indices de peu d'esprit.

25 Master Sands. George Sandys, A Relation of a Journey begun An.Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes, Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remotest parts of Italy, and Ilands adjoyning, 1610.

28-32 so I conclude, &c. These lines, addressed to William Howard, closed the first edition.
Ch. 19. Of Military Observations

p.251.1 Postures. Particular positions of a weapon in drill or warfare (OED): 'Postures, that is, The true forme of men in Armes, carrying all manner of martiall weapons (in every Motion whatsoever) in the comeliest, readiest, and easiest way both to offend and defend' (Gervase Markham, The Souldiers Accidence, 1625, p.22).

9 Faylance. Failure (OED, citing Peacham as the second example).

17 Fyles. Soldiers in a row one behind another; 'a File is a Sequence of men standing one behind another, Backe to Belly, extending from the first to the last man; And ... it is taken from the French word la Fila signifying a Thridd, because men stand long wise and straight like a thrid, and the Files consist of single men downward' (Markham, p.5). For the number, compare Gervase Markham, The Souldiers Grammar, 1626, p.9:

The first Receivers of Militarie Discipline ... would have a File to consist of Sixteene Men in depth, successively one after an other: Others would have it consist of Eight: And others (which are our latest and best approued) would have them consist of Ten.

20 Leaders. Men heading a file.

20 Bringers vp. Men at the rear of a file.

20 Middle-men. Soldiers in the fifth or sixth rank in a file of ten men (OED).

20 Seconds. Two men in a file, one standing behind the Leader, the other in front of the Bringer-up.

21 Thirds. Two men in a file who stand behind the first Second and in front of the other Second.

21 Fourths. Two men in a file who stand behind the first Third and in front of the other Third.

21 Rankes. Soldiers in a row standing abreast; 'the Rancks consist of single men ouerthwart ... [and ] may consist of as many men as you please' (Markham, Accidence, p.6).

p.252.11-15 teach them the true use, &c. Compare Markham, Accidence, p.8:

In this Trayning foure principall things are to be taught. 1. First, the Carriage and use of Armes, conteined in divers Postures or Stations, expressing the formes of men in Armes.

2. Secondly, Distance or proportion of place in Files and Rankes.

3. Thirdly, March and Malion [sic], contained in words of most especiall directions.

4. And fourthly, all the sounds or beatings of the Drumme, and ordinarie words of direction (which are our Vocabula artis) and how by the Drumme, or the voice of a Commander, to moue and obey the direction.
12 Armes. Generally pikes, swords, daggers and firearms (the bill or halberd and the longbow disappeared during Queen Elizabeth I's reign); the infantry had been formed into two sections, pike and shot, by the mid-sixteenth century (L. Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638*, second edition, Newton Abbot, 1971, p.xvi).

12 Distance. The space between man and man when standing in rank, or between ranks (ORD, citing 1635 as the first instance).

28 the Front is doubled. The action of doubling the first rank by halving the files; 'it will be requisite to reduce them into five in File, and then those two Middlemen become bringers vp, and then have a kinde of charge over those three betweene the Leader and the Bringer vp' (*Instructions For Musters and Armes*, 1623, sig. B2v).

p.253.19-22 Stand to your Armes, &c. One of the many versions of the first, general words of command.

By the end of the sixteenth century, military literature was generally concerned with practical activities and largely replaced earlier, academic works devoted to classical precedents. From 1587 military pamphlets were printed in great quantities; military text books were also popular and usually included their own version of drill. The reader, probably a volunteer member of the militia or an officer in the army, could use any set of drilling regulations to train his troops (J. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, 13 vols, 1899-1930, I, 136).

In 1623 attempts were made to implement standard drilling procedures; a new book of official drill, *Instructions For Musters and Armes*, based on the practice of troops in the Low Countries, was circulated throughout England and Wales. With Charles I's succession, further reforms were mounted but these measures failed to regularize drilling instructions (Boynton, pp.240-4). Peacham draws on a number of sources, with particularly close reference to Markham's *Souldiers Accidence or an Introduction into Military Discipline* (1625).

23-8 In your Order, &c. Compare Markham, *Accidence*, p.12:

And the use of this Distance is both in Rankes and Files, in Marches, and in Motions; in Files, as when they stand or march at the first Distance, which is called Closest, that is to say, Pouldron to Pouldron, or Shoulder to Shoulder, or when they stand or march at the second Distance, which is called Close, and is a foot and a halfe distance man from man; or when they stand or march at the third distance, which is called Order, which is three foote man from man; or when they stand or march at the fourth and last Distance, which is called Open Order, and is sixe foote between person and person.
23-8 (continued)

So likewise in Rankes to stand or march Closest, is to be at the Swords poyn, to stand or march Close, is three foote, to stand or march at Order, is sixe foote, and to stand or march at Open-Order, is ever twelve foote.

29-31 Closer then this, &c. A musketeer needed room to load and fire and consequently could not be crowded into close order. See The Tactiks of Aelian, translated by John Bingham, 1661, p.154.

p.254.1-2 powldron to powldron. Shoulder to shoulder, derived from 'powl-dron', a piece of armour covering the shoulder (OED).

3-4 Then your ranckes must close, &c. To three feet. See Markham, Accidence, p.14; Tactiks of Aelian, p.154.

13 Open your Rankes. To spread out from a closely ordered rank (OED).

20 Close your Rankes. To bring the men in close order so as to leave no gaps in the rank (OED).

22 Open your Files. Files were split into right and left flanks; they were ordered to move either from the right hand or the left. If commanded to open and the hand was not specified, then the two middlemen in the central files would step apart the distance required. They were followed by the rest of the men in their files, then by the leaders and men of the files on the right and left hands. The same procedure was adopted for closing the files; the central middlemen would join their files, then the leaders and their men.

If the hand was named in a command to the files, then the leader of the first file on the side specified would move. His men, the other leaders, and their men, would follow successively. See Markham, Grammar, pp.39-41.

29 Embatteled. Drawn up in battle array (OED).

29-p.255.3 the Captaine must for his place, &c. Compare Markham, Accidence, pp.14-15:

The head of the Troope or Band is for the Captaine, and the Reare for the Lieutenant, except it be in a Retreat, and then the Captaine should be in the Reare, and the Lieutenant at the Head. The Ensigne (in an ordinary Battalia) upon the head behind the Captaine, or within a Hanke thereof. But marching in an extended Battaille, then in the heart in the midst of the Pikes. The Drummes are in a square Battalia to beate before the right and left wings ... The Sergeants are extravagantely to marche on each side of the Company, and to see the Souldiers keepe their Rankes and Fyles.

19-p.256.4 To the Right hand, &c. The general motions of a drill exercise. The ranks and files constantly move, change around and finally return to their
original place.

The motion of doubling files consists of putting one file into two; the ranks are consequently reduced. A similar procedure occurs when the ranks double (see above, p.252, 11.28-50). If the files double to one hand, they return to their first place by doubling the ranks to the other hand. Ranks which double to one hand, return to their original position by turning to the other hand.

In this exercise the files are doubled, then the ranks are doubled; in this way the men return to their first place. The ranks are then doubled again and each file is reduced to five men.

22-8 Wheele to the Right hand, &c. The ranks turn, with a movement resembling the spokes of a wheel, about a pivot (the man on the corner of the flank) so as to change front.

p.258.30-2 For the knowledge of their distance, &c. Compare Markham, Accidence, pp.13-14:

To take the distance of three foot betweene fyle and fyle, you shall make the Souldiers set their armes a kenbowe, and put themselves so close that their elbows may meete, and to take the distance of a foote and an halfe, every other Soldier in the Ranke shall set one arme a kenbowe, and his fellow shall neare touch it; And thus likewise in Rankes wee take the distance of sixe foote, when the but ends of the Pikes do almost reach their heelees that march before. Three foote in Ranke is when they come almost to the Swords poiyn; and twelue foot is the length of a Pike charged euer.

31 kenbow. Akimbo (CED, citing Peacham as the second example).

p.259.4-5 In Skirmish, &c. The musket was not generally used for skirmishes but to defend or attack passages, towns and forts (H.J. Webb, Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice, 1965, p.97).

9 Port. To carry a pike with both hands, generally across or close to the body and pointing to the left.

23 a Gentleman. Men of position did not of course serve as common soldiers, although their first duty was 'to stand centinell for a moneth, to learne the first degree of a souldier, that they may be the better able to command others when ... advanced' (Henry Hexham, The Principles of the Art Militarie, 1637, p.6).

p.260.1-35 Postures of the Musquet, &c. Referring to the matchlock, the earliest form of the musket, weighing about twenty pounds, four and a half feet long and with a heavy recoil. The method for firing was complicated;
there were at least twenty-eight distinct commands, sometimes more (Markham gives forty). Drill instructions were printed to help volunteer captains and movements and words became reasonably standardized (J.R. Hale, The Art of War and Renaissance England, Washington, 1961, p.20). Peacham follows Markham, Accidence, pp.24-6, but see also Hexham, pp.10-19, and Jacob de Gheyn, The Exercise of Armes for Calivers, Muskettes, and Pikes, The Hague, 1607.

3 Rest. Musket support, forked at one end and with a spike to fix into the ground at the other, used to steady the barrel and ensure accuracy of aim.

4 Slipp. Remove from the shoulder.

5 Pease. Poise (OED).

7 Match. A wick of cotton, lit at both ends, that burned steadily and would not be extinguished easily (OED).

8 Blow your Match. To keep the wick smouldering.

9 Cocke your Match. To place in the cock of the gun, that is, on the lever which puts the match in contact with the priming powder in the touch-pan.

10 Try your Match. To test the match's length.

11 Guard your Fan. To cover the pan containing priming powder with a protective plate.

13 Open your Pann. Remove the cover.

16 Recouer your Musket. To bring the gun back to its original position, held by the right hand across the body and pointed upwards.

17 Vncocke your Match. To take out of the cock.

18 Retourne your Match. To hold in the left hand.

19 Cleere your Pann. To blow away any powder remaining in the pan.

20 Pryme your Pann. To fill with gunpowder.

21 Shut your Pann. To cover with the plate.

22 Blow your Pann. To blow off loose dust or powder.

23 Cast of your loose Cornes. To hold the musket with the pan downwards so that any loose grains of gunpowder drop away.

24 Cast about your Musket. To take the musket in both hands, bring it upright to the left side and step forward with the left leg.
25 Trayle your Rest. Allow the rest to slip between the body and the musket, held only by its leather thong.

26 Open your Charge. To take a packet of gunpowder out of the charge bag. Musketeers generally carried twelve or thirteen charges in their bandoliers.

27 Charge your Musket. To load the charge into the musket's muzzle.

28 Scouring Sticke. A ramrod, stored in a socket on top of the musket; the wad or sponge at one end was used to clean out the barrel.

29 Shorten. Hold in the middle (OED).

30 Ram your Powder. Push the scouring-stick down the gun's barrel to force the charge into position.

33 Returne your Scouring sticke. To its socket.

34 Bring forward your Musket. To move forward in the left hand.

p.261.1 Ordered. Held vertically with the butt of the musket resting on the ground (predating OED, which cites 1826 as the earliest instance).

8 servies. Service, a military engagement (OED).

20 Postures for the Pyke. Sometimes sixteen in number (Markham, Accidence, p.22; Tactiks of Aelian, p.155); Peacham gives eighteen. It was a long, wooden shaft with a pointed steel head; 'strong, straight, yet nimble Pikes of Ash-wood, well headed with Steele, and armed with plates downward from the head, at least foure foote, and the full size or length of euery Pike shall be fifteene foote, beside the head' (Markham, Accidence, p.2). Formations of pikemen were used offensively against footmen and to defend against cavalry attack.

22 Advance your Pykes. To bring forward in the right hand.

24 Charge your Pykes. At this command, the pikemen would stand sideways, feet planted solidly about two feet apart, face held over the left shoulder in the direction of the enemy, pike held shoulder-high and parallel to the ground, right arm extended straight back and left arm bent at the elbow with the left hand just under the chin. See Webb, p.87.

26 Trayle your Pykes. To carry the pike in the right hand, grasped near the spear-end, hand held on the hip.

27 Cheeke your Pykes. To bring the pike up by grasping the top end in the left hand, which is held across the chest, the right hand remaining by the right hip. The pike is thus held close to the right cheek. OED glosses this
27 (continued)
as the action of holding a pike against the cheek and cites Peacham as
the first example.

p.262.3 To the Righthand Charge. This command was given to meet an attack
by cavalry. The pikeman would position himself as described above (p.261.1.24)
except that his feet would be further apart, and his body loosely turned
more to the front, or the left or right oblique if he were to cross pikes
with the man next to him. The butt of the pike would be on the ground against
the left foot, and the pikeman, leaning forward and bending his left knee, would
grasp the pike with his left hand just at the bend of the knee. Held like
this, the pike would extend forward towards the enemy horse. The pikeman
would then draw his sword with his right hand and hold it at the ready. See
Webb, p.87.

10 Comporte your Pykes. To carry across the body, pointing to the right
(CED, citing Peacham as the second example).
Ch. 20. Concerning Fishing

p.263.2-3 the honest & patient mans Recreation, &c. Compare Isaak Walton, The Compleat Angler or the Contemplative Man's Recreation, 1653.

9-13 Haysell, or Cane, &c. Rods made from a single piece of hazelwood were for large fish such as pike; cane rods of two or more sections served for general use. Compare Gervase Markham, The Pleasures of Princes, or Good men's Recreations, 1615, p.6:

There be other Anglers, and many of the best and approuedst judgements, which allow the Angle-rod of many pieces: as those which are made of Cane, each piece exceeding another one degree, in such even proportion that being thred and thrust one within another they will shew as one even and most straight rush-grown body, without any crookednesse or other outward euil fauourednesse.

15-19 the lynes, &c. Possibly borrowing from Markham, p.7:

Now for your Lines, you shall understand that they are to be made of the strongest, longest, and best grown Horse hayre that can be got, not that which groweth on his Maine, nor vpon the vyper part or setting on of his tayle, but that which groweth from the middle and inmost part of his docke, and so extendeth it selfe downe to the ground, being the biggest and strongest hayres about the Horse: neither are these hayres to be gathered from poore, leane, and diseased Iades of little price or value, but from the fattest, soudest, and proudest Horse you can finde, for the best Horse hath euer the best hayre, neither would your hayres be gathered from Nagges, Mares, or Geldings, but from stone-Horses onely.

It is difficult to determine whether Peacham drew his material from Charles Estienne's L'Agriculture et Maison Rustique (1570), the author's French edition of Praedium Rusticum (1554), which had been translated by Richard Surflet in 1600 as Maison Rustique, or the Countrie Farme, and subsequently revised and expanded by Markham in 1616, or from Markham's own work, The Pleasures of Princes (1615), which borrows directly from the earlier translation (R.B. Marston, Walton and Some Earlier Writers on Fish and Fishing, 1894, p.35). Compare Maison Rustique, Or, the Countrey Farme, 1616, p.510:

To these rods doe belong lines made of the strongest and longest horse-haire which can be got, nor are they to be gotten of leane, poore, and diseased jades, but such as are faire, fat, and in ful strength, and if conveniency you can, it is best euer to gather them from stoned horses, and not from mares or geldings.

17 stonehorse. A stallion (OED).

18 Iades. Horses of inferior breed; vicious, worthless, or wornout horses (OED).
the flotes, &c. For a detailed account, see Maison Rustique, p.511:

Take of the best and thickest Corke you can get, and with a fine rape having pared it clean, cut it into the fashion of a Pear, bigge and round at one end, and small and sharpe at the other, ever observing, according to the bignesse of your line, to make the bignesse of your corke: as, for a line of three haires, a corke of an inch, or little more, long, and to the bigger lines, bigger corks: through this corke you shall thrust a quill, and through the quill the line. The cork serveth onely to let you know when the fish biteth, therefore the lesse it is, the better it is, for it onely giues the lesse shadow, prvided that it be euer in your eye.

your Hookes, &c. Ibid., p.511:

The next instrument to these which belongeth to the Angle, is your Hooks, which are of diuers shapes, some being bigge, and some little, and some of a meane betwenee both, according to the fish at which you angle.

To speake then generally of Baytes, they are diuided into three kindes, which are. Liue-baytes, dead-baytes, and Baytes liuing but in apperance onely. Your liue-bayts are worms of all kindes, especially the red worme, the Maggot, the Bobbe, the Dorre, browne Flyes, Grashoppers, Hornets, Waspes, Bees, Snayles, small Roches, Bleakes, Gudgins or Loches. Your dead baytes are pasts of all makings, young brood of Wasps dryed or vn dried, the clotterd bloud of sheepe, Cheese, Bramble-berrys, Corne, Seedes, Cherries, and such like. And your Bayts which seeme to liue, yet are dead, are Flyes of all sorts and shapes, made with silke and feathers about your hookes.

red worme. The earth-worm.

Bobb. The grub or larva of a bee (OED).

Doare. John Dory.

Roches. The roach, a small freshwater fish of the carp family (OED, citing Peacham, GE, 1612, as the eighth example).

Bleakes. Small river fish, also called blay (OED).

Gudgens. Gudgeons, small freshwater fish (OED).

Loches. Loch trout; fish from a lake (OED).

Pastes. Sweet dough (OED).

For the seasons, &c. Markham, pp.24-5:

Now for the seasons, in which these baytes are most profitable, you shall understand that the red-worme will serue for small fish all the yeere long: the Maggot is good in Iuly, the Bobbe and Dore in May, the browne Flyes in Iune, Frogges in March, Grashoppers in September, Hornets in Iuly, Waspes & Bees in Iuly, Snayles in August. For the Roche, Bleake, or Gudgin, they serve the Pyke at any season: all Pastes are good in May, Iune, and Iuly: dryed Waspes in May: Sheepes-bloud and Cheese in Aprill: for Bramble berries, Corne and Seedes, they are good at the fall of the leafe. Lastly, for your dead flyes, which are most proper for the Trout or Grayling,
you shall know that the Dun flye is good in March, being the lesser, but the greater Dun flye will serve the latter end of February: the Stone flye is good in Aprill, the Red flye, and the Yellow flye in May, the Blacke flye, the darke Yellow flye, and the Morish flye in Iune, the Tawny flye part in May, and part of Iune, the Waspe flye, and the shell flye in July, and the clowdie darke-flye in August.

Peacham lists nine of the twelve flies described by Markham (pp.24-5), omitting only the 'sad' yellow fly, the tawny fly and the second dun fly.

The Morish flye is made of fine fockes, shorne from a freese-gray russet, and the wings of the blackest male of a Drake ... the black flye is made of black wooll, and lapt about with the herle of the Peacocks tayle, his wings with the brown feathers of the Mallard, and some of his blew feathers on his head.

The 'morish' insect is not a marsh fly (Heltzel, p.172) but a brown or moorish fly (OED).

For preserving of liue bayts., &c. Markham, pp.25-7:

you shall understand, that they must not be kept altogether, but every kinde severall by it selfe, and nourished with such comforts as it delighteth in, when it is at liberty, or with such things as they breede in or vpon when they are first taken. And first for the red worme: when you take them, you shall put them into a bagge of red cloath, and chopping a handfull of Fennell, raixe it with halfe so much fresh mould, being blacke and fertile, and they will both liue and scower therein ... for the great white Maggots, you shall mixe with them Sheeps tallow, or little bits of a beasts liuer: the best way to scowre them, is to put them into a bagge of blanketting, with Sand, and hang them where they may haue the ayre of the fire, or other warmth, for the space of an houre or two. For Frogges and Grashoppers, you shall keepe them in wet mosse, and long grasse, moystened euery night with water, and when you Angle with them you shall cut off their legges by the knees, and the grashoppers wings neere to the body, for other wormes, as the Bobbe, Cadis-worme, Canker, and such like, you shall keepe them with the same things you finde them vpon: and for all liue Flies you shall vse them as you take them.

Compare Maison Rustique, p.514.

Neates. Oxen or bullocks, cows or heifers (OED).

shuett. Suet.

Cadisworme. A case-worm; the larva of a May-fly, which forms itself into a curious, cylindrical case of hollow stems and small stones (OED, citing Peacham as the first example).

Canker. Caterpillar or any insect larva which destroys the bud and leaves of plants (OED).
Now lastly, to speake of your made baites, which are Pastes, the most of them will last the whole yeere, and as they be divers, so I will shew you how to compound every one of them in his true and perfect nature. First, to make Pastes that shall last the longest, you shall take Beane-flower, and those parts of the Conyes legge which is called the Almond of the Cony: or if it be of a fat yong Whelpe, or a Cat, it is as good: and to these put a like quantitie of Virgin-Waxe, and Sheepes suet, and then beat them together in a Morter, till they be made one body, then with a little clarified Hony temper it before the fire, and so make it vp in round bals, and it will last all the yeere, and the vse thereof is, when you Angle, to baite your hooke therewith, and not any Fish which swimmeth in fresh waters but will greedily bite thereat ... Take the bloud of a Sheepe, and of Hony like quantitie, and beate them together with a lump of fresh Cheese, then with the fine grated crummes of white Bread, worke them into a stiffe paste, and so role it vp into bals, and when you Angle do not baite your hooke therewith, but now and then cast little pellets thereof into the water, and it will intise the Fish to resort vnto you, and to bite with great greedinesse.

20 Almonds. Referring to part of a rabbit's leg and not to the ear (Heltzel, p.173). OED cites Peacham as the first example.


Now I haue named the bayts, &c. Markham, p.28:

Now to shew you how you shall Angle most properly for every seuerall Fish, with true Art, according to the Nature of the Fish, I thinke it not amisse first to beginne with the Goodgin, Roch, and Dace, which being Fishes of eager bit, most foolish, lest afrightfull, and soonest deceived, are the first fittest prayes for young Scholars, and such as are but learners in the Art of Angling ... and your best baite is the Redde-worme, Codde-worme, Maggot, clotted blood of Sheepe cut into little bits, or else the white Spawne or broode of Waspes.

If you will Angle for the Carpe, you must haue a strong rodde, and a strong Line, of at least seauen or nine hayres, and euyther mixt with a greene or watched silke: your worke must be large, long, and smooth: your Leads smooth and close, and fixt neere the hooke, and the hooke of almost a three-penny compasse. He is very dainty to bite but at some especiall houres, as very earely in the morning, or very late at night, and therefore he must be very much entised with Paste: his best baits are the Mosse-worme, the redde-worme, or the Menow, for he seldome refuseth them. The Cadis-worme is good for him in Iune, and the Maget, Blacke-worme, or Grasshopper, in Iuly, August and September.

Cheuin. The chub (CED).

The Cheuin and Troute, &c. Peacham interrupts his transcription of Markham to add an observation of his own. Compare Juliana Berners, The boke of hawkyng and hunteynge and fysshynge, 1550, sig. M2r:

The Cheuin is a statly fish ... In Marche the red worme at the grounde for commonly he will byee there at all tyme of the heere yf he be any thyng hungry.
The Eele and Flounder, &c. Compare Leonard Mascall, A Booke of fishing with Hooke & Line, 1590, p.12:

The Flounder is ... free in byting ... and they use for him but one manner of bayte, which is the red worme, for that is the common and chiefest bayte for him, and all manner of fish.

The Tench, &c. Markham, p.31:

The Tench is a fish that ever loveth the bottom of Rivers, where the Oose or Mudde is thickest: and is most fit to be angled for in the height of Summer, for at other seasons he is not apt to bite, & at all other times he is very dainty. The baytes in which he delighteth most, is pastes that are very sweet, and the browner the better, especially if it be made with the blood of a sheepe. At the great Red-worme also hee will bite, and so much the sooner if you mixe them with this paste: the Magget and dried Waspe he will seldom refuse, chiefly being dipt in honey.

The Perch byteth, &c. Ibid., p.31.

The Bleake, Ruffe, and Perch are fishes which bite neither hie nor low, but for the most part in the midst of the water.

all seasons which are naught to Angle in, &c. The phrasing suggests that Peacham's immediate source is Mascall, pp.4-5:

in the Summer season when the sunne is very hote, it is then naught to angle, but from September vnto Aprill, it is then good ... Ye shall here understand there be twelve manner of impediments or lets which causeth a man to take no fish ... the fift is, if the water be very thicke, white or redde by any floud late fallen: the sixt is, if the fish for colde doe not stirre abroade: the seventh is, if the wether then be too hote: the eight is, if it be in rainy wether: the nyth is, if then haile or snow do fall: the tenth is, if it be in any tempest: the eleventh is, if then it be a great winde: the twelfth is, if the winde blow from the East, for that is worst, and commonly neither winter nor summer the fish will then bite: the West and North windes be good, but the South winde best of all.