A CRITICAL EDITION

OF

GEORGE WHETSTONE'S AN HEPTAMERON OF CIVILL DISCOURSES (1582)

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides a critical old-spelling edition of George Whetstone's *An Heptameron of CivillDiscourses* (1582). The text follows the principles formulated by McKerrow, Greg, and Bowers. Ten known extant copies of the *Heptameron* have been collated: the Folger Shakespeare Library STC 25337, copy 3, has been used as the control text. The textual apparatus includes a textual introduction, a bibliographical description of the *Heptameron*, and lists of substantive emendations, emendations of accidentals, press variants, and variants in the 1593 edition, entitled *Aurelia, The Paragon of Pleasure and Princely Delights*.

The critical introduction summarizes Whetstone's life and works; relates the *Heptameron* to the Renaissance interest in Italy, to the ideal of civility, to courtesy literature, to dialogue literature, to marriage literature, and to Renaissance prose fiction; discusses Whetstone's sources; and examines the book's structure. The notes explain mythological, historical, literary, and contemporary allusions; identify proverbs; suggest sources; and illustrate the accuracy of Whetstone's observations on Italy. A bibliography, a glossary, and indices of proper nouns, stories, and first lines of poems complete the critical apparatus.

The dissertation shows that Whetstone, drawing both on his own experience of Italy and on a variety of literary traditions and sources, fuses fact and fancy into a carefully constructed literary work, in which discussions, dramatic entertainments, poems, and tales are thematically integrated, progressing towards a definite resolution in the Seventh Day's Exercise.
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PREFATORY NOTE:

This edition seeks to make available, for the scholar and the student of Elizabethan literature, an accurate text of *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, a work that has received insufficient critical attention. I am of course indebted to Thomas C. Izard's pioneer study, *George Whetstone, Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters* (1942), which attempts to uncover the few facts of Whetstone's life and which suggests some of his literary sources. The work of David N. Beauregard, however, whose critical edition of the *Heptameron* remains an unpublished dissertation (Ohio State University, 1967), is not duplicated here. Beauregard's edition is incomplete and does not provide an adequate textual and critical apparatus. His introduction outlines a few of the specific literary influences on Whetstone, focusing primarily on Castiglione and Tilney, whereas my critical introduction discusses the social and literary ideals and traditions that give rise to and merge in the prose narrative that is the *Heptameron*.

In the Introduction and the Explanatory Notes, when quoting from Renaissance texts I have modernized the usage of u-v and i-j and have expanded typographical abbreviations. Dates given are those of first publication, unless otherwise noted. Except where accurate modern editions are available, references are to the primary texts, which I have generally consulted in the University Microfilm series of *STC books*. My authorities for names, titles, and dates are A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland*,

I am indebted to Dr. E. Bongie for her help in translating the Latin passages in the Heptameron.
CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

Whetstone's Life and Works

Few details of Whetstone's life are known, and even fewer are verifiable. Although the name of George Whetstone repeatedly creeps into discussions of Shakespeare's sources, into works on Sir Philip Sidney, and into literary histories — for Whetstone is still most often recalled only as the author of *Promos and Cassandra* and of a metrical eulogy of Sidney — the biographical information provided is sketchy and incomplete, if not inaccurate. Even the dates assigned to Whetstone's birth and death are often unreliable and sometimes misleading. Authorities such as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* perpetuate a largely legendary, highly coloured account of the author of the *Heptameron*. According to Sir Sidney Lee in the *DNB*, Whetstone squandered his patrimony in wild living at court then "subsequently devoted much energy to denunciations of the depravity of London, and declared that he was fraudulently deprived of his property," met George Gascoigne and Thomas Churchyard while fighting in the Low Countries in 1572, returned to London to take up writing only as a last resort in an unsuccessful attempt to earn his living, sought adventure on a voyage with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, finally returned to the life of a professional writer and soldier, witnessed the Battle of Zutphen, and died at an unknown date and place. Lee's account is not far-fetched, but his stereotyped picture of Whetstone the reformed rake and Elizabethan
adventurer cannot be authenticated. Whetstone may very well have been such a swashbuckling figure, or he may have been the sober English nationalist and Protestant suggested by his later works and by Watson's description of him as "Morall Whetstone": we simply do not know.

Nor are bibliographers more reliable as a source of information about Whetstone's life and works; for instance, the "G.W." who wrote The Cures of the Diseased, in Remote Regions (London, 1598) is frequently identified in library catalogues, apparently on the authority of a conjecture made by Charles Singer in 1915, with the George Whetstone who died in 1587.

It is to Thomas C. Izard, whose study George Whetstone, Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters first appeared in 1942, that we owe the first scholarly attempt to sift out historical data from unsubstantiated hearsay. Izard suggests that the commonly accepted version of Whetstone's life most likely originated with John Berkenhout's Biographia Literaria (1777), which in turn is indebted to George Steevens "the Shakespearean commentator, phrasemaker, practical joker, and wag extraordinary":

Berkenhout reports that Steevens said of Whetstone, "He is certainly the most quaint and contemptible writer, both in prose and verse, I ever met with." This picturesque asperity stuck. From that day to this it has been the routine ending for accounts of Whetstone. Also in this Steevens-Berkenhout sketch the misinformation that Whetstone turned soldier early in life and was as a result reduced to beggary seems to have originated.

What little we are now able to reconstruct of Whetstone's life is based primarily on information from an inquisition post mortem after the death of his father Robert Whetstone, who died 10 August 1557; from the will of Robert Whetstone; and from a few references in the Calendar of State Papers. Further information may be gleaned, less certainly, from supposedly autobiographical passages in George Whetstone's writings.
Whetstone's father, Robert, was a haberdasher who owned property in London and York as well as in the counties of Essex, Leicester, Stafford, Kent, Somerset, and Middlesex. By his first wife he had one son, Robert, and by his second wife, Margaret Barnard, he had four sons, Bernard, George, John, and Francis. The ingenious calculations of early biographers, based on the recorded fact that the eldest son Robert was seventeen in 1557 when Robert senior died, conclude that George was probably born in 1544 — the date accepted by Sir Sidney Lee in the DNB; however, Izard's equally ingenious but more convincing calculations, based on the fact that Margaret Whetstone was carrying her fifth child in 1557, arrive at a birthdate for George of 1551. After Robert senior's death, Margaret married Robert Browne of Walcot in Northamptonshire, and George may have been a frequent visitor to their country home — such a visit may be behind Thomas Churchyard's reference, in the prefatory remarks to Whetstone's The Censure of a Loyall Subject, to "my good friend M.G.W. at his departure into the Countrey" (sig. Alv). Whetstone's claim, on the title page of one of his many elegies, that he was present at the death of his friend George Gascoigne at Stamford in Lincolnshire is thus easily credited, for Stamford is only four miles from Walcot. In Northamptonshire also, Whetstone may have experienced at first-hand the hospitality of Holdenby, the showpiece of its age, the palace built by Sir Christopher Hatton, to whom he dedicated the Heptameron.

The education of George Whetstone is not documented, but his writings reveal a traditional Renaissance humanist background and training. The Heptameron exhibits the author's familiarity with classical and
contemporary Renaissance texts, rhetorical skills, and literary devices. We do know that Whetstone's brothers Bernard and Francis matriculated from St. John's College at Cambridge in 1563 and 1573 respectively, and that Francis was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1578. The evidence for believing that George was similarly educated may not be conclusive but is certainly persuasive: in the epistle prefacing The Rocke of Regard, his first published work, Whetstone refers to his lodgings in Holborne, a district near the Inns of Court (sig. 3r), and he addresses one of the poems in the same work to "my especiall friends and companions, the Gentlemen of Furnivals In" (sig. 01v); Whetstone's fellow-writers and associates George Gascoigne, Thomas Watson, and Thomas Churchyard had been law students at the Inns of Court; and William Webbe in his Discourse of English Poetrie (1586) singles out Whetstone as one "of the learned company of Gentlemen Schollers, and students of the Universities, and Innes of Courte" (sig. C4r).

Further details of Whetstone's life in the early 1570's may be gathered from passages in The Rocke of Regard which are autobiographical in tone. Whetstone himself claims that The Rocke of Regard is based on his own experiences: he addresses his first book "To all the young Gentlemen of England, . . . For whose behalfe and forewarning, I have collected together a number of my unlearned devises (invented for the most, of experience)" (sig. 2r); and he describes the fourth section, which portrays "the miseries of dice, the mischiefes of quarelling, and the fall of prodigalitie" (sig. 1r), as "the Ortchard of Repentance, the which for the most part, I planted with experience" (sig. 2v). Ignoring the significant phrases "invented for the most" and "for the
most part," literary historians have traditionally read two narratives in "The Orchard of Repentance" as undiluted autobiography. The first narrative, "The honest man's adventures" (sigs. K3r-L7r), is a poem telling how the speaker, as a young man, seeks to make his way at court; "When coine, and clothes were spent," he finds it "Hie time to trudge" and takes up soldiering; he grows old, is wounded, and leaves the wars penniless; he ends as a farmer, poor and embittered. Since the speaker is obviously an old man and since Whetstone was about twenty-five when The Rocke of Regard was published, the poem may be dismissed as a record of Whetstone's life. The second narrative, "Inventions of P. Plasmos touching his hap and hard fortune" (sigs. 08rff.), a collection of poems and prose commentaries, is more convincing as autobiography. Plasmos confesses that an unhappy affair with a light woman made him spend his living -- he complains of being in want -- and involved him in "a certaine quarel" in which he "a litle before" maimed his right hand (sig. P3v). In an earlier poem in the same book, addressed to "his especiall friend and kinseman, maister Robert Cudden of Grayes In," the speaker, Whetstone, had also mentioned a maimed hand acquired as a result of his rashness and rage (sig. M3r); thus, the way is clear to identify Plasmos with Whetstone. Nevertheless, how much of the "Inventions" is Whetstone's own story? The prodigal son motif appeared frequently in Renaissance fiction, in both courtly and popular works: it was made fashionable by Lyly as a result of the vogue of Euphuies (1578), and it was later exploited by Greene in The Repentance (1592) and in Greenes Mourning Garment (1590). In writing the "Inventions of P. Plasmos," Whetstone undoubtedly drew on his own experience, but
he cast that experience into a traditional literary frame (as he was later to do in the Heptameron); in fact, he may have helped to popularize the prodigal son theme.

That the story of Plasmos is largely autobiography is further corroborated by Whetstone at the end of A Touchstone for the Time:

No man was ever assaulted with a more daungerous strategeme of cosonage then my selfe, with which my life and living was hardly beset. No man hath more cause to thanke God for a free delivery than my selfe, nor anie man ever sawe more suddaine vengeance afflicted upon his adversaries, than I myselfe of mine: as lively appeareth in the ende of my booke intituled The rocke of regarde, imprinted many yeares past. (sig. K4v)

Whetstone goes on to bemoan the huge deceitfulness of friends as well as of strangers, to complain of his more than three years of "costly sute" and "greevous oppression," and to praise the wisdom and grave judgement of the Lord Chancellor who relieved and released him from "the toile of Law."

After publishing The Rocke of Regard, Whetstone appears to have travelled abroad. Plasmos mentions a projected trip to France, and a commendatory poem in "The Ortcharde of repentance" is headed "A caveat to C.W. at his going into Fraunce, written by his friend R.C." (sig. O3r). Such a trip might account for the fact, extensively documented by Izard, that Whetstone's later writings reveal a marked indebtedness to French literary works, especially to Marguerite de Navarre's Heptaméron and to the translations of Mexia by Antoine du Verdier and Claude Gruget.

In 1578, Whetstone participated in one of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyages: the dedicatory letter to Promos and Cassandra (1578) announces his intentions to accompany Gilbert (sig. A3r), and that he did so is shown by references in the Calendar of State Papers and in accounts of Gilbert's
1578 expedition. Thomas Churchyard hurriedly commemorated the occasion by a poem entitled "A matter touching the Journey of Sir Humfrey Gilbarte Knight," included in his Discourse of the Queenes Majesties Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk (1578), in which he singles out a few sailors:

Miles Morgan gaynes good Fame,
and Whetstone steps in place,
And seekes by travell, and by toyle,
to winne him double grace. (sig. H4v)

The exact purpose of this expedition is not known. It consisted of ten or eleven ships; Whetstone served on the vice-admiral ship, the Hope, commanded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert's half-brother, Carew Raleigh. Dissension broke out among the commanders of the ships, and only seven ships, including the Hope, finally sailed with Gilbert on November 19, 1578.¹³

There are no records for Whetstone's life between 1578 and his military career after 1585, but he did publish several works, including the Heptameron and sections of The English Myror, at this time, and he claims to have made a journey to Italy in 1580. References to this Italian journey occur not only in the Heptameron, but also in The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier (1585), in The English Myror (1586), and in The Censure of a Loyall Subject (1587). In the Heptameron, Whetstone's epistle to Sir Christopher Hatton states that he wrote the book in order to acknowledge "many received favours, of a Right noble Italian Gentleman" (p. 3):

I have likewise committed to memorie, the civill disputations, and speaches of sundry well Courted Gentlemen, and Courted Gentle-women, his Guestes, during the time of my intertainment, with Segnior Phyloxenus (for so covertly I name him, least
in giving him, his true honorable Tytles in England, I should make a passage for Envie, to injurie him in Italy) . . . . (p. 4)

In the epistle "Unto the friendly Reader," Whetstone repeats his assertion that the book is a factual account, based on his visit to Italy:

I have, with well advised Judgement, bethought mee, of suche memorable Questions and Devices, as I heard and sawe presented, in this most noble Italian Gentlemans Pallace, the Christmas twelvemoneths past . . . . (p. 6)

And he hints at his own unfortunate experiences:

Some will (perchaunce more of envie to heare a stranger commended, then of pittie to bemone my hard fortune, or fowle usage) say, I have as just cause to complaine, of injuries received at Roane, Rome, and Naples, as to commend the vertues and good intertainment, of Segnior Philoxenus . . . . (pp. 7-8)

Whetstone begins the Heptameron by describing, in the first person, his supposed visit to Philoxenus's palace, but he soon adopts the persona of Cavaliero Ismarito, "in whiche name heereafter, I will present those actions that touch my selfe" (p. 23). In his prefatory remarks to The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier, Whetstone says that he was present at a quarrel involving an insolent Spaniard in Thurin in 1580 and was lodged in Milan near the River Po (sigs. A2r-A3v). In The English Myrror, in order to establish the credibility of his report of the actions of Catholic Englishmen in Italy, he declares that he speaks as an eyewitness: "In the beginning of November 1580, I returned from Naples to Rome" (sig. K6v). Finally, in The Censure of a Loyall Subject, one of the three speakers, "Weston," says that he was in Rome in 1580 before he visited Venice (sig. F4r-v). Weston may be identified with Whetstone on the grounds that he appears to represent the author's views and that his name is possibly a variant spelling of "Whetstone."

If we believe Whetstone's statements that he was in Italy in 1580, we
may then accept Izard's reconstruction, based on these passages and on references in the Heptameron, of Whetstone's itinerary to include Roane (or possibly Rouen), Turin, Bologna, Rome, Naples, Tivoli, Loreto, Ravenna, and Venice. Whetstone's return to England seems to have plunged him into litigation, for at the end of A Touchstone for the Time (1584) he refers to his legal problems (sig. K4V). Did these stem from settlements of his father's estates?

We know that George Whetstone and his brother Bernard served in Leicester's campaign in the Low Countries sometime after 1585, but there has been some confusion as to whether George witnessed Sidney's death, which he describes in his poem Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honorable Life, His Valiant Death, and True Vertues (1587). Izard, contending that Whetstone's account of Sidney's death is secondhand and largely derived from his brother Bernard, does not place George in the Low Countries until after the Battle of Zutphen. However, recent research by R. C. Strong and J. A. Van Dorsten shows that there were two Whetstones in Leicester's train, the second most probably being George. Billeting lists indicate that, whether or not George Whetstone was present at the Battle of Zutphen, he certainly was in the Low Countries as a member of the same army at the time of Sidney's death.

The Sidney elegy was printed in the fall of 1587, and in a letter prefacing the poem, the publisher Thomas Cadman refers to the death of Whetstone in the Low Countries (sig. A4V). The episode surrounding Whetstone's death is easily reconstructed from entries in the Calendar of State Papers. In August 1587, at Burghley's prompting, Whetstone was appointed a commissary of musters under Thomas Digges, "although
all places were furnished" (p. 244). As mustermaster, Digges frequently complained of the trouble he was experiencing over his military accounts and of the abuses perpetrated by his captains; and in a letter to Burghley, dated September 12, he laments the death of Whetstone, saying that he was honest and just and was slain "no doubt because he could not be corrupted" (p. 311). Whetstone quarrelled with one of the captains, Edmund Udall (whom he had praised in the Sidney elegy, sig. Blr), and in the ensuing duel, Whetstone was fatally wounded. Digges suggests that the quarrel broke out because Whetstone, in the course of his duty, attempted to check Udall's accounts; and Sir Richard Bingham reports to Walsingham that the two men "falling out into some speeches overnight, met by chance the next day, and so unknown to any went themselves without the town, where it was the said Whetstones' chance to be slain" (p. 321).

Udall, formerly in Sidney's service, was at first held responsible, but was eventually cleared by the Council of War on the ground that the fight was "Whetstone's own seeking" (p. 369). Sir Thomas Morgan, then governor of Bergen ap Zoom, tried unsuccessfully to re-open the case. Udall returned from the Low Countries campaign to become Master of the Revels at Lincoln's Inn. Whetstone left a widow, Anne but the date of his marriage is unknown and the identity of his wife remains a mystery.

In addition to a commendatory verse prefixed to The Posies of George Gascoigne (1575), another in Timothy Kendall's Flowers of Epigrammes (1577), and two poems in The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1578 and 1580), Whetstone published the following works, all of which are extant:

The Rocke of Regard (1576).
A Remembraunce of George Gaskoigne (1577).
Promos and Cassandra (1578).
A Remembraunce of Sir Nicholas Bacon (1579).
An Heptameron of Civill Discourses (1582).
A Remembraunce of Sir James Dier (1582).
A Remembraunce of Thomas late Earle of Sussex (1583).
A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties (1584); published with
A Touchstone for the Time (1584).
A Mirror of Treue Honnour and Christian Nobilities (1585).
The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier (1585).
The English Myrror (1586).
The Censure of a Loyall Subject (1587).
Sir Phillip Sidney (1587).

On the verso of the title of The Enemie to Unthryftinesse (a re-issue in 1586 of A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties and A Touchstone for the Time), Whetstone's major publications are listed; under the subtitle "Books redy to be printed" are included A Panoplie of Devices and The Image of Christian Justice, now lost works, although the latter may refer, as Izard points out, to the third book of The English Myrror.

The Rocke of Regard, called by Whetstone "the first increase of my baren braine" (sig. ₠3r), is an exercise in metrical and prose fiction. It is divided into four parts, "The Castle of Delight," "The Garden of Unthriftiness," "The Arbour of Vertue," and "The Ortchard of Repentence." The narratives, drawn largely from Italian authors, are designed as exemplary tales, driving home lessons on the benefits of virtue and good conduct and the evils of prodigality and loose living. Too often
the lessons have a preaching tone; at other times, however, the morals are merely tagged on to the otherwise unedifying novella material. Included in the series of laments, in the style of The Mirror for Magistrates, are the stories of Bianca Maria, Cressid, Dom Diego, and the Bohemian Lady Barbara. These are intermingled with clusters of admonitory, didactic, Petrarchan, and laudatory verses, such as the "Fiftie apples of admonition, late growing on the tree of good government" (sigs. O1vff.), "Whetstons Invective against Dice" (sigs. N1r–O1v), and a variety of poems on "Loves woes." Of especial interest is the "Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta" (sigs. B4vff.), "first written in Italian by an unknowme authour," a prose tale which frequently reveals narrative techniques similar to those of Gascoigne's The Adventures of Master F.J. (1575) and Grange's The Golden Aphroditis (1577), and which looks forward to the narrative skill exhibited in the Heptameron.

Promos and Cassandra apparently was never played upon the stage. The title page and the oft-reprinted preface point out that this play was also written with marked moral intent. Again, Whetstone reveals a susceptibility to Italian influence, for the story of Promos and Cassandra, which he retells in the Heptameron (pp. 125–37), occurs also in Cintio's Ecatommiti (1565). As the primary source of Measure for Measure, Whetstone's one play has acquired a secure slot in Shakespearian studies, but in so doing has sacrificed recognition of its own merits. The play is lively and entertaining; the narrative pace is rapid and skilfully varied with frequent songs; and the scenes of low life are convincing. Charles T. Prouty is not alone in wondering why Promos and Cassandra failed to attract an Elizabethan audience.
The four books entitled *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties*, *A Touchstone for the Time*, *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier*, and *The English Myrror*, were originally conceived as parts of one great work to be called *The English Mirror*. These works are patriotic and moralistic, concerned with right conduct, with the attainment of virtue and the defeat of vice, especially of the vice of envy. They draw from a variety of classical and contemporary sources, but rely heavily on certain French works, notably Antoine du Verdier's and Claude Gruget's translations of the encyclopedic *Silva de varia leccion* by Pedro Mexia (see Explanatory Note 168.21-22), which Whetstone had already used extensively in the *Heptameron*. *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties* holds up Alexander Severus as a type of ideal ruler whose reforms are worthy of imitation by contemporary governors. It attacks the taverns, dicing houses, and brothels of Rome and warns the gentlemen of the Inns of Court to beware similar dens of iniquity in London. Designed as a companion piece, *A Touchstone for the Time* attacks the vices, particularly dicing, drinking, and usury, in the bowels of London; it condemns stage plays and insists on the elimination of abuses in the playhouses — but points out that "the Playes of dice" are more vicious and dangerous; and it praises the Inns of Court as islands of much honour and reputation. In *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier*, a conduct book for the military man, Whetstone asserts that he intends to speak not of military technique, in which he lacks experience, but of the "Morall government necessarie for a perfect Souldier" (sig. A2r). First published in London in 1585, *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier* was re-issued in Leiden in 1586, in a dual-language version, in German and English; Geoffrey Whitney,
who was then a member of Leicester's train in the Low Countries, supplied a commendatory verse (sig. A4r-v), and the Dutch poet Jacob Walraven translated the entire book. Thus, Whetstone's book exemplifies the close Anglo-Leiden association of the 1580's. The main text ends with the author's address to the soldiers fighting in the Low Countries, urging them to do their best in a just war. The Protestant cause is further supported in The English Myrror, a treatise which attacks Envy, praises the English government as "A Fortris against Envy," condemns both Turks and Papists, and eulogizes Queen Elizabeth, the Protestant champion who has been preserved through God's protection. The language verges on the apocalyptic, as Whetstone proclaims that England is to be the Saviour of the world, the North Wind of the Song of Songs that will blow upon the garden of the world and will cleanse and refresh the earth (sig. H6v).

The Censure of a Loyall Subject is a dialogue discussing the deaths of fourteen Catholics recently executed in London for treason. Wilcocks, "a substantial clothier," gives an eyewitness account of the deaths of the traitors who, persuaded by Anthony Babington, sought the Queen's life. Walker, "a godlie devine," preaches and asks most of the questions that elicit Wilcocks' observations. Weston, "a discreet Gentleman," attacks the Papacy in strong language, underlines the moral lessons, and in general provides a running commentary; he seems to represent Whetstone himself. The Censure, hopes Whetstone, "will merite the acceptance of my former bookes, which hetherto have escaped the disgrace of publique reprooфе. Protesting, in the behalfe of my writing, that my desire hath evermore bene, to instruct all men, and not to injure the worst of the wicked" (sig. A2v).
The elegies on the deaths of notable persons -- George Gascoigne, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir James Dyer, the Earl of Sussex, the Earl of Bedford and his son Lord Russell, and Sir Philip Sidney -- appear to have been dashed off, generally with unseemly haste, as the occasions arose -- possibly in order to flatter the dead men's relatives into becoming Whetstone's patrons. They are unremarkable poems, replete with moral commonplaces, repeated phrases, and extravagant praises.  

The *Heptameron of Civill Discourses* marks a transition in the types of writing undertaken by Whetstone. His earliest books, *The Rocke of Regard* and *Promos and Cassandra*, were consciously composed as literary works, the first modelled on the complaint and the novella, the second designed as a tragicomedy. In the *Heptameron*, several literary traditions merge, resulting in a greater and more successful combination of literary design with didactic intent. Whetstone's moral aim does not often harmonize with his artistic aim in his early works, and the reader of *The Rocke of Regard* especially is frequently distracted by the overt preaching that seems to be tagged on to otherwise entertaining stories; however, such a clash in tone is avoided in the *Heptameron* which successfully uses the conventions of dialogue, marriage conduct book, courtesy literature, and prose fiction to fuse morality with art. After the *Heptameron*, Whetstone's works are primarily didactic; the literary aspect is almost lost -- except in *The Censure of a Loyall Subject*, in which the propagandistic attack on Papacy is constructed as a dialogue, thus reflecting a revival of Whetstone's interest in the dialogue form. 

Since Protestantism is a recurring motif in Whetstone's works -- and the *Heptameron* is no exception, for it portrays Segnior Philoxenus,
the ideal gentleman, as a Protestant, even though he is Italian -- it is fitting that his literary career ended with his eulogy of the Protestant hero Sir Philip Sidney, also a soldier and a writer. Sidney and Whetstone were not of the same social class, yet they shared similar religious convictions, political ideals, and literary contacts. Whetstone's friends Thomas Watson and Thomas Churchyard were associated with the Sidney family: Watson, through his connections with Walsingham, appears to have known Sir Philip Sidney; and Philip's father, Sir Henry Sidney, was one of Churchyard's patrons. Another friend, George Gascoigne, knew Leicester and probably had contact with Sidney as well. Although I can find no concrete evidence that Whetstone was part of the Sidney circle, the paths of the two men -- the courtier and the soldier-writer -- often crossed. It may even be argued that Segnior Philoxenus, a bachelor, represents Sir Philip Sidney and that Aurelia, Philoxenus's sister, represents Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke, who was frequently addressed in poetry as "Aurelia": in the fall of 1580, the time of the Christmas festivities described in the Heptameron, Sidney was in disgrace at court and spent his retirement in the country, perhaps at Wilton; and in December 1581, since he was preparing to marry Frances Walsingham, he might be expected to be interested in discussions of marriage. However, such an identification presupposes that Whetstone is not in fact describing an Italian experience; it ignores the fact that Sidney was back at court on New Year's Day 1581 when he presented the Queen with the gift of "a juell of golde" in the form of a whip garnished with diamonds and pearls as an emblem of his penitence; and it does not reconcile Sidney's violent stand against the proposed marriage of
Queen Elizabeth and the Duc d'Anjou with Philoxenus's admiration of Anjou. 26

Although we may not assume a link between Segnior Philoxenus and Sir Philip Sidney, we may still posit a connection between Whetstone and Sidney. Such a connection is made more likely by the recent studies by J. A. Van Dorsten, who has uncovered the active relationship between the Protestant circles of England and the Low Countries in the late 1570's and early 1580's, especially at the University of Leiden. 27 George Gascoigne, Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Wilson, and Sir Philip Sidney all had literary or political contact with the Low Countries, as there was a constant interchange of poets, scholars, printers, and ambassadors. In fact, Leicester's campaign in 1585 was a gathering of literary men in the Low Countries. Sidney associated with the Leiden humanists, and for both the Dutch and English literary men, he was the ideal Christian knight, taking the place of Gaspard de Coligny and William of Orange who had been Protestant martyrs before him. (Both Coligny and Orange are depicted as Protestant heroes in the *Heptameron*, pp. 116-17). The first literary product of this general Anglo-Leiden integration was Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*, published in May 1586. It was followed by Whetstone's *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier*, "a small mirror of Anglo-Leiden contacts," according to Dorsten:

A few months later [after May 1586] there appeared a booklet, now rare and almost forgotten, that in a small compass contains a summary of much of this story. It brought together soldiering and language courses, Dutch, English, and traditional Latin, practical linguistics and Anglo-Leiden 'schools' of verse. And it linked the principal groups of agents: the Dousas, Lipsius, and Van Hout -- the English printer-schoolmaster Basson -- Gilpin's host Van Brouchoven -- Geoffrey Whitney -- Leicester himself -- the Dutch poet Walraven -- and Sidney's
eulogist George Whetstone, 'a man singularly well skyld in this faculty of Poetrie'. The book was Whetstone's The honourable reputation of a souldier of 1585, translated by Walraven as De eerweerdighe achtbaerheyt van een soldener in 1586, and together printed in parallel columns by Paedts -- at one time printer of Stanyhurst's Aeneis -- for Thomas Basson, the publisher. 28

Thomas Basson was an English refugee who had set up a printing press and an informal English school in Leiden. The scholars Walraven, Van Hout, Dousa, and Van Brouchoven had come together at Basson's in January, 1586 in a serious attempt to study English. Walraven's contribution to the school was a translation of Whetstone's book, one of three textbooks to be used. Basson's license to publish The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier was granted by Leicester on August 14, and Walraven's dedication to the magistrates of Hoorn is dated August 30. By what coincidence did Whetstone's book attract the interest of this circle of poet-scholars, a circle which included Sir Philip Sidney? Whetstone himself may have brought his work to their attention, for he was a member of Leicester's train, which entered Leiden on January 12, 1586. Thus, his presence in Leiden "would almost coincide with the sudden English interest of a Dutch poet, Jacob Walraven, who 'had never set foot in England.'" 29

Now generally dismissed as a hack writer, in his own age Whetstone appears to have been respected as an author. William Webbe (who was possibly a friend of Whetstone, Izard cautions) 30 in his Discourse of English Poetrie (1586) mentions in passing "the learned company of Gentlemen Schollers and students of the Universities and Innes of Courte," but pauses to add:

One Gentleman notwithstanding among them may I not overslyppe, so farre reacheth his fame, and so worthy is he, if
he have not already, to weare the Lawrell wreathe, Master George Whetstone, a man singularly well skyld in this facultie of Poetrie. (sig. C3v)

Gabriel Harvey, referring to "Our late writers" in Pierces Supererogation (1593), allots qualified praise to Whetstone and his contemporaries:

In Crafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Cowge; in Gascoigne, Churchyarde, and Floide; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce, and Watson; in Kiffin, Warner, and Daniell; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, divers things notable, some things excellent. (sigs. 2A4v-2B1r)

And Francis Meres in Palladis Tamia (1598) lists Whetstone between Shakespeare and Gascoigne as one of "the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Love" (sig. 204r).

The image of Whetstone that finally emerges from a study of his life and works is indeed that of an increasingly "Morall Whetstone." Although he was a literary opportunist who tried his hand at a variety of popular types of writing as he had tried a variety of professions, in his books Whetstone never strays from his narrow and pronounced patriotic, moral, and religious convictions. His self-confessed goal is to create "A perfect Myrror for the followers both of Mars and Mercury" (Sir Phillip Sidney, t.p.) -- to supply a guide to ideal conduct that would appeal to both soldier or governor and scholar. The Heptameron marks but one stage towards that goal, yet it is Whetstone's most successful literary achievement.
In the Heptameron Whetstone claims that he is describing the holiday festivities in which he participated in Italy "the Christmas twelve-months past" (p. 6) — that is, in December 1580. I have already suggested that since Whetstone refers in three of his works — and possibly in a fourth — to his journey to Italy in 1580, it is probable that such a journey did in fact take place; but whether he actually participated in a social occasion similar to the one he describes in the Heptameron cannot now be determined. Fact or fiction, the Heptameron as an imaginative work shows considerable Italian literary influence — in its conversazione form, its discussions of love and marriage, its descriptions of social customs, its use of novellas, and its relation to courtesy literature. Although such influence may have reached Whetstone indirectly through French imitations and translations or through French-English literary contacts — for Italian culture flourished at the French court after 1533 when Catherine de' Medici married the future Henry II — I propose to show that he almost certainly had direct personal experience of Italian literature and social customs.

The Heptameron was written at a time when the English interest in Italy was at its peak. English travellers had been enduring the seven-week horseback journey between London and Rome since the time of Chaucer (who had himself brought back Italian books in his saddle bags), for Italy had long been venerated as the center of learning and culture,
especially of letters and architecture. Merchants and traders, diplomats and courtiers, scholars and writers maintained economic, political, and cultural ties with Italy; and in the sixteenth century the literary interest which had almost died with Chaucer rapidly revived. The new learning, which had been cultivated even in the fifteenth century within the literary circle of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, strove to keep in touch with the latest trend in Italian letters and hence encouraged contact with Italy. The humanists set a fashion for Italy as the place to study -- for both scholars and diplomats. William Lily and William Grocyn visited Italy, and Thomas Linacre studied there for twelve years.

Reginald Pole's household in Padua from 1521 to 1526 attracted Thomas Lupset, a friend of Erasmus, and Thomas Starkey, an historian. Sir Thomas Wyatt, after a three-month diplomatic mission to Italy in 1527, imported the Petrarchan sonnet and its conventions into England. Even during the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII, when diplomatic relations with Rome were severed and when, for fear of Catholic influence and of the dangers of the Inquisition, all ties with Italy were discouraged, Thomas Cromwell continued to patronize writers who translated Italian books or otherwise showed interest in Italian studies. During this time Cardinal Pole spent his years of exile in Italy; he was welcomed back by Queen Mary in 1554, bringing with him an appreciation of Italian culture. With the death of Henry in 1547, travel to Italy became easier: the upper classes began to send their young men to Italy for education, and the English admiration for things Italian reached a new height.

Sir Thomas Hoby, sent to Padua in 1548 when he was eighteen, translated Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* into English as *The Courtier* (1561), a book
that both reflected and helped to feed the rising enthusiasm for Italy.

William Thomas returned from a visit to Italy to write *The Historie of Italie* (1549) and to become a professional teacher of Italian, publishing the *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer, with a Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarche, and Dante* (1550).

Roger Ascham, whose *Scholemaster* (1570) gave fame to what he calls an Italian proverb, "An Englishman Italianate is a devil incarnate," was able to condemn Italy from personal experience:

> I was once in Italy myself; but I thank God my abode there was but nine days; and yet I saw in that little time, in one city, more liberty to sin, than ever I heard tell of in our noble city of London in nine year.

Yet even Ascham could not reject all Italian culture:

> To join learning with comely exercises, Conte Baldesar Castiglione, in his book *Cortegiane*, doth trimly teach; which book advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wis, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy.

Later literary travellers included courtiers such as Sir Philip Sidney (and his friend Lodowick Bryskett) and professional writers such as Thomas Watson, Anthony Munday, and Robert Greene.

In the late sixteenth century Italian became a useful language to know at court. It always remained a gentleman's rather than a businessman's language, for although English traders were of necessity accomplished linguists, conducting transactions in Dutch or German or Spanish, they had no control over the Venetian-dominated Italian trade and thus had little need to learn Italian. At court Italian was fashionable among courtiers and indispensable for politicians. Elizabeth had studied Italian since at least 1543 when she was eleven, spoke that language fluently, and wrote in the Italian script. Burghley and Walsingham
wrote Italian letters; Raleigh read Italian; Hatton owned a large number of Italian books; Leicester employed Italian musicians. As Lievsay puts it, "Almost every cultivated Elizabethan had at least a smattering of Italian." The vogue supported professional teachers such as William Thomas, Claude Desainliens (Hollyband), and John Florio. Italian books were printed in England, especially by John Wolfe; translations from the Italian increased; and Italian proverbs proliferated in English writings. Interest in Italian was so great at Oxford, especially at Magdalen College, that by 1576 tutors were offering informal language instruction in Italian as well as in French. Italians in England responded to the demand for Italian fashions by teaching deportment, dancing, music, fencing, and horsemanship. Italian sculptors and architects were eagerly sought out by the aristocracy.

Thus, even without visiting Italy, Whetstone may have learned Italian and certainly would have absorbed considerable Italian culture. Within Whetstone's own circle, George Gascoigne translated from the Italian two plays, *Supposes* (1572) and *Jocasta* (1572), and at least one prose work, *The Droomme of Doomes Day* (1576); and Thomas Watson earned high repute as an Italian scholar, chiefly for his *Hecatompithia* (1582), *Amyntas* (1585), a collection of Italian madrigals (1590), and *Amintae Gaudia* (1592). Whetstone's own *Rocke of Regard* (1576) contains several stories of Italian origin, as does the *Heptameron*, for which there are no known earlier English versions.

The well educated Renaissance gentleman, however, would not have been satisfied with a book knowledge of other languages and cultures -- and Whetstone appears to have been no exception. The Renaissance gentleman
travelled for study, for further education; and from other countries he brought home new manners and ideals. Many Englishmen, especially dilettantes like the Earl of Oxford, undoubtedly travelled only for pleasure and affected Italian fashions upon their return: these were the "Italianated" Englishmen, as Ascham contemptuously refers to them. But ideally, travel was supposed to be of benefit to the gentleman, for it provided him with an opportunity to learn new languages and to observe the politics, manners, and customs of other countries. Such is the conviction of Jerome Turler in The Traveller (1575), the first treatise on travel written in English: after admitting that "this is an ancient question, whether travelling do a man more good or harme?" (sig. B2v) and warning young men to "Beware corruption" (sig. C3v), Turler concludes that travel is "honeste, pleasant, profitable, and commodious" (sig. I2v), a highly educating experience and a duty to the state. No small part of the wisdom acquired through travel is the added skill in dealing with people, the increased knowledge of "the nature and manners of men, and how to live with everybody" (sig. D3r).

Furthermore, travel was of course sanctioned by antiquity. Was not Ulysses, who knew many men's manners, the first famous traveller? Did not Plato and Pythagoras, Abraham and Moses, Darius and Alexander -- to name but a few -- travel widely? For "there was never man that performed any great thing, or achieved any notable exploit, unless hee had travelled" (sig. G4v).

The courtier's duty, then, was to travel and to bring back reports of his travels; the middle class gentleman could also derive profit and pleasure from travelling or from hearing and reading travellers'
reports. This moral attitude towards travel is exhibited by Whetstone in the *Heptameron* through his *persona*, Ismarito. It underlines his purpose in writing that work: to make available in England the Italian ideals of civility, ideals which he himself learned to appreciate fully in Italy. In *The Rocke of Regard*, "his friend R.C." expresses concern for Whetstone's ability to profit from his travels (this time, to France):

> My joye thy profite great, if thy returne do shewe,  
> Thy travell tends to countries good, not french man like to goe.  
> (sig. 03r)

R.C. (probably Robert Cudden) looks forward to receiving an account from Whetstone of the state of the foreign countries, of the latest news abroad: "These fruits thy friends expect, at thy returne to reape" (sig. 03v). Perhaps the *Heptameron* is Whetstone's attempt to fulfil similar expectations, to assure his acquaintances that he did indeed take his travels seriously, and to present his friends with the fruits of his Italian journey.

Whetstone may also have wished to allay any suspicion that he himself had been corrupted by his visit to Italy -- for the English admiration of Italy was by no means universal. One of the earliest and strongest attacks on Italy was that of Ascham in *The Scholemaster* (1570): he views Italy as Circe's court, where plain Englishmen are transformed into right Italians, where men are turned into beasts by the enchantments of licentious pleasure and seductive sin. Even Jerome Turler in *The Traveller* (1575) admits that sometimes his countrymen "bring three thinges with them out of Italye: a naughty conscience, an empty Purse, and a weake stomacke," and acknowledges that "it is growen into a proverbe amonste the *Italianes*, Thedesco Italionato, Diabolo incarnato:
that is to saye, a Dutchman become in manners lyke an Italian putteth on the nature of the Devill” (sig. Flr-v). Henry Wotton, in A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels (1578) condemns Italian fashions and "Italianated" Frenchmen (sig. 2K1r), pointing out that in the Golden Age there had been no need to travel (sig. 2T4r). Burghley, in Certain Precepts for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life (c. 1584) advises his own son, "Suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps, for they shall learn nothing but pride, blasphemy, and atheism." Thomas Nashe, in Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell (1592), lashes out at "Italie, the Academie of manslaughter, the sporting place of murther, the Apothecary-shop of poyson for all Nations"; and in The Unfortunate Traveller (1594) he both uses and mocks the admonitory tradition.38 This wave of "Italophobia" did not leave Whetstone untouched; although he never condemns all foreign travel, his later works do reveal an awareness of the dangers of travel to Italy. In Sir Phillip Sidney (1587), he praises Sidney because "He spake the French and Italian language, but their vices defiled him not":

The Frenche he sawe, and at their follies smil'de,  
He sildome did their gawdes in garments ware:  
In Italy his youth, was not begilde.  
By vertue he, their vices did forbeare:  
Of this bie-speache he evermore had care,  
An English-man that is Italionate:  
Doth lightly prove a Devell incarnate. (sig. B2r)

Whetstone's mockery, in the Heptameron, of the "superstitious cermonies" of the Papist Italians later turns to angry denunciation in The English Myrror and The Censure of a Loyall Subject.

G. B. Parks, in "The First Italianate Englishmen" suggests that the negative view of Italy arose largely as a result of strong political
repulsion and gained currency after the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth in 1570 and the conviction of Ridolfi for his part in the Norfolk conspiracy. The two pictures of Italy -- as a model of manners and as a pattern of sin -- then existed side by side into the seventeenth century. The term "Italian" became ambivalent, sometimes meaning "dangerous"; but "Italianate" was always derogatory, implying "immoral," "irreligious," "vicious," "wicked," and (after 1572) "deceitful," then "treacherous."

Nevertheless, in spite of the growing chorus of warnings against the atheism, immorality, violence, treachery, and lasciviousness of the Italians -- and especially of the Neapolitans -- Italy remained the usual ultimate destination of the English traveller. Scenery was not the chief interest of the Renaissance traveller: beautiful as the Italian landscape may have been, it was barely commented upon in travellers' reports. Instead, the reports spoke of the dazzling pageantry, the magnificent architecture, the inspiring music, and the splendidly luxurious manner of living. Painting was barely mentioned. When Ismarito comments on the architecture and luxury of Segnior Philoxenus's palace, he is reflecting the typical traveller's fascination with the great palaces of Italy; for instance, William Thomas had also admired the Palazzo Farnese and the Italian gardens which, he felt, transformed the palaces into paradises.

Above all, Italy was the center of culture, and its gentlemen were considered to be models of behaviour -- as Segnior Philoxenus is "a president of behaviours." In his preface to The Historie of Italie (1549), Thomas refers to "the Italian nation, which seemeth to flourish in civility most of all others at this day." The Elizabethans looked to
sixteenth-century Italy, focusing chiefly on Venice and Florence, for standards of "civility," for guides to courtesy, taste, conversation, speech, and manners. These ideals were popularized in England largely through courtesy books, especially Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* and Guazzo's *La civil conversazione*, and through collections of novellas, especially adaptations and imitations of Boccaccio and Bandello. They determined the shape and intent of Whetstone's *Heptameron*.

Has Whetstone pieced together a description of Italian social customs based solely on literary sources, on his reading rather than on his own experience? And does he then claim to have been in Italy to provide an aura of verisimilitude to his fictional account? Other writers of his day also describe Italian customs and also claim to have visited Italy, but none, I believe, does both in the same work. Anthony Munday spent some time at the English College in Rome in 1578 or 1579; in 1581 he acted as a witness for the Crown in the trial of Edmund Campion and other Jesuits; and in 1582 he published *The English Romayne Lyfe* in an attempt to re-affirm his reliability as an eyewitness, "Because a number have been desirous, to understand the successe of my journey to Roome, and a number beside are doubtfull, whether I have beeene there or no."

In the dedicatory epistles in the *Heptameron*, Whetstone presents his credentials as a reliable "truchman" or reporter, but unlike Munday, whose work is a factual account, Whetstone casts his material into an obviously traditional literary form. Framed discourses and tales set in Italy, similar in form to the *Heptameron*, were penned by Robert Greene: *Morando*, *The Tritameron of Love* (1587) takes place in Bologna, and *Greene's Farewell to Folly* (1591) begins in the Golden Age of Florence.
In these works, however, Greene does not pretend to be recording his own experiences. His assertion that he left Cambridge to travel to Italy and Spain, probably in 1580, "in which places I saw and practizde such villainee as is abhominable to declare," occurs in the supposedly autobiographical Repentance of Robert Greene (1592); thus, Greene sets apart his confessional narratives from his fictional ones. Similarly, in the writings of Thomas Nashe, the Italian setting and the personal reference to an Italian journey appear in different works: in The Unfortunate Traveller (1594) Jack Wilton's adventures culminate in Italy, while in An Almond for a Parrot (1590) the author (often identified as Nashe) states that he has been in Venice. 41

These works do not present the complex problem of the relationship of fact to fiction as does the Heptameron, for they are either blatantly fictional narratives or supposedly autobiographical reports. Except for Munday's The English Romayne Lyfe, they do not purport to be eye-witness descriptions of Italian customs. Even where Italy is the setting of the narrative, the references to things Italian are perfunctory or -- more usually -- non-existent. In the Heptameron, on the other hand, the numerous comments on Italian art and architecture suggest a tourist's observations and are, in fact, corroborated by travel books such as The Diary of Montaigne's Journey to Italy in 1580 and 1581 and A True Description and Direction of What is Most Worthy to be Seen in all Italy (c. 1600).

The Italian atmosphere of the Heptameron, then, is more than literary. Whetstone's prefatory statements (pp. 3-8) that this book is based on his own experience of Italy are supported by his consistently accurate
references to Italian art, architecture, music, literature, social entertainments, words, and proverbs. Segnior Philoxenus's palace is Italian in design: it follows the "H-plan" and makes emphatic use of elaborate decoration, plasterwork, and sculpture (pp. 14-18). The device embossed in the plaster ceilings is Italian in form and employs a motto not yet well-known in England but known on the continent (pp. 15-16). Whetstone accurately refers to local features, often giving correct historical details: these include the pine forest of Ravenna (p. 13), the garden of Tivoli (p. 18), Cardinal Farnese's palace (p. 18), Loreto and the legend surrounding its shrine (pp. 44-45), the Pope's palace at Lateran (p. 115), and Cosimo de Medici's library (p. 169). The reference to Capua Verde as the ancient capital of Naples (p. 92) does not occur in Whetstone's source, Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptameron* 32, and may reflect knowledge acquired by a visit to that city (in *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier*, sig. G2r, Whetstone admits to visiting Naples). Among the social entertainments of clearly Italian origin described in the *Heptameron* are two differently structured masques (pp. 66ff. and 227ff.), a show by mountebanks -- Whetstone takes care to indicate how these differ from the English mountebanks (p. 109) -- and a performance by a travelling troupe of players that recalls the *commedia dell'arte* (pp. 163ff.). Although the *commedia dell'arte* had already appeared in England, perhaps as early as 1547, it was not yet widely performed in 1582, at least not outside the court circle. K. M. Lea, in *Italian Popular Comedy*, claims that Whetstone's descriptions of mountebanks and improvising comedians "show that he was perfectly acquainted with both kinds of professional entertainers." Furthermore, the names
of several of Whetstone's characters -- Aurelia, Fabritio and Isabella, Franceschina, and Farina -- may have been suggested by actors and characters in the commedia dell'arte (see notes for pp. 19, 23, and 120); the figure of Doctor Mossenigo combines traits of the Pedant and of Pantalone (the old man in love); and a clever servant, suggesting a zanni, makes a brief appearance (pp. 172-73). Philoxenus's guests are frequently entertained by a soloist singing to the accompaniment of a lute; this was also the practise in England. But what is remarkable in the Heptameron is that the soloist is a "Eunuke" (p. 25, etc.) -- in keeping with Italian but not English practise. The sources of the songs, where they have been discovered, are Petrarch's poems. Not only does Whetstone use words that are of Italian origin and not yet assimilated into English, such as "bollytine" (p. 14) and "zanni" (p. 109), but he also uses one proverb for which the only known source is Italian, "After dynner, talke a while, After supper, walke a mile" (p. 49). None of these examples taken alone would prove that Whetstone visited Italy -- although the references to the commedia dell'arte and to the eunuch singer are persuasive -- but they create a total cumulative impression of thorough acquaintance with Italian customs, language, and geography.

Whetstone's indebtedness to Italian literary sources and traditions cannot be denied, but he supplements his reading with personal experience. There is nothing described in the frame of the Heptameron that may not have been found or may not have occurred in Italy of 1580. If Whetstone is not writing from his own experience, if he is in fact composing a merely literary description of Italian customs, as did other writers of his day, then he was a most thoroughgoing and accurate sociologist.
to a degree unheard-of in the Renaissance, when such fidelity to social and historical detail in literature is unknown. The Heptameron is not a translation or a slavish literary imitation; nor is it a factual report; it is an imaginative embodiment of Whetstone's own reading and own experience.
2.

The Ideal of Civility

An understanding of the peculiarly Renaissance ideal of civility is essential to a proper appreciation of Whetstone's *Heptameron*. It is an ideal that grew out of the civilized urban life as opposed to the unsophisticated country life. Whereas the isolated castle was the center of medieval social life, in ancient Greece and Rome and in Renaissance Italy the city was the center of society. In Italy, the focal point narrowed to the court, especially in Urbino, Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, and Naples, and to its offshoots, the city palace or *palazzo* and the gentleman's country villa. The city-states with their many small courts fostered an ideal that valued social contact and urban life. The term "civil" which originated with the city came by extension to refer to a type of living that need not be particularized by place or setting. It could still be used to define good government, in the political sense, but more often "civil" identified an ordered, harmonious, virtuous social life, the life of social harmony that made the city possible.

This is the sense in which Guazzo employs the word in his *Civile Conversation* (1581):

> You see then, that we give a large sense and signification to this woorde (civile) for that we would have understooede, that to live civilly, is not sayde in respect of the citie, but of the quallities of the minde: so I understand civile conversation not having relation to the citie, but considera­tion to the manners and conditions which make it civile. And as lawes and civile ordinances are distributed not onely to cities, but to villages, castles, and people subject unto
them, so I will that civile conversation appertaine not onely to men inhabiting cities, but to all sortes of persons of what place, or of what calling soever they are.

Too bee shorte, my meaning is, that civile conversation is an honest commendable and vertuous kinde of living in the world.44

Two other dialogues show that this interpretation of "civil" was consistent throughout the sixteenth century. In *A Discourse of Civill Life* (1606), Lodowick Bryskett, while discussing the two kinds of felicity, civil and contemplative, describes the former thus:

> you shall understand that the civill felicite is nothing else then a perfect operation of the mind, proceeding of excellent vertue in a perfect life; and is atchieved by the temper of reason, ruling the disordinate affects stirred up in us by the unreasonable parts of the mind, (as when the time shall serve will be declared) and guiding us by the meane of vertue to happy life.45

And Thomas Starkey in his *Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset* (c. 1538) gives the following speech to Lupset:

> Nay, Maystur Pole, you take the mater amys. Thys ys not the cyvyle lyfe that I mean, -- to lyve togydur in cytes and towmys so fer out of ordur, as hyt were a multytude conspyryng togeddur in vyce, one takyng plesure of a nother wythout regard of honesty. But thys I cal the cyvyle lyfe, contrary, lyvyng togyddur in gud and polytyke ordur, one ever redy to dow gud to a nother, and, as hyt were, conspyryng togydur in al vertue and honesty. Thys ys the veray true and cyvyle lyfe.46

"Civility" is not to be defined simply as city life or social intercourse; rather, it is the more general and abstract ideal which makes possible the social life. The formulation of such an ideal of social harmony was important to an age in which Order -- universal order -- was the first law of nature and hence of God.

That the word "society" came into common use in the sixteenth century indicates the extreme self-consciousness of Renaissance social life. In an age of upheaval and change in all dimensions of life, men
looked for new ideals to provide a sense of stability. Social and family relations assumed great importance at a time when the feudal order was dissolving, governments were rapidly falling and rising, the authority of the Church was diminishing, religions were taking new forms, economic conditions were constantly altering, and when there was unprecedented social mobility. Increasingly concerned with ways of achieving happiness in this life, the sixteenth-century Englishman became very conscious of the clash between the individual's instincts and passions and society's codes of behaviour. Civilized life was possible only if the disruptive instinctual forces were disciplined; thus, rules of conduct were established and all details of life were organized.47

The classical ideal of urbanitas or civilitas was absorbed into the broader concept of civility, giving rise to a code of gentlemanly behaviour that was within reach of every educated citizen. The result was the rapid growth of a literature of manners, generally referred to as courtesy literature. Civility is the ideal of which courtesy is the virtue as it is manifested in the interrelationships of persons; such social behaviour is referred to as "manners" or "conversation."

Because the ideal harmonious life is possible only in society, the civil life is of necessity an active life. The emphasis on life in this world owed a great deal to the impact of Renaissance humanism which encouraged the belief that happiness could be achieved on earth. Happiness is available only to the truly virtuous man, and since virtue must be practised to be known, the virtuous man must live in society. A moral end, it is assumed, implies a public end. The civil man, then, rejects the medieval ideal of the contemplative life:
But being as we are among men, and set to live and converse with them civilly, the civil man must not give himself to contemplation, to stay upon it as wisedome would persuade him, until he have first employed his wit and prudence to the good and profit as well of others as of himselfe. 48

The anonymously written dialogue between an English courtier and a country gentleman, Cevile and Uncyvile Life (1579), points out that the life of man is like iron: it must be used if it is to be bright and shining, otherwise it rusts away. The dialogue concludes that the gentleman should dwell in the town. Starkey's Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset (c. 1538) similarly draws a parallel between the conflict of active versus contemplative life and the conflict of city versus country life. It is not enough for men to pursue knowledge and virtue in isolation, as did the old philosophers, maintains Starkey; they must communicate their knowledge to others. Such communication of virtue and knowledge is the end of civil life, to which man is born as a politic creature, argues Starkey's spokesman, Thomas Lupset. When Cardinal Pole counters that city life is evil and corrupt and that man is better off in a natural world as in the Golden Age, Lupset points out that the civil life is not necessarily the life of the city. In any case, continues Lupset, it is not society that causes disorders, but the lack of wise governors; and without cities men would still be living rudely and wildly as do the beasts. Thus, Starkey's dialogue suggests the opposition inherent in the ideals of civility and of pastoralism.

The extent to which the ideal of the active civil life, as opposed to the medieval ideal of the contemplative life, pervades Renaissance imaginative literature is reflected in Spenser's Faerie Queene. Thomas P. Roche links Spenser to Lodowick Bryskett, pointing out that The Faerie
Queene "is a fulfillment of the ideal of civil life that is to occur historically during the reign of the Tudors . . . . The action of the poem is the evolution of the civil ideal and is conceived as a reciprocal interchange between England and Faeryland." The civil man finds his fullest expression in a society centered on the city, and such an ideal city, representing the civil life, is the city of Cleopolis in Book II of *The Faerie Queene.*

The active expression of civility is manifested through manners, social behaviour, speech, and virtue -- all closely related terms in Renaissance thought. In *The Faerie Queene,* Spenser links courtesy, an aspect of civility, with virtue and manners and suggests the importance of knowing how to behave towards others:

Of Court it seemes, men Courtesie doe call,  
For that it there most useth to abound;  
And well besemeth that in Princes hall  
That vertue should be plentifully found,  
Which of all goodly manners is the ground,  
And roote of civill conversation.  
(The *Faerie Queene* VI.i.1.)

They teach us, how to each degree and kynde  
We should our selves demeane, to low, to hie;  
To friends, to foes, which skill men call Civility.  
(The *Faerie Queene* VI.x.23)

"Conversation" is defined by Guazzo as relationships between people, and in his book he attempts to discuss the importance and the basis of social intercourse. Guazzo is not alone in refuting the value of the solitary life: love of solitude, he claims, arises out of dangerous melancholy, and true pleasure is possible only when it is shared with others or given to others, for man is a social animal. Similar views are presented by Bryskett:
For as concerning civill felicitie, man cannot, nor ought not to be alone: in which respect conversation and friendship are necessary for the accomplishment of the same. Aristotle sayd, that he that lived alone could be none other than either a God or a brute beast.

Besides that, solitarinesse bereaveth a man of the sweetest part of his life that is conversation among friends, increasing the contentation of a happie man, as he is to be a civill man.50

Whetstone expresses the same feeling indirectly in the Sixth Day of the Heptameron: when Ismarito retires alone to a quiet place to read Mexia, Segnior Philoxenus, the perfect host, seeks him out "to geve his solytarinesse, a disgrace, by conversing with him, in some Gentlemanly Discourse" (pp. 168-69).

The ideal of civility presupposes that social interaction is the chief means by which we learn to know ourselves; through knowing ourselves and knowing how to interact with others, we may achieve happiness. Hence, to the Renaissance man, no aspect of social life is trivial. Etiquette, gestures, games, jokes, anecdotes, and ceremonies all have their place in social life, for they are vehicles of subtle communication. Guazzo points out that although some ceremonies may seem superfluous, their proper use in society is important; they create expectations and are therefore to be observed. In Whetstone's time, even clothes might be expected to make statements; accordingly, the masquers' apparel in the Second Day of the Heptameron communicates their states of mind. This universal Renaissance concern with ceremony reflects the play element inherent in the notion of civility:51 as men become more obsessed with the importance of creating order and beauty, they create rules for all aspects of life and enjoy consciously playing their roles in society. The Renaissance to a large degree lived out the concept of the world as a stage. The significance of games and ceremonies as a basis for social intercourse
is overshadowed only by the importance of fine and witty speech, the mark of a gentleman. All educated citizens cultivated the graces of conversation, and their enthusiasm fostered the publication of many specialized manuals of conversation, dictionaries of similes, proverbs and anecdotes, and manuals of letter-writing.

Related to the ideal of civility is the idea of the gentleman; and in the *Heptameron* Whetstone's discussion of civil discourses is linked to a description of the courteous Segnior Philoxenus, an Italian gentleman who is worthy to be a model of behaviour. As civility took root in the city life in general, the concept of gentlemanly behaviour, usually characterized as courtesy, developed out of the ideals of conduct at the court. Courtesy was thought of as an exhibition of good will between the classes and an expression of the beauty of the highly civilized life.

To sum up, courtesy as a gentlemanly virtue was fundamentally a preserver of society, helping to keep the lines between classes that the aristocratic ideal created by prescribing the kind of treatment due to each, and helping also to maintain obedience by gaining the good will of the lower classes to the upper; it was also a beautifier of society adding grace to the actions of men; and last of all even according to Elyot it adorned the individual, allowing his real worth and accomplishments to shine forth and draw the eyes of all men to him.  

The Italian Renaissance courtier was the counterpart of the Greek philosopher-king and the Roman orator, each the mirror for a particular society; the Renaissance gentleman, however, was a broader and more democratic ideal than that of the courtier. Whereas the courtier performed primarily within the limited world of the court, the gentleman was found throughout the middle classes as well as the aristocracy, for the new commercial wealth enabled merchants to live as noblemen. Catering to this shift in values, writers devoted entire works to the discussion of the meaning
of nobility, voicing the Renaissance consensus that high birth and virtue are not necessarily synonymous. In the new idea of the gentleman were merged classical, Christian, and chivalric values. Neither a philosophical and civil leader as was the classical statesman, nor a military and religious hero as was the medieval knight, the Renaissance gentleman nevertheless shared many values with his predecessors.

In addition to the privileges he enjoyed by virtue of his position between the king and the common people, the gentleman bore many obligations. He was expected to administer justice, to provide leadership in war, and to advise the king. Conduct books stress the importance of this sense of social responsibility because they all aim ultimately at furthering the social life and especially the public life. The gentleman's first loyalty is to his country, and the courtier's first loyalty is to his prince; Whetstone depicts Segnior Philoxenus as a nobleman who owes allegiance primarily to the Protestant cause. Although the Renaissance ideal of courtesy has much in common with the medieval concept of cortesia and with chivalry — manuals of knighthood emphasize the knight's personal development and his need to seek the glory bestowed by noble deeds — the courtier must put selflessness and devotion to the service of his country first and his own personal glory second. For the gentleman, the striving after personal glory fades even more in the face of social goals. In general, English works tend to accentuate the moral qualities of the gentleman, while Italian works ascribe more importance to his personal perfection and social grace. The Italian emphasis on the aesthetic aspect of courtesy, including the art of loving, is virtually non-existent in England where writers preoccupied with morality lose sight of the merits
of grazie and sprezzatura, of grace, nonchalance, and ease.

Because education is the means of perfecting a gentleman, every treatise on civility or courtesy or conduct pays attention to the training of the gentleman. Furthermore, education was valued by the middle class as a means of rising from low to high estate and by the Protestants as an aid to approaching the kingdom of God. Hence it comes as no surprise to find Whetstone describing Philoxenus's studies as "the true patterne for a Gentleman to imitate" (p. 170). The subjects of study are Theology, Physick, Law, Heraldry, Morality, Cosmography, History, and Armory. That this is a typical Renaissance gentleman's education is supported by Ruth Kelso's *Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century*: to Philoxenus's list Kelso would add logic and rhetoric, poetry, mathematics, natural philosophy, modern languages, especially French and Italian (which Philoxenus speaks in addition to English), drawing (which he practises), and travel, especially to the French court (where Philoxenus spent some years as a young man).

In a society where man strives for perfectibility as a social being, the role of women becomes more significant. In sixteenth-century Italy, women of the upper classes were neither expected to be menial servants nor exalted to the position of presiding deities. They were educated and cultivated, moving in courts and palaces as the courtiers' social equals and companions. The art of conversation acquired an added importance as a way of promoting social intercourse between the sexes. Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* is generally gracious towards women and Guazzo's *La civil conversazione* tends to be charitable, but English works do not always share their attitude. English Renaissance literature frequently adopts
a more pragmatic view of woman as a helpmate and companion in the home. In Whetstone’s *Heptameron*, the Italian courtly ideal of woman appears in the frame characters, especially in Aurelia, and the practical approach to the role of women in marriage dominates the discussions.
3.

Renaissance Courtesy Literature

Because the virtues requisite for social living could be learned, the Renaissance generated a mass of literature that discussed in detail the ideals of civility and of conduct. Such works reflect in their forms the belief that civil ideals are best manifested in society through action and talk. Hence, books on civility are not mere philosophical treatises or collections of precepts; they are almost always dialogues that exhibit civil virtues in action. Books of parental advice, social conduct, policy in government, etiquette, and domestic affairs, all reflect the assumptions that conversation and courtesy are arts that may be learned and practised, that the end of courtesy is practical conduct, and that civility is acquired not inherited. The term "courtesy book" traditionally refers to any work that is intended to be a guide to conduct, ranging from books of table manners to volumes outlining the broad conception of the gentleman. The courtesy books that are works of art generally depict an ideal rather than an actual picture of gentlemanly behaviour. According to Thomas Greene, they are types of the "institute," a genre which inspired numerous ideal portraits of a society, an institution, or an occupation; which expressed the constant Renaissance search for perfection; and which reflected the Renaissance faith in man's ability "to mold and transform the self," a faith that was summed up in the saying of Erasmus, *Homines non nascuntur, sed finguntur* ("Men are fashioned, not born").54
Very few works adopt a philosophical approach to civility, and those that do cannot properly be called courtesy books. The Italians published some discussions of civility, but the emphasis in literature quickly shifted to courtesy and manners. Palmieri's *Della vita civile* (c. 1528) describes society as a whole and draws a picture of the ideal citizen as one who is well educated, skilled in public affairs, and respected for his own virtues rather than for his title. At the same time as ideals of the courtier and of the prince were being formulated, Palmieri helped to define the ideal citizen. Cintio's *Ecatommiti* (1565), from which Whetstone adapted several novellas, includes a second part entitled *Tre dialoghi della vita civile*, freely translated by Lodowick Bryskett as *A Discourse of Civill Life* (published 1606 but written around 1582). Bryskett's version gave voice to the growing English preoccupation with the meaning and value of the civil life, a preoccupation that more often resulted in practical essays on conduct than in abstract discussions of ideals of civility.

Among classical works on conduct that served as models in the Renaissance were Cicero's *De Officiis* and *De Oratore*, Aristotle's *Ethica*, Seneca's *De Beneficiis* and *Epistulae Morales*, and Plutarch's *Moralia*; but there is no classical precedent for a work that deals exclusively with the fine points of conduct. In contrast, the Middle Ages produced a host of books on manners in the narrower sense of the word, intended for scholars, knights, princes, husbands and wives, or children; such medieval conduct books were often in verse and sometimes in dialogue form. The limited medieval approach to conduct persisted into the English Renaissance in works such as *The Babees' Book* (c. 1475), *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (1555), and Thomas Twyne's *The Schoolemaster, or Teacher of Table Philosophie*
Later conduct books typically combined the broader classical approach to virtuous behaviour with the medieval concern for pragmatic detail. English literature tended to examine specific topics related to both conduct and the civil life: the question of nobility, the relative merits of court life and country life, the duties of the administrator and of the soldier, the duties of husband and of wife, the obligations of children, the conflict between the sexes, the advisability of marriage and the management of domestic affairs, the composition of letters, and the practise of social recreations. The encyclopedic description of the total gentleman received its fullest expression in English literature only in the seventeenth century, in Henry Peacham's Compleat Gentleman (1622) and in Richard Brathwaite's The English Gentleman (1630) and The English Gentlewoman (1631). However, the most important Renaissance courtesy books in England and throughout Europe were Italian: Della Casa's Il Galateo (1558), Guazzo's La civil conversazione (1574), and Castiglione's Il cortegiano (1528).

Galateo was translated into English by Robert Peterson in 1576. Subtitled "A Treatise of the Manners and Behaviours, it behoveth a Man to use and eschewe, in his Familiar Conversation," it is a book of specific, utilitarian advice. It emphasizes the importance of manners, which are founded in a desire to please others, and is aimed at the ordinary educated man. The popularity of Della Casa's essay is evidenced by the currency in Italian of the phrase "To teach the Galateo" which became synonymous with "To teach good manners."55

The first three books of Guazzo's dialogue were translated by George Pettie in 1581 as The Civile Conversation; the fourth book was added
by Bartholomew Young in 1586. Whetstone, however, may have known the two French translations of Gabriel Chappuys and François Belleforest, both published in 1579. Guazzo's aim is to outline the theory, then to illustrate the practise of polite society; he discusses the philosophy of right conduct, analyzing the principles of conduct which underlie social intercourse, attempting to define the quality of behaviour that brings about harmony in society. His moral intent is obvious: he is interested primarily in making his reader a better person. He does so by casting his discussion into the form of a dialogue between William Guazzo (his brother) and the physician who has been called upon to cure William's melancholy. "Civil conversation," the avoidance of solitude, is the proper cure. In Book Three Guazzo deals with relations between husband and wife, describing domestic life, providing instructions on marriage, and emphasizing that marital happiness depends on mutual trust. Book Four describes a banquet, thus showing how the theory discussed in the previous three books might manifest itself in an actual social occasion. Such a description of an informal gathering of friends engaged in talk is termed the conversazione form. Guazzo's book, both in the original Italian and in English translation, was sufficiently popular in England to give wide currency to the phrase "civil conversation."

The Courtier, translated by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561, presents an ideal that is aesthetic as well as moral. Castiglione's book is concerned with "the self as a work of art" as well as with manners defined as "that range of conduct which must be both ethical and beautiful at the same time, the kind of behaviour which eases and graces the conduct of life." The courtier attains perfection by balancing within him the contrary
impulses and feelings that are part of the human condition, and by developing and disciplining all his potentialities. Even erotic impulses, always destructive, are transformed into courtly love and into Platonic ideals of love and beauty. Always a performer and above all an artist, the courtier consciously shapes his self and his life into things of beauty. Because aesthetic and moral considerations overshadow political realities in his book, Castiglione has been accused of evading reality; but surely this is in some sense his aim, for he is sharing with the reader his vision of what life might be, not his perception of what life is. And this vision is a flowering of the ideals of the civil life, which is a life of harmony and beauty, of both seriousness and playfulness.

If ever an élite, fully conscious of its own merits, sought to segregate itself from the vulgar herd and live life as a game of artistic perfection, that élite was the circle of choice Renaissance spirits. We must emphasize yet again that play does not exclude seriousness. The spirit of the Renaissance was very far from being frivolous. The game of living in imitation of Antiquity was pursued in holy earnest . . . . And yet the whole mental attitude of the Renaissance was one of play. This striving, at once sophisticated and spontaneous, for beauty and nobility of form is an instance of culture at play.57

Both The Civile Conversation and The Courtier are compilations and discussions of commonplace themes: of nobility, education, friendship, love, the war of the sexes, the value of arms versus letters, humor, dress, and language. Guazzo, however, addresses a middle class audience and his aim is therefore more overtly moral and less aesthetic; although he recognizes the court as the arbiter of conduct, his book is anti-courtly in tone. Whereas Castiglione, addressing the aristocracy, emphasizes the importance of appearance, Guazzo stresses the need for honesty to oneself and to others. Guazzo incorporates a discussion of marriage as a type of civil
conversation, but Castiglione, although he gives women a prominent place in his book, does not discuss marriage. The tone of *The Courtier*, with its preoccupation with self-advancement, is essentially pagan; *The Civile Conversation* constantly recognizes the importance of religion, that is, of Christianity. In both works dialogue is important, in the first as an instrument to be used in forming a sense of self, and in the second as a way to social harmony; but Castiglione's style is the more flexible and varied, for flexibility and variety of response are important attributes of his courtier.

In a world which has vanished or is about to vanish, Castiglione is intent upon a theoretic and impossible ideal for a narrow coterie of the elite; Guazzo is engrossed in a practical, workaday mode of conduct for all levels of society in a world in process of becoming.58

The ideas of *The Civile Conversation* are more important than the occasion framing them; in *The Courtier*, the social occasion predominates. It is not surprising, then, that Whetstone is indebted to Guazzo for many of the ideas in the *Heptameron* and to Castiglione for its style and structure. Nor was he alone in profiting by both works. Late sixteenth-century England had not yet exchanged the ideal of the cortegiano for that of the gentiluomo, as had Italy, for both Castiglione's book and Guazzo's became available in England at the same time. With characteristic eclecticism, the Elizabethans absorbed these contradictory models of conduct into their own social outlook; for instance, as Daniel Javitch points out, in *The Faerie Queene* Spenser also conflates Guazzo's civility and Castiglione's courtliness.59

In England, *The Courtier* was read chiefly as a treatise on education, on the code of polite society. However, the spirit of Castiglione's work
may have had a direct bearing on the development of poetic style (Puttenham's *Arte of English Poetrie* (1589) links artistic norms with courtly conduct), and it does penetrate -- though not very deeply -- Elizabethan prose fiction. The aesthetic consideration, the sense of play, may be felt in works such as John Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), John Lyly's *Euphues* (1578), and Whetstone's *Heptameron* (1582). Vividly aware of life as role-playing, of the world as a stage, and strongly bent on making social intercourse beautiful as well as good, these writers reveal in their works a predilection for social games of all kinds -- for proverbs, riddles, discourses, masques, and story-telling -- largely drawn from Italy but found also in antiquity.

The influence of courtesy books on Elizabethan prose fiction was magnified through the popularity of *Euphues* and its sequel, *Euphues and His England*. Aimed at the gentleman rather than the courtier, both works describe a variety of social customs: in *Euphues*, questions on love are debated after supper, and in *Euphues and His England*, arbitrated discourses, questions on love, and masques are part of the after-supper entertainment. According to Bond, at a time when prose fiction was based on stories from history, mythology, or chivalry, *Euphues* stands out as the first English work modelled on the social intercourse of the modern world; it is really a courtesy book in novel form. Although undeniably influenced by Italian literature, *Euphues* attacks Italy and condemns the Italianization of English manners. Whetstone, who does not borrow directly from *Euphues* yet shares many of Lyly's aims and topics, perhaps deliberately intended the *Heptameron* to be a rejoinder to attacks such as Lyly's. In contrast to Lyly's picture of Italy as a place of disruptive passions, of violence
and treachery, of atheism and Papistry, the *Heptameron* presents us with an Italian country palace that is a model of civility, of order and harmony and good will -- though it must be admitted that Whetstone's praise of Italy is somewhat qualified by his making the palace the home of a Protestant gentleman.

Courtesy literature and the prose fiction influenced by it may be viewed as outgrowths of an ideal that is both akin to and opposite to the pastoral ideal. Pastoral literature glorifies nature for its goodness and condemns society for its corruption; it celebrates a free, innocent love; it values simplicity; and it generally adopts for its setting a forest, field or garden that is symbolic of the natural world. On the other hand, courtesy literature despises the state of nature as being evil and brutish and glorifies the life of the city and of the court, or of the villa that is in reality an extension of the court; it puts forth a Platonic concept of love and views marriage as a social contract; it recognizes the value of ceremony and role-playing; and it usually chooses as its setting a glittering palace or a cultivated garden that is symbolic of civilizing order. Yet both types of literature are arcadian in tone; that is, they express a nostalgic desire for what was or what might have been. Both long for a return to the Golden Age, whether it be in Arcadia or Urbino -- or at Segnior Philoxenus's palace. In the pastoral romance, the knight finds peace and contemplation in a retreat to nature; in the courtesy book, the traveller or visitor finds security and social harmony in the court or castle. The courtly refuge, however, seems to be extremely short lived, almost ephemeral in comparison to the pastoral retreats. The courtier, who is also an artist in the way he shapes his life, seeks
to re-create a perfect unfallen world, not by rediscovering the primal order in nature, not by going back to a prelapsarian state — for that is impossible — but by imposing on nature a new order that redeems it, by creating a civilization that supplants nature. This new civilization is better than the primitive world, even as, in the Heptameron, the sophisticated life of Juno is more attractive than the simple life of Diana (pp. 33-34).

Hence, in Renaissance art that seeks to communicate civil ideals, a common motif is the contrast between the violence of the wilderness and the serenity of the civilized city or castle. This is a motif that hearkens back to the literature of chivalry. For example, Ismarito's wanderings in the desert forest of Ravenna, where he has "strayed out of knowledge" (pp. 13-14), are reminiscent of the aimless quests of the knights-errant. Just as, in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, the heartsore and weary Gawain on Christmas Eve suddenly comes across the magnificent castle, and is overcome by a rush of joy at his anticipation of warmth and companionship, the lost Ismarito is delighted to spot the bright glimmerings of the stately palace that promises him a "spedie Harbour" for Christmas. With the knights of medieval romance Ismarito shares a sense of isolation from society, a sense of "world-alienation": he cannot even bring himself to trust the porter's courteous invitation, thinking that his polite words are but "an Italion curtesie" and not sincerely intended (p. 14). A similar sense of the meaninglessness and uselessness of the world recurs in many of the framed discourses of the Renaissance and is even more pronounced in framed collections of novellas. The Urbino of Castiglione's book is a safe, bright haven amidst the violence
and turmoil of sixteenth-century Italian politics. In the Windsor Castle of Ascham's *The Scholemaster*, the company of scholar-courtiers has found respite from the plague that is ravaging London. In this way, the authors of courtesy books try to make their readers aware that terrible as the outside world may be, all may yet be put right—at least, by men and women striving together to create a highly civilized and perfect society. Because social harmony is all-important in the world of courtesy literature, disruptive social forces cannot be tolerated. Envy, slander, ambition, and ingratitude are threats to civility. This in part explains Whetstone's obsession with the dangers of envy and helps us to understand why the *Heptameron* concludes with a masque that dramatizes the threat of Envy to a Golden World.
4.

Dialogue Literature

Segnior Philoxenus's reading "For Government, and Civil behaviours" (p. 171) includes Plutarch's *Moralles*, Castiglione's *Courtier*, and Guevara's *Dial of Princes*. The first two books are largely dialogues; the third, a collection of essays chiefly in the form of letters, is closely related to the literary dialogue.

The Renaissance passion for dialogues is more than a reflection of writers' desire to coat the pill, to make their books more attractive and their moral lessons more palatable to prospective readers. As conversation is both the manifestation of civility in society and the bond that makes the civil life possible, so the dialogue is the practical expression in literature of the ideal of civility:

it is emphasized that man can best realize his potential in civil conversation, in human communication that is relatively unhampered by artificial barriers to genuine understanding. This kind of social intercourse will cultivate individuality and nurture proper societal goals, and the basis for all this is an extension of the rhetorical tradition to its logical conclusion in interpersonal communication. As Garin summarizes, "The whole concept of humanity exhausts itself in this concept of conversation, in this dialogue, in this speech which gathers in itself the concrete meaning of the life of the mind."

Furthermore, in an age that delighted in discussing questions that are ultimately insoluble because this world is not the ideal world, the dialogue enabled an author to present a variety of viewpoints, to examine a proposition from every possible angle, to balance and juxtapose different modes of experience, and to commit himself to a judgement
as definitely as he dared, or to remain as detached and ambiguous as he liked. The element of play that is characteristic of the civil life is apparent in most dialogue literature. Bembo's discourse on Platonic love in Book Four of *Il cortegiano* is not unique in supplying scholars with a fruitful field for controversy: the degree of seriousness of the discussion and the exact position of its author have similarly been questioned in criticism even of Plato's dialogues. Like Plato, the Renaissance writer sought to portray the multiplicity and ambiguity of experience, not the absolute truth of existence, for he believed that the latter is found only in Heaven. The popularity of free-ranging discussions and debates in academic circles also prompted scholars to employ the dialogue form in their writings; indeed, it was not unusual for academic exercises to arise out of the telling of a story, a practise that is put to effective use by Marguerite de Navarre in her *Heptameron* and by Whetstone in his *Heptameron of Civill Discourses*. The fact that Guazzo took the lead in re-establishing the academy of the "Illustrati" in Italy, where debates were virtually synonymous with academies, undoubtedly influenced the structure of his *Civil conversazione*. The wide range of the dialogue is also attributable to the humanist emphasis on rhetoric as a mode of persuasion, for the dialogue was considered to be a most effective means of moving men to use their knowledge and talents in the service of society. In short, the dialogue was a common form for ethical treatises, philosophical essays, conversation books, and language manuals, and the most frequent form for courtesy books.

For civil conversation, Guazzo specifies that there be no more than ten persons, and the dialogue as a vehicle of enquiry generally features from two to eight speakers. The talk is lively, and although
the final effect is one of ambiguity, the interchange clarifies and focuses the ideas. Often the opinions of one speaker are drawn out extensively, for he alone is worth heeding: in the *Heptameron* Segnior Philoxenus provides a definitive point of view. The setting of a dialogue is always tranquil, establishing an atmosphere that is the social counterpart to contemplation, in which thoughts are easily communicated. The informal tone facilitates the author's rapport with his readers and extends his appeal to a wider audience beyond the closed circles of the court and the study. The conventions of dialogue literature, then, are admirably suited to realize the aims of courtesy books and of works such as Whetstone's *Heptameron*.

Classical precedents for the use of the dialogue in serious writing are abundant. Plato's dialectics characteristically record an earlier conversation and describe the external scene in some detail. This is especially true of the *Symposium*, *Phaedo* and the *Republic*, of which the first two were current in the Renaissance. Lucian provided a model for ironic and satirical dialogues, and Cicero, as in *De Oratore*, for expository dialogues. A later example was Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, an exchange between the author and Lady Philosophy, a book much admired by Ismarito (p. 76). In their drive to imitate the best of antiquity, the humanists cast many of their writings as dialogues. A well-known collection of dialogues was Erasmus's *Colloquia* (1516), including the "Convivium Religiosum" or "Religious Banquet." Two of the most popular humanist examples of philosophical dialogues were the *Paradiso degli Alberti* by Giovanni Da Prato (c. 1389) and Pietro Bembo's *Gli Asolani* (1504).
The European literary conventions with which Whetstone's *Heptameron* has most in common are the Italian discorso, questione d'amore, and conversazione. The discorso, discourse or discussion, could frame any subject matter from the lightest racy anecdote to the most elevated philosophical speculation. The questione d'amore, in which some lovers gather to discuss a general proposition about love, probably originated in the Court of Love that became a medieval device for rendering judgments in poetry. The conversazione is a dialogue most often following a banquet, and is usually a work on conduct. Other traditional models, perhaps related to the dialogue, are the débat of the Middle Ages, a semi-dramatic form epitomized by the Roman de la Rose; the dubbi, or doubts about love; and the French trattato d'amore, a treatise on love. This type of discussion of love was given impetus by Boccaccio, whose *Filocolo* (c. 1336) contains an episode in which thirteen questions are debated in a garden by a company who choose Fiammetta to preside over them as their queen. The relevant section of *Filocolo* was translated into English by H.G. (Henry Grantham or Humphrey Gifford) as *A Pleasaunt Disport of Divers Noble Personages Entitled Philocopo* (1567) and reissued as *Thirtene Most Plesant and Delectable Questions* (1571). Boccaccio's influence may be traced in courtesy literature and in collections of novellas, but his questions serve no serious purpose, being intended as pure entertainment. Castiglione, however, transforms dialogue into a mode of self-realization and illustrates its flexibility and possibility for achieving wit; hence, *Il cortegiano* represents the peak flowering of the dialogue form.

In addition to Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* and Guazzo's *La civil*
conversazione, Whetstone's immediate literary sources for the dialogue appear to be Edmund Tilney's *The Flower of Friendchippe* (1568) and Plutarch's *Moralia.* Tilney, admittedly influenced by the *Filocolo,* suggests that the *conversazion*e reported in his book was a type of social diversion in actual practice at Elizabeth's court:

> But M. Pedro, nothing at all lyking of such devises, wherein the Ladies should be left out, sayde that he wel remembered how Boccace, & Countie Baltizar with others recounted many proper devises for exercises, both pleasant, & profitable, which quoth he, were used in the courts of Italie, and some much like to them, are practised at this day in the Englishe court, wherein is not only delectation, but pleasure joined with profite, and exercise of the witte.65

Set in an English country garden in springtime, the *Flower of Friendchippe* is essentially a domestic conduct book which discusses the duties of a married man and a married woman. The group who are thrown together include the usual emancipated woman, Lady Isabella, and the misogynist, Master Gualter; they proceed to choose a sovereign and a topic of conversation for two days. R. G. Johnson claims that this is the first original work in English literature in which a queen is chosen to preside over the discussions.66

Another book containing dialogues assimilated by Whetstone is Plutarch's *Moralia,* especially the "Quaestionum Convivialium" or "Table-Talk" (612-748), which purports to reproduce the after-dinner conversation of Plutarch and his friends on various occasions. According to the speakers, a dinner "always requires friendly sociability for seasoning" (697); a group of men who stuff themselves without speaking are "downright swinish"; and a drinking-party without orderly and profitable conversation is ridiculous, "wholly inconsistent with culture and refinement" (716). In fact, the dialogue consists entirely of a series of questions, propositions
to be debated: they are put forth as examples of appropriate dinner-
time diversions, and range from "Why we trust our dreams least in the
autumn" (734) to "Whether it is more plausible that the total number
of the stars is even than that it is odd" (741). The Moralia also con-
tains the "Amatorius" or "Dialogue on Love" (748-71), which refers to
the poet Philoxenus; the "Conjugalia Praecepta" or "Advice to Bride and
Groom" (298-343); the "Septem Sapientium Convivium" or "Dinner of the
Seven Wise Men" (146-64), in which riddles are featured and a leader
is chosen; and a tale illustrating the "Mulierum Virtutes" or "Bravery
of Women," the story of Pieria (253-54), which is the basis of Philoxenus's
narrative in the Heptameron (pp. 215-26). Plutarch emphasizes the
importance of order in life, the importance of drink and food and especi-
ally of conversation in forming friendships; he describes entertainments,
relates tales, and discusses questions that are both moral and light.
These are the qualities that must have attracted Whetstone to the Moralia
as a source for his Heptameron.

Although Bryskett's Discourse of Civill Life also invites comparison
with the Heptameron, I am unable to trace a direct relationship between
the two. Bryskett's dialogue, published in 1606, was probably written
in 1582 or shortly thereafter. Edmund Spenser and seven other friends --
all male -- visit Bryskett in a cottage near Dublin, and their discussions
extend over three days. No questions of courtly love are raised, and
no series of novellas are narrated, for the discourses are markedly
serious and moral. However, like Whetstone, Bryskett claims to be
recording his own experience; and although some of the frame of the
Discourse of Civill Life is undoubtedly original, much is borrowed from
Guazzo, and most is translated from Cintio.
In keeping with the tradition of civility and of courtesy literature, Whetstone chooses a social setting to frame his own discussion of marriage. Christmas is an appropriate time for social entertainments. The travellers assembled in Philoxenus's palace at Ravenna are varied in character and nationality. They include Italians, a Frenchman, a German, a Scotsman, a Neapolitan, and an Englishman. The traditional plain-speaking cynic surfaces in Doctor Mossenigo, and the sharp-tongued Katherina Trista enlivens the discussions. Bergetto and Soranso are played off against Ismarito, and the modest Lucia Bella and Franceschina Sancta serve as foils to the lively Isabella and Maria Belochy. For some unexplained reason, Segnior Philoxenus, though he appears at dinner and at other occasions throughout the holiday, is not present during the discourses until the last day, when he sums up and describes the ideal to be sought in marriage. The book has been moving in the direction outlined by Philoxenus's speech, but Whetstone allows some ambiguity to remain as to how the ideal might be reached in this life — and Philoxenus, himself unmarried, protests that he lacks experience of the subject on which he is asked to hold forth. On the whole, although Whetstone's dialogue is carefully shaped to the author's purpose of defining civil ideals and shows flashes of deft characterization and wit, it is derivative and unremarkable.
5.

Marriage Literature

Throughout the Middle Ages there was a mass of literature dealing with marriage, and the popularity of such books came to a peak in England in the sixteenth century. Interest in the problems of marriage was undoubtedly fed by public curiosity about the marital difficulties of Henry VIII -- including widespread gossip about the King's Great Matter -- and by the speculations and negotiations surrounding Elizabeth's possible alliances. Yet the Elizabethan preoccupation with marriage goes deeper than political interest, for the institution of marriage lay at the foundation of Renaissance society and made possible the civil life. In the Middle Ages, books of manners were distinct from books on marriage; in the Renaissance, when marriage was viewed as one aspect of civility, the two kinds of literature were often combined. Hence, most Renaissance works that deal with courtesy and civility discuss marriage in more or less detail; and the responsibilities of the married life are frequently included in descriptions of the complete gentleman.

In the increasingly commercial society of the Renaissance, the stability of the home assumed a new significance as the means of ensuring the continuity and safety of property, of goods, of "livings." The aim of early domestic treatises since the fourteenth century was simply to clarify and codify the complexities of domestic relations in order to facilitate the efficient running of the home, without friction or waste. The wife's primary duty was considered to be the wise use of the income which the
husband earned. Renaissance works, however, while not losing sight of this practical approach to household economy, tend to focus more closely on relations between the sexes. Even in academic debates, a favourite subject was the question of advisability of marriage. Influenced by the Italian conception of marriage as an equal partnership and a source of companionship, by the sixteenth-century trend towards greater liberty for women, by the increasing importance of women in polite society, and by the reign of Elizabeth which did a great deal to reinforce the position of women in society, Elizabethan literature reflects the trend towards greater freedom of choice in marriage. Middle class writers still argued about women's position in society; humanists continued to express traditionally misogynist opinions; and many satires and moral attacks were continually published. Women were condemned for their pride, vanity, jealousy, temper, talkativeness, extravagance, and love of pleasure. Nevertheless, the sixteenth century also nurtured an increasingly widely-read number of defences of women.

The typical domestic conduct book is described by C. L. Powell in his *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653*:

In its most complete form, a book of this type contained four principal subjects: (1) discussion of the marriage state from religious and secular standpoints, (2) the legal elements involved in contracting matrimony, (3) mutual relations of husband and wife, (4) the government of the family, including housekeeping, the upbringing of children, the management of servants, and general household economics. The ultimate sources of all these books were the New Testament (especially the teachings of St. Paul), the classics, and the church fathers.68

According to Powell, the first book on the family printed in England is William Caxton's *Book of Good Maners* (1487), translated from the French of Jacques Legrand. The first book to focus specifically on marriage...
and the first such work of English origin is William Harrington's *Commendacions of Matrymony* (1528), which, however, is intended as a manual for clergymen and retains a medieval tone. The most popular English domestic conduct works were translated or adapted from foreign books. David Clapham's *The Commendation of Matrimony* (1540) from the Latin of Cornelius Agrippa, Miles Coverdale's *The Christen State of Matrimonye* (1541) from the German of Heinrich Bullinger, and Thomas Becon's *The Golden Boke of Christen Matrimonye* (1542) from several European sources, largely determined the pattern of the marriage literature to follow. More influential in courtly circles were the works of Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives. Richard Taverner's *A Ryght Frutefull Epystle in Laude and Praye of Matrmony* (1530?), Thomas Wilson's "An Epistle to perswade a young gentleman to Mariage" in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), and N.L.'s *A Modest Means to Marriage Pleasantly Set Forth* (1568) are derived from Erasmus. Richard Hyrde's *The Instruction of a Christen Woman* (1529?) and Thomas Paynell's *The Office and Duetie of an Husband* (1555?) are translations from Vives. These books monotonously echo the same arguments and probe the same questions. Is marriage a necessary evil? or an honorable and natural estate? Is the single life or the married life more valuable? Who should marry? How should a husband choose a wife? What are the duties of the wife? the duties of the husband? of the children? of servants? And so on.

The discussions are based ultimately on the authority of the Scriptures: it is better to marry than to burn (I.Cor.vii); the wife is the weaker vessel (I Peter iii.7); the wife must submit to the husband (I Cor.vii, Eph.v.22ff.); a virtuous woman is a rare and glorious thing (Proverbs 31).
The Christian attitude towards woman, which assumes that she is weak, deficient in moral strength and hence extremely prone to sinning, is somewhat modified in Renaissance literature as a result of classical and Italian influence. Together with a more charitable, though hardly less practical, view of women, the Renaissance imported from the ancients the dialogue form. Gentian Hervet's *Treatise of House Holde* (1532), a translation from Xenophon, is a dialogue modelled on works of Plato, Cicero, and Seneca. From Italy arrived more courtly attitudes towards women and the ideals of cultivated social life. Italian influence is apparent in John Heywood's *A Dialogue . . . Concernynge Two Meanes of Maryages* (1561) and Edmund Tilney's *The Flower of Friendshippe* (1568). The growing number of books in defence of women, most drawing on classical examples, is exemplified by Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Defence of Good Women* (1545) and Barnaby Rich's *The Excellency of Good Women* (1613); Whetstone's list of famous women is part of this tradition (pp. 138-42).

The Renaissance consensus was that marriage is a duty, a joining of families and fortunes as well as a binding of two individuals, a social contract. Women have no place in society unless married. The duties of the husband and wife are to love one another, to beget children, and to live virtuously. The husband is to exercise his authority paternally, acting as guide and friend and protector, governing his wife with kindness and understanding. The wife is to obey her husband, to be clean and modest, to manage the household effectively, and to live chastely. However important a good marital settlement may be, marriage ought not to be forced -- and in fact, few marriages were forced -- but it should be planned by the parents. An attraction based on fancy is less likely to
lead to happiness than a love rooted in duty. Hence, although mutual consent of the man and woman to be married is advocated by most Renaissance marriage books, the degree of parental authority remains a very live issue. Writers voice concern about young people entering wedlock rashly and foolishly, ignoring parental advice. Suitability for marriage is to be sought in equality of rank, age, and wealth; Guazzo, for instance, points out that unhappy marriages are due to inequality of age or condition or to their being forced upon the children. Whetstone's Heptameron faithfully reflects this typical Renaissance attitude to marriage. Out of the many topics that might be included in a domestic conduct book, Whetstone chooses to focus on the one question of the suitability for marriage, echoing Guazzo's views, and thus gives his discussion unity.

Elizabethan marriage books are practical and down-to-earth. Even Tilney, who reveals an idealistic view of the married life and who mirrors some Italian courtly attitudes, is domestic rather than courtly in the over-all tone of The Flower of Friendship; his subjects are the mundane ones of how a wife ought to be chosen and how the wife and husband ought to behave. To a great extent, literary works on marriage served as an antidote to Petrarchan love stories and poems. The Petrarchan conventions which portray love as a disruptive passion and a violent force and which elevate women to a level at which domestic affairs and household management are unheard-of, have no place in domestic conduct literature. The courtly view of women as heavenly creatures of love and beauty jars harshly with the less exciting domestic view of women as wives who fulfil natural, commonplace, and valuable roles in society. Whetstone makes effective use of such a contrast in the Heptameron: the Petrarchan love poems
set off the practical tone of the framework discussions, and the novellas reveal how courtly ideals do not work in real life. To Whetstone, the significant question to be faced as a result of love is not how to live -- or die -- with an all-consuming passion, but how to cope with love and how to shape love into a constructive social force capable of sustaining the civil life.
Whetstone's Heptameron has generally found a place in histories of Renaissance prose fiction as a collection of novellas. To categorize as a collection a work which contains only six brief tales is misleading. Nevertheless, Whetstone's tales -- and especially the ways in which they contribute towards the cumulative effect of the discussions in the Heptameron -- do owe a great deal to the novella tradition in Europe.

"Novella" is an imprecise literary term. Generally, it refers to a short prose tale, non-aristocratic in tone, in which the primary interest is the sequence of events (character portrayal is weak and psychological motivation is rare) and in which the setting is one of realistic ordinary life. Robert J. Clements, in his "Anatomy of the Novella," an attempt to define the genre, identifies four structural characteristics of the Italian novella: "the cornice, the time unity, the evolving length, and the thematic classification centering on the everyday dramas of men and women during the Middle Ages and Renaissance,"70. The usual themes are sexual love, the vanity of women, the immorality of priests and friars, and the cleverness of clerks, often related with coarse humour and rhetorical ornamentation. Such tales in English are most frequently Italian in origin.

Both literary and oral traditions probably influenced the development of the novella. Collections such as the Milesiae Fabulae are known to have existed in classical times, and anecdotes were frequently woven
into longer classical narratives for purposes of both illustration and 
entertainment. In the Middle Ages, the popularity of jests and of racy 
fabliaux and the proliferation of preachers' manuals which contain exempla 
(stories designed to serve as illustrations in sermons), attest to a 
lively taste for story-telling of all kinds. These anecdotes, jests, 
fabliaux, and exempla all provide pictures of contemporary life designed 
to engage the attention of a lower class audience. But, as Schlauch points 
out, in the novellas the settings become more urban and mercantile, until 
by the sixteenth century the economic and social details are adding consider­
able realism to the tales, and the stories are told at a more leisurely 
pace, with fashionable decorations.71 Apparently intended originally 
for entertainment at social occasions, especially at court and in polite 
society, novellas were quickly adapted for didactic ends and were aimed 
at a new audience -- that is, at the new group of readers, the middle 
classes. Thus, the novella style is more down-to-earth and coarse than 
the highly mannered style of courtly fiction, yet also more sophisticated 
and self-conscious than the racy colloquial style of popular oral narrative.

Novellas are always found in collections or embedded in longer narra­
tives. The earliest European vernacular collection of novellas is the 
anonymous thirteenth-century Il novellino or Le cento novelle antiche, 
probably written as a manual for story-tellers in polite society. But 
it was of course Boccaccio's Decameron (c. 1350) which accomplished for 
the novella what Petrarch's Rime or Canzoniere (c. 1374) did for the 
sonnet, inspiring such a host of imitations that no well-bred Renaissance 
Italian gentleman dare admit that he lacked the skill either to relate 
a novella or to sing a sonnet, as the occasion demanded. Boccaccio's
collection was followed in Italy by Franco Sacchetti's Trecentonovelle (c. 1378), Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's Pecorone (c. 1378), Masuccio Salertano's Novellino (1475-76), Agnolo Firenzuela's Ragionamenti (1525), Matteo Bandello's Novelle (1554), Gianfrancesco Straparola's Piacevoli notti (1550-53), and Giovan Battista Giraldi's (Cintio's) Ecatommiti (1565).

In France, similar short tales were called nouvelles, contes, or devis; almost all French collections were translations or imitations of the Italian. The most widely read French novellas in the sixteenth century were Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles attributed to Antoine de la Sale (adapted by William Copland as The Deceyte of Women, 1560?), Marguerite de Navarre's Heptameron (1559), Bonaventure Des Périers' Nouvelles Récréations et joyeux devis (1558) (adapted into English as The Mirour of Mirth and Pleasant Conceits), Jacques Yver's Le Printemps d'Iver (1572) (translated by Henry Wotton as A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels, 1578), and Noel du Fail's Baliverneries, ou contes nouveaux d'Eutrapel (1548). Of these collections, the Heptameron is the most original -- only six of Marguerite's tales are known to have literary sources -- and the most significant for English literary history. Later French translators adopted Marguerite's didactic method, but with less subtlety and far less wit. Marguerite's first editor, Pierre de Boaistuau, collaborated with François de Belleforest to translate Bandello into French; their Histoires tragiques (1559) bristles with the moral earnestness that later permeates the English collections. Boaistuau and Belleforest added anecdotes, discourses, moral discussions, poems, and rhetorical ornaments; they emphasized the sensational and the sentimental elements of Bandello's stories; and they
created a vogue for this type of writing. After 1560, Bandello replaced Boccaccio as the source most commonly used by writers of novellas.

The first English collection of novellas was William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* (1566-67). Painter drew on classical as well as European literature, and he shared with Whetstone sources such as Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, Aulus Gellius, Boccaccio, Bandello, Marguerite de Navarre, and Pedro Mexia. Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses* (1567), derived from the French Bandello, includes digressions, moralizing comments, and discussions of marriage; by calling his stories "Discourses," Fenton directs attention to his use of rhetorical skills. *A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure* (1576) by George Pettie continues to rely heavily on Bandello, but also retells love stories from classical myth and history, giving them the style of novellas and strongly emphasizing the importance of the sanctity of marriage. Other English Renaissance works which contain novellas, and which may have been read by Whetstone, are *The Forrest of Fancy* (1579) by H.C. (possibly Henry Chettle), *The Schoolemaster, or Teacher of Table Philosophie* (1576) by Thomas Twyne, *Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragicall Hystories* (1577) by Robert Smythe, and *Tragical Tales* (1587, but probably written before 1577) by George Turberville. The only framed collection of novellas in English before Whetstone's *Heptameron* is Henry Wotton's *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels* (1578), a loose translation of Jacques Yver's *Le Printemps d'Iver*. In Wotton's version, five gentlemen and gentlewomen relate five "Tragicall Histories," thus exhibiting a skill which Wotton claims is necessary for the courteous gentleperson and even more so for the courtier. Since the *Courtlie Controversie* is closer in tone and intent to the *Heptameron* than are the other English
collections, it is not surprising that Whetstone draws on Wotton for some ideas and phrases, especially in the masque of the Seventh Day.

Unlike their English counterparts, most Italian and French collections of novellas use a framework device, a "cornice," to unify the tales, to maintain the illusion that the novellas are oral in nature, to create authenticity, and to give perspective to the work as a whole. As in the popular courtesy books, the work is often set in a country villa or a garden, stories are linked together, and social games are described. Whereas courtesy books picture a world of reason and order, the novellas depict a world of violence and passion ruled by chance. Courtesy books stress man's god-like potentialities; novellas dwell on his animal nature. Both types of literature face the same problem — how to impose order and beauty on life without rejecting or denying its vitality and multiplicity — and both generally contrast the two kinds of reality. The anarchic, comic, and often obscene world of the novellas is set apart from the ordered world in which they are narrated; the reality of the tales clashes with the ideal of the frame. From the secure setting, suggests Rodax, the interlocutors and hence the reader may view the world realistically.72 However, collections of novellas go a step further than most courtesy books, for the ideal society in which the story-telling occurs is itself a refuge from the ugliness of the world beyond. Boccaccio's garden in the Tuscan countryside is for ten days a place of light and gaiety and security; outside is the nightmare of the Black Death. In the Novelle (c. 1374) of Giovanni Sercambi of Lucca, the travellers are fleeing the plague in Lucca in 1374. Cintio's Ecatommiti (1565), a collection of tales of conjugal fidelity and infidelity, is set on a ten-day sea voyage as ten
men and women escape to Marseilles from the Sack of Rome in 1527. Girolamo Parabosco's *Diporti* (1550) are related by a shooting party kept indoors by bad weather. In her *Heptameron*, Marguerite de Navarre claims to be reporting the discussions and tales heard at an Abbey in the Pyrenees where a group of travellers are marooned by floods for ten days. The five gentlemen and ladies of Yver's *Le Printemps d'Iver* (1572) are gathered at the feast of Pentecost to escape their memories of the recent civil wars in Poitou. A villa near Florence in springtime is the setting for the six-day gathering of young people that provides the frame for Firenzuola's *Ragionamenti* (1525). A convent parlor is the site of Fiorentino's *Pecorone* (c. 1378), and carnival time in Venice is the scene of Straparola's *Piacevoli notti* (1550-53). Even Bandello achieves the same effect by framing his *Novelle* (1554) with dedicatory letters, many of which are fictional in character, for the letters provide details of historical events and social happenings of the time and by so doing create a courtly, realistic setting for the sensational tales.

Among the numerous framework devices there is only one winter setting. Anton Francesco Grazzini (known as "Il Lasca") describes in his *Le cene* a dinner that takes place in 1540 at the house of a wealthy Florentine widow and her brother on the last day of January; five men and five women are present; a snowstorm rages outside; and names are drawn by lot. The parallel to Whetstone's *Heptameron* must be coincidental, however, for *Le cene* was not published until the eighteenth century.

The frame of Boccaccio's *Decameron* includes descriptions of nature that add to the decorative quality of the work; it depicts a refined, aristocratic group of young people who establish a tone of elegance; and
above all, it makes clear the theoretical reasons and ideals which inspire
the novellas. Progressing from the harsh reprehension of vice in Day
One to the eulogy of virtue in Day Ten, the novellas themselves form a
"moral itinerary of ideas." This progression is emphasized by the frame,
in which the discussions and interactions of the interlocutors highlight
the important movements without overtly declaring the themes. The pretense
to historicity in the characters and the setting of the frame helps to
create an illusion of actuality, while the stylization of the characters
and their dialogue lends their behaviour -- and their stories -- an exemplary
and ideal value. "That is, the action in the 'frame' does not represent
a human world psychologically alive and real, but only a felicitous visual-
lization of those ideal, longed-for, conditions of life, weightless and
remote from any daily concern."74 For later novella writers, the frames
became mere decorations, literary devices; they do not succeed in
holding the reader's attention in the same way as did Boccaccio's frame.
Yet Whetstone does shape the frame and novellas of the Heptameron in a
way that sometimes stirs up an echo of the Decameron.

The sixteenth-century writer who most adroitly manipulates the frame-
work device, and from whom Whetstone undoubtedly learned a great deal,
is Marguerite de Navarre (also known as Margaret of Angoulême), elder
sister of Francis I, wife of Henri d'Albret King of Navarre, and the
most famous patroness of letters of her day. She set out to collect true
histories that reflected contemporary French life and to organize them,
after the example of the Decameron, into ten days of ten stories each.
The seventy-two tales that were completed at her death were published
by Boaistuau in 1558 as Histoires des amans fortuez, a badly edited book.
In 1559 Claude Gruget published a superior new edition and gave it the title of *L'Heptameron*.

Although the frame device was commonplace in sixteenth-century French collections of novellas, Marguerite's handling of it is unique. The characters in the frame of the *Heptameron* are exceptionally well-realized, perhaps because they represent Marguerite's close friends disguised by pseudonyms. The continual sparring of the sexes, as the men seek to conquer and the women seek to preserve their honor, the touches of banter, and the author's success in dramatization help to enliven the dialogue. More significant, however, is the way in which Marguerite uses the characters' conversation to draw the reader into the discussion and to give moral direction to the work as a whole. The tales also advance and dramatize the discussion, and they encourage the reader to participate in the talk of the framework characters. The novellas are not mere entertainments or illustrations; they are part of the fabric of the whole work. The characters are well motivated and generally sympathetic. Their actions are the raw material of human experience on which the framework characters comment, and the relation between the narrated tale and real life is thus emphasized. The technique of making the discussion after each tale an epilogue to the story is Marguerite's contribution to the history of the novella after Boccaccio.

The tone of the *Heptameron* is skilfully varied, yet Marguerite's work is fundamentally serious. Her subjects are love and religion. Very much aware of the clash between the demands of the flesh and of the spirit, she finds a solution in Christian marriage. For Marguerite, love is a means of reaching the ideal in this world; human love is a ladder to the
Marriage, both a social and divine institution, is the necessary compromise. It enables men and women to fulfill their love in this world, but it also concerns the family and the community and connects property and status. Social rank, wealth, and parental consent are all to be considered in the search for the ideal marriage, but love too is essential. Romantic love is insufficient as a basis for the social institution of marriage; companionship is more important. Marguerite cautions, however, that the ideal marital state is not often reached in our fallen world, that the condition of married life is often hellish. She would have agreed wholeheartedly with Whetstone's dictum "That Marriage, was a Paradice on earth, if her Lawes be observed: and a Hell in the House, where her Statutes are broken" (p. 36).

Whetstone, then, echoes many of Marguerite's ideas; but the philosophical and spiritual dimension of the Heptameron, its religious theme and Platonic idealism, are not approached by the more practical English book. Marguerite's Protestant tendencies would also have attracted Whetstone, for although she always remained a Catholic, she was influenced by Protestant humanism and exhibited sympathy for Reformers. She attacks the Order of St. Francis, as does Whetstone (see the adventure of Friar Inganno, pp. 120ff.), and her hatred of monks is conspicuous. Above all, Marguerite de Navarre's Heptameron provided Whetstone with a model for effectively combining frame and novellas so that the resulting clash culminates in the emergence of truth, for examining love as it functions in society, and for fusing courtesy book and novella and philosophical treatise.

In The Rocke of Regard Whetstone had collected prose and verse tales, many derived from Italian sources (the stories of Dom Diego, Lady Barbara,
and Bianca Maria are adapted from Bandello), and one -- "The Discourse of Rinaldo and Giletta" -- that reveals considerable originality in spite of its claim to be translated from an unnamed work by an unknown Italian author; but the *Heptameron of Civill Discourses* shows a more sophisticated use of the prose tale, probably reflecting Whetstone's indebtedness to Marguerite de Navarre. Of the six tales in his *Heptameron*, only one has no known source, the story of Sicheus and Clearches in Day Two (pp. 57ff.). The adventure of Friar Inganno (pp. 120ff.) is taken from Boccaccio; the stories of Borrihauder and Ophella (pp. 40ff.) and of Malipiero and Felice (pp. 92ff.) are borrowed from Marguerite de Navarre; the story of Promos and Cassandra (pp. 125ff.) is found in Cintio; and the tale of Phrigius and Pieria (pp. 182ff.) occurs in Plutarch. Another anecdote, the metamorphosis of Rinautus (pp. 182-83) is not a novella, for it is presented not as fact (as history) but as fable, that is, as a poetic embodiment of moral truth; and its main function in the book is primarily to display Ismarito's wit. The six tales that may be called novellas are more than exempla. Into the framework discussion of ideal marriage and of life as we might make it, these tales bring the world of action, a reminder of life as it is. The novella characters illustrate through their actions some qualities that are being examined by Segnior Philoxenus's guests; thus their adventures are the experiences by which the precepts are tested. In turn, the result gives rise to further discussion.

Whetstone's novellas, then, are not the tools of a preacher, but an integral part of his mode of apprehending experience imaginatively. Nothing like his technique appears in English literature before the *Heptameron*, though it is approached by Greene later in the century. Tilney
and Wotton unify their works by means of an enveloping narrative, but in *The Flower of Friendshippe* the stories are simply illustrative, and in *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels* they are primarily diverting.

Among Robert Greene's framework tales — others being *Morando* (1584), *Alcida* (1588), and *Perimedes* (1588) — it is *Greenes Farewell to Folly* (1591) that is closest in narrative design to the *Heptameron*. In the Golden Age of Florence, Jeronimo Farneze, his wife, three daughters (including the sharp-tongued Lady Katherine), and four gentlemen escape from the "mutinous factions" of the Guelphs and Ghibellines to a farm near Vienna. The discourses and discussions by which they pass the time provide occasions for narrating tales. However, Greene's tales here suggest more the medieval exempla than the Italian novelle, for they are more illustrative than entertaining. *Greenes Farewell to Folly* contains other parallels to the *Heptameron*: the first after-dinner discussion is sparked by the device of a death's head on Cosimo's ring, as the pictures of Ixion and of a "Rhinocerot" give rise to discussions in the *Heptameron*; Cosimo draws Benedetto out of his dumps, as Philoxenus brings Ismarito out of his melancholy musing; and the question of why love is painted blind occurs in both works. Nevertheless, in over-all structure, in the ways in which the novellas interrelate with the frame, the *Heptameron* has more in common with the *Decameron* and the *Heptameron* than it has with any English work.

In other respects, Whetstone's treatment of his novellas is competent and traditional. The tales are appropriate to the characters of their narrators, and the listeners react appropriately. Rhetorical exercises are worked into the fabric of the story, but not to an extent associated with the euphuism of the late sixteenth century. In the *Heptameron*, such
exercises are not mere rhetorical decoration: laments and debates heighten
dramatic moments, long monologues focus attention on the disruptive force
of passions, and the frequent exchanges of letters further the plots.
The common motif of the go-between appears in the figure of Macrello in
the story of Malipiero and Felice, and the motif of the elder man giving
wise advice appears both in the same story and in the story of Sicheus
and Clearches. Whetstone maintains the sense of detachment required
in a successful novella, but his attitude -- or at least Ismarito's attitude --
is basically good-humoured and compassionate to a degree not often known
in continental tales. Friar Inganno's punishment, although justly cruel,
is quickly curtailed; and the macabre revenge of Malipiero is toned down
by his reconciliation to Felice. Another noteworthy feature of Whetstone's
novellas is his occasional regard for economic motives. Elisa and
Felice both go astray because they are seduced by wealth, thus illustrating
how want destroys marriage. The emphasis on the need for thrift is bourgeois
in tone, and Whetstone's middle class leaning is also revealed in the
portrayal of his characters. Tryfo is a rich merchant and Clearches a
wealthy neighbour; Malipiero is a gentleman, but not a nobleman; Promos
is a governor, but not a king. Pieria and Phrygius are royal, but their
story unfolds an ideal case and is related by the courtly Segnior Philoxenus.
Finally, Whetstone's novellas reflect his Protestant morality: he tones
down any suggestion of lasciviousness in his originals (Farina retains
her virtue), and he always seizes opportunities to satirize Papacy.

Each tale in the Heptameron contributes to the total effect. The
first tells a story of a disorderly and comic marriage; the last describes
an ideal marriage in which love triumphs over enmity and in which public
and private goals are combined. The progress from first to last is gradual, matching the pace of the framework discussions, until at the end of the book the concepts of marriage treated in both frame and tales coincide.

The ideal of civility merges with the reality of the novella world.
Whetstone's Sources

The Elizabethan middle class audience demanded information and entertainment, profit and pleasure, from their reading, and professional writers such as Whetstone strove to satisfy their tastes, finding in the classics precedents for literary didacticism. Writers of Elizabethan prose fiction frequently compare their work to that of the bee which sucks the sweet and profitable honey out of both weeds and flowers. Their usual method of teaching is to stock their books with precepts, instructions, and examples. Pettie, in his translation of Guazzo's Civile Conversation, declares that he is making his discussion of serious matters more palatable by sweetening it with commonplace illustrations, jests, popular proverbs, and classical authorities. He praises plain speaking, because goodness and weight of matter are more important than ornaments and flowers, but he admits the need for some art to alleviate boredom. Similarly, Whetstone declares in The Rocke of Regard, "And sure I hold it necessarie, that matter of devise (to worke attention) be sometimes mingled with delight" (sig. fl 2r), and he calls the Heptameron "A Worke, intercoursed with Civyll Pleasure, to reave tediousnesse from the Reader: and garnished with Morall Noates to make it profitable, to the Regarder" (t.p.). Whetstone's method of achieving these goals is identical to that outlined by Pierre de la Primaudaye in The French Academie: (1) to praise virtue and dispraise vice, (2) to define the subject of discourse, (3) to give precepts, and (4) to provide examples
that move with delight — all in order to compare motives and reasons until truth is sought out and the best conclusion chosen. Whetstone arranges the discourses and novellas to form a progression from the dispraise of vice to the praise of virtue; in the First Day's Exercise he sets out the order of the entertainments, defining the topic of each day's discourse; in the frame he outlines the precepts by which marriage may lead to happiness; and in the tales and anecdotes he tests those precepts.

The need for amplification and ornamentation is stressed in rhetorical treatises such as Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) and Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577). The approved means of achieving "copy" and revealing "invention" include causes, effects and consequences, examples, similes, antitheses, notable sayings and proverbs, moral sentences, dreams, fictitious narratives, theological allegories; these may all be illustrated from the text of the *Heptameron*. In this way, a writer may display wit. Whetstone uses "wit" both in the sense of mental ability and in the sense of quickness of intellect and flow of ideas; at one point in the *Heptameron* (p. 111) he seems to echo Lyly in warning against the superficiality of wit, but on the whole, it is a quality he seeks and praises. The Renaissance model for such highly rhetorical writing is the classical oration. The Inns of Court and the universities trained students in the arts of persuasion, stressing that the way to argue effectively was by citing authorities and giving illustrations. The orations at the Inns of Court (where Whetstone probably studied) used jests and comic tales for illustration and to attract attention. Letter-writing was also taught as an art in composing written orations. Thus, Whetstone's *Heptameron* may be "built along the lines of a deliberate
oration," as is argued by Beauregard in his unpublished dissertation.

Books of useful information, such as William Baldwin's *A Treatise of Morall Phylosophie* (1547) and H. C.'s *The Forrest of Fancy* (1579), were extremely popular, and similar compilations became the handbooks of Renaissance writers. Whetstone would have had these books at hand since his schooldays:

The school libraries of the Renaissance were made up largely of collections of proverbs, maxims, apophthegms, fables, examples, similes, descriptions, and selected quotations from such authors as Cicero, Plutarch, Aristotle, and Seneca.

The *Heptameron* provides evidence that Whetstone preferred compendia of moral philosophy and historical anecdotes to general dictionaries. In the sixteenth century, history was second in importance to the Bible as a source of examples of good conduct, and Whetstone's fascination with historical narrative is demonstrated in his later works, *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties* and *The English Myrror*, which combine pseudo-biographical stories with moralizations.

The encyclopedias of miscellaneous information, largely historical, which Whetstone apparently used in writing the *Heptameron* include versions of Mexia's *Silva de varia leccion* and Guevara's *Rélox de principes*. Mexia may today be forgotten, but the attraction which his book held for Whetstone is not difficult to understand:

Pedro Mexia, like Antonio de Guevara, is now among the least read of sixteenth-century Spanish writers, and yet in his own age was one of the most famous. His *Silva de varia lección* (1540), put into English as *The Forest or Collection of Historyes*, went through more than thirty editions during the sixteenth century in Spain and enjoyed exceptional success in France, where it possibly encouraged Boaistuau to compose his *Histoires prodigieuses*. It was also translated into Italian as well as English. It stands as one of the most important of Spanish witnesses to the taste of the time for compilations and miscellanies of random information -- the taste that prompted
Erasmus to put together his *Apophthegms* and *Adages*, carried the *Nine Books of Memorable Deeds and Sayings* of Valerius Maximus through over a hundred editions, and lay behind Montaigne's *Essais*. Mexía explains his title by saying that he has brought together his material 'without arrangement or order' so that it is like many different kinds of trees in a wood. It is, indeed, there to be wandered through this way and that. He may tell us how the empire of the Turk arose, or about Tamberlain the Great, the wisdom of animals or the ages of the world—and all in a straight-forward prose which, though lacking outstanding excellence, invites one to read on. Mexía shares the sixteenth-century love of extraordinary and amazing events and its delight in curious information, drawn often from ancient writers, the 'authorities', and pointing to a practical moral lesson.

The Explanatory Notes of this edition attempt to indicate the extent of Whetstone's debt to Mexia through the French translations of Claude Gruget and Antoine du Verdier, first published in 1554 and 1577 respectively (see especially Note 203.8). Further evidence that Whetstone borrowed from Mexia in his later works is provided by Thomas C. Izard throughout his *George Whetstone, Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters*. Although Gruget's translation of the *Silva* formed the basis of T. Fortescue's *The Foreste* (1571), there is no indication in any of Whetstone's works that he knew the English version.

Guevara's book, *Libro de Emperador Marco Aurelio con rélox de principes* (1529), also consists of collections of essays. It reached forty editions in France before 1600, and in England it was translated by Sir Thomas North as *The Diall of Princes* (1557). Imitating Plutarch, Guevara claims to be putting together the life and letters of Marcus Aurelius, translated from a Greek work found in Florence; but he elsewhere admits that he could not read Greek. Written in the high style, the *Relox de principes* may have contributed towards the development and spread of euphuism. The Elizabethans read Guevara for his essays, anecdotes, quotations,
accounts of customs and superstitions, rhetorical embellishments, advice, and moralizations. Parallels between the *Heptameron* and *The Diall of Princes* are suggested throughout the Explanatory Notes.

Whetstone's interest in history is apparent also in the number of classical references, most of which are illustrative, in his works. In the *Heptameron*, there are unusually few mythological references — and those few are primarily from Ovid — but many historical or pseudo-historical ones, drawn chiefly from Plutarch and from the miscellanies written by Valerius Maximus, Quintus Curtius, and their intermediaries. In many cases, it is impossible to determine whether Whetstone used a primary classical source, a classical miscellany, a Renaissance translation, or a Renaissance encyclopedia; but for some of the anecdotes originating in Valerius Maximus I have not been able to trace a Renaissance source. Similarly, there is no indication that Whetstone used Golding's Ovid; in fact, his Ovidian references are closer to the Latin original than to the English translation. Furthermore, Ismarito recommends that the *Metamorphoses* be read in Latin (p. 161). The evidence, then, suggests that Whetstone did not always rely on the most available Renaissance compilation, but used the primary classical sources as well.

Nevertheless, the likelihood that Whetstone referred to some Renaissance dictionaries and manuals of classical myth and history cannot be dismissed. Starnes and Talbert have shown that lexicons including proper names were popular in Renaissance England and were easily available in school libraries. Writers frequently were familiar with classical texts, yet used the lexicons as aids to memory to recall the original or to provide a reference. The most common dictionaries were Ambrosius
Calepine's **Dictionarium** (1502), Robert Stephanus' **Thesaurus Linguae Latinae** (1531), Charles Stephanus' **Dictionarium** (1553), and, pre-eminent in sixteenth-century England, Thomas Cooper's **Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae** (1565).\(^8\) In his introduction, Cooper indicates that his work may be fruitfully used as a commonplace book. While Starnes and Talbert suggest that Pettie drew on Cooper for some of his stories because some details and phraseology correspond, and state that Grange and Gascoigne were probably indebted to the **Thesaurus**,\(^8\) I find it impossible to distinguish definitely between the similarities of Whetstone to Cooper and those of Whetstone to classical writers. In *The English Myrror* Whetstone refers to both "Callipin" and "Cooper Dict." (sig. N\(\text{r}^1\)), but since he supplies no comparable signpost in the **Heptameron**, the extent of his use of Cooper in the earlier work cannot be conclusively stated.

Encyclopedic works on classical mythology included Natalis Comes' **Mythologiae sive Explicationis Fabularum** (1551), Vincenzio Cartari's **Le imagini dei Dei degli antichi** (1556), and Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus' **De Deis Gentium** (1548). These reveal an attitude towards the function of mythology in literature that is shared by Whetstone: myths transform morality into forms that are pleasant and easy to recall and provide dignity and authority to the author's statements. It was a convention of the high style, a convention common in framed novellas, to mark the passage of time by mythological references -- and Whetstone does so in the **Heptameron** at the opening of Days 1, 2, 4, and 7. Above all, mythology is another instrument of persuasion, for it may suggest an allegory or spark an argument:
For undoubtedly there is no one tale among all the Poetes, but under the same is comprehended some thing that perteyneth eyther to the amendments of maners, to the knowledge of trueth, to the settyng forthe of Natures woorcke, or elles to the understandinge of some notable thynge done. (Wilson, The Arte of Rhetorique, 1553, sig. 2QT).

The more common moralistic interpretations of myth appear in the discussions of Juno and Diana (pp. 33-34) and of Ixion (p. 144); an unconventional treatment of myth occurs in the story of Rinautus (p. 182). Both the fable of Ixion and that of Rinautus are inspired by pictures in Segnior Philoxenus's palace and lead to further discussions.

Another traditional way in which Whetstone amplifies and ornaments his theme is the use of proverbs. Important in the rhetorical training of the Renaissance, the proverb was a favourite tool of preachers, politicians, pamphleteers, and dramatists, for it helped to put them as speakers or writers on friendly and familiar footing with their audiences. Initially intended as a means of extending the rhetorical resources of the native tongue — to increase the "copy" possible in English, in the sixteenth century proverbs were often adopted from foreign languages. A knowledge of foreign proverbs was recommended for travellers as an aid in establishing rapport with strangers, in learning to converse idiomatically in another language, and in understanding foreign customs. Morals and manners were taught through proverbial expressions, especially to children; thus, the proverb came to be closely associated with conduct literature. Because in Latin the proverb had been an important rhetorical figure, both native and classical proverbs were memorized in schools; and in academic circles, a proverb might be the basis for elaboration of a theme, as it sometimes is in Erasmus.

The Renaissance English schoolboy learned the proverb as a rhetorical figure of speech with which he might embellish
his theme, or help an argument by the authority of the wise saw; or, indeed, he might even work out an entire essay based upon a single proverb as topic. The principle behind this educational use of the proverb came ultimately from classical rules of rhetoric. Aristotle viewed the proverb as a figure of speech resembling the simile, the metaphor, and the hyperbole, for each figure conceals a "hidden meaning," which delights in "deceiving the hearer" and in the fact that "there is an acquisition of knowledge" in solving the enigma embodied in the proverb. Furthermore, the proverb was considered an "authority" by virtue of its being universally known and "beyond the reach of corruption," and therefore could reasonably be used as an "ancient witness" in judicial oratory.87

Whetstone learned his lessons well, for he does not use proverbs simply for decoration in his works; it is the wisdom expressed in the proverb that is important to him.

The term "proverb" generally refers to a wide range of wise sayings: classical adages and sentences (usually called sententiae), homely proverbs and proverbial phrases, and proverbial similes. Classical sayings had long been fashionable in literature and by the sixteenth century many had become proverbial. Although native proverbs were at first considered to be appropriate only in writing designed for a popular audience, or were assigned by courtly authors only to simple and uneducated characters, by Whetstone's time they were generally respectable in all literature. The late sixteenth century was the heyday of the proverb in England: Gascoigne stressed its use in literature, Pettie's novellas abound in proverbs, and Lyly's Euphues undoubtedly encouraged a heightened taste for a proverbial style of writing.

The first English collection of popular proverbs is John Heywood's Dialogue (1546), a book on marriage, recommended as a sourcebook by Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique, 1553 (sig. R2r). Classical proverbs had always been recognized and were given still more exposure through Erasmus
in his *Adagia* (1500), *Similia* (1513), and *Apophthegmata* (1531). Richard Taverner's *Proverbes or Adagies Gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus* (1539) was the most important collection of proverbs in English up to that date and was plundered by both Heywood and Meres. But by the 1570's, foreign proverbs, especially Italian ones, were in vogue. Italian proverbs are collected in James Sanford's *The Garden of Pleasure* (1573), a translation from Guicciardini; Charles Merbury's *A Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie* (1581), which takes many proverbs from Guazzo; and John (or Giovanni) Florio's *Second Frutes* (1591). Many commonplace books were also storehouses of pithy sayings and similes: these include Caxton's *The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophres* (1477), drawn from Diogenes Laertius; Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Bankette of Sapience* (1539); and John Florio's *Florio His Firste Fruites* (1578). Whetstone may have drawn, and undoubtedly did draw, on any number of these collections. Many of the proverbs in the *Heptameron* occur also in Guazzo's *Civile Conversation* and in Lyly's *Euphues and Euphues and His England*, but no direction of influence may be determined. The currency of Guazzo's work in England, both in the original Italian and in Pettie's translation, helped to enrich Tudor and Stuart proverb lore, and Whetstone may have learned from it his technique of using proverbs.

Whetstone's comments in the *Heptameron* indicate that he considers the proverb to be the embodiment of the wisdom of accepted truth: "for well he knewe, that Byrdes of a feather, would flie together" (p. 133); "but she (that knew a leg of a Larke, was better than the whole Carkasse of a Kyte) woulde none God thank him" (p. 180). Thus, he frequently illustrates a point by piling up proverbs as examples, heeding Thomas
Wilson's observation, in The Arte of Rhetorique, that "sentences gathered and heaped together commende muche the matter" (sig. R1r). Clusters of proverbs serve as warnings ("Al is not gold . . . that glistereth," p. 34; "Crocadyles teares, intrappeth Fooles," p. 90); as wise precepts ("counterfeits will to kinde," p. 53; "fairest colours soonest staine," p. 111); as guides to conduct ("He that crackes the Nut, thinkes the Kernell sweetest," p. 152); and as comforting thoughts ("things when they are at the worst, begin again to amend," p. 196). On the other hand, a character in the book will sometimes argue against the force of a proverb, using it to ignite an argument (pp. 52, 83). Proverbs may simply focus and enforce an idea; or they may begin a discourse (pp. 84, 110, 159), provide a proof to cap an argument (pp. 112, 210), supply a neat summary of a discussion (pp. 80, 95, 166), or help to develop the theme of a poem (p. 148).

The most obvious proverbs are those that are used for expansion and embellishment of a theme or simply for ornament; but because their wisdom is so much a part of Whetstone's thought, proverbs are sometimes so embedded in the text of the Heptameron that they are difficult to recognize. When Whetstone writes, "if their wyves love gadding, lyke faire Felice, and be inconstant, do want, or finde in their Husbands, discontentment: Twentie to one, they wil pawn their honours, to please their fancies" (p. 98), he is expanding the proverb, "Women and hens are lost by gadding." "If a House, were as soone bilded, as the Plot is drawn . . . Shepherds wold disdaine to live in Cotages" (p. 154) may be read as a version of "If wishes were horses, then beggars would ride." The metaphor "Whose eye was able to fire a mountaine of Ice"
(p. 23) echoes the proverb "To strike fire from ice." The exact interpretation of some proverbs depends on their context; for instance, Whetstone writes both "her knowen enemy is not so daungerous, as the fayned friend" (p. 218), and "better to have you a fayned friende, (being so daungerous) then an open enemie" (p. 43). On occasion, Whetstone will go so far as to change the usual meaning of a proverb to suit his theme or to create comic distortion. "An ungodly childe maketh an unthriftie Father" (p. 86) is a reversal of the usual "A sparing father and a prodigal son." The Doctor is described as shrinking "no more at these threates, then an Oke at the Helve af an Axe" (p. 82); that is, he is in less danger than the tree that "falls not at the first stroke." The meaning of one proverb is disputed by Bergetto and Soranso (p. 56), and two interpretations of another are suggested by Maria Belochy and Soranso (p. 190).

It is largely through proverbs that Whetstone establishes the frequently down-to-earth tone of the discourses and narratives, for proverbs characteristically refer to the concrete details of ordinary life and to everyday domestic affairs. For example, "Felices Father hath much adoe, to keepe rayne out of his housetop: then if with difficulties he lieth drye in his Bed, it is impossible he should have anye great cheare at his Boorde" (p. 95); "In deede, want wyll so quicken them, as the Husband wyll leape at a Cruste, and the Wife trot for her Dinner" (p. 90); "she will goe like a Pecock, and you like a meacock" (p. 95); and "for Spannyels and Curres, hardly live together without snarling" (p. 210). Such homely proverbs frequently introduce a note of humour or satire: the company, ready to sing the praises of Hymen,
are suddenly "mute as a fishe" (p. 36), and the courtly gentlemen and ladies are "coupled together lyke fowles on Saint Valentines day morninge" (p. 24). Finally, proverbs frequently suggest character traits: the blunt and biting Doctor Mossenigo cites one colorful popular proverb after another, but the grave Soranso prefers weighty classical sententiae.

Although all Whetstone's works reflect his interest in proverbs, the *Heptameron* has an unusually rich store of pithy sayings. Could this feature be accounted for by the *Heptameron* 's relation to courtesy literature and to the tradition of polite conversation, both of which favor the witty rhetorical application of proverbs? Whetstone's style has much in common with Lyly's -- including the use of proverbs -- but the *Heptameron* is by no means euphuistic. *Euphues* may have been the most popular book of its day (1578), and it released a tide of imitative writing, yet it failed to absorb Whetstone completely. The soliloquies, orations, laments, complaints, epistles, and conventional conversations that appear in *Euphues* and in the *Heptameron* occur in most sixteenth-century collections of novellas. Unlike Lyly, Whetstone does not create similes from natural history. His dialogue is colloquial and unrefined as often as it is courtly. Because his interest lies more in the movement of the action than in the analysis of sensibilities, he is concerned with capturing the nuances of speech. Whetstone's clauses are shorter, his sentences less involuted. He uses more native proverbs. The rhetorical devices that he does manipulate in the *Heptameron* were common currency in England in the 1580's and were the usual trappings of a literary work that aimed at moral edification. Whetstone's literary significance rests not in his style, but in his narrative skill and structural technique.
8.

The Structure of the "Heptameron"

In the dedicatory epistle to Sir Christopher Hatton (pp. 3-5), an epistle remarkable for its lack of extravagant praise, Whetstone outlines the three-fold purpose of his book: to praise Segnior Philoxenus as a model civil gentleman, to describe, as a "president of behaviours," "the civill disputations, and speaches of sundry well Courted Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen," and to provide "a true Anatomie" of the inconveniences and the benefits of marriage. The book is presented as an attempt to recall the entertainments which he had "heard and sawe presented in this most noble Italian Gentlemans Pallace, the Christmas twelvemoneths past" (p. 6). I have already argued that, although the extent to which the Heptameron is linked to an historical event is open to question, Whetstone indeed reveals a sound knowledge of Italian culture. But what is the relationship of fact to fancy in the Heptameron? Is Whetstone simply claiming to be reporting his own experience in order to give his narrative credibility? I think not. Nor do I believe that he is a faithful recorder of an actual event. For the Heptameron is perhaps unique in Elizabethan fiction in the degree to which it creates an air of "realism" while obviously assimilating several literary traditions.

Fictional narrative in the Renaissance was often condemned as time-wasting, frivolous, and dishonest. Hence, many writers attempted to make their works respectable by tagging on moral lessons and by frequently drawing the reader's attention to the ways in which the stories might
be read for moral profit. Whetstone had done so in *The Rocke of Regard*. The technique of the *Heptameron*, however, is more sophisticated: not only does the narrative fully integrate the "profitable" discourses, the wise and witty comments, and the rhetorical sayings, but it is presented in such a way as to increase the book's aura of verisimilitude without sacrificing its artistic integrity.

To avoid the charge of lying, the Renaissance storyteller could insist that his work was a true history; however, rarely did he expect to deceive a reader into accepting fictional narrative as an actual record of historical events.

Renaissance makers of fiction . . . seek to delight or instruct their readers, not to delude them . . . . If he [an author] presents himself as one who reports things that have happened, his attitude is like that of a masker at a fancy dress ball who hopes that the audience will admire the art of his dress and his acting but certainly not mistake him for the character he is playing. As Frederico remarks in the second book of *Il Cortegiano*, a young man who masquerades as an old one should so clothe himself as to betray the nimbleness of his person.88

Similarly, Whetstone takes care to specify his own role in relation to the Christmas pleasures at Philoxenus's palace. He calls himself a "trouchman", that is, an interpreter of events; but a truchman is a figure usually associated with a dramatic entertainment. Furthermore, he represents himself in the book in the guise of Cavaliero Ismarito. This role-playing and creation of a mask look forward to the storytelling technique of the seventeenth century, when tales were frequently declared "to be no fiction at all but a narration of true events under a veil of feigned names and altered circumstances."89 Such stories appeared in the sixteenth century only as supposedly autobiographical narratives, generally of the prodigal-son type, like *Greene's Mourning Garment* (1590)
and Greenes Groats-worth of Wit (1592). They resemble novellas in their concern with ordinary people in contemporary settings. "But while the typical novella may make a token assertion of its truth, it asks for tolerance rather than belief." Whetstone portrays real people and describes events which apparently correspond to real happenings, but he rearranges and modifies the characters and actions to suit his artistic purpose, in the manner of a novelist.

This is truth as Whetstone sees it. On the one hand, a writer must ideally speak from experience: in The English Myrror he quotes what he calls an old saying, "Orpheus can describe hell better than Aristotle," for "truly in knowledge is assurance, and in report may be error" (sig. M1r). On the other hand, Whetstone, in typically Renaissance fashion, looks to classical and other authorities for his models. Hence the ambiguity created by the fusion of experience and art. For instance, Whetstone locates Segnior Philoxenus's palace "10 miles from Ravenna towards the River of Poo" (pp. 13-14); yet eight years earlier, before his visit to Italy, he wrote in The Rocke of Regard, "In Italie (neare to the river of Poo) there dwelled a noble man" (sig. B4r). Segnior Philoxenus unaccountably retires after supper, not participating in the civil entertainments until the last day; and in one of Whetstone's sources, The Courtier, "the Duke uses continually, by reason of his infirmitie, soone after Supper to goe to his rest, everie man ordinarily, at that houre drew where the Dutchesse was." Whetstone says that he was an eyewitness of the Italian entertainments which he describes in the Heptameron; yet in the masque in the Seventh Day's Exercise, he describes a shield which had been pictured in an English
book, Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armory* (1562). Such fusion is of course not unusual in literature; it is remarkable in the *Heptameron*, however, in that it occurs as early as 1582.

It is the carefully constructed design of the *Heptameron* that identifies it finally as an imaginative creation. The *Heptameron* opens with a description of "the dead of Winter." Ismarito, travelling on horseback on Christmas Eve, a stranger lost in "a Countrey farre from home," in which the threat of the plague is never far away, longs for a "spedie Harbour." While most men are comfortably feasting in their homes and all living beings are safe in their nests, coverts, hives, holes, and other havens, he wanders alone in "a desert Forrest." Thus, Whetstone establishes a fairy-tale atmosphere which contrasts domestic security and wild desolation. In the midst of this dark and lonely forest of Ravenna, Ismarito is suddenly amazed by the brightness of a stately palace that symbolizes the beauty and order of the civil life — for there he meets with gracious hospitality, courtesy, and companionship. Segnior Philoxenus offers hospitality to all passers-by in the great hall; a select few, "the better sort," engage in more sophisticated, refined pastimes in the great chamber. The representative group of Europeans form a social gathering that is a court in miniature, a society in which the art of living is all-important. Once he has set the tone for the rest of the work and has acquainted the reader with the beauty and grace of the palace, Whetstone moves ahead to describe the entertainments and discussions.

An order for the after-dinner pastimes is established by Philoxenus's guests, and this order shapes the book. By means of a marked lot in a cake, a leader is chosen — she is Aurelia, the queen of the Christmas
pleasures -- for it is necessary in a society to have "one to command, and all to obey" (p. 19). Laws governing courtly and sociable behaviour are decreed (pp. 21-23). Aurelia defines the topics to be debated and appoints Fabritio and Isabella as judges (p. 23). The order of each day is outlined (p. 24). The day begins at nine; the company assemble in the great chamber, then celebrate morning service in the private chapel; after dinner they retire to the drawing chamber for two hours of civil discourse and disputation -- but Segnior Philoxenus does not participate; after supper they dance, mask, or enjoy other entertainments. Only in the Seventh Day is the pattern disrupted, as Philoxenus joins the company after dinner and acts as an authoritative commentator.

The purpose of the discourses is to bring out truth. "For, as Yron and Flynt, beat together, have the vertue to smite fire: so, mens wittes, encountryng in doutful questions, openeth a passage for imprisoned Trueth" (p. 27). The civil discourses begin with a theoretical consideration of love as an ideal and with a debate on the relative advantages and disadvantages of the married and the single life, judgement being passed in favor of the married life. By the end of the First Day's Exercise, the first skirmish in the battle of the sexes has been fought, and the topic has been progressively narrowed to the practical level of a debate on the inconveniences of marriage, directed towards finding the path to paradise in marriage. The stage is set for the remainder of the discourses, which will attempt to determine how the goal might be achieved in practice. Why does marriage frequently lead to hell? How may joy in marriage be ensured? Is the guidance of parents necessary in choosing a wife or husband? Should free choice be allowed? Is
unequal love to be condemned? These are the major questions to be considered.

As the opening scene established a dichotomy between nature and civility, the First Day's Exercise suggests a conflict between love as ideal and love as earthly passion. Isabella questions the validity of Petrarchan love: "If Love be so sweete a passion (quoth she) I muse from what cause proceedeth the complaints of Lovers, who with showering teares, bedeweth the earth: with misty sights, dimmeth the aire, and with shril outcries pearceth the heavens" (p. 26). Soranso attributes the pains to "our fleshly imperfections, which corruptes the nature of good things, and not of any defect in love"; love on earth must ordinarily result in marriage or wantonness. This contrast is maintained throughout the Heptameron. The novellas depict the destructive effects of love, as men and women seek vainly to attain the ideal state. The frequent verses express the pains of love, the inner turmoils of love as passion, through the conventional Petrarchan conceits which compare love to a disease, a battle, an icy fire. In contrast, the frame pictures a fairly ordered, ideal social occasion, reinforced by the references to music as an aid to harmony and the references to classical history and mythology as examples that might be followed or avoided, as the case may be.

The story of Borrihauder and Ophelia, told in Day 1 by Doctor Mossenigo to illustrate a marriage ruled by violent passions untempered by love, recalls the fabliaux in its rapid, economical narration and its cynical tone. In Day 2, the story of Sicheus and Elisa, narrated by Faliero to illustrate the results of a marriage forced on the children in an attempt to bring the families together, is more novella-like in its
attention to rhetorical details. The marriage ends in murder, revenge, miscarriage, and horrible death, sensationally bringing home the truths of the monstrousness of hatred and the justice of divine retribution.

In Day 3, the story of Malipiero and Felice, narrated by Doctor Mossenigo to support his argument against rash marriages, is the liveliest in the book. Poverty destroys this marriage. Felice's adultery is motivated: she is vanquished by the persuasions of gold and of a go-between. The novella is less melodramatic than the tale of Sicheus and Elisa; this time love persists and triumphs, and Felice is redeemed. The story of Friar Inganno, related by Bergetto in Day 4 to entertain the company who are melancholy because Aurelia is ill, shows how lust threatens the religious and moral order. The story leads to a discussion of the sex war, which in turn leads directly to the next story, that of Promos and Cassandra, narrated by Isabella to reveal the treachery of men.

In Day 6, Ismarito's implicitly bawdy fable of Rinautus wittily expands the theme of marriage between the very old and the very young. Day 7 ends with an encomium on marriage by Segnior Philoxenus, who climaxes his speech with the tale of Phrygius and Pieria, a tale in the courtly love tradition in which the lovers succumb at first sight in a temple, indulge in love laments, exchange letters, and trust their fortunes to a go-between. Because their private desires correspond with public goals, however, their union is blessed and comes close to the ideal. Thus the last novella ends the discourses on a note of hope and harmony.

Whetstone's verses are similarly integrated into the design of the Heptameron. Unlike the novellas, the verses have little artistic merit, but they are nevertheless appropriate to the discourses and lead up to
the theme of each day. The Petrarchan "To realish Love, I taste a sowrie sweete" (p. 50) echoes the first novella's picture of the woes of love. Ismarito's farewell to worldly vanity in Day 3 (p. 76) proves to be short-lived, as his mood of contemplative melancholy is dispersed by "conversation." The theme of the significance of beauty is picked up by the verse in Day 4, "To thee I sende, thou fayrest of the fayre" (p. 81). The company's need for mirth in Day 4 is emphasized in "Care, Care, goe pack" (p. 119). The discussion of lofty love in Day 5 is anticipated by "Who prickels feares, to pluck the lovely Rose" (p. 148). In Day 6, "Regarde my love, but not my frostie haires" (p. 175), "the fruites of Doctor Mossenigoes Muse," both discloses the Doctor's comic predicament -- the arch-detractor of women has fallen in love with the "waspisest Damosel" -- and inspires the ensuing discussion.

As might be expected, the final verse, in Day 7, sings the praise of Hymen's rites, of marriage: "O none, nor state, lyke to the married lyfe" (p. 201).

Although Whetstone's dialogue is frequently animated and interesting, the characters tend to be sketchily realized, perhaps because they suggest social types. Fabritio, the elderly courtier, is a diplomat, who manages to avert open conflict between Mossenigo and Bergetto (pp. 91, 142). Soranso is fond of weighty pronouncements; Dondolo is haughty; Bergetto is boastful and hot-tempered -- he clashes with Mossenigo, Ismarito, Franceschina, and Isabella -- and he is a sore loser; Faliero is the one who baits Friar Bugiardo. Isabella is sometimes lively; Lucia Bella is sweet and modest; and Franceschina Sancta is a bit saucy; but the only woman to have any identity is Katherina Trista, "a sowre
and testy Dame" (p. 23), whose witty comments make her a fitting opponent for the Doctor. Aurelia is always the beautiful hostess, a faint reflection of Lady Emilia Pia in The Courtier, who controls the entertainments and frequently forestalls outbreaks of excessive feeling.

Against this general background of shadowy gentlemen and ladies, three characters stand out: Segnior Philoxenus, Doctor Mossenigo, and Ismarito. The portrait of Philoxenus, the ideal gentleman who is superior in rank and more accomplished in manners than are the rest of the company, is scarcely individualized, for Ismarito is very much aware of the distance between himself and his host. Like the absent King in the story of Promos and Cassandra, Philoxenus fulfils the role of a deus ex machina: he sets the stage, retires from the major entertainments, then returns to tie up the loose ends. At the end of the book, he presents the case for an ideal marriage, just as Bembo in The Courtier eloquently expounds the subject of ideal love.

The opposite of the courtly Segnior Philoxenus, who represents order, tradition, and conformity, is Doctor Mossenigo, the outsider, cynic, critic, and rebel. As a self-confessed plain-speaking lawyer and misogynist, he calls to mind the character of Gaspar in The Courtier. Doctor Mossenigo quickly becomes the focus of interest in the frame of the Heptameron, for the liveliest parts of the book are his. To him are attributed most of the colloquialisms, the homely proverbs, and the colorful speeches. He wittily twists the meaning of words and sentences. He relates the fabliaux-like tale of Borriauder and Ophella, and his cynical comments bring to life the story of Malipiero and Felice. Marino, Felice's lover, is said to be burning with love until "he was
in danger to have consumed to Cinders" (p. 99); he is compared to a "sullen swounding Childe" (p. 100); he sends Felice an image of himself wrought in gold, depicting his "bared Carkasse of Death" (p. 101), which ironically foreshadows his fate; and he signs his letter to Felice, "Unto my latter Gaspe" (p. 101). The grotesque dinner which Marguerite de Navarre and Painter mention without comment is neatly summarized by Doctor Mossenigo as being "longer, then pleasant, either to husbande, wife, or friende" (p. 106). The most convincing account of the hell of married life is attributed to Doctor Mossenigo, as he describes the inconveniences of unequal love: "a slut like the furie of lothsomenes, shall bring in dinner, because the Jelious wife, dare not trust her husbande with any maide that is hansom: the husbande offended, throweth the Platters at her head, and axeth if she meane to poysone him: the wife taketh pepper in the nose, and sayth, if hee had not married her, he woulde have beene glade of the worst morsell there" (pp. 186-90).

The cynical Doctor clashes with Friar Bugiardo, with Soranso, with Bergetto, and with the thief. As a result of their verbal skirmish, Bergetto and Doctor Mossenigo treat each other coldly, and the hidden anger nearly bursts forth as Bergetto goes so far as to eye his sword (p. 91): even in Segnior Philoxenus's palace, the ideal civil life is easily disturbed. Finally, the old Doctor becomes a figure of ridicule as he is enamoured with the young but shrewish Katherina (p. 175).

Ismarito, not as colorful a figure as Doctor Mossenigo, is nevertheless most convincing as the author's fictional self. He emerges as a solitary, diffident, yet engaging figure, predisposed to melancholy. He does not believe the porter's extended invitation, thinking it to
be a mere formality (p. 14). At the beginning of the civil entertain-
ments, when the others are "coupled together lyke fowles on Saint Valentines
day morninge" (p. 24), Ismarito is yet unmatched. During the discussions
in Day 1, he is silent and has to be drawn out by Aurelia (p. 26). At
the beginning of Day 3, he is again alone, musing on the vanity of the
world and the uncertainty of fortune (p. 75). Because he misses the
gaiety and brightness of the previous night's society, he is now lonely
and melancholy, feeling as though he were in a "desert wilderness."
His song expresses his determination to seek out philosophy, contemplation,
and heavenly knowledge; but the remedy for his depression turns out
instead to be the companionship of the returning guests. In Day 4,
Ismarito is still unhappy, this time because Aurelia is indisposed
(p. 114). Philoxenus brings him out of his dumps by accompanying him
to the gallery. When Philoxenus finds Ismarito once more alone, in
Day 6, "in a quiet place," reading Mexia on the history of Tamberlaine
(pp. 168-69), his cure this time is to show Ismarito the library.
Ismarito is baited by Soranso and Bergetto in Day 5, and by Bergetto
in Day 6 (p. 173). Nevertheless, he is able to hold his own and to
express well-defined, even unpopular views, for which he is sometimes
attacked in the debates: he pleads the cause of the equality of men
and women (pp. 140-41); he wittily explicates the picture of the "Rhinocerot"
(p. 182); he arouses Bergetto's jealousy (p. 174); and he overcomes
his modesty sufficiently to expound theology (p. 145). Since Ismarito
is the most fully realized character in the Heptameron, he may very well
reflect Whetstone's own personality.

The tone of the Heptameron ranges from the serious and courtly to
the humorous and colloquial, but it is rarely admonitory or declamatory and never bitter or sarcastic. Whetstone's moral and Protestant bias is apparent in his didactic debates, in the reference to Christmas as a season devoted to the service of God, when no light mirth should be allowed, and in his view of marriage as a sensible solution to the problems created by undisciplined passion. The ideal is shown to be not always practicable in a world where even economic factors may determine the course of love. Italy emerges as another qualified ideal, a valuable model of manners in spite of its Papistry. Accordingly, the attacks on Roman Catholicism -- the mockery of Friar Bugiardo's sermon, the treatment of Friar Inganno, the scorn of relics and tapers, and the references to the priests' lack of celibacy, to their babbling sermons, and to the superstitious ceremonies -- are critical and comic rather than vicious. Philoxenus embodies this tolerant attitude: he is an Italian Protestant who allows Catholic services in his home (p. 20), and who accepts the role of Roman Catholicism in Italy because it at least provides some hope for a large number of people (p. 45). Whetstone's ability to be critical yet detached in the *Heptameron* undoubtedly results from his skill in maintaining his role as an observer.

In the Seventh Day's Exercise, Whetstone takes care to bring together the various threads of the *Heptameron*, to create a sense of completion. The day is a special one: the New Year is described as a time of new beginnings; the festivities are celebrated not in the main palace, but in the banqueting house; and Segnior Philoxenus is present at the discussions. Whereas the previous days had explored the various ways to hell in marriage, New Year's Day focuses on the path to paradise. Philoxenus
emphasizes this note of hope, the promise of a new social order: "Perchaunce you have ended all the inconveniences in the old yeare, and I may begin the New Yeare, in helping to bloome the blessings of Marriage" (p. 197). So eloquent is Philoxenus's description of an ideal marriage that Lucia Bella abandons her resolution to be a nun. Even the final masque is a celebration of a triumph and a reflection of the longing for renewal. The masque picks up the motif of the contrast between desert wilderness and civil order -- the motif with which the Heptameron had opened. It looks back to the Golden Age, but reminds us that we no longer live in that age -- that perhaps the ideal is not now attainable -- chiefly because of the prevalence of Envy. Aurelia and Philoxenus, the hosts of the civil entertainments, have key roles in the masque, and by means of a mirror, they defeat Envy. The action of the masque -- and of the book as a whole -- is reflected in the gift which Uranie presents to Ismarito, a shield which is a representation of the cardinal virtues, often referred to as the civil virtues, by means of which man may defeat the unruly forces that threaten the stability of civilized life. The ending of the book, however, brings us down to earth again with the domestic image of the cock, whose "midnight song" is a reminder of time and of human fallibility: during the Christmas season the cock is said to be especially active, crying "Christus natus est," both celebrating the divine birth and recalling Peter's inability to keep faith. Just as the road to paradise in marriage is constantly, but not eternally, blocked by man's imperfections, so the way to the civil life is not an easy one in this world of passion, discord, and time.

The Heptameron, then, is more than a domestic conduct book or a
collection of translated novellas. It is not as prescriptive as, for example, Tilney's *Flower of Friendship*, which sets down rules for the behaviour of husbands and wives; nor is it as deficient in narrative skill and in characterization as are many moral discourses. The discussions and entertainments which frame the tales become at least as interesting as the tales themselves, more so than in other framed collections, such as Wotton's *Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels* and Greene's *Morano*, *The Tritameron of Love*. In the *Heptameron*, the enveloping narrative and structure are significant: these, together with the courtly atmosphere, the Italian setting, and the occasional colloquial tone, account for much of the book's artistic merit.

The *Heptameron* may be read as a literary manifestation of the Renaissance ideal of civility. It may also be studied as a document in the history of Italian-English social and literary relationships. As a work by a professional writer in the pre-Golden Age of Elizabethan England, it may be of interest to literary historians. Since Whetstone's works were probably read by the greatest dramatists of late sixteenth-century England, Shakespeare and Marlowe, by the outstanding poet of the age, Spenser, and by one of the most popular writers, Greene, the *Heptameron* may be studied with a view to increasing our understanding of those writers. Nevertheless, the value of the *Heptameron* today is not solely historical and sociological; it is aesthetic as well. The careful patterning of the entire work is evident in the alternation of idealism in the framework discussions and realism in the tales, in the progression towards a hopeful but qualified resolution, in the varied pacing of courtly rhetoric and colloquial idiom, in the flashes of wit and deft
characterization -- all held together within the seven days' Christmas exercises and convincingly narrated by a charming Ismarito. These make the Heptameron, not a great book, but an entertaining one, well able "to reave tediousnesse from the Reader." A work which displays sufficient "novelistic talent" to elicit C. S. Lewis's comment, "the ride through the forest on Christmas Eve and the first sight of the palace might well be the beginning of an excellent story," deservess to be made available outside the vaults of a rare book library.
Footnotes

1 Thomas Watson, commendatory poem, *Heptameron*, p. 9 below.


3 Izard, especially the chapter "The Hap and Hard Fortune of George Whetstone, Gent.", pp. 1-34.

4 Izard, p. 32.

5 *Inquisition post mortem* of Robert Whetstone, 15 July 1558; and the will of Robert Whetstone, 18 Oct. 1560. Izard quotes abstracts of both documents, admitting that he has not consulted the originals in the P.R.O. (pp. 5-7). See his footnote 4, p. 6 for other possibly relevant *inquisitiones post mortem*.

6 Izard, 6-8.


9 Izard, p. 10; citing *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1927), IV, 392, 382.

11 Miller, p. 17.


13 Ibid.

14 Izard, p. 22.

15 Izard, pp. 251-52.


18 Izard, p. 25. A letter of administration dated Jan. 3, 1587/8 was issued to Whetstone's widow.


20 For a bibliographical account of Whetstone's works, see Izard, pp. 280-87.


22 The plan of the projected work is mentioned in The English Myrror (London, 1586), sig. P8r; and The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier (London, 1585), sig. C1r.

23 Izard, pp. 131-218.

24 Dorsten, especially pp. 138-46.

25 Miller, pp. 228-30.

27 Dorsten, *passim*.

28 Dorsten, pp. 138-39.

29 Dorsten, p. 140. See also A. J. Barnouw, "How English was Taught in Jan van Hout's Leyden," *English Studies*, 17 (1935), 1-7.

30 Izard, p. 32.


33 Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy*, pp. 475-79.


36 Lievssay, p. 9.


37a Parks, *The English Traveler to Italy*, p. 616.


42 For further information on the Italian features discussed below, see the explanatory notes for the pages cited.


45 Lodowick Bryskett, A Discourse of Civill Life (1606), ed. T. E. Wright (Northridge, Calif.: San Fernando State College, 1970), p. 32.


48 Bryskett, p. 190.


50 Bryskett, pp. 166, 170-71.


53 Kelso, chapter 7.


57 Huizinga, pp. 205-6.


69 Guazzo, II, 4-5.


74 Ibid., p. 209.

75 Schlauch, pp. 156-57.

Guazzo, I, 136-37.


Crane, pp. 33-48.

Crane, p. 33.


Ibid., pp. 29-43.


Habenicht, p. 9.


Ibid., p. 93.

Ibid., p. 108.


TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

An entry in the Stationers' Register for 11 January 1582 licenses Richard Jones to print "master" Whetstone's "An heptameron of Civill discourses unto the christmas Exercises of sundry well courted gentlemen and gentlewomen." The title page of the Heptameron bears the statement that it was "Printed by Richard Jones, . . . 3. Feb. 1582." In 1593 Whetstone's book was reprinted by "Richard Johnes" as Aurelia, The Paragon of Pleasure and Princely Delights. Whether Jones did in fact print these two editions is uncertain: it is more likely that he was the publisher who contracted the work to other printers. Katharine F. Pantzer in a letter dated 11 February 1969 writes that "Professor Jackson had the note that this edition [i.e. Aurelia] was printed by (Thomas Orwin for) R. Johnes, 1593." However, since McKerrow indicates that in 1591-92 Orwin's press had been seized by the Stationers' Company and that Orwin died before June 25, 1593, I am unable to support Jackson's statement. Until more background research on sixteenth-century printers' ornaments and types has been completed, the printers of Whetstone's work cannot be identified.

Since Aurelia was published after Whetstone's death and appears to have been edited so as to omit passages that were no longer topically relevant in the London of 1593, it undoubtedly was not set up directly from the author's manuscript. Accordingly, the only authoritative text, the Heptameron of Civill Discourses of 1582, is the copy text for the present edition.
The Heptameron has not been reprinted since the sixteenth century. A bibliographical entry in E. A. Baker's History of the English Novel,\(^3\) referring to an edition of the Heptameron apparently published by the Percy Society in 1844, has defeated my attempts at verification, and I can only conclude that the listed work is a ghost. A Ph.D. dissertation by David Beauregard, "A Critical Edition of George Whetstone's An Heptameron of Civill Discourses (1582)" is incomplete, textually inaccurate, and critically inadequate.\(^4\) The story of Promos and Cassandra in the Fourth Day's Exercise has been frequently included in collections of Shakespeare's sources, and a few brief passages and poems from the Heptameron have been published by the Chetham Society.\(^5\) The following text, then, is the only complete critical edition of George Whetstone's An Heptameron of Civill Discourses.

I have been able to locate ten extant copies of the Heptameron\(^6\) -- two at the British Museum, one at the Bodleian, three at the Folger Shakespeare Library, one at the Henry E. Huntington Library, one at the University of Illinois, one at the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, and one at the Rosenbach Foundation; and three extant copies of Aurelia -- one each at the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Henry E. Huntington Library. I have examined xerox or microfilm reproductions of all these copies: they appear to be in good condition, clean, and readable. The Bodleian copy of the Heptameron, however, lacks the title page leaf. Hazlitt's Hand-Book\(^7\) describes two issues of the Heptameron, the first with a title apparently identical to the title of this edition, and a second "with a very different title." I have not been able to confirm the existence of two title pages: I suggest that Hazlitt has incorrectly transcribed different sections of
the same title page twice. As the control text for this edition, I have used the Folger Shakespeare Library copy 3, which I have collated with the nine other extant copies in order to determine press variants resulting from proof corrections. The final critical text of the *Heptameron* has then been collated with the Bodleian copy of *Aurelia* to enable me to construct a historical collation of variants.

Since the printed text of the *Heptameron* was probably set up from the author's manuscript, I have aimed at preserving its spelling and punctuation in order to retain as much of the author's style as possible. The present edition follows the editorial principles enunciated by McKerrow, Greg, and Bowers, who claim that the editor should attempt to reconstruct the text in a form in which it may have been available in the author's fair copy, to put forth the work as the author intended it. The opposing point of view has been argued by John Russell Brown, who favors modernization of spelling of Elizabethan texts on the grounds that an old-spelling edition does not in fact retain the author's intentions, but merely reflects compositorial practice; is not sufficient for a textual student, who must still consult the original books; and does no more than add an unnecessary and antique flavour to the work. However, it may be countered that even if the spelling and punctuation are not always the author's, they do at least reflect the usage of the author's age. Furthermore, as W. W. Greg and Arthur Brown point out, we are at present linguistically unequipped to normalize or modernize Elizabethan spelling: it is difficult to modernize spelling because of the ambiguity of the original spellings and because of the lack of modern equivalents for some Elizabethan words. An old-spelling critical edition may not be the ideal form in which all readers
would prefer to first encounter the *Heptameron*, but it remains the most appropriate text to serve the purposes of the literary scholar, the student of the Elizabethan age, and the linguist.

The editorial policy adopted for the present edition, then, is very conservative: my aim has been to follow the practice of the late sixteenth century in spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing. The original punctuation is retained except where it is confusing or obviously incorrect by sixteenth-century standards. The use of parentheses to set apart the name of the speaker from the rest of a spoken sentence is standardized for ease of reading, the changes being recorded in the list of emendations of accidentals. Obvious compositorial errors such as reversal or omission of letters have been corrected silently except where they create questionable readings. Eccentricities of spellings have been retained, in the supposition that these might reflect the author's rather than the compositor's practice. Any spelling for which the *OED* provides authority has been retained; the notes explain any uncertainties or ambiguities. Names of places and persons follow the copy-text practice. Variations in spellings of characters' names have been retained as long as the change in spelling does not result in a change in pronunciation. Hence, "Cicheus" is accepted for "Sicheus," but "Falerio" is not allowed as a substitute for "Faliero." The contemporary practice of italicizing or setting apart in Roman type proper names and significant abstract nouns has been followed.

I have not found it necessary to make many substantive emendations — the text is carefully and clearly printed — although I have emended some of the accidentals in such a way that the changes clarify or alter the meaning of the text and hence have the status of substantive emendations.
In cases of important or debatable emendations, notes provide the reasons for the decisions to emend. The readings of the corrected formes have been incorporated into the text, but only after each reading has been considered on its own merits; in cases where there is no reason to prefer one reading to another, the reading of the corrected formes has been adopted. Except for a few classes of silent emendations, which are outlined below, the emendations of accidentals and of substantives are listed separately in the textual apparatus. I have not attempted to identify compositors, although patterns of spelling variations, especially variations in the spelling of the characters' names, suggest that such an identification might be possible.

Since the present text is not intended to be a replacement for or a facsimile of the original text, for ease of reading and for typing convenience, the typography has been modernized. Bowers in his edition of Beaumont and Fletcher argues that there is no linguistic justification for perpetuating confusing typographical conventions. Accordingly, alterations that involve only the typography and not the spelling or meaning of the text have been made silently -- although differences in typographical styles have been noted in order to help the reader to envisage the texture of the original text.

The following alterations have been made silently:

-- Normalization of the usage of u–v and i–j.
-- Modernization of ſ to s and ϊ to w.
-- Expansion of contractions such as the ampersand, the tilde, ſ (the or that), ſ (with), ſ (quoth), ſ (etc.), and ; in Latin (-que).
-- Reproduction as separate letters of ligatures such as ā, ē, ū, ũ.

-- Separation of linked letters such as œ, œ, ò, ò -- except on page 2, where the linked letters in the Latin text are retained.

-- Non-reproduction of ornamental initials, display capitals, swash capitals, type ornaments, and printers' "fillers" such as — and —.

-- Correction of wrong-fount and damaged type and turned letters, unless the result of the error is a new word or a questionable reading. In cases where the type is not clear, textual notes indicate the editor's uncertainty.

-- Use of hyphenation only when it occurs in the copy text other than at the end of a line.

-- Regularization of spacing of lines and words and of spacing of lines of poetry. Errors in spacing noted when they result in questionable readings.

-- No indication of size of type.

-- Substitution of curved parentheses for square brackets for the sake of consistency.

-- Correction of the punctuation at the ends of side notes. This generally involves the addition of periods or the change of commas to periods.

Unless otherwise noted, the text of the Heptameron is printed in black letter, with running titles, chapter headings, and the first line of each chapter set in Roman. Side notes are set in small Roman. Poems, letters,
and speeches are generally set in Roman type, and are so indicated in
the textual notes. Underscoring within the text indicates use of Roman
type within black letter in the copy text or italic within Roman type.
Footnotes


4 David Napoleon Beauregard, "A Critical Edition of George Whetstone's An Heptameron of Civill Discourses (1582)," Diss. Ohio State Univ. 1967. Beauregard's edition is incomplete, merely summarizing the second and sixth days. The textual editing is inconsistent and careless: for instance, certain words listed as substantive emendations are only obvious spelling errors, and some spellings have been unnecessarily "corrected" even when the OED provides authority for Elizabethan usage of the rejected spellings. Since only American copies have been collated, the list of press variants is incomplete. The introduction is sketchy and does little more than echo Izard's work on Whetstone and discuss the Heptameron in relation to Castiglione and Tilney. The glossary and notes are inadequate. No attempt is made to identify classical and Biblical allusions such as "Parrhasius" and "Labans sheepe," and there are no references for unnatural natural history such as "cockatrice." Only one or two of the very obvious proverbs are identified: the editor draws attention to the proverb "all is not gold that glistereth," but ignores proverbs such as "mute as a fishe" and "for a man can have of a cat but her skin." The glossary purports to include words that cannot be found in Webster's New World Dictionary with the appropriate definitions, yet it omits words such as "baineth," "Pyne Apple trees," and "president" (of behaviours). Words that do occur in Webster and that nevertheless require a gloss include "skreene," "scrip," and "champion" (for champaigne).


now at the Folger and the J. L. Clawson copy is at the Rosenbach Foundation. Cambridge Univ. has a fragment of sigs. L3 and L4.


11 Fredson Bowers, op. cit.
Bibliographical Description of The "Heptameron"

[within a frame of type-orn] An Heptameron / of Civill Discourses. / Containing: The Christmassse Exercise of sundrie well Courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. / In whose behaviours, the better sort, may see, a representation of their own Vertues: / And the Inferiour, may learne such Rules of Civic GoVERNment, as will rase out the Blemish of their baseness: / Wherin, is Renowned, the Vertues, of a most Honou/rable and brave mynded Gentleman. / And herein, also, [as it were in a Mirrour] the Unmaried may see the Defectes which Eclipse the Glorie of MARRIAGE: / And the wel Maried, as in a Table of Householde Lawes, may cull / out needefull Preceptes to estabish their good Fortune. / A Worke, intercoursed with Civyll Pleasure, to reave / tediousnesse from the Reader: and garnished with Morall Noates / to make it profitable, to the Regarder. / The Reporte, of George Whetstone. Gent. / Formae, nulla fides. / AT LONDON. / Printed by Richard Jones, / at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, / neare Holburne Bridge. 3. Feb. 1582. /


Signatures: $3 (-A3, E2, GUYZ3; +E4) signed; Bl misprinted as Al; Gothic caps (except A2, P2, X1, Z1 in italic).


RT] THE FIRSTE / DAYES EXERCISE. B1v-D1v [THE I. DAYES EXERCISE. B2v, B3v, B4v (with .I.); FIRSTE. C3v; EXERCIE. C2v]
THE SECOND / DAYES EXERCISE. E1v-H1v [EXERCIE. E2v; EXERCISE FG3v4v]
THE THYRDE / DAYES EXERCISE. H2v-M1v [THIRD I1-4v; THIRDE K1v; THYRD K2v-L2v; EXERCISE I1h2v. K3v4v]
THE FOUVRTH / DAYES EXERCISE. M1v-P2v [EXERCISE N3v4v]
THE FIFTH / DAYES EXERCISE. P3v-R3v [FIFT P4v; FYFTH Q1v, Q3v, R1-3v; FOVRTH Q2v, Q4v; EXERCISE Q3v4v]
THE SYXTE / DAYES EXERCISE. R4v-U3v [SYXTE R4v, U1-3v; EXERCISE S3v4v]
THE SEVENTH / DAYES EXERCISE. U4v-Z4v]

Notes: Row of type orn. at head of A1V, A2r, A3V, ¶1r, ¶1V, ¶2V, D3r; at foot of A4V, ¶2r, ¶2v, D2V, H1V, M1V, P2r, R3V, U3V. Orn. initials, 6-line, on A2r, A3V, B1r, E1r, H2r, M2r, P2v, R4r, U4r.
26.14 uses ] use
   No authority in OED for "use" as plural noun.

61.4 breedeth hate in ] breedeth in

69.17 Blue, ] Blue
   Although "Carnation" may refer to a type of cloth, it is obvious
   from the context that a sequence of colours is intended.

75.9 yet ] ſ

82.26s.n. counterbuff ] counterbuse
   ODEP emends to "counter use"; however, "counterbuff," "a blow given
   in return" is more appropriate in the context.

85.10 teather ] teacher

93.16 as much for ] as

94.22 as ] a

113.2 Cicuta ] Cienta

113.2s.n. Cicuta ] Cienta

119.30 crownd ] grownd
   "grownd" may mean "advanced in age," but "crownd" makes better
   sense.

119.32 hop ] hope
   "Hope" is an acceptable Elizabethan spelling for "hop"; however, I
have emended the word to avoid ambiguity. The emended spelling occurs at 120.6 and 120.12, and in *Aurelia*.

143.4 contention ] contention,

145.30 Will ] Wit

In Whetstone's source, Du Verdier's *Mexia*, the original word is *la volenté* (Izard, p. 263).

148.29 through ] though

164.23 Ismarito ] Soranso

Ismarito might be expected to answer, since the question was addressed to him. It is less likely that Ismarito is too diffident to respond.

198.27 ] own ] one

*OED* cites "one" as an obsolete but erroneous spelling of "own." In any case, "one" is confusing here.

226.6 the ] that the
Emendations of Accidentals

pp. 1-5 | text in Roman, underscored words in italic.

1.19 The Reporte, ] black letter.
1.19 Gent. ] black letter.
3.3-4 chamberlaine . . . Majesties ] black letter.
3.18 REVENGE ] revenge
7.27 Aucthor, ] Aucthor.
9.5 ours, ] ours
9.7 art. ] art
9.9 frost. ] frost
9.13 abuse. ] abuse
9.17 consent: ] consent

pp. 10-11 | text in Roman.

10.12 smoke, ] comma not clear.
10.15 the Townes ] the' Townes
10.26 renowne, ] renowne

p. 12 | text in Roman.

12.3 these . . . Pleasures. ] black letter.
13.8 Aestas ] aestas
13.22 Tyme. ] Tyme:
15.19 Why ] Why?
15.24 service. ] service
16.1 French ] french
17.3 s.n. but ] But
17.17 service, ] service.
18.15 certenly ] certertenly
19.17 s.n. used ] uesd
19.28 admiration ] admiraion
21.2 Queene ] queene
21.6 Wandring ] wandring
21.10-11 (quoth Aurelia?) ] quoth Aurelia?
21.15 (quoth I,) ] quoth I,
22.10 bounde ] bonnde

23.26 priveledge ] priveldge
23.32 Sancta ] sancta
25.8-25 No joy . . . in love. ] text of poem in Roman.
25.11 fyre. ] fyre
25.16 imbrace, ] imbrace.
25.18 fight, ] fight
26.6 heavens. ] heavens
26.7 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,
26.15 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,
26.18 frends. ] frends
27.1 (quoth Franceschina,) ] (quoth Franceschina,
27.7 instruction. ] instruction
28.9 Mariage. ] Mariage?
29.9 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,
29.25 (quoth Ismarito,) ] quoth Ismarito,
29.32 needed. ] needed
30.7 ever-springing ] hyphen occurs at end of line.
30.20 then ] then then
31.32 other ] over
32.16 (quoth Ismarito,) ] quoth Ismarito,
33.10-11 (quoth Queene Aurelia,) ] quoth Queene Aurelia,
33.13 (quoth Ismarito.) ] quoth Ismarito.
33.16 Vechio ] vechio
33.23 Boare ] Board
34.23 he ] he
35.13 question ] question
36.8 Statutes ] Statutes
36.10 Fabritios ] Fabririos
36.19-20 (quoth Doctor Mossenigo,) ] quoth Doctor Mossenigo,
36.29 (quoth Katharina Trista,) ] quoth Katharina Trista,
37.22 testimonie ] testionie
37.26-27 by your ] by : your [colon not clearly printed]
39.10 selves. ] selves:
39.21 Doctor Mossenigos ] Doctor mossenigos
40.33 Ophella ] Orphella
42.2 Crabtree. ] Crabtree:
42.3 (quoth Katherina Trista,) ] quoth Katherina Trista,
42.23 Faliero ] Falerio
43.3 evermore ] ever-/evermore
44.2 EXERCISE ] EXERCIE
44.11 brighte ] brighte,
45.14-15 (quoth he,) ] quoth he,
45.34 himself ] himself
45.35 (quoth Philoxenus) ] quoth Philoxenus
46.28-47.7 Noble Allexaunder . . . of the poore. ] text in Roman.
47.7 poore. ] poore:
47.11-17 Do (gratious . . . water of lyfe. ] text in Roman.
47.14 inspiration, ] inspiration. [punctuation not clear]
47.18 Philoxenus ] PHILOXENUS
47.19 Ismarito ] ISMARITO
47.22 Bugiardos ] Buiardos
47.34 Faliero ] Falerio
48.6 Faliero ] Falerio
48.7 (quoth he:) ] quoth he:
48.18 Doctour ] doctour
48.22 Bugiardoes ] Buiardoes
48.30 intertaynment ] taynment [inter—occurs as catchword]
49.13 Mistres,) ] Mistres,
49.24 with ] wtth
50.1 Sonnet ] Sennet
50.2 Italion ] Italon
50.3-20 To realish . . . paaste my way. ] text of poem in Roman.
52.10 Plato ] Plato
52.14 (quoth he,) ] quoth he,
53.1 he. ] he
53.29 Experience. ] Experience:
54.26 foresight ] foresight, [comma not clear]
55.4-7 The Prince . . . yeeldes to none. ] text in Roman.
55.5 mone. ] mone
57.18 Faliero ] [in italic]
57.23 affection. ] affection
58.14 (quod he,) ] quod he,
63.19 Chion ] CHION
63.24 death:) ] death:
63.26 lyves. ] lyves:
64.17 Elisa ] ELISA
64.33 offence: ] offence. [punctuation not clear]
65.4 Elysaes ] Eysaes
65.17 (quoth Soranso) ] quoth Soranso)
66.7 (quoth Doctour Mossenigo) ] quoth (Doctour Mossenigo)
66.17 (quoth hee,) ] quoth hee,
66.17 you ] your
66.18 love, ] love.
67.4 times, ] times;
67.33-68.8 In these . . . fayre wife. ] text of poem in Roman
68.1-2 gayne,) / As ] gayne, / As)
68.14 s.n. Sclaunder ] sclaunder
68.23 company, Supper ] company Supper,
69.2 Posie, ] Posie.
69.23 hid) ] hid
69.24-70.10 Two Soveraigne . . . the world. ] text of poem in Roman.
70.20-71.7 Hence burnyng . . . Mistresse good. ] text of poem in Roman.
71.9 Orange, ] Orange
71.18-72.13 Even as . . . your owne. ] text of poem in Roman.
72.11 face, ] face?
72.13 Dame, ] Dame. [punctuation uncertain]
72.25-73.12 From shore . . . in hope. ] text of poem in Roman.
73.20-29 If one firme . . . of Grace. ] text of poem in Roman.
73.20 one ] on
73.22 lawde, ] lawde.
73.24 woe, ] woe.
73.27 smart, ] smart.
75.1 Exercise. ] Exercise
76.5 Sunne. ] Sunne:
76.21 Consolation of ] consolation of
76.24-77.16 Farewell, bright . . . crowne. ] text of poem in Roman.
77.8 blame. ] blame
77.18 Musick, the ] Musick. The
78.3 Musick: ] Musick.
79.24 aunsweare, ] aunsweare.
81.14 places, the ] places. The
81.17-27 To thee I . . . of zeale. ] text of poem in Roman.
81.29 Doctor ] Doctor
86.7 death, ] death.
88.7 Forma numen habet ] in italic.
88.14 Thisbie, ] Thisbie.
91.26-27 (quoth . . . controversies:) ] quoth . . . controversies:
92.12 (quoth Queene Aurelia,) ] quoth Queene Aurelia,
92.20 reasons. ] reasons
92.24 Disputation,)

93.9 of ] of of

94.5 s.n. reporter ] eeporter

95.8 contentment ] content ment

96.2 not,) yet ] not, yet)

96.10 Philippo Provolo ] PHILIPPO PROVOLO

96.23 Malipiero ] Maliperio

98.34 with all ] withall;

99.17 furious ] surious

100.16 Chamber ] Camber


102.13-27 I am not . . . FELICE. ] letter in Roman.

102.21 sighes: ] sighes:

104.16 world. ] world,

106.22 dishonour, ] dishonour?

106.25 (quoth Cornaro,) ] quoth Cornaro,

107.28 (quoth Fabritio,) ] quoth Fabritio,

108.1 slander ] slannder

108.3 (quoth Isabella,) ] quoth Isabella,

108.8 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,

108.15 (quoth Queene Aurelia:) ] quoth Queene Aurelia:

108.18-19 correction. [Begins new paragraph.] After ] correction. After


108.21 (quoth Don Dolo,) ] quoth Don Dolo,

108.22 s.n. instructeth ] instuceth

108.24 (quoth Queene Aurelia,) ] quoth Queene Aurelia,
109.8 **Aurelia** ] AURELIA

109.11 Snakes, ] Snakes

110.2 true (quoth ] (true quoth

110.21 retayne ] retayno

110.29 that ] that)

117.17-18 coun-*/terfeits ] coun-feits [catchword: terfeits]

117.20 (quoth **Ismarito,**) ] quoth Ismarito,

117.25 (quoth he,) ] quoth he,

118.3 countenaunce ] conntenaunce

119.27-120.12 Care, Care . . . for joye. ] text of poem in Roman.

120.22-23 (quoth Queene **Aurelia,**) ] quoth Queene Aurelia,

120.27 **Inganno** ] in italic.

120.28 **Bergetto** ] in italic.

120.30 Sainct ] S.

120.31 intombed, there ] intombed. There

121.2 Sainct ] S.

121.16 Saint ] saint

121.32 fayre, ] fayre

124.17 Maister ] maister

124.27 **Vechio,** ] Vechio,

126.6 voutchsafe ] voutchsafe,

126.22 s.n. more ] mors

129.32 **Andrugio,** ] Andrugio,

130.26 **Andrugios** ] Andrugio

132.10 (quoth shee,) ] quoth shee,

133.21 s.n. pollicye. ] pollye
134.27 s.n. bere ] beres
134.28 s.n. of ] ot
134.28 s.n. Officers ] Officser
135.27 Pegasus ] PEGASUS
135.30 Promos ] PROMOS
136.9 Promos: ] Promos,:
136.29 (possibly) ] (possibly
136.33 revived ] revined
136.34 Hermyt,) ] Hermyt,
137.20 every partie ] everypartie
137.21 desire ] dessre
137.26 had ] had, had
138.4 Aurelia,) ] Aurelia,
140.11 Nero ] NERO
140.17 Madame, with ] Madame (with
140.17 (quoth ] quoth
140.28 skanse ] skause
140.29 saye, ] saye.
140.32 (quoth Ismarito,) ] quoth Ismarito,
141.3 reasons,) ] reasons,
142.11 (quoth Ismarito,) ] quoth Ismarito,
142.16 Saint ] S.
142.19 Saint ] S.
142.24 (quoth he,) ] quoth he,
144.18 (quoth he,) ] quoth he,
144.22 (quoth Ismarito,) ] quoth Ismarito,
144.34 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,
145.5-6 (quoth Ismarito,) ] quoth Ismarito,
145.13 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,
145.25 absurdity ] obsurdity
146.22 body: ] body.
146.27 Christall ] Chrstall
146.34 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,
147.8 (quoth Ismarito,) ] quoth Ismarito,
147.34 (quoth Soranso,.) ] quoth Soranso.
148.1-2 (quoth Ismarito:) ] quoth Ismarito:
148.7 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,
148.27-149.12 Who prickels . . . my breast. ] poem in Roman.
149.13-14 (quoth Queene Aurelia,) ] quoth Queene Aurelia,
149.17 (quoth Dondolo,) ] quoth Dondolo,
149.24 (quoth the plaine Doctor,) ] quoth the plaine Doctor,
149.25 sighe ] (sighe
149.26 but ] but)
149.30 Ladies ] Laides
150.6 omitted. ] If there sight be. so quick, quoth Franceschina Santa, then /
152.1 (quoth Soranso:) ] quoth Soranso:
152.6 basenes: ] basenes?
152.9 greevous ] greevons
154.4 Cotages ] Co, tages
155.4 Saints. ] Saints,
156.31 s.n. reprooфе ] repoofe
158.1 shee, ] shee.

158.14 reputation ] reputation

159.33 Husband, ] Husband.

161.17 Italian, ] Italian.

162.28 (quoth Dondolo.) ] quoth Dondolo.

162.29 (quoth Alvisa Vechio?) ] quoth Alvisa Vechio?

162.30 of ] of of

162.32 (quoth Dondolo:) ] quoth Dondolo:

163.2 (quoth Soranso,) ] quoth Soranso,

163.6 (quoth Fabritio, and Isabella:) ] quoth Fabritio, and Isabella:

163.11 Queene ] Queene

163.15 controversies ] controversies

163.32 pleasamnt ] pleasamnt

164.3 (quoth he:) ] quoth he:

164.6-7 (quoth Soranso:) ] quoth Soranso:

164.12 Queene ] Queene

164.33 the Doctor ] the Doctor

166.2 overmuche ] over-/muche

166.16 (quoth Segnior Philoxenus:) ] quoth Segnior Philoxenus:

166.19 (quoth Katherina Trista,) ] quoth Katherina Trista,

166.21 (quoth Segnior Philoxenus,) ] quoth Segnior Philoxenus,

166.25 (quoth Fabritio,) ] quoth Fabritio,

166.27 Philoxenus ] Philox.

166.34 in ] is

168.1 Exercise: ] Exercise,

168.28 lived ] li-/lived
168.34 companie,) ] companie,
169.5 Segnior ] Seg.
169.29 Bookes, (and ] (Bookes, and
170.3 Sciences, ] Sciences.
170.18 Friers, ] Friers.
171.9 (to ] to
171.27 Hystoriographer ] Hystorigrapher
172.29 pilfering ] piylfering
173.24 Doctor,) ] Doctor,
173.28 (envying ] envying
174.22 remembraunce ] remembrannc
175.4-19 Regarde my . . . your friende. } text of poem in Roman.
176.11 Platoes ] PLATOES
176.34 have ] havo
178.15 Infancie: In whose ] Infancie. [begins new paragraph] In whose
178.16 there ] there,
178.21 You ] (You
179.5 Smoake ] Somake
180.22 Orchard ] Orchad

181.25 words: ] words.
181.30 disgrace ] disgace
182.7 straunge ] strannge
182.33 horne ] borne
183.7 faire ] faire.
183.30 (that ] that (
183.32 because ] hecause
185.7 s.n. enemie ] enemies
185.26 (quoth she,) ] quoth she,
186.9 contentment ] countentment
187.12 Doctor.) ] Doctor.
187.13 Maister ] M.
188.27 perforce ] perfore
188.29 hideth. ] hideth
189.11 like unto Iris, ] like) unto Iris,
189.20 (sayth he,) ] sayth he,
190.14 Maister ] maister
190.25 you ] yon
190.27 to an ] an to
190.29 affection ] affction
190.32 Belochye.) ] Belochye.
191.1 (quoth the Doctor,) ] quoth the Doctor,
192.4 men, ] comma not certain.
192.7 (quoth the Doctor,) ] quoth the Doctor
193.3-6 I that . . . sugred joyes. ] text of poem in Roman.
194.28 (quoth ] quoth
194.29 Aurelia,) ] Aurelia,
195.2 Phyloxenus ] italic
195.7 past, ] past.
195.15 s.n. striving ] strivng
195.31 pryson) so ] pryson so)
196.1-2 (quoth Signiour Phyloxenus,) ] quoth Signiour Phyloxenus,
196.14 s.n. the ] the the
196.21 (quoth Dondolo,) ] quoth Dondolo,
196.29–30 (quoth Segnior Philoxenus,) ] quoth Segnior Philoxenus.

198.5 Phrigius ] Pyrigeus [in italic]
198.5 Pieria ] italic.
198.6 Segnior Phyloxenus ] italic.
198.32 Chamber, ] Chamber.
199.7 lively ] liveley
200.21 (withall) ] (withall
200.27 sownded. ] sownded:
201.12–29 Even as . . . married lyfe. ] text of poem in Roman.
201.13 beare: ] beare
201.19 breede. ] breede
201.23 Gold. ] Gold
201.26 greeve, ] greeve
204.11 (quoth Cornelia,) ] quoth Cornelía.
206.18 abylytie) to ] abylytie (to
206.30 wordes: ] wordes.
207.11 loved ] lo
207.15 s.n. King ] king
207.21 Augurers ] Angurers
207.29 unhappeye ] happye
209.25 perfected ] pefected
209.29 Reported, by ] black letter.
209.34 choyce. ] choyce:
210.2 (advisedly) ] (advisedly
211.29 s.n. Philosophie ] Philosophit
212.19 breake it, ] breake, it
214.24-25 reasons to, ] reasons, to
215.5 Phrigius ] italic.
215.6 Pieria ] italic.
215.7 Segnior Phyloxenus ] italic.
219.29 (quoth he,) ] quoth he,
220.15 mee. ] mee:
220.27-221.33 Faire PIERIA . . . PHRIGIUS. ] text of letter in Roman.
221.23 crueltie, ] crueltie.
222.5 Pythes ] Pythes,
222.19 who, ] who [punctuation not clear]
222.26-223.13 SIR PHRIGIUS . . . PIERIA of MYOS. ] text of letter in Roman.
223.8 Hostilyty ] Hostliyty
225.31 IONIA. ] IONIA
226.8 cupple) ] cupple
228.34 show, ] show
229.31 Triumph ] Triumph
230.1 A lookyng Glasse ] A lookyng Glasse
230.2 a payre of ] a payre of
230.3 a Pyller of ] a Pyller of
230.4 a standing Cup ] a standing Cup
230.4 ARGENT ] Argent
230.5-21 The Muses . . . and steepe. ] text in small Roman.
Press Variants

Copies collated:

B Bodleian Library, Oxford.
BM\(^1\) British Museum, London, C59ff.21.
BM\(^2\) British Museum, London, 10445.
F\(^1\) Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., copy 1.
F\(^2\) Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., copy 2.
F\(^3\) Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., copy 3.
H Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
I University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
P J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.

Sheet B (Inner forme)

Corrected: B, BM\(^1\), BM\(^2\), F\(^1\), F\(^2\), F\(^3\), I, P, R.
Uncorrected: H

Sig. B1\(^v\): 14.27 won ] one
Sig. B2\(^r\): 15.24 any ] my
Sig. B4\(^r\): 21.16 expect ] except

(Note: in 21.16, F\(^3\) possibly reads "best," instead of "best."; but I believe the comma to be a smudged period.)

Sheet D (Outer forme)

Corrected: BM\(^1\), BM\(^2\), R.
Uncorrected: B, F\(^1\), F\(^2\), F\(^3\), H, I, P.

Sig. D1\(^r\): 34.4 Dianaes ] Dianes
Sheet F (Inner forme)

Corrected:  \( F^2, F^3, I, P, R \).

Uncorrected:  \( B, BM^1, BM^2, F^1, H \).

Sig. \( F^1 \): 55.3 defyneth ] devyneth

Sig. \( F^3 \): 60.28 coursest ] crossest

Sheet G (Outer forme)

Corrected:  \( F^3 \).

Uncorrected:  \( B, BM^1, BM^2, F^1, F^2, H, I, P, R \).

Sig. \( G^1 \): 63.30 sore ] fore

Sheet N (Outer forme)

Corrected:  \( B, BM^1, BM^2, F^1, F^2, H, I, P, R \).

Uncorrected:  \( F^3 \).

Sig. \( N^1 \): 121.8 manye ] mauye

Sheet N (Inner forme)

First Stage Corrected:  \( F^2, R \).

Uncorrected:  \( B, BM^1, BM^2, F^1, I \).

Sig. \( N^4 \): 129.12 s.n.  For-/tune ] for-/tune

Second Stage Corrected:  \( F^3, H, R \).

Sig. \( N^2 \): 124.24 s.n.  subtilly ] subilly
Sheet P (Outer forme)

Corrected: B, BM\(^1\), BM\(^2\), F\(^1\), F\(^2\), H, I, P, R.

Uncorrected: F\(^3\).

Sig. P\(^1\): 141.13 judgement, and he ] judgement, he

Sig. P\(^2\): 144.17 heardled ] headled

Sig. P\(^3\): 145.29-30 to wit, Intendment ] to witte, Intenment

145.33 Intendment ] Intenment

145.33 both ] bothe

146.12 Alexander ] Alexanders

Sig. P\(^4\): 149.11 all passions ] at passion

149.21 geve ] gave

149.25 their ] this

Sig. P\(^4\): 149.26 chastē ] chasten

149.29 would ] should

Sheet Q (Inner forme)

Corrected: B, F\(^1\), F\(^2\), F\(^3\), H, I, P, R.

Uncorrected: BM\(^1\), BM\(^2\).

Sig. Q\(^1\): 152.20 ſ evyl, maketh ] the evyll, make

Sig. Q\(^3\): 157.19 Death ] Deth

157.19 ſ ] that

157.21 hee ] shee

157.25-26 in an errour ] in errour

157.28metis ] ment

157.28 if ] of

157.29 Brethrē er ] Brethren
Sheet S (Outer forme)

Corrected:  B, BM₁, BM², F₁, F², H, I, P, R.

Uncorrected:  F³.

Sig. S₃r:  176.5 prophesieth ] propheiseth

Sheet S (Inner forme)

Corrected:  B, BM₁, BM², F₁, F², H, I, P, R.

Uncorrected:  F³.

Sig. S₄r:  178.24 conclueth ] concludes

Sheet T (Inner forme)

Corrected:  BM₁, BM², H, P.

Uncorrected:  B, F₁, F², F³, I, R.

Sig. T₂r:  183.16 Metamorphosis ] Metamorphossi

Sheet U (Outer forme)

Corrected:  BM², F³, H, I, P.

Uncorrected:  B, BM₁, F₁, F², R.

Sig. U₃r:  196.12 your ] you

Sheet U (Inner forme)

Corrected:  B, BM₁, BM², F₁, F³, H, I, P, R.

Uncorrected:  F².
Sig. U1v: 192.21 her entrayles ] her owne entrayles
193.8 lawe ] awe

Sig. U2r: 194.6 y whole world: which is, wher the Tennaunt ] the whole
world: that where the Tennaunt

Sig. U4r: 198.13 Tithon ] Titan
198.17 shrill ] still

Sheet Z (Outer forme)

Corrected: B, BM¹, BM², F¹, F², I, P, R.

Uncorrected: F³, H.

Sig. Z4v: 230.16 were ] wore
Collation with "Aurelia" (Bodleian copy)

[Within a factotum at head:] AURELIA. / [below factotum] The Paragon of plea- / sure and Princely delights: / Contayning / The seven dayes Solace (in Christmas / Holy-dayes) of Madona Aurelia, Queene of / the Christmas Pastimes, & sundry other well- / courted Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, in a / noble Gentlemans Pallace. / A worke most sweetely intercoursed (in civill and / friendly disputations) with many amorous and / pleasant Discourses, to delight the Reader: and / plentifully garnished with Morall Notes, to make / it profitable to the Regarder. / By G. W. Gent. / [printer's device & motto, McKerrow 283] / At London printed, by Richard Johnes. / 1593. /

pp. 2-5 omitted in Aurelia

6.1 Unto ] To
6.1 Reader ] Readers, both Gentlemen and Gentlewomen
6.3 Friendly Reader ] Gentlemen & Gentlewomen
6.3 thee ] you
6.22 twelvemonths ] omitted.
6.24 thou ] you
6.25 art ] be
6.25 thee ] you
6.27 thee ] you
6.27 thee ] you
6.27 wherein } herein
6.27 thee ] you
6.30 thee ] you
6.32 thou ] you
6.33 receivest ] receive
6.33 sweete ] omitted.
6.34 thy ] your
7.2 thou mayste ] you may
7.6 thou haste ] you have
7.7 thee ] you
7.8 thou shalt ] you shal
7.9 a ] you
7.18 Reader ] Gentlemen and Gentlewomen
7.18 thou haste ] you have
7.25 withall ] with al
7.26 thee ] you
7.28 thee thou shalt be ] you, you shalbe
7.29 thou makest thy ] you make your
7.29 thy ] your
7.30 thou mayest ] you may
8.22 gentle Reader ] Gentlemen and Gentlewomen
8.23 thee mine ] you friendly
8.24 Thine ] Your
8.25 George Whetstone. ] G.W.
9.5 ours, ] ours:
9.6 So Morall Whetstone, to his Countrey ] This Morall Author so, to us he
9.9 frost. ] frost,
9.13 th'abuse. ] th'abuse,
11.15 twincking ] twinkling
13.1 The first Dayes exercise. ] Madona Aurelia, her first dayes pleasures.

13.5 in ] on

14.18 I ] omitted.

14.22 replyed ] replying

17.2 Souldiers ] shoulders

24.22 Caviliero ] Signior

26.14 uses ] use

26.14 love. The ] love. [Begins new paragraph] The


26.28 it deserveth ] deserves


30.7 ever-springing ] everspringing

31.29 Pans ] Paris

33.14 Yea ] I

36.10 bittersweete ] bitter-sweete

37.22 s.n. ignorance ] ignorant

40.33 Ophella ] Orphella

41.5 toule ] knole

41.9 that ] so

42.23 Faliero ] Falerio

42.31 Gentlewomen ] Gentlewomens

43.15 they ] wherewith they

44.1-2 The seconde Dayes / EXERCISE. ] MADONA AURELIA, Her second daies pleasures.

44.14 Jubiter ] Jupiter
45.7 as if ] if

46.11 s.n. Dennis Bull ] Phalaris Bull

51.1 cause? ] causes

61.4 breedeth hate in ] breedeth in

61.5 overpayseth ] overpoyseth

61.9 s.n. quited ] quieted

61.20 foorthwith ] forth with

62.12 wordes. ] words,

63.14 yet ] omitted.

63.17 CICHEUS ] SICHEUS [Aurelia continues to use this spelling.]

63.30 sore ] fore

64.33 offence: ] offence.

65.1 unknow ] unknown

65.17 Metamorphos ] Metamorphosis

66.11 woulde ] it would

68.1-2 gayne,) / As ] gaine, / As)

69.17 Blue, ] Blew,

75.1 The thyrd Daies Exercise. ] MADONA AURELIA, Her third daies pleasures.

75.9 yet ] omitted

82.26 s.n. counterbuff ] counterbuse

83.19 credit ] credit?

83.29 growe ] groweth

83.34 agreeeth ] agreeeth

84.6 Mariage: ] Mariage?

85.10 teather ] teacher

86.7 death, ] death:
86.15 seeeth ] seeth
86.32 the dishonesty ] this dishonesty
87.15 seeeth ] seeth
90.2 the ] their
92.17 imployment. / But ] imployment. [Begins new paragraph] But
93.16 as much for ] as

96.4 containe ] attaine
98.34 with all ] withall
99.14 leaft ] left
100.13 Jupiter ] Jupiter
101.29 I remayne. ] I remaine,
103.6 not indured ] indured not
104.16 world. ] world?

107.30 Amonition ] admonition
108.21 no paragraph ] [Begins new paragraph] Madame
108.21 Don Dolo ] Dondolo
109.21 generall ] omitted.

113.2 Cicuta ] Cienta
113.2 s.n. Cicuta ] Cienta
113.3 of ] omitted.
114.1 *The fourth Daies exercise* | MADONA AURELIA, Her fourth daies pleasures.

114.14 hart. | hart,
114.25 misling | mistie
115.1 service | service,
116.12 writ. | writ:
116.13 *Europe* | Europae
116.13 *Africa* | Africæ
116.31 their | there
116.31-117.13 And by her . . . meintiendray | omitted.
118.23 avenged | avenge
119.24 *Eunick* | Eunuch
119.26 away. | away,
119.30 crownd | grownd
120.15 currant: | currant.
120.29 little | omitted.
121.27-28 countrey-wemen | countrie women
121.30 after, | , after
124.15 seeeth | seeth
125.14 free | omitted.
126.6 vouthsafe | vouchsafed
131.11 expect? | expect,
131.12 villany. | villany?
133.17 and | omitted.
133.22 the | this
135.19 injustly | unjustly
135.23 afflictions | affections
136.27 give hym leave to | omitted.
136.29 (possibly) ] (possibly satisfied) satisfied)
137.26 had ] have had
137.34 likelie ] like
138.19 Gentlemens. ] Gentlemens,
138.22 Alvisa ] [Begins new paragraph] Alvisa
138.26 man ] men
138.32 Husband, ] Husband?
138.33 himselfe. ] himselfe?
139.17 aunswered. ] answered,
139.20 men. / It ] men. [Begins new paragraph] It
140.28 skanse ] skawse
141.14 man ] men
141.19 qualifyed ] qualified
143.4 contention ] contention,

144.1 The fift Daies Exercise: ] MADONA AURELIA, Her fift daies pleasures.
145.8-9 where some / ever ] wheresoever
145.30 Will ] Wit
147.7 man. ] man?

148.29 through ] though
149.3 flye. ] flie:
149.25 sighe ] (sigh
149.26 but ] but)
149.25 one ] owne
againe. ] againe?

baeneses? ] basenesse?

blessing ] blessings

neither ] omitted.

they contrary ] they are contrary

via ] Via

Ismarito ] Soranso

Death? ] death:

s.n. 13. Pride. ] omitted.

FINIS. ] omitted.

The syxt Dayes Exercise: ] MADONA AURELIA, Her sixt daies pleasures.

s.n. a gentleman . . . the evyll. ] omitted.

(and ] and

resolutions) ] resolutions,

imitate. ] imitate,

s.n. sene ] severe

his worthines ] whom

course ] cause

to ] to

Commentaries ] commentaries,

present. / Some ] present. [Begins new paragraph] Some

hymselfe. / But ] himselfe. [Begins new paragraph] But

unkindnesse ] kindnesse

waspissest ] waspishest

whyther ] whether

stronge, ] strong?
Infancia: In

Thus

omitted.

FINIS.

omitted.

The vii. Dayes Exercise: MADONA AURELIA, Her seventh daies pleasures.

own

Earles, Earles to

discourse. When discourse. When

s.n. qualitie a qualitie

the that

Augurers Augurs

him? (advisedly) (advisedly

consider, consider)

s.n. sollomnes sullennes

reasons reasons)

to)

peace. After peace, after

the that the

no colophon colophon

Text of colophon:
/ At London / Printed by Richard Johnes, at the / signe of the Rose and Crowne, neere / Holburne Bridge. / 1593. / [printer's device McKerrow 283] /
Title pages

of

An Heptameron of Civill Discourses (1582)
STC 25337, Folger Shakespeare Library, copy 3.

Aurelia, The Paragon of Pleasure and Princely Delights (1593)
STC 25338, Henry H. Huntington Library
An Heptameron
of Civili Discourses.

Containing: The Christmasse Exercise of Sundrie well Courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen,

In whose behauiours, the better sort, may fee, a representation of their owne Vertues:
And the Inferiour, may learne such Rules of Civill Government, as will rase out the Blemish of their baseness:

Wherein, is Renowned, the Vertue, of a most Honourable and brave mynded Gentleman.

And herein, also, [as it were in a Mirrour] the Unmarried may fee the Defects which Eclipse the Glorie of Matrimonies; And the well Married, as in a Table of Houfholde Lawes may call out needful Precepts to establish their good Fortune.

A Work, intercoursed with Civill Pleasure, to reueveal the self-same from the Reader; and garnished with Morall Notes, to make it profitable, to the Regarder.

The Epistle of George Whetstone, Gent.

Forma, nulla fides.

AT LONDON.

Printed by Richard Iones,
at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne,
neare Holburne Bridge. 3. Feb. 1582.
The Paragon of pleasure and Princely delights:

Containing

The seven days Solace (in Christmas Holy-days) of Madona Aurelia, Queen of the Christmas Pastimes, &c. and other well-courted Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, in a noble Gentleman's Palace.

A work most sweetly intercoured (in civil and friendly disputations) with many amorous and pleasant Discourses, to delight the Reader: and plentifully garnished with Moral Notes, to make it profitable to the Reader.

By G. W. Gent.

At London printed, by Richard Iohnes.

1693.
An Heptameron

of Civill Discourses.

Containing: The Christmase Ex-
ercise of sundrie well Courted Gen-
tlemen and Gentlewomen.

In whose behaviours, the better sort, may see, a representation of their own Vertues:
And the Inferiour, may learne such Rules of Civil Go-

vernement, as wil rase out the Blemish of their baseness:

Wherin, is Renowned, the Vertues, of a most Honou-
rable and brave mynded Gentleman.

And herein, also, (as it were in a Mirrour) the Unmaried may see the Defectes whiche Eclipse the Glorie of MARIAGE;
And the wel Maried, as in a Table of Housholde Lawes, may cull out needefull Preceptes to estabylsh their good Fortune.

A Worke, intercoursed with Civyll Pleasure, to reave tediousnesse from the Reader: and garnished with Morall Noates to make it profitable, to the Regarder.

The Reporte, of George Whetstone. Gent.

Formae, nulla fides.

AT LONDON.
Printed by Richard Jones,
at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne,
neare Holburne Bridge. 3. Feb. 1582.
Ad Meœnatem, in laudem Auctoris;

CARMEN HEROICUM

Mecoenas proceres inter celeberrime nostros,
Et Clario dilecte deo, castisque Camænis;

Accipe Pierios tibi quos sacravit honores,
Troianovantæi vocalis Musa Georgii.

Non Apinas Tricasve canit, sed conscia laudis
Musa vacat studiis gravioribus: arctaque junctæ
Conditione pari commendat foedera vitae;

Conjugiique refert incommoda disparis Aucthor.

Nec solum hæc: sed vera duæ conia magni
Pandit, et Aonio tollit super Æthera plectro.

Divisitque operis seriem per tempora, miro
Ordine, judicioque pari: septemque dierum

(Judice me) certant cum Castilione labores.

Et quæ tam parvo descripsit Nymphia libro,
(crede mihi) tanto non sunt indigna Patrone.

JOANNES BOTREVIGUS.
To the right Honourable, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, Captaine of the Queenes Majesties Garde: Viz-chamberlaine to her Highnesse, and of her Majesties moste Honourable Privie Connell: GEORGE WHETSTONE, wissheth long continuance of Honor, Health and Happynesse.

Right Honourable, in the Interpretation of the wise: PARRHASIUS, in painting of INGRATITUDE and ENVIE, like Feends: rather performed a worke of Judgement, then Arte: for so soyled with infame are these passions as hell ought to be their harbour, and not the heart of man. All other defeactes of the minde have their cause of nature, or colour from reason. PRIDE proceedeth from mans overweening, of his owne excellencie: the Sourse of AMBITION, is the glory and reverence given unto Authoritie. ANGER, and REVENGE, growth from the injurie of others. But these two yokefellows INGRATITUDE and ENVIE, doe degenerate from kinde, and maske without visard of excuse. The other pursue their enemies and seek to breake but the barres of their advauncement: but the one of these woundeth his friend, whom he ought to honour, and the other reprocheth / vertue, whom the wicked reverence: And least, Time, the true exposer of Secrets, reproche me, as a Fosterer of both these damnable vices. Of Ingratitude, in not acknowledging, many received favours, of a Right noble Italian Gentleman. Of Envie, in smouldring his most cleare vertues: who with a zealous affection, oftentimes in my hearing, made his tongue, an honorable Trumpet to sounde the bright renome of her Majesties excellencie (as he sayd, and I beleve uppon earth) the fountaine of grace
and goodnes: who used her sacred name, with such a reverent regard, as in his behaviour, I noted the full consideration of a dutifull subject, denized by the eternall fame, of her Highnes devine Grace.

So that desirous to erect some Memorial Monument of his worthines, I have taken upon me to be the Secretarie of a few, of many his precious vertues: Which I humbly present unto your honor, with a hand redy to doe you effectuall service: and a tongue confessing, that you shall herein beholde, the least part of those glorious giftes, which eternize your name, and binde the generall multitude, to honour your Counterfet, for whose benefite, I have likewise committed to memorie, the civill disputations, and speaches of sundry well Courted Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, his Guestes, during the time of my intertainment, with Segnior Phyloxenus (for so covertly I name him, least in giving him, his true honorable Tytles in England, I should make a passage for Envie, to injurie him in Italy) whose exercises, if my penne hath not maimed them in the reporting, may be a president of behaviours to the indifferent well qualified Gentleman and / Gentlewoman: Besides, a true Anatomie of the inconveniences, which eclypse, and of the vertues which expresse the glory of Marriage: an estate both honorable and divine: honorable, in that, she is imbraced of all men: divine, because in the last yeares of their life she (in dispite of death) maketh men to live a new terme, in their children and posteritie: not unlike to a leafe fallen Rose, which in his stalke hath many tender buddes:
Which bare report of mine: I reverently protect
under the Garde, of your honors regarded vertues:
A bare report, I Christen it: for, whatsoever is
praise worthy in this Booke, belongeth to Segnior
Phyloxenus and his Courtly favourers: and what is
worthlesse, is the blame of my imperfect judgement:
So that, besides the protection, I am humbly to
crave, that your Honor will receive whatsome-ever
is due to them, with a favorable countenance, and
to pardon the unsufficiencie of their Trowchman:
with an imagination, that his Present, is the
testimonie of a dutiful affection: Who zealously
prayeth, that your vertues maye have as full power
over Envie, as they have Authoritie to command
the willing mindes of the best inclined dispositions:
Of which number, it may please you of favour,
though not of merit, to account me.

Your Honors most bounden,

GEORGE WHESTONS.
Unto the friendly Reader,
Wealth and welfare.

Friendly Reader, I present thee here (as I think) a profitable, unpolished labour: For, he that is the Troucheman of a Stranger's Tongue, may well declare his meaning, but yet shall marre the Grace of his Tale: And, therefore, Themistocles, the noble Captayne and Philosopher of Athens, compareth suche forced Speaches, to Tapistrie Hangings rowled up: which, beyng open, appeare beautifull: and fowlded, reserve their Vertue, but lose their showe: But I expect (somwhat) a better event, then may an Interpreter, that is bound to a present Reporte: for my Respit, hath ben sufficient to consider of Segniour Phyloxenus, and his honorable companies vertues: and (least by rash acquitall of their favours, I should do injurie, to their reputation) I have, with well advised Judgement, bethought mee, of suche memorable Questions and Devices, as I heard and sawe presented, in this most noble Italian Gentlemans Pallace, the Christmas twelvemoneths past: and aunswerable to my weake capassitie, have exposed the same, in such sort, as if thou art not too curious, may delight, and content thee: and if not too carelesse, may directe, and benefit thee: And to satisfie thee, wherein: I give thee friendly knowledge, that Segniour Phyloxenus reverent regard of the Queense Majesties high Vertues, is a President for thee: with a dutiful, and unfained heart, to love, feare, and obey her Highnesse, from whom, next under God, thou receivest such sweete blessinges: as through the whole world, her excellencie is renowned, and thy
prosperitie envied. By this noble Gentlemans
civill intertainment of strangers, thou mayste
perceyve with what Garland, Courtisie, is
principally crowned: By the civill behaviours,
of Soranso, Dondolo, Bergetto, and other
Gentlemen hercin named, thou haste a President
of government, which will commend thee: and by
well regarding their speeches, thou shalt finde
a discreete methode of talke, meete for a
Gentleman. The lyke benefit, shall Gentlewomen
receive, in Imitating, of Madona Aurelia (Queene
of the Christmas pleasures) Maria Belochi, Lucia
Bella, Franceschina Santa, and the rest of the
wel qualited Gentlewomen. Besides, a number of
other Morall documentes, needefull reprehensions,
and witty sayynges, to perfect the commendation,
both of a Gentleman, and Gentlewoman. (Courteous
Reader) thou haste heare, the honorable institution
of Marriage, so perfectly Anatomed, as a veryc
weake Judgement, may see the ccusse, which make
Houshould quarrelles, to resemble Hell. Againe,
the man, which is willing to live happily, may
here learne such directions, and lawes, as will
chaunge his private house, into a Paradice on
earth. If civill and Morall pleasures, withall
these benefites, may make thee intertaine thys
booke and report well of the Author, I assure
thee thou shalt be pleased, and I satisfied. But
if thou makest thy tongue, enemie to thy owne
reputation, thou mayest detract, but not reproche
the worke: Injure, but not hurt the writer, for
both will live, and laugh such Callumniators to
scorne, when either are readie to doe the discrete
Reader service. Some will (perchaunce more of
envie to heare a stranger commended, then of pittie
to bemone my hard fortune, or foule usage) say, I
have as just cause to complaine, of injuries
received at Roane, Rome, and Naples, as to commend
the vertues and good entertainement, of Segnior
Philoxenus: But to give such Suggestioners a /
double good example, both of patience and
thankfulness: I heare protest, that as these
injuries begunne, with my hard fortune, so they
ended, no wayes in my discredite: And as I
forgeve the causes of my mishaps, so scorne I,
to recount them, to receive amendes, in a little
pittie. But, for that they, and all such as
vew my Report, may learne of me to bee gratefull
for received benefites: I make it knowne: That
this travell, is Segnior Philoxenus due: And I
still his debter, and so shall remayne during my
life: reserving a good affection, to bestow on
such as receive his Vertues: and my paynes to
profit and commend them selves. And in my
opinion, it is just they doe so: Wherefore, to
give a disgrace to ceremonies, gentle Reader I
ende: as I hope to finde thes mine.

Thine assured friend,
George Whetston.
T. H. Esquier, In the commendation of the Author, and his needefull BOOKE.

Even as the fruitfull Bee, doth from a thousand Flowers,
Sweet Honie draine, and layes it up, to make the profit ours,
So, Morall Whetstone, to his Countrey doth impart,
A Worke of worth, culd from the wise, with Judgement, wit and art.
No Stage Toy, he sets forth, or thundring of an Hoast,
But his rare Muse, a passage makes, twixt burnyng fier and frost.

Suche Vertues as beseeme, the worthy Gentles breast,
In proper colours he doth blaze, by followynge of the best:
The Vertue is but rare, and Vice not yet in use,
That modestly he not commendes, or mildely shewes th'abuse.
Such matter in good wordes, these few leaves doo reveale,

Unforst, or strainde, as that it seemes, a naturall common weale.

Of forced Marriage, he dooth shew the foule event,
When Parents joyne, the Childrens hands, before their harts consent:
And how these fortunes eke, in wedlock seeldom prove,
Unequall choice, in birth, in yeeres: and Childrens hasty love.

Yet he with learned prooffes, this sacred state dooth raise,
(As it deserves) above the Skies, in wordes of modest praise.

More, every Page, heere dooth present, the Readers eyes,
With such regardes, as help the weake, and doo confirme the wise.
Which needlesse were, to blase, in prayses to allure:

The holy Bush, may wel be sparde, where as the Wine is pure.
Verses translated out of Latine, and delivered by URANIE, with a Silver Pen, to ISMARITO, in a Device, contained in the seventh daies Exercise; placed in this Forefront, for the excellencie of PANDORA.

The mighty JOVE beholding from above,
The mistes of sinne, which from the earth arose,
In angry moode, sent IRIS downe to moove,
Throughout the worlde, the exercise of foes,
With vengeance armde: who poured downe her Ire,
And with debates, set Monarchies a fyre.

Whole Countries burnde, did dim the Sun with smoke,
The Cannon noyse, the Ayre with Thunder rent:
The wounded men, with shrikes the Heavens shoke:
The Temples spoylde: the Townes to ruine went:
Unwillyng yet, to worke the worlds decay,
JOVE, CYLLEN sent, in part his wrath to staye.

Who hastes his charge, with winges as swift as winde,
But comming to, the Region next the grounde,
He could no way, for clowdie darknes finde:
And fearing, in the Ocean to be drownd:
He hovered till, in fine, he did espie,
A PHAROS light, which was a PHENIX eye.

Led by this Starre, amaine he commeth downe,
And footing sets, uppon a fruitfull Ile:
Where liv'd a Queene, crownd with the worlds renowne,
Upon whose rule, Grace, Peace, and Wealth did smyle.
Her Senate, grave, her Citties, Mansions weare,
For such as fled, for persecutions feare.

To whom he gave the tokens that were sent,
Faire PALLAS forme, and VENUS lovely face:
Sweete PITHOS tongue, and DIANS chaste consent:
And of these giftes, PANDORA nam'd her Grace:
And joynes with all, JOVES blessings to the same,
To make her live, in everlasting fame.

These monsters fell, which publike order breake,
Dissention, Wrath, and Tiranny, he bounds:
This office done (he thought as JOVE would leake)
To Heaven he hyes, and blessed leaves the grounde:
Where this good Queene, and Subjects quiet lyve,
When civill warres, her neighbor kingdomes greeve.

Even this is she, whose sacred fame is knowne,
Through out the worlde, in Envie, Feare, and Love,
Envi'd, because, she raignes in peace alone:
Feared, in that, she shielded is by JOVE:
Lov'd, for desarte, whose vertues shine as bright,
As twincking Stars, do in the frostie night.

This Silver Pen, meete for a Virgins praise,
URANIE heere, doth ISMARITO give:
With charmed charge, this Queens renowne to raise:
As she in spight of Death, and Time may live:
Which right is hers, the labour is but thine,
Then (Judging) write, as she may seeme devyne.

Vaticinium URANIES./
A briefe Summarie of the principall Argumentes handled, in these seven Dayes Pleasures.

1 Of the difference betweene the Married state and the single lyfe.

5 Of the inconveniences of forced Marriages.

3 Of the inconveniences of rash Marriages.

4 Of divers speciall poyntes concerning Marriage, in generall.

10 Of the inconveniences of over loftye, and too base Love, in the choyce, of either Husband or Wyfe.

6 Of the inconveniences of Marriages: where there are inequalitye of yeares.

15 Of the excellencie of Marriage: with manye sounde Lawes and lawdable directions, to continue Love betweene the Married.

All which Principles, are largely intercoursed, with other Morall Conclusions of necessarie regarde.

FINIS. /
The first Days exercise.

Chiefly containning: A civill Contention, whexther, the marwed or single lyfe, is the more worthy: And after many good Reasons, alleaged on either parte, Sentence is given in the behalfe of Mariage.

At what tyme, the Earth dismantled of her brave Attyre, lamented the absence of Dame Aestas company, and that faire Phaebus in his Retrogradation, entering the Tropique of Capricorne, and mounting in the Zodiacke, licensed naked Hyemps, to powre down her wrath, upon the face of the whole worlde: through dread of whose boysterous stormes, every lyving creature, by the direction of Nature retired himselfe unto his safest succour, as the Birde to his Nest, the Beast to his Covert, the Bee to his hyve, the Serpent to his hole: onely Man excepted, who (being beautified with a devine spirite, and armed with reason, farre above the reache of Nature) scorneth to be chayned unto any place, through the violence or injurie of Tyme.

In this dead season, suche were my Affayres, that Necessytie sent me into a Countrey farre from home, where as I was no lesse unacquainted with the people, then ignorant of the wayes: And having travayled the great part of a Christmas Eve in a desert Forrest, strayed out of knowledge, I tooke me to a deepe beaten way, which promised a likelyhood to finde out some spedie Harbour: And after I had jornyed the space of an hower, in a sweete Groave of Pyne Apple trees, mine eye fastened upon a stately Pallace, the brightnes wherof, glimmered through the Braunches of the

A description of the dead of Winter.

Man by reson inlargeth the boundes of Nature, within whose lymites every other creture lyveth. This was the Forrest of Ravenna in Italye, (for the most part) of pine Apple trees.

This Pallace was 10 miles from Ravenna.
younger woodde, not unlyke the Beames of the Sonne
throughe the Crannelles of a walle, assuryng then
my selfe, too receyve best Instruc-tions, of the
better sort of people: such was my haste, as I
soone arrived at this sumptuous place: but
according to the condition of time, in Christmas,
sooner to fynde a friende feasting in the Hall,
then walkinge in the Feelde: other then a few
of ignoraunt peysauntes, I could perceive no
person. The delight I tooke to beholde the
scitation, and curious workmanship of this
Pallace, made mee so long forget the cause of
my arrivall there, as in the ende one of the
well qualyted Servaunts (havinge knowledge of my
being without) in a servisable order, came and
presented mee with his Lordes curteous welcome,
and reverently requested mee to alight, and enter
the Pallace: I which imagined this entertainment
to be but an Italian curtesie, after thankes given,
by a modest excuse, refused so great a favour,
and onely craved, to be directed the rediest
way to Ravenna: the Servaunt cunninglye replyed,
that I could not bee received into the Cittie
without his Lordes Bollytyne, and at this time
hee sealed no mans safecundit, without knowledge,
that his affayres requyred great haste: in so
much, as won with his importunites, and overcome
with wearynesse of Travell, I commytted my Horse,
to the orderinge of my man, and accompanied this
officious Servant, towards the Pallace, and by
the way, over a lardge entraunce into a faire
court, I might read these two breefes in Italian.

Pisano e Forresterio.
Entrate, e ben venuto.
Which generall invyting, imboldned mee so far, as I hardly marched towards the great Hall, the Skreene wherof, was curiously fronted with cloudy Marble, supported on every side the passadges, with stately Pillers of Geate: and over the three Portalles, stood the Images of two men: the one of Allablaster Marble, bare headed, representing the vertue of welcome: the other of blewe/ Marble, attyred lyke a Cooke, and by him were artificially painted, Pheasants, Partriges, Capons, and other costly Cates, as the Figure of Bountie: At the entry of this stately Hall, I was received by the Lord of the Pallace, accompanied with divers Gentlemen of good quallytie, with so civill and friendly intertaynment, as his behaviour blazoned the true knowledge of Curtesie: before we past any further, I began to recount the Adventure which brought me thither, and craved his honourable favour for my dispatch: Why then (quoth Segnior Phyloxenus) for so (for some cause) I name the Lord of the Pallace, I thanke your hard Fortune for arrivyng you here, to do me this honour: No hard, but happy Fortune (quoth I) if I may live to honour you with any effectual service.

Well (quoth he) after your weerie travaile, it is more needeful to provide for your repose, then for a further Jorney, and so lead me the way into a faire great Chamber, richly hung with Tapistrie: the Roof wherof, was Allablaster plaister, embost with many curious devises in gold, and in sundrie places in proper colours was ingraved his devise, which was A Holly Tree, full of red Beries: and in the same, a fluttering MAVIS fast limed to the bowes, with this posie Welcom and Bountie, the Porters.
in French, *Qui me nourit, me destruct*: And, in
verie deed, the beries of the tree feedeth this
Bird, and the berke maketh Lime to fetter her.
But I afterwardes learned, *Segnior Philoxenus*
used this *Ensigne* as a covert description of
desire: whose sweete torments nourisheth the
minde, but consumeth the bodie to the grave. In
this bewtifull place, I imbraced the salutations
of such a brave troupe of Gentlemen, and

Gentlewomen, as the honour of the householde
might well give envie unto some Princes Court.
And least, at my first comming, I might be
abashed through small acquaintance, *Segnior
Philoxenus*, emboldened mee with a familiar
communication, and in the ende uppon a
convenient occasion, demanded of me the name
of my Countrie?/ I answered him, I was a
Gentleman of *England*, voluntarily exiled with
a burnyng desyre, to see the Monuments of
other Countries, the order of their government,
and manners of the people. And are you of that
blessed Ile (quoth he?) where the people live in
peace and prosperytie, under the rule of a
Mayden Queene, crowned with such devine vertues,
as the whole world may hardly containe her fame.

Sir (quoth I) your good testimony of her
worthynesse, being a Straunger, taketh all
occasion from mee (her dutiful subject) to
inlardge her renowne. O (quoth he) if *Envie*
durst detract her openly, as she secretlye
conspireth her overthrowe, in these partes you
should be driven to stop your eares, or endure
a torment (to a faithfull subject) more violent
then Death. But the vertue of her Shielde,
I meane her grave Senate, hath returned the Dartes of Envy so thick upon her Souldiers, as she hath no power to eclips her bright renowne, whose vertue shineth in Envyes dispight as a Diamond in an obscure place, or as the Sunne through smal passadges, into the bowels of the earth: so that happy and thrice happye are you, the Subjectes of the good Queene of England, whose gratious governement, filleth your Coffers with wealth, sealeth your dores with peace, and planteth quietnesse in your Conscience: so that (blessed above other Nations) you live abroad, without suspition of daunger at home: and at home fearelesse of enemies abrode. Wherefore, in honour of your Soveraigne, whose fame armeth al true knights, with an earnest desire to doo her service, I am glad of the meane, to bestow on you, or any of Mr nation, the affection of a friend. Sir (quoth I) the vertue of these honorable thoughts blaseth the true magnanimity of a noble mind, which measureth not your favour by the desart of others, but with the ryaltie of your heart, and so binde thousands in recognisance of service: among which debters I desire to bee inrolled, although I can discharge but litle After we had bestowed a smal time in these like speches, he commanded some of his servantes to direct me unto a lodging (if I pleased) to bee/ disposed of my riding attyre: who straight waies brought mee into a Bed Chamber, so well accommodated with every necessarie pleasure, as might have served for the repose of Cupid and his lover Ciches: having a fayre prospect into a goodly Garden, beautified, with such Vertue stoppeth the mouth of Envye, but fyreth her hart with mallyce.

The true Blazon of a noble mynd.
rare devises, as deserved to be compared with the earthly Paradice of Tivoly. And to be breefe, this Pallace, with all her conveinances, as well necessarie, as of pleasure, fully mached the statelynesse of Cardinall Furnesaes Pallace, buylded and beautified, with the ruinous Monumentes of Rome, in her pride: so that the curiousnesse thereof, was of power to have inchaunted my eyes with an immodest gase, had I not remembred, that it belongeth unto a Gentleman to see, and not to stare upon the straungest Novell that is: for bace is his mynde, whose spirit hourely beholdeth not greater matters then eyther beautie, buylding or braverie. And certenly, at this instant, I delighted more to contemplate of Segnior Phyloxenus vertues: then to regarde his sumptuous buyldings, who (as I learned of one of the Servantes) all the yeere opened his dores to everie civill Gentleman, and at Christmas, invited all commers, as a customarie dutie: so large was the prescription of his curtesie. But, which shined above the rest, he was in his youth, brought up in the French Courte, where, by the grace of God, and labour of some good freend (as his behayours could not but winne many) he learned to serve God, with purenesse of heart, and not with painted ceremonies, as his superstitious Countrie men do: which was one chief cause, why he spake so reverently of the Queenes majestie, whose vertues make her enemies dumbe, for malice will not let them say well, and shame forbids them to speake amis, of her sacred

Tivoly .12. miles from Rome, where the Cardinall of Esta hath a most rare Garden.

Cardenal Furnesaes pallace in Rome.

A necessarie observation for a Gentleman.

A worthy Custome.

He was a Protestant.
lyfe: by the time I had talked awhile, with
one of the servantes, and put my selfe in a
more civill order, then was necessarie for
travel, Supper was in a redinesse: whiche
although it exceeded the common order of facts,
yet it passed not far the bounds of auncient
custome: for my place at the Table, I had the/
pryveledge of a Stranger, set above my degree,
and with the same intertainment, were Frenchmen,
Almain, Duchs men and other Gentlemen, Straungers,
intreated. The Grand Maister of the feast, in
wordes gave us one welcome for all, but not so
few as a thousand in affable countenaunces.
Supper being ended, according to the custome
of the place, a Cake was cut in peeces, to the
number of the Gentlemen and Gentlewomen present,
and if the marked peece were allotted unto a
man, he should be King, if to a woman, she
should be Queene of the Christmas pleasures:
for it was agreede, there should be but one
to commaund, and all to obey. Madona Aurelia,
Sister to the Lorde of the Pallace, was crowned
with the Lot, whose worthynesse was such, as
herein it seemed Fortune obayed desert: for
there was no Gentlewoman in the troupe, that
Aurelia excelled not in beautie, and singularity
of wit, nor no Gentleman, that her vertues
inchaunted not, with more admiration, then
the Sirens sweete songs, the wether weried
Sayler, so that of the one shee was crowned with
Envie, and of the other with Honor. But in as
much, as this was but the fyrst night of her
raigne, she referred the Proclamation of her
lawes untill the next daye, and so dismiss the
attendaunce of her subjectes for that night, which (in sooth) lasted me but a sleepe, so soundly after travell, I imbraced mine ease.

The next Day no sooner appeared, but the Trumpets sounded the honour of Christmas: uppon which Sommons, the Companie rose, and (attired in their most sumptuous weedes) in the greate Chamber attended their Queene Aurelia, who about Service time, (with the Majestie of a Goddesse) presented her selfe: on whome, all the Trowpe waighted unto the Chappell, wheare the Service was not so ceremonious, as in other Churches of Italy, and yet more then agreed with Segnior Phyloxenus conscience, onely to geve no offence, to the superstitious zeale of others. The Service ended, against the returne of the company, the Tables were covered in a most/ stately Order, and with the sound of Trumpettes, were furnished with so many severall dainty Dishhes, as the Rialtie of the Feaste, might have pleased Heliogabalus.

After Queene Aurelia was set, the rest tooke their accustomed places: but (God knowes) the eyes of the greater parte, were more hungrye, then their stomackes: for their appetites were dulled, with the overplentie of meates, and their desires quickened, with the regarde of the faire Gentlewomen.

The Dinner and every solemne service ended, Segnior Phyloxenus committed the company, to the good intertainment of his Sister Aurelia, and (with a speciall sute) recomended me unto her favour: After vewe was taken of the

Heliogabalus
a most voluptuous Emperor of Rome.
Attendantes, certaine Gentlemen and Gentlewomen (by the appointment of Queene Aurelia) were adopted with the names of their Fortunes, as occasion will manifest hereafter: and for that I was a Traveler, she calde mee Cavaliero Ismarito, in Englishe, The Wandring Knight: whereupon, Madam (quoth I) you have christened mee with the true name of my fortune: for I was but late out of my way, and now am straied out of my self: where are you then (quoth Aurelia?) at your only direction (quoth I:) well (quoth she) since so cunningly you prefer your selfe, I admitt you my servant, and as you deserve so will I reward: and Madam (quoth I,) if I bee not loyall, let mee not lyve: well (quoth she) I expect the best. The rest of the affaires set in good order, the Harold proclaimed the lawes, whereunto the Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were bounde, with the penalties for the breach of them.

The Lawes of Queene Aurelia.

First, everie Gentleman, and Gentlewoman, were conjured faithfully to execute all the charges, and offices assigned by their Queene Aurelia, and that they should be attendant of her pleasure./

Item every Gentleman was bound, to serve some one Misterisse befor the next day at noone, uppon paine, to bee turned into the great Hall, among the Countrie Trulles the whole Christmas. And every Gentlewoman that had not a Servant, was judged unworthy, to bee courted for one weeke: for his merrit was holden very small,
that coulde bee entertained of none, and her
conditions very crooked that was beloved of none.

   Item every Gentleman, was bound to geve
his owne Mistresse the honour of his servise,
5 and the chiefe place in his commendations,
uppon paine, to lose her service, and to bee
entertained of no other. For he that was
disloyall to one, coulde not be holden faithfull
unto an other.

   Item every Gentlewoman, was bounde to
imploye her owne Servaunt uppon paine to be
reputed symple. For she that affyed not in
her owne Servant, had no reason to trust an
others.

   Item every Gentleman was bound, to defende
the honor of his Misterisse, both with worde
and sworde, uppon paine to be reputed a Coward,
and not to were her glove. For he was holden
very unsufficient, that prysed not his Misterisse
honor above his owne lyfe.

   Item evrey Gentlewoman was bound, to
incouradge her Servant with Good countenances,
and uppon the execution of any worthy service
to rewarde him, with the kissing of her hand,
upon paine to be deemed, unworthy to be served.
For she of all the world is acounted to rigorous
a Dame, that with scorne, receyveth dutifull
service.

   Item every Gentleman was bounde to Court
30 his misterisse with Civill speaches, upon
paine to be forbidden, to talke of love for
three daies. For he was accompted bace mannered,
or verie grose witted, that coulde not pleasantly
entertaine time with a civill discourse.
Item every Gentleman was bound, either by some exercise of value, or by some shew of excellency of wit, to approve him selfe worthy of his Mistrisse: upon paine, to be spoyled of his Armes, and the whole Christmas to attende with the Pages: for he was holden unworthy the societie of men, or the affection of women, that was neither valiant nor wise.

These Lawes proclaimed, Queene Aurelia appointed an elderly Courtier named Fabritio, and a well spoken Gentlewoman, called Donna Isabella, to be Judges of the controversyes, in disputation: and to attend her in her affaires of pleasure, she chused Segnior Soranso, a Gentleman Italian, of Wit quick and sharp, and for his devices, sweete and pleasant: Don Dondolo, a Napolitan, haughtie and proude in his conceits. Monsier Barretto a Frenchman, amourous and light headed. Doctor Mossenigo, a German, so called, for the plaine discoverie of his mind. Segnior Faliero a Scot, subtitill and cunning in his devyces: and my selfe Cavaliero Ismarito, an English man, in whiche name heereafter, I will present those actions that touch my selfe.

This wise, choice she made to priveledge the Strangers with the hyest favour.

Of Gentlewomen, she chused Maria Belochy, a Damsell whose eye was able to fire a mountaine of Ice. Lucia Bella, for fairenesse and sweete behaviour an Angel. Hellena Dulce, a loving and affable Gentlewoman. Franceschina Sancta, so called for hir modest and lowlye countenance: Katherina Trista, a sowre and testy Dame: Alvisa
Vechio, who although she were in the wayne of her yeeres, yet was she in the pride of yong desires.

This done, Queene Aurelia, by consent, devided the exercises of every day, into these times: the forenoone to bee bestowed in the service of God: after dinner, two houres to be intertained in civell discourse, and disputation: the rest till Supper at pleasure: and after supper to spende a time in daunsing, maskinge, or in other like pastimes, as occasion presented.

The greater part of Christmas day, was spent in establishing these orders, the rest was overcome with solempne Musick, for, among the better sorte, that day is honoured, with no light mirth./

The next daye by nine a Clocke, according to one of the charges in the Proclamation, you might see the yong Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, coupled together lyke fowles on Saint Valentines day morninge. But Cavilio Ismerito, having the eyes of his hart setteled upon his Mistresse beautie, with carelesse regarde, behelde the rest of the company: and leanyng by a dore, thorow which she should passe, he awayghted Queene Aurelias comming. Who at her accustomed howre, presented her self with an advauntage of braverie, whom the whole trowpe reverently saluted, and honorably accompanyed unto the Chappell.

After Service, Dinner, and all were solempnlye ended: Queene Aurelia with a chosen company, retyred her selfe, into a pleasant

A division of their pleasures.
drawing Chamber, to execute the reported
ordenaunce. But to quicken the Spirites of the
company, before they entred into discourse,
she commaunded a faire Bunucke Boy, to singe
some one songe, as hee thought good, who
obaying her commaundement, with a heavenly
note, unto the Lute sunge this lovyng Laye.

No joy comes neare the heavenly joy of love,
When we imbrace, the wish of our desyre.

All pleasures els, that kinde or Arte may move,
To love, are lyke, the heate of paynted fyre.

Love is the roote, whereon swete thoughts do grow,
Love is the source, from whence content doth flow.

When I behould my Mistresse in the face,
Love from her eyes, a thousand Graces throwes.
But when in armes, I doe her selfe imbrace,
One smyling looke exileth all my woes.

Then straight our lippes prepare them selves to fight,
And on eche kys, Love seales a new delight.

What would you more? I wish me in my grave,
Were but my soule with halfe these pleasures crownde:/
And heare on earth to be my Misterisse slave,
I hold me free, and others to be bounde.

Wherfore, I sing which I in sollace prove,
There is no heaven, to lyfe bestowed in love.

The sweet deliverie of this sonet, so
inchanted the harts of the hearers, as for a
space, their sences gave place to the contemplation
of their soules. In the end, Madona Isabella
by this motion, made the whole company a passadge
If Love be so sweete a passion (quoth she)
I muse from what cause proceedeth the complaintes
of Lovers, who with showering teares, bedeweth
the earth: with misty sights, dimmeth the aire,
and with shril outcries pearceth the heavens.

The cause (quoth Soranso,) proceeds of our
fleshly imperfections, which corruptes the
nature of good things, and not of any defect in
love: for love is a simple devine vertue, and
hath his being in the soule, whose motions are
heavenly.

I have read (quoth Isabella) that there be
sundry kindes of love. The uses of love, are
divers (quoth Soranso,) as in zeale towards God,
in duty towards our Countrie, in obedience.
towards our parents, and in affection towards our
frends. All which motions proceedeth forth of
one love, although som are more vehement then
the other, even as many Rivers doo run out of
one Spring, whereof som have a more swift course
then the other. But of that passion which we
ordinarily call love, the wish either tends to
Marriage or wantonnesse. There is matter of
disputation in Marriage (quoth Franceschina,)
because the estate is honorable, and yet subject
to crosse fortunes: But touching your conclusion
of wantonnes, it deserveth to die in silence, for
known evils are to bee chastened, without allowing
their defences. Madame (quoth Faliero) unlesse
you revoke this sentence, we wil have you indited
at Rome, as an heretick, for by the Popes Cannons,
Priests may not marry: and they have a custom
among them selves, not to live chast. Well
(quoth Franceschina,) if the Pope for this opinion, burne mee as an heretick, good men will cannonise mee for a vertuous Virgin./

These Digressions (quoth Queene Aurelia,)

are the meanes (rather) to worke a confusion of our memories, then to conclude any beneficial matter for our instruction. And therefore, I hold it to greater purpose (substantially) to handle one Argument, then (sleightly) to overrunne many causes, where the doubts we leave unresolved, wyl be more daungerous unto the hearer, then the Counsellles we use, profitable unto the follower.

Madame, (quoth Fabritio) I hold it good, we obey your direction. And for that Mariage, is the most honourable event of Love: and that a Single lyfe, is the greatest testimonie of Chastity: A civill Contention, to proove which is the most worthy of the two, would conclude much contentment: For, as Yron and Flynt, beat together, have the vertue to smite fire: so, mens wittes, encountryng in doutful questions, openeth a passage for imprisoned Trueth.

Queene Aurelia, and the rest of the company, lyked verie well of the Subjeat: and studing, who weare the fittest to deale in this Controversie, Aurelia (with a glaunsinge eye) beheld, that her servant Ismarito, witsafed no greater Token, that he tooke delight in thease actions, then (sometime) the secrete bestowyng of a modest smile: wherupon she forethought, that as Floods, when they are most hyest, maketh least noise: even so (perchaunce) his styll tongue, was governed by a flowyng witt, and desirous to sounde his sufficiencie, she quickned him with
this crosse surmise.

Servant (quoth she) your sober lookes, promiseth a hope that you will undertake Dianaes quarrell: but (which wil serve in this question) I feare me, you commaund Love, so much, as you contempne Mariage: And the greater is my suspicion, in that you are a Travayler: the nature of which sort of people, is to swell, with a monstorous disdayne of Mariage. The reason is (say they) their Affections are poysoned, with the knowledge of womens so haynous evyls, as thei dare not venter of that vocation: But my opinion is, they have learned so many subtilties to deceive a shiftlesse woman, as dandled with the imbracements of sundry/ Loves, they forsweare Mariage, who bindes them to one only wyfe: And if you be infected with the humour of thease sorte of Travailers, you may wel undertake this charge: for Venus, though she love not Diana, yet is she the sworn enemie of Juno. And if you be sound from this infirmitie, the little haste you make to marry, witnesseth, you honor Hymen, with no great devotion, and therfore, I commaund you too use all your possyble proofes, in the Defence of a Single lyfe: and for your Assistaunce, I do appoint you, Lucia Bella, whom, this Charge can not mislyke, because (as I understand) she means to be a professed Nun: You are to encounter the opinions of many, and therfore, arme your selves, with as good reasons, as you may.

Madame (quoth Ismarito) I am so deeply bound unto your commaundement, as I am driven to leave youre suggestions not answereed, and my
owne innocency, unexcused, and only attend the 
encounter of him, that wil maintaine Marriage, 
to be more worthy then a singel life: which
vocation of Marriage, though I reverently
honour, yet I so zealously affect the other, as
I hope (where the Judges are indifferent) to
make the glory thereof to shine as the faire
white, above every other colour.

Syr, (quoth Soranso,) though white be a
fayre colour, yet are the choyse of all other
colours, more rich and glorious: so, though
Virginitie (which is the fayrest flower of a
singel lyfe) be precious, in the sight of God,
and in the opinion of men, yet is Marriage more
precious, in that, it is a sacred institution
of God, and more honoured of men: the Married
are reverently intertained, when the unmarryed
are but familiarly saluted. The Married in
places, the unmarried humble them selves unto
the lowest. To be short, Virginitie is the
handmayde of Marriage. Then, by how much the
Master is greater then the servaunt, by so much
Marriage is more worthy then is singel lyfe.

I confesse (quoth Ismarito,) Marriage is
an honourable estate, instituted of God, and
embraced of men, but wher-/on had she her
beginning? upon this cause, to keepe men from
a greater inconvenience: as the Lawe was
founded uppon this reason, to punishe the
trespasses of men. But if no offence had ben
given, the Law had not needed. So if man had
lyved within boundes of reason (whiche before
any commaundement geven; was unto him a Law)
Marriage might have been spared: and therefore in the hyest degree, is but a vertue uppon necessitie: where Chastitie, is a devine vertue, governed by the motions of the soule, which is immortall, and particypating of the same vertue, is alwaies fresh and greene. The ever—springing Baye, is the Metamorphos of chast Daphne, whom Appollo, although he weare a soveraign GOD, could not allure to Mariadge: which prooveth Chastitie, a true spark of Divinitie, whose twinkling reflexions, so daseleth the eyes of imagined Gods (whose powers must needes be more great then the greatest of men) as they cannot see an ende of their incontinent desires: where as the beautie of Mariadge, is many times blasted by fortune, or the frailtie of the Married.

Therfore (think I) by how much devyne thinges are of greater emprise then earthlye,by so much the Single lyfe, is more worthy then the maryed. And in advauntage, (quoth Lucia Bella) where Soronso sayth, that there is great honour done unto the married, and to the Single is given light regard, I pray you whether are Baccus minions or the Muses, most reverensed?. Among men, whose places are hyer then the Cleargies? and amonge women, whose greater then the religious Dames?

They have not this preheminence (quoth Faliero) because they professe a Single life, but because their function is more sacred then other mens, who if their prayers to GOD bee no more zealous, then their vowes to chastytie are stedfast, you flye to the authoritie of a company Defences of Mariadge.

The cause why the Cleargie are reverensed.
as spotted as Labans Sheepe.

But where Sir Ismarito saith, that Mariage
is but a vertue upon necessytie, to restrayne
man from a greater evyll: I approove it an estate,
set downe by Nature, and that man hath but
amplified it, with certain Ceremonies, to make
perfect the determination of nature: For we
dayly see, in unreasonable Creatures, Mariage is
(in a sorte) worshypped: Poulies of the Ayre
(I meane) the he and the she, cupple together,
flie together, feede together, and neast together.
The Turtle is never merie after the death of her
Mate: and in many brute Beastes, the lyke
Constancie is found: But (generally) there is
never jarre nor mislykyng betwene the Male and
Female, of unpollitique creatures: and among
the most barbarous people that ever lyved, by
the Impression of Nature, Mariage hath (evermore)
ben reverenced and honoured: Muche more, civill
people, ought to affecte this holy estate: And
where Ismarito, attributes suche Glorie unto a
Single lyfe, because that Daphne was metamorphosed
into a Bay Tree, whose Branches are always
greene: In my opinion, his reason is fayre lyke
the Bay Tree: for the Bay Tree is barren of
pleasant fruict, and his plesing words of weighty
matter.

Furthermore, what remembrance is theare of
faire Sirinx coynesse, refusing to be God Pans
wife? other then that she was metamorphosed
into a fewe unprofitable Reedes: Or of Anaxaretes
chaste crueltie towards Iphis, other then that
she remaineth an Image of Stone in Samarín.

Many other suche lyke naked Monumentes
remayne, of nice contempters of Marriage.

But in the behalf of Marriage, thousands have ben changed into Olyve, Pomegranate, Mulberie, and other fruitfull trees, sweete flowers, Starres, and precious Stones, by whom, the worlde is beautified, directed and noorished.

In many well governed commonwealths, Sterylitie hath ben reputed so vile, as the Aged was of no man honoured, that had not children of his own, to do him reverence./

Then, by how much those thinges, which noorish with increase, are more necessarie then those things, which but simply please the eye: by so muche, the married, is more worthy then the single lyfe.

Sir, (quoth Ismarito,) it seemeth that you have read a Leafe more then Sainct Katherynes Nun: for she (simply) tried all thinges, and you (subtilly) use, but what serveth your owne tourne: You reproach a Single lyfe, with Barrennesse, and commend the fertyltie of Mariage: But had you showen the weedes with the Corne, bare pasture wold have returned as great a benefit, as your harvest. The Monsters, Serpents, and loathsome Creatures, mentioned by Ovide, in his Metamorphosis, were they not I praye you the fruicts of Mariage? as wel as the blessings, whiche you so affectedlye reported? Oedippus was glad to scratch out his eyes, because he could not indure to behold the vices of his Children. The good Emperour Marcus Aurelius in his aged daies, never rose that he sighthed not: never dyned that he fretted not: nor never went to bedd, that he weeped not: to
heare, see, and consider, the mounstrous evylls of his Children. Admit the Married, have vertuous Children, they may dye when they are yonge, then the goodness of their lyves, increaseth sorrowes, by their deathes: and where the comfort is so doubtfull, it is not amisse to refuse the hazard of the greefe: neither dyeth there any of Dianas band, but that their vertues reviveth them as the ashes of the Phenix, tourneth into an other Phenix.

It is for some Phenix sake, (quoth Queene Aurelia,) that you thus stoutly defend a Single lyfe.

I doo but your commaundement, (quoth Ismarito.) Yea (quoth shee) it is at my commaundement, but yet for some others merit.

Alvisa Vechio, fearing that Marriage wold receive som disgrace, if that Queene Aurelia favoured the Defence of a Single lyfe, could not longer suprresse her affections, but with a womans Impatiencie, blamed the rigour of Diana, who condemned Acteon to be devoured of his own Howndes: who caused sweete Addonis to be slayne by a wylde Boare: with many other cruell partes, unseemyng the naturall pittie of a woman: but (which might have saved a great deale of Argument, or at the least, which wyll now soone ende the Controversie:) compare (quoth she) Juno and Diana together, and by their callings, you may easely judge who is the worthyer. Diana (poore soule) is but a Goddesse here on earth, and Juno is Queene of Heaven: Dianae force, is in her Bow and Arrows, Juno bestoweth Thunderbolts, upon her enemies: Diana, is attyred with greene leaves,
and Juno with glorious Starres: Diana, feedeth on rawe Fruictes, and drinketh cold water: Junoes Feastes, are of Manna, and her Bowles are filld with Nectar: Dianaes Musick, is no better then the voyces of a fewe Nymphes: Juno is recreated with the Harmonie of Angelles: Dianaes pastime, is (a foote) to chace the fearefull Roe, where Juno (in Phaetons wynged Chariot) pursueth a thousand several pleasures: then, by how much the pompe of Juno, exceedeth the naked Triumphes of Diana: by so much, Mariage must needs be more worthye then the Single lyfe.

Lucia Bella, that shuld have answered Alvisa Vechio, (not unlyke the Marygoulde, that cloaseth her Beautie, when Phebus is attyred with his brightest Rayes) so admyre the glory of Juno, that, as an inchaunted creature, her tongue forgot her naturall office: the reason was, her hart was sodenly surprised with an ambitious desire of honor.

Which change, Ismarito perceyved, with the first: and least, her scilence shuld conclude a yealding: Al is not gold (quoth he) that glistereth, nor every thyng counterfet that is not curiously garnished: a smyling countenance is no full testimonie of a merie hart, nor costly Garments, of a rich Purse: And (perchance) the griefe of Junoos secret discontentmentes, is greater then the delight of her gloryous pompe: where Diana, who (as a Diamond in the darcke, shineth of her selfe) needeth not the Ornaments of Juno.

And as shee is (symplye) of a pure substaunce, so her thoughtes, must needes be sweete, and quiet.
Sir (quoth Maria Belochy) our soundest judgements, are of those things that we our selves see; therefore, if the apparaunce of Mariage, be worthier then the apparaunce of the single lyfe: if sentence be truely pronounced, it must be in the behalfe of Juno.

Queene Aurelia perceiving the increase of Ismaritos adversaries, (for who can stop a streame? measure the fire? weygh the winde? or hynder Fancyes passage?) and withall considering how that the controvercy was sufficiently debated, commaunded the contenders, to keepe scilence: and referred the question, to be Judged by Fabritio, and Isabella.

Who having advisedly considered, the reasons on both sydes, agreed that a single chast lyfe pleased God, because, Chastitie is pure: and also delighteth man, because, shee quieteth the mynde: but a chast married lyfe, bothe pleaseth, and honoureth God: because Mariage, howrely, presenteth the world, with the Image of himselfe: pleaseth, and profiteth man, because, she giveth him a companyon, by affection, chaunged into his owne disposition: of whom he hath children, who in dispight of death, preserveth him alyve. And therefore, the sentence of them both, was pronounced by Fabritio, in the behalfe of Mariage: who with all, enlarged her prayses, with the reporte of many sweet Blessinges, whiche shee liberally bestoweth, uppon her Subjectes.

But least the company, should have ben fyred with too hasty a desyre of Mariage, he cooled theyr affections, with such caveats, as they that had their voyces ready tuned, to synge the
prayses of God Himen, were of the suddayne, as mute as a fishe: by reason whereof, Fabritio, had free passage: for his counsellinge reporte: who, after many wordes, to either purpose delivered, concluded with the opinion of Plato, That Marriage, was a Parradice on earth, if her Lawes be observed: and a Hell in the House, where her Statutes are broken./

The Gentlewomen wist not what to say, to Fabritios bittersweete commendation of Marriage, untill Bargetto quickned their tongues, by this pleasaunt suggestion.

If (quoth he) Platoes opinion be lawe, by the same reason, women are either Angells, or Devills.

And why not men, as well as women (quoth Isabella) whose disposition beareth the greatest swaye in this vocation.

I will shoxre you a reason, (quoth Doctor Mossenigo,) men with a meane, canne temper their passions: when a woman hath no measure in her love, nor mercye in her hate: no rule in her pittie, nor pietie in her revenge: no Judgement to speake, nor patience to disseme: and therfore she is lykened unto the Sea, whych (one whyle) is so mylde, as a small Gundelo indureth her might, and anon, with outrage, she overwhelmeth the taullest shippe.

Ah Master Doctor, (quoth Katherina Trista,) I feare me you are so learned, as like the Hyen, you change your self sometimes into the shape of a woman: but yet, of this malitious purpose, to learn their dispositions: only to reproch their kinde: but had any of us the cunning, to
become a man but a while, I imagine, we should ever after, love the better to be a woman.

You have rather cause (quoth Dondolo) to let Mayster Doctor kisse your hand, (for commending your kynde) then to blame him, by a surmise, of injurye, offered unto women, for if there be a few good, they cover the faults of a number that are evill: as a little golde, guildeth a great quantitie of iron: and for any thing he sayde, you have as generall an interest in vertue, as in vice.

Yea, but (quoth Queene Aurelia) he is to be blamed for his intent, which was evyll, and deserveth not to be praysed for the good which came of it, which was our meryt.

Madame (quoth the Doctor) so much greater is the good, you receive by my Trespasse, as thereby you are honoured with the vertue, to forgive.

Yea, but (quoth she) remission is to be used in ignorant offences, and not in wilfull.

My Habit (quoth he) is a testimonie that I spake not of mallice.

So much (quoth she) the greater is your fault, in that it proceeded upon pleasure: and where you thinke to privilidge your selfe by your Habyt: for Example sake, you shall at (open) Supper, bothe renounce your Heresie and make satisfaction, or abide the Judgement of these Gentlewomen.

If there be no remedie (quoth he) I must obey.

The Doctor thus taken tardie, gave occasion of laughter unto the whole company.
Which, blowne over, (quoth Soronso) we have travailed this day to an unfortunate ende: for that now, towardes night, we are entred into an open Champion, wheare we finde many broade wayes to Hell, and but one crosse Path to Heaven.

Well (quoth Queene Aurelia) we wyll take other tymes, to beate out the true passage: And (least we be lated) wee wyll no further too daye.

Wherupon, after a Courtly reverence don:

Queene Aurelia, with her Attendantes, shewed her selfe in the great Chamber, where she might repose her minde with the choice of sundrie pleasures: For his, or her disposition was very strange, that in that company, could not finde both a Companion and sport, that pleased his humour.

FINIS./
The first Nights Pastime.

Among wise men, these Orders, have evermore been observed, or allowed: In the Church, to be devout: in place of Justice, to be grave: at home to be affable, and at meales to be merry: for in the Church we talk with God, who seeth our hartes and hateth Hypocrisy: in Justice, we sitt to chasten light demeanours, then, great were the shame, that our countenaunces shuld condempne our selves.

At home we rule and commaunde, then were it Tyranny, to use severytie, there, where, is no resistaunce.

At meales to bee merrie, digesteth meate, and refresheth the witte: then is he an enemy unto himselfe, that contemneth the rule of health, and the helper of knowledge. Howsoever the three first preceptes were observed, Segniор Philoxenus and his honourable guestes duly executed the last, who in the midst of supper hearinge of Doctor Mossenigos penance, hasted the execution.

The Doctor seeing there was no remedie, openly confessed that hee had prayed women against his will, for which he was condemned to singe Ab re nuntio, and to make satisfaction by some other meanes: And as hee thought the contrarie was the amends of everie trespas, and therefore, where as he had prayed them against his will, hee was ready to dispraise them with his will.

Queene Aurelia, woulde have taken exceptions to these wordes, but that the company cried, The Devotion.
Gravitie.
Affabilitie.
Myrthe.
Subtiltie beateth true meaning with his owne sword.
Doctor speaks Law, which shee coulde not with Justice violate, wherupon Mosserengo, reported as followeth. /

DOCTOR MOSSENIGO HIS Satisfaction, for praysing women against his will.

In the famous Cittie of Viena, in Austria, somtimes dwelled a simple Sadler, named Borrihauder, who was married to an olde crabbed shrew, called Ophella: the agreement of this couple was so notable, as the Emperour Charles the fift, commanded his Paynter Parmenio, to draw their counterfeats, as a Monument of fury: Parmenio, commynge to doe the Emperours commaundement, found Borrihauder weeping with the agony of his wives stripes, and Ophellas cheeks as red as fire with the heate of her tonge: which straunge sight, chaunged his determination, into a pleasaunt conceit, and in place of their Counterfets, in a fayre table, he drew an Element troubled with lightnyng, and underwrit Ophella, and in another Table fastened to the same, he likewise drew an Element darkned with rayne, and under wright, Borrihauder. Parmenio presented this travel unto the Emperour. The Emperour seeing the two names, and not the shape of those, hee commaundde to be drawne, demaundde the Paynters meaning heerein, who pleasantly a unuswered, that he could not take the view of Ophellas face, for feare of being fyered with the lightning of her tonge, and that Borrihauder was drowned with teares, which as showers of Raine folowed the thunder claps, of his wives Fistes: But in good time (had she died) this Demidevill Ophella fel so extremely
sick, as in every man's judgement, it was needful to give physic to her soul, but bootless to bestow any of her body: Borrihauder seeing her, as he thought at a good passe, was so accustomed to sorrow, as he determined to oule her passing bel, with this counterfeit mone. Ah deare God (quoth he) how unhappy am I to lose my loving wife, my good wyfe, my sweet wife? O how happy were I, that as we have lyved together, that we might nowe dye together. This pittyous sound of her husband, so melted the dying harte of Ophella, that lyke a Candle consumed, that leaveth a little smoke in the weeke, she lay both speechles, and senseles, save that the parges of death, sometymes threwe a weake breath out of her mouthe: but lyke unto wilde fire, that burneth in water, the Corsive, that would have killed the devill, in her case, recovered her to health, which was her husband, out of feare of her life, in dispight of the injurie of time past, fell to kisse and coll his Maide, which watched his gasping wife, before hee tooke order with the Clarke, to ring her knell: which Ophella, as dim as her sight was, perceived, and Furie, which was the last motion, that accompanied her in life, like a whirl wind, that with a suddaine violence, draweth things into the ayre, so fired her hart with malice, to see her husband in this jolity with her maide, as madnes, gave her the strength to crye. Ah, ah, Traytour, I am not yet dead, ah villain, villain, I am not yet dead: and through this passion, choller so dryed her Catar, as shortly after, she perfectly receyved her health: and so canvassed her husband Borrihauder, as by the
motions of sorrow, andayne, he hung himselfe in a Crabtree.

O (quoth Katherina Trista,) it was great dammage that Thymon of Athens was not in the
town, to shew all malitious men that tree. The
devill might have put in their myndes, to have
hanged themselves.

This suddayne answeare of Katherina Trista,
tickled all the companye with a laughter, a good
parte whereof, were redy to scandall women, with
a frowarde nature, beyng by this example, more
fostered with dyspight, then good usage: who,
nowe for feare of theyr owne reproche, amplyfied
not Master Doctors tale, with any other spightfull
authorityes.

For the Hystorie of Thymon of Athens dogged
nature, was so well knowne to everie Gentleman,
as the remembraunce of his name, assured them,
that there never lyved woman of so frowarde a
condityon: neyther is it possible, that ever
any man agayne, shoulde be so great an enemye
to Humanitie./

And there upon (quoth Faliero) Thymon of
Athens was without heyre or successor, and
therefore is no able example, to blame us.

Neither had Ophela (for any thinge we
heare) either heyre or successor, (quoth Alvisa
Vechio:) then, by your owne reason, is of no
authoritie to slaunder our sexe.

This one quip for an other (although more
myldelye handled of the Gentlewomen side,
accordings to their naturall modestie) quieted
either parte. In so moch as Doctor Mossenigo
humbly desired to be received, into the grace
of women againe.

Nay, (quoth Queene Aurelia) you deserve to bee evermore banyshed the presences of women.

Alas good Madam, (quoth he) I did but your commandement, and therupon I appeale to the report of the company.

Yea, but (quoth she) my meanyng was otherwise.

O Madame (quoth he) Subjects, are bounde to execute their Soveraignes woordes, and are not priveledged, to interpret their charge, to their owne fancy.

I see well, (quoth Queene Aurelia) that there is no dealyng with a Lawyer, for they can defend their owne trespasses, with the same sworde, they punish other mens offences, and therefore better to have you a fayned friende, (being so daungerous) then an open enemie: wherefore, we pardon you.

By this time, Supper, and everie service of the Table ended. Whereupon, Queene Aurelia, and the whole company rose, and saluting one an other, with a civill reverence. The Musick summoned the yonge Gentelmen, and Gentlewomen, to daunsinge: for (this night) they expected no other pastime, unlesse it were dicing, carding, or such like unthrifty sports. And therefore as the night grew on, or they waxed wearie, untill the next mornyng they commytted one an other, a dio.

FINIS./
The seconde Dayes
EXERCISE.

Contayning (with many other necessarie Questions,) a large Discoverie, of the inconveniences of forced Marriages.

Aurora had no sooner forsaken her Husband Tithons bed, but that Phebus ashamed of his over drowsy sleeping, in the darke Caves of Tartessus: hastily harnessed up his Horses, and in his fierie Chariot, clymed the Mountaine Oeta, the painfull travell whereof made brighte Pyrois and sparklinge Phlegon, breathe flambes lyke the burninge Furnace, wherein Vulcan forgeth the Thunderboltes of Jupiter: In so much as Phaebus golden rayes (which beautifieth the Heavens, and comforteth the earth) pearced through everie small passadge, into Segnior Philoxenus Pallace: and glimmering in the yong Gentlemens faces, wakened them, with an imagination, of their Mistresses beauties (who scorning their Beds, as Graves which buried the one half of their pleasures, and the Cannapies, as Clowdes, that shadowed the brightnesse of their Loade Starres) now started up, to honour and salute the Images, of their hartes delighte: and to waken the Ladies and Gentlewomen (who of the suddaine, could not be attyred) the tingling of a small Bell, gave them warning of a Sermon. In so much, as by nine of the Clocke, Queene Aurelia, and her stately Attendants entered the Chappel, in such Equinage, as I think, the Preacher, Fryer Bugiardo, immagined our Lady was come from Loreto, to honor Segnior Phyloxenus Aultar: and therefore to welcome her the more, he so extolled our A Discription of the Sunne risinge.

Pyrois and Phlegon fained to be two of the Sunnes Coche horses.

The Bed resembleth the Grave.

Laureta, commonly called Loreto, the great pilgrimage of Italy where
is a small Chappell, sometymes made, by the cunning of certaine Fryers, and the consent of some of the Citizens of RACANATI: only, to bring Traffick to their Cittie, destroyed by the Goathes, and Vandals: and in the night, stole it out of the Towne: and spread a rumoure, that our Ladye by Aungells, had brought it out of JURY: the mansion House, wherein she ther lived: whych Fable, an number hold for a trueith.

Ladies vertues, and the good and pitifull woorkes of our Cannonyzed Ma-/trons, and Virgins: as if the Crown of Heaven, had stode upon our Ladies head, and that the earth (cheefely Italy) was blessed for pittyfull womens sakes: of whych, they could have no greater testimonie, then that our Ladye by myracle, had possessed them, with her earthlye Mansion: which she dayly visiteth, with a thousand blessinges. And therfore, (quoth he,) repayre her Churches, cherish her Preestes, praye before her Aulters, and your sinnes, whatsoever, shallbe forgivevn: O she is pittifull, as a woman: and can rule her son, as a Mother: and with such lyke owld tales, and Tapers, he lighted the people, as they thought, to Heven: but in verye trueth, into blinde Ignoraunce Cave, from whence, the devill carryed them to Hell.

Ismarito smiled, to heare the subtiltie of the Fryer, and sorrowed to see the simplicitie of the people, in causes that appertayne unto the soule, who in the affaires of the flesh, are as wylye as Serpents: whose countenaunce, when Philoxenus beheld, he pleasently demaundeth, how Ismarito lyked Fryer Bugiardo his sermon.

Ismarito merelie aunsweared, it was pittie that Judas had not harde the lyke, after he had betrayed his Maister Christ: it might have ben, upon these large promyses of forgivenes, he wold not so desperatly have hanged himself.

Then (quoth Philoxenus) these pleasing
sermons be not unnecessary in this countrie, where sinne is so grosse: for were not the people in hope, that our Lady, of pitty, wold pardon them, a number would followe Judas in dispaire: with feare, that Gods Justice would condemne them.

It seemeth reason (quoth Ismarito) that the people beleive what is sayd in the Pulpit: for they understand not what is read in the Church.

In this especiall case (quoth Philoxenus) all our crosses, are curses./ So that our first restraint from reading the Scriptures, could not but come from as accursed a spirit as his, that first invented the Turkes Alcaron, for by the paine of the one, Nahomets Idolatry, is unpreprehended, and through our ignoraunce in the other, the Popes blaspheme, is in us unespyed, and thereby, both God is dyshonoured, and manye a Soull distroyed: so that happye, and thryse happye, are you of Englande, that have the sacred Byble, and the hard passages of Scripture, expounded in vulgar Language: that your common sorte, howesoever youre Prelates lyve, understande wheather they erre or no in theyr Doctryne.

And synce the Subjectes of the Emperour, Alexander Severus, honoured theyr Soveraygnes vertues, wyth these aclamations.

Noble Allexaunder, wee praye the Goddes, that they have no lesse care of youre Majestye, then you have of us: most happye bee wee, that wee have you among us. Noble Alexander: The Goddes preserve you, the Goddes defende you: proccede foorth in your purpose: we ought to
love you, as our Father, too honour you as our Lorde, and to admyre you as a God, heare among us. And therunto added: Noble Emperour, take what you wyll of our Treasure and substance to accomplish your Purpose, (only) for buylding of three Hospitalles, to succour the sicke bodies of the poore.

By how much more zeale ought you, the good Queene of Englandes Subjectes, adde to this Prerogative?

Do (gracious Queene Elizabeth) what shall seeme to you good: for your most blessed nature cannot erre, or do any thing amis that you purpose, who by divine inspiration, hath unlocked the fountaine of grace: so that the thirstye soules both of her rich and poore subjectes, may freelye drinke the water of lyfe.

Segnior Philoxenus, so affected this speech, as Ismarito coulde not, but imagine, hys heart adjudged him, a straunger to Grace, and unworthy lyfe, that was her vassaile and sayd not thereunto, Amen. The end of Fryar Bugiardos clawing Sermon, broke off thys private talke, and the Gentlewomen, proude of the commendation, of their pytiful sexe, now wisshed, that Doctor M ossenigo had ben unpardoned his yesternightes trespasse towards women: that the holy Frier, might have cited him before our Ladie of Loretto: who, the greater parte of Dinner time, left his victuelles to inlarge his Feminine prayses.

In the ende, tasting the goodnesse of the meate, he found prating verie unsaverie: and thervfore, to recover his losses, his lippes layde on loade: which Faliero, and some other of the
pleasaunt company perceiving, assayed to reward the Fryar for his good Sermon, with Tantalus dinner, and to that end, busied him with many questions, which he ever aunsweread in a monisillable, so that his tongue hyndred not his feeding: As, (quoth Faliero) a question or two, Master Fryer I pray? saye, (quoth he:) who strikes wyth the sharpest rod? God: of all other, who is most evill? Devill: in distresse, who deserveth most rueth? Trueth: who is charged with most cryme? Tyme: what houlds the worlde in most imprize? Vice: who is the greatest lyer? Fryer: Desier: without flame, what maketh the greatest fire? Ire: what sin is most accurst?

Lust: what bread is best to eat? Wheat: what drink is worst for the eyne? Wine: When they could devise no talke, to put lyfe in the Fryars tongue, Doctour Mossenigo demaunded, why he was so breve, in his aunswarees? O (quoth he) Pauca sapienti: Then (quoth the Doctor) it is good taking awaye, this plenty of meat, for cloying Fryar Bugiardoes wit. The hole company, hearing the Fryar beaten with hys owne sentence, tourned into a contrary sence, burst out into suche an immoderate laughter, as choller that rose to the very throat of the Friar would not suffer him to swallowe, one bitt more of meat: in somuch, as the boord was taken awaye, and the Friar driven to saye Benedicite, with an emptye stomacke: an/intertaynment, as fit for a flatterer, as a reward for a faythful servaunt.

The office of courteous reverence, fully discharged: the company retyred towards the fyre, to pause a little after their dinner, observing
therein an olde health rule.

After dynner, talke a while,

After supper, walke a mile.

Where the pittifull Gentlewomen, moaned the
dysgrace of their prayse Master, the Fryar, but
murmured more that he was crossed (without a
blessing) by theyr enemye, the Doctor. And to
put them out of this matter, Bargetto sayde
merrily, that the Fryar had taught hym such a
cunning way to woo, as to melt a woman into pitty,
he woulde wish, but the oportunitie of three howres:
two to love, and one to prayse the thing they lyke.
Yea (quoth Franceschina Santa, his Mistres,)
since women are so mercyfull, it is necessary to
brydle the subtily of men: and to give example,
I enjoyne you, these three dayes to speake no
more of love: And questionlesse, thys payne set
uppon Bargettos head, was no greater then his
oversight deserved: for in doing of these three
things, is great daunger, and smal discretion:
to play with fire: to strive with water: and to
give a woman knowledge of our power: thersfore,
he that will discover his owne secreat advauntage,
is worthy to have his heyre cutt with Sampson.

Queene Aurelia, by this time was reddy to
walke into the drawing chamber, to continue her
established exercise: and for the execution
thereof, shee called certayne of her chosen
Attendants, (whose appearance being made,) to
observe her former course: for auncient customs
profitable, are better then new lawes incertaine,
shee commaunded the Eunuk, to set their witts in
an order, by the vertue of some sweete harmony,
who, taking his Lute, after a dutifull obaysaunce,
played, and sung, this followinge Sonnet, in Italian./

To realish Love, I taste a sourie sweete,
I finde Repose, in Fancies fetters bounde:

Amyd the Skies, my wysh I often meete:
And yet I lye, fast staked to the grounde:
   My eye sees Joy, my hart is grypde with payne,
   I know my hurt, and yet my good refrayne.

But how these hang, the faithfull Lover knowes,
And yet can gieve, no reason for the cause:
The power of Love, mans reache so farre out goes,
As bound (perforce) he yealdes to Cupids Lawes,
   And yet we finde, this Libertie in Love,
   As bards from Joye, Hope doth our griefes remoove.

Then Love sitte crownd; as Soveraigne of my thought,
And Fancie see, thou other motions chace,
To do whose wyll, Desire in me hath wrought,
A strength to ronne, in Gyves, sweete Pelops race,
   And those to charm, that studie me to staye,
   It may suffise: the wisest paaste my way.

The double effectes of this Sonet, made them freshly to remember the doubts, they left yesterday unresolved. And to auyde degression, whiche rayseth many difficulties, and resolveth few: Queene Aurelia, caused a Repetition of Platoes opinion of Mariage: which was: She was a Paradice on earth, where her Statutes were kept: and a Hell in the House, where her lawes were broken.

Whereupon (quoth Dondolo with the libertie
of Queene Aurelias favour) I demaunde the cause? why that the Male, and Female, of bruite and wilde creatures love, cherish and take comfort, in one another's companie, onelie by the Impression of nature: and man and woman, that/ are bewtified both with the vertues of nature and reason, manie times matched together, make a hell, of this holie institution.

By Queene Aurelias commaundement, to aunswere. Sir (quoth Faliero) The advantage of reason, with which you have previledged man and woman, is the onelie cause thereof: no man will denie, but that there is a difference of conditions, in creatures of everie kynde: some horse, an unskilfull horseman, can hardly disorder; and some in dispite of his rider will have a jadish tricks. Some Hauke though shee bee evill served, will not stragle foorth: and some, do the Faulkener what he can, wil continuallie flie at checkes: some hound by no meanes wil be rated from riote, and some will never forsake, his undertaken game: even so some man will filch if his handes be fast bounde, and some having the advantage of a bootie, will rather stearve, then steale: some woman, with an houres libertie will offende, and tenne yeares loving sute can not overcome some other. But the vice, and vertue in every creature, by the opinions of manie sage Phylosophers, proceedeth from the purenesse, or the imperfection of nature: which is not to be founde, but by reason: and the use of reason onelie belongeth to man: Now, if by oversight in choice, the maried, are devided in desire,
differ in life, and delight in neithers love: Reason that findeth out this contrarietie, soweth contention betweene the unfortunate couple in Matrimony thus matched. Againe, when betweene the married there is equalitie, of byrth, yeares, and manners, no difference in love, nor suspition of others behaviour: Reason that delighteth in unitie, maketh the Joyes of Mariage innumerable.

Therefore (thinke I) the opinion of Plato maye bee imbraced as a sounde judgemente. The whole assemblye, allowed Faliero's reason: And Dondolo hymselfe was reasonably well satisfied. But (quoth he,) since Mariage bringoth with her unspeakable Joy, or uncurable sorrow: How may a man assure himselfe of the one, or avoide the other? when a womans unsearcheable hart, is the only harbour both of her good and evil conditions: and (once) in appearance, the honourable, and the dishonest, the vertuous, and the vicious: and in breefe, every sorte of Women, are naturally beautifyed with modestie. If the good repulse dishonest request with chaste disdaine, the badde with counterfet sobryetie, will blush at incontinent sutes: If the good useth silence as a vertue, the bad with well ordered speach, will be as highly esteemed: If the good with the beautie and benefites of Nature, delighte: the bad with the florish of Arte, will no lesse be fantasied. So that, at the first face, the cunningest Clarke may bee deceived, in judginge who best deserveth.

The greatest Clarke (quoth Faliero) proves not alwaies the wisest man, and none more apt to

Causes of comfort in marriage.
be beguiled then he. He valueth all, that
glisteth, Golde: he esteemeth fayre wordes,
as friendly deeds: and thinketh that lovely
countenaunces, doo spring from a lovyng condition.

When experience knowing the contrarie, will trie
them all by the test.

The corruptest Canker, bloometh lyke the
sweetest Eglantine: the bitter Bullice,
resembleth the pleasaunt Damson, and the sowre
Crab, the savorie Pippin. Even so good and bad,
faire and fowle, chaste and unconstaunt, Women
are made of one moule, framde of one forme, and
naturaly graced, with a shamfast blushing, but
as in smell the Cankar, in tast the Bullice, and
the Crab in relysh, bewray their imperfections,
even so with cunning usage, the subtillest woman,
will shew her unnaturall conditions: counterfeits
will to kinde: Copper holds print, but not touch
with Gold: Fire hid in Ashes, will breake foorth'
in heat: water courses stopt, find out new
passages: even so the impatient woman, throwly
moved, discloseth her passions: the prowde with
sufferaunce, exceedeth in pompe, and the wanton
sore charged, will fall to folly./

Well (quoth Dondolo,) notwithstanding your
directions be good, yet the pathc to heaven, is
so difficult to fynde, as the ignoraunt passenger
without direction, is like to follow the beaten
waye to Hell, and the surest guide is Experience.

So that the direction of the Parents, is to
be imbraced of the Chyldren in this behalfe.

Parents with regarde, foresee the evils that
negligent Children, feelre ere they withstand:
Parents provide living, to mainetaine their
Childrens loove.

Children often times by matching with beggers, diminish theyr parents inheritaunce.

Parents labour for necessaries to support an househoulde.

Children onely seek for silken ragges, to upholde their pride.

Parents have care to matche their Children with those of vertuous condition: and Children lightly regarde no more then their loovers amiable countenaunce.

I confesse with you (quoth Faliero) the oversights of yonge men in their choyce, but I crye out uppon forcement in Marriage, as the extremest bondage that is: for that the raunsome of libertie is the death of the one or the other of the married. The father thinkes he hath a happy purchase, if he get a riche young Warde to match with his daughter: But God he knowes, and the unfortunate couple often feele, that he byeth sorrow to his Childe, slander to himselfe, and perchaunce, the ruine of an auncient Gentlemans house, by the riot of the sonne in Lawe, not looving his wife.

But admit there be no disagreement betweene the parties, which is rather fortune then foresight in parentes, who regarde that the landes and goods be great, but smally waye, whether the beauty and behaviours please or no: yet loove enforste, taketh knowledge neither of freendes, favour, forme, goods nor good bringing up.

Delicate meate, hardly forceth an appetite unto the/ sycke. Pleasure yeeldes no sollace to the sorrowfull, no more can forcement enforce.
the free to fancie. The Lyon with gentlenes may
be tamed, but with curstnes never conquered:
much more lordly is Love, for as Petrarke defyneth.
The Prince, the Peere, the Subject and the slave,
Love gives with care, to him they make their mone.
And if by chaunce, he graunt the grace they crave,
It comes of ruthe, by force he yeeldes to none.

I could report many examples of large authoritie,
to proove this inconvenience, but to a needlesse
ende: for tediousnes duls the remembraunce of the
hearer, and tyres the tongue of the Reporter. In
dayly action, you may vew the libertie of Love,
his contempt to be constrained, and the great
compassion he useth when he is with curtesie
acquired, which account, inforced Mariage is
sildome considered. There is procurement of
freendes before plightment of faith: safety for
livinges before assurance of love, and clapping
of handes before knitting of hartes: an occasion
that the sorrowfull partyes morne when they are
Married, and rejoyse when by death they are severed.

Dondolo replyed, that when there is no
remedy Reason will drive them to Love.

But Faliero maintayned, that Reason and Love,
are at deadely foode: Reason byds thee loove,
but where thou art lyked, and Love byds thee
fancie where thou art hated: Reason directes for
thy benefit, and Love allures to thy detrayment:
and to conclude, the office of Reason is to
appease olde greefes, and the nature of Love is
to raise new debates.

Tush, tush, (quoth Barretto,) among the
married, quarrols in the day, are qualified with
kisses in the night: whereupon groweth this
Adage./

The jangling wordes, that Lovers use in rage:
Gives Love a grace, when anger dooth asswage.

A wytnesse that Unkindnesse inlargeth Love,
as the wracke of Winter dooth the beautie of
Summer: then, although the Parents matche at
first, be without the fancie of the Children, a
reconciliation (in fine) will double their
comforte.

Sir (quoth Soranso, favouring Falieros
opinion) you wrest: the Adage is to a contrary
meaning: for it is to be used but where there
hath beene sometyme perfect love, and where a
grounded love is, although the Married menace
with their tungen, they malice not with their
hartes: on the contrarie parte: looke what
rule the Lover useth in love, the Enemie observeth
in revenge.

Therefore if the Maried abhorre before
Marriage, they may well desemble with their
tounges, but wyll never bee delighted in their
harts: and where there is such a devision in
the desires of the Married, fayre, fained
semblaunce, wil soone turne to flat fowle falling
out: their thrift goeth forarde as the carriage
drawn by two Oxen, taile to taile: the Husband
wyll have no delight to get, nor the Wife desyre
to save: Servauntes with negligence will waste,
and hyrelinges, with proloyning, will winne:
and (which is worst) the continuance of mallice,
will custom them with mortall hatred: hatred
betweene the Married, breedeth contencion betwixt
the parents, contencion betwixt the parents, raiseth quarrels among the kindred, and quarrels among the kindred, occupieth all the neighbours with slander: so that for the most part, these forced Marriages, engendereth sorrows for the Married, disquietnesse to both their friends and kindred: but which still remueth greefe, the scandall of enemies, endeth in neyther of theyr wretchednesse.

This being said, lyttle avayled the further prooffes, of the contrary part, so full was the crie: Fye of forcement in Marriage, so that to paint out, the inconveniences therof in his proper coulours, Queene Aurelia commaunded Faliero/ to confirme his sufficient reasons, with the discourse of some rare Historie. Whose commaundement he willingly satisfied, and reported as followeth.

The Historie in the reproche of forced Marriage, reported by Faliero.

In the famous Cittie of Cirene, in Affrick, dwelled sometimes a riche Marchaunt named Tryfo. This Tryfo had a wealthy neighbour called Clearches, who of long time entertained one an other with a neighborly affection. Tryfo to inhcrite all his livings, had but one onely sonne, named Sicheus: and Clearches one onely Daughter called Elisa. The Parents to establish (as they imagined) an everlasting amitie, betweene theyr houses, concluded a Marriage for theyr unfortunate Children: making no doubt, but that they would as well inherit their affections, as their livings: of which there was hope enough, if the order had beene as good to establish their Love, as the haste great, to solemnize the Marriage: for that in their persons, appeered no signe of disagreement,
nor in theyr abilyties cause of exception: but loove (that behouldeth no more quicknesse in a Dymond, then in a dim Saphyre) though he take impression by sight, rooteth in contemplation: which devine exercise of the soule, smally delighteth green Youthe, who intertaine their thoughts with a thousand vaïne fancies: but to my purpose: The Mariage day drew neare: and as at the very push of Battell, the wise Captaine animateth his Souldiers, with some plausible Oration, even so the night before the Mariage, Trifo schooled his sonne Sicheus, with this following advertisement.

My good sonne (quod he,) so great are the follyes of men, and so cunning the deceits of women, as the most (especially the yonger sorte) wyll credite theyr lookes, without looking into their lives: beleevew their woordes, and lightly regard their workes: delyght to recounts theyr entertainements, and disdaigne to reckon theyr shrewde payments./ For as the sycke pacient, comforted with the Phisitions words, leaves to examine the quallities of his receites: Even so, the wretched Lover, cured with the yeielding of his beautifull Mistrissse, with negligence, bothe over lookes his owne benefit, and her behaviour. Salomon was deceyved, Sampson subdued, Aristotle derided, and Hercules murthered, by the illusions of errant honest women.

Kinge Demetrius, notwithstanding he was bothe wise and valiant, was so bewitched with the wyles of the notorious strumpet Lamia, as in open Schooles, he rayesd disputations, whether
the love he bare Lamia, or the Jewels he bestowed upon her, were the greater: or whether her merrit exceeded them bothe or noe. Yea when she died he caused her to be Intombed under his Bed Chamber windowe, to the ende, that with dayly teares he might worship her engraved bones, who (living) was of him intirely belooved.

If the wisest, and the worthyest, be thus overtaken in their affections, what easie baites may beguile thee, who in yeares art young, of substaunce delicate and lustie, and therefore apt to loove: reddy in conceyt, and of consideration unperfect: whot in desire, and in discretion colde: My sonne, by experience I know, and to prevent thy overlikely mischaunce in choyce: I have chosen thee a wife, fayre to please thee, ritche to continue loove, her Parents my assured freendes, and she thy affected loover: love her well, beare with her in small faultes, as a woman and the weaker, and bridle thy owne evill affections as a man, her head and governour: and in thus dooing, God will multiply his blessings upon you, and make your aged Parents to dye in peace, to see you live in prosperitie. Young Sicheus regarded his Fathers tale, as Schollers doo their Tutors, who giving them leave to playe, admonisheth them with all, to keepe good rule, which they promise, and performe the contrary. With the like affection, Sicheus embraced Mariage. He was not so soone wearie of dallying with his Wife, as he was ready to entertayne a Harlot: so that in shorte space, he became a common Lover, and a carelesse Husband: and withall, grew as arrogant in defending his libertie, as dissolute
in his actions and behaviour: If his friends did
gently advise him, he was of age to counsell
himselfe: if his Parents did sharply reprehend
him, he would impudently aunswer, he was past
correction: if his Wife found her selfe agreed
with his hard usage, she might well complaine,
but he would take no time to amend: so that his
dayly actions of evill, tooke away all after
hope of welldoing: in so much as he became

odious unto his freends, that beheld his lewde
inclination: and a plague unto his Wife, who
was dayly oppressed, with his monstrous vices.
So that, the overcharge of sorrow made her many
times passage, for these and such like passions.

O unhappie and over hastie Mariage, which
in the pride of my youthe, with discontentments,
makest me resemble a fayre Fig Tree, blasted with
the after colde, of an untimely Spring: but why
blame I Mariage, which is honourable? alas,
because the abuse of good things, worke evill
effectes: Roses unadvisedly gathered, pryck our
hands: Bees ungently used stinge our faces, yet
the one pleasaunt, and the other profitable: so
that if their come any evil of that which is good,
our folly or fortune is cause thereof: Aye me,
when I was married, I was to young to be a wife,
and therefore have no reason to exclayme on folly.
But Fortune, fowle falle thee, which coursest me
with cursses, in possessing me with those things,
which others holde for blessings: Wealth, that
bestoweth pleasures on many, is the orrinall of
my woe. Mariage, which giveth lybertye to many,
inalrargeth my Fetters, and demaundeth death for
my raunsome: Beautie that advaunseth many, is to

The title of
Mariage,
maketh youthe
arrogant.

Abuse of
good things,
worke evill
effectes.

That which
is blessing
to one, may
be a curse
to an other.
me a disgrace: for that, injoying her forme, I am of Sicheus not fantasied, of whom every foule and common Trull is belooved: But therein, Fortune, thou doost me no wronge, for my hate towards him, overpayseth his light regarde of me. 0 but my hart is conti-/nually afflicted with his evill, and his finger never akes with my mallice. Yea: but Forberaunce edgeth the sword of Revenge, when Choller, though it often strikes, it woundef not muche. Raine falleth every where, yet beateth but the leaves, the thunder Bowlt lighteth in one place, but yet teareth up the rootes: so though I dissemble tyll oportunitie, Sicheus shall feele my hate to death: and though I endure a space, I will redeeme my dying life: and persevering in this resolution, Elisaes thoughts, that were lately drowned in sorrow, now flamed with desyre of Revenge: and the Devill who is the Executioner of Vengeance, presented her foorthwith this ungratious meane.

A Yonge Gentleman, named Chion, among a troupe of other Ladyes and Gentlewomen, beheld fayre Elise, with such a burning affection, as he foorthwith dispossessed his owne hart, to make his bosome the seate of her imagined Image: so that his soule, that continually eyed her beautie, and his heart, at the direction of his Mistresse, gave such a heate to his desire, that had he beene sure to have received Ixions torments, for his ambitious attempting of Junoes love, he could neither have left to love, nor have forborne to seeke for grace: so that follow what would, he foorthwith presented his affections, in this ensuing Letter.
Chions Letter to Elisae.

Fayre Mistresse, had I vertue to perswade you to ruthe, as you have power to make me love: the discoverie of my blasing affections,/ would melt you, (were you a Mountaine of Ice) to pitty. But for that Love is more vehement in the heart, then in the tongue, I appeale to your owne motions for grace, if you have ever loved: if not, I hope for such justice at Venus handes, as you shall love: and yet thus much I saye, although I affye nothing in my perswations, because they be but wordes. I presume of my indevours, for that I have vowed my life, to death, to do you service: of which you can have no better assuraunce, then imployment, nor I a hyer favor, then to be imployed.

Good Madame, martir me not, with ordinary doubts, in that my affections are not ordinary. For as your beautye excelleth all other Dames, as the fayre Rose eache Garden Flower, even so the full power of love, hath made me in the estate of flaming flaxe, that is, presently to receive grace, or in a moment to perish. Thus longing for your sweete aunswer, I somewhat succour my torments, with the imagination, that I kisse your gratious hand.

No more his owne
Chion.

This Letter sealed, and subscribed, was delyvered to so cunning a Messenger as needed no instructions in Chions behalfe. The Letter presented, and advisedly reade by Elysa, surprised her with an unmeasurable joye: not so much for
that she had purchased her self a faithfull Loover, as procured her Husband a mortall enemy: of which Chions Letter gave her not so great assuraunce, as the disposition of his countenaunces, in a former regarde: and therupon pursuing Sicheus with more hate, then minding Chion with affection, she mused uppon an number of mischeefes, invented by desire to be revenged, and suppressed by feare to be defamed. /

In fine, remembering, that she had read: Love quickeneth a mans wit, although it burieth Reason: To trie, if he could define, what Service she desired: she returned Chion a Briefe, wherin he had a light to mischiefe, and yet might be read, without blemyshe of her honour: the Effect wherof, was this.

Whyle CICHEUS doth lyve:
ELISA can not love.

Chion, receyved this Scrowle: But yet before he presumed to reade the Contents, he kissed and rekissed the same: houldyng an opinion, that commyng from his Mistresses handes, it deserved suche honour (although it contayned Sentence of his death:) not unlyke the foolish Mahometians: who upon their Emperours Commandementes, are ready Executioners of their owne lyves.

But to my purpose: when Chion had througly perused this strange Aunswere: weare it Cicheus his heavy Destinie, or a just Scourge, for his sore trespasses: (accursed that he was) he became too just an Executioner of Elisaes wicked wil: but yet with this interpretation, that the love she bare her Husband, directed her in this

A naturall feare in a woman, suppresseth many of their evill affections.

 Craft hath many times his will, with an opinion of honestie.
answer.

In so much, as, overcom with a furious hate towards Cicheus, as the Barre of his welfare, lyke a Lyon that bites the Iron grate, which houlds him from his pray: sodenly with this salutation, he sheathed his Sword in Cicheus intrayles.

CICHEUS shall not lyve,  
To hinder CHIONS love.

The fact, was so fowle, and withall so publique, as the Officers of Justice, immediatly seased upon Chion: and for that his bloodie sword, was a witnes of the trespas, there was no Plea to save him: for wilfull faultes may be pitied, but deserveth no pardon: and to say trueth, neither did he desire to lyve, because Elisa, the vertue of his lyfe, by the charge of Lawe, was bownd to sue him to death: who/ followed the processe, with an apperance of sorrows, suche as if her Conscience had bene without scruple of guiltinesse, or her harte a thowsande degrees from joye: when God knowes, she was puffed with the one, and the other, so that the wonder, at her dissimulation, equalled the reproche of her notorious hatred.

To be shorte, this was the Judges sentence: Chyon should be beheaded, as amends for Cicheus death, and the Widdow should be endowed with his goods, for the damage done unto her: but God which knoweth our seacret faultes (when Judges though they rule as Gods, know, but what they heare and see as men) not willynge to hide such an hauyous offence: First, amased all the hearers,
with an unknow voice, Elisaes harte, is as Gyltie, as Chions hand: and therewithal, thundred this following vengeance, uppon the cleared malefactor. The Infant in Elysaeas wombe, as it were engendred of the Parents malyce, at the verie instaunt, not obeying the course of Nature, so tyrannised her Intrailes, as with very agony she dyed, and with all remayneth an opinyon, that the Husband, Wife, and Sonne, by the appointment of the Gods, were Metamorphosed into Vipers, whiche venymous Beastes are thrall to these curses. The female after shee hath engendred, murdreh the Male, because she wil not be ruled as an inferiour: and the yong eate themselves, forth of their Dams Intrailes: because they wil not be bound to the obedience of Nature.

Well (quoth Soranso) though your Metamorphos bee unlykly, yet is it not unnecessarilye applyed. For, for the most part, those which are forced to Mariage, agree little better then Vipers. But it seemeth to mee (Segnior Faliero) you have too favourably reported this Historie in Elysae behalfe, considering the mortal venyme she tempered in her harte.

O (quoth Faliero) longe fowle wayes, both tyreth the Horse, and wearieth his Ryder, where both the one, and the other, overcommeth the length of fayre passages, with pleasure: Even so, in a ruthfull Historie, over plentie of wordes, both greeveth the reporter, and giveth meane for a thousande sighes to breake from the hearer, where affected circumstances give a grace to a pleasant tale. Sorow to heare their kinde thus stayned with crueltye, locked up the

The curses geven unto a Viper.

Brevitie is best in passionate matters, and effectation, in pleaasunt.

Sorrowes causeth scilence.
tonges of the poore Gentlewomen a pretie while. In the end (quoth Alvisa Vechio, a dame more olde, and bold then the rest,) meseemeth that Faliero hath but little favored Elysa, for he hath shown her evill, and the scourge of her evill: and in charitie, he was bounde to shewe the cause of her evill: I would (quoth Doctour Mosenigo) that Frier Bugiardo, had hearde this disputation, it might have ben the breaking downe of the Altar, whereupon he but lately committed blasphemie, woulde have more reformed him, then his pleasing Sermon, could have confirmed us. These advantages the Doctor tooke to crosse the Gentlewomen, his late open enemies, and but nowe his fained friendes: not unlike a sneaking dog, that never barkes but bites withall. And to spite them the more, (quoth hee,) Monsier Bergetto, since you are bound from speaking of love, you have both cause and oportunitie to talke of womens hate. Pardon me (quoth Bergetto) for this penance was but a due payne for my presumption, which I hope to overcome with patient suffering: and sure in this milde aunswere: Bergetto shewed a moral vertue, and Doctor Mosenigo, by his malicious question, a canckred nature: for simplie to offend proceedeth of frailtie, but to perceaver in evill is a noate of wilfull frowardnesse. Well, notwithstanding Bergettus temperaunce, a Caveler caught hold uppon this question, as a Mastive uppon an old drye Mariebone, and to prove a womans hatred more greater then her love: hee avouched manye cruell authorities. But Faliero, who had donne them some injurie in reporting the late history made them part of amends, and put
their adversarie to silence in proving the contrary:
his reason was, that their hate, in the extremest
degree, stretched, but to the death of another,
and their love many times; hath done wilful murder
upon them selves. /

Then it followeth, by how much we pryse our
selves above an other, by so muche, theyr love is
greater then theyr hatred.

Yea (quoth the Doctor) but their love and
hatred, are both violents: and every violent is
an evil.

Yea Master Doctor (quoth Maria Belochy) their
evills are the greater for men, for by their
flattering enchautments, wemen love immoderately,
and stung with mens unsufferable injuries, they
hate mortally.

The Doctor replied, there was more power in
her lookes, then authoritie in her wordes: but
least he should be subdued by the one, he would
not contend with the other.

Why (quoth Queene Aurelia) beauty workes no
more impression, in a Doctors eye, then doth
poyson, in Minervas sheelde, for he by Philosophy
can subdue affection.

Madame (quoth he) you may well compare beauty
and poyson together, for their operations, are a
lyke: save that beauty is the more extreame, in
that she infectes with her lookes, and poyson not,
unlesse wee taste it: or when it is most strong,
not unlesse we touch it: yea, Euripides, compareth
her inchauntoement, with the inticementes of a
kingdome, whereas he saith.

In these two thinges, a Kingdome to obtaine,
Or else to worke the fayre to their will,
(So sweetely tastes the grace of either gayne,)  
As men ne dread, their friendes with foes to kyll:  
The reason is, controulment shrinke the place,  
Whereas a Kyng, as soveraigne Judge doth sit,  
In love, because that reason lackes his grace,  
For to restrayne, the selfe conceyghtes of wit,  
So that God knowes, in daunger standes his lyfe:  
That is a King, or hath a fayre wife.  

To deale in Princes affayres, the companye  
was too greene: but in Beauties behalfe, there  
was neither Gentleman, nor Gentlewoman, that was  
not desirous to bee revenged of the Doctours  
detractyon: for hee that hath a/ slaunderous  
tonge injurieth manie, and is himselfe hated of  
all men: but for that it was nowe to late, too  
decide any other great question, Queene Aurelia  
adjorned the ending of anie controversie, untill  
the next day.  

The Device of the second Nights Mask.  

By a secrete foreknowledge of a Maske, with  
which Soranso, Bargetto, Ismarito, and others,  
purposed to honour Segnior Phyloxenus, and his  
company, Supper was hastned, and soone ended:  
and after the one had saluted the other, with an  
accustomed reverence: while the rest of the  
Gentlemen interteined Time, with dauncing, or  
devising with their Mistresses, the Maskers  
withdrew themselves, and about nine of the clocke,  
in this disguise, presented themselves agayne.  

A Consort of sweete Musycke, sounded the  
knowledge of their comming: the Musitians, in  
Gyppons and Venetians, of Russet and Blacke Taffata,
bended with Murrey, and thereon imbrodered this Posie, Spero, Timeo, Taceo; expressing thereby, the sundry passions of Love: and before them two Torchbearers, appareled, in Yallowe Taffata Sarcenet: the Generall apparell of the Maskers, was short Millaine Cloaks, Dublet and hose, of Greene Satten: bordered with Silver: Greene Silcke stockes: White Scarpines: Rapiers and Daggers sylvered: Blacke Velvet Cappes, and white Feathers. They agreed to be thus attyred, to showe themselves free, in the eye of the world, and covertly bound unto their Mistresses.

Ismarito for courtisy sake, because he was a stranger, and withal, in that his Mistres was the most honourable, had the leading of this Maske, who lighted with a torch, by his Page, appareled in Blue, Carnation, and whyte Taffata: the colours of his Mistres: intred with a Ventoie in his hand, made like an Ashe tree: wrethed about with Ivye: expressing this posye: Te stante virebo: with/ which, upon fit oportunitie, he presented Queene Aurelia, his Mistresse: within which, weare (covertly hid) these verses in English Italian.

Two Soveraigne Dames, Beautie and Honestie,

Long mortal foes, accorded are of late.

And now the one, dwels in my Mistresse eye,

And in her hart the other keepes her state.

Where both to show the vertue of this peace,

To garnysh her, make riot of their Grace:

In her fayre eye, Dame Beautie doth increace,

A thousande Gleames, that doo become her face.
And with her harte, thus doth the other deale,
   She lowly seemes, and mountes throw chast disdaine,
So that her thrales doo serve with honest zeale,
   Or fearing blame, doe yeelde unto their paine.

5
The heavenly soules, envies the earthes renowne:
   Such gyftes devine, in humayne shape to see,
And Jove still moves, a Goddesse her to crowne:
   Which is decreed, when Nature shall agree.
   Thus happy I (in Fortunes frownes long whyrld)
10 A Goddesse serve, and soveraigne of the world.

BARGETTO, lighted by a Page, apparyled in
his Mistresse colours, Greene, Carnation and
Whyte, followed Ismarito, having the mouth of his
Mask closed with a small Golden Lock, as a
witness of the true execution of his Mistresse
Commandement: and upon his fist hee caried a
Parrate to prattle to his Mistresse, upon pausing
betweene every solemnne Almayne, and covertlye
under the Parrats winge, was hidden this passion.

20 Hence burnyng sighes, which sparckle from desyre,
   To pitty melt my Mistresse frozen Hart:
Her frozen hart, that Fancy cannot fyre,
   Nor true intent, perswade to rue my smart.
   Haste, haste, I pray, the Icye passage breake,
25 And pleade for him, that is forbid to speake./

What though at first, you faile to calme her rage,
   Yet as the Sunne, from earth doth draw the Rayne,
Your vertues so, the stormes of scorne may swage,
   Or feede Desyre, with showers of disdayne.
30 For even as drink, dooth make the Dropsey drye,
So colde disdaine, compels Desyre to frye.

Her wyll be done, but I have sworne to love,
And with this vow, will nourish my delight:
Her scorne, my woe, nay, time may not remove,
A faithful zeale out of my troubled spright.
Yea more then all, Ile Sacrifice my blood,
And fyre my bones, to doe my Mistresse Good.

SORANSO, lighted by a Page, in Orange, Tawny,
Watchod and Greene, was the next that presented
him selfe: who uppon his left side, had a Harte,
of Crymson Granado Silke, so artificyally made
and fastened to his dublet, as if his body had
opened, and his hart appeered, which fell downe
at his Mistresse feete, upon such a Fortune, as
she was bounde to take it up, which opened, she
might beholde the Picture of her selfe, reading
this submission.

Even as the Hart, a deadly wounde, that hath
Retires him selfe, with sighes to solace greefe:
And with warme teares, his gored sides doth bath,
But finding mone, to render small releefe:
Impatient Beast, he gives a heavy Bray,
And hastes the Death, that many woulde delay.

So I whose Love, beyond my hap doth mount,
Whose thoughts as Thornes, yet pricke me with Desire:
Whose sute and zeale, return's with no accompt:
Whose hope is drye, set in a harte of Fyre:
Holde this for ease, forthwith to spoyle the eye,
That lookte and lov'de, then in dispaire to dye./
A happy Doome, if it for Law might stande,
But men condemn, then selves may not dispatch.
Their lyves and deathes, are in their Soveraignes hand
So myne in hers, whose Lookes did me attache:
And therefor I, to pardon or to kyll,
Must yeald my selfe, the Prysoner of her wyll.

L'ENVOY.

Then Ladie faire, receive what longes to thee,
A fettred thralle, attyred with disgrace,
And at thy feete, his wounded hart here see,
And in the same, the Image of thy face,
Whiche bleding fresh, with throbs throwes foorth his mone,
Rueth, rueth, deare Dame, for that I am your owne.

DONDOLO, lighted by his Page, apparyled in
Tawnie, Blew and Black Taffata, was the fourth:
who uppon his Breast, bare a Myrrour, set the
outeside inwarde, and yet fastened so slope as
it might receive light, with an Imagination, that
he showed his Hart, the Beautie of his Mistresse,
and in the thought, he wrot upon the out side:
Basta che spero: within whiche glasse, this
sonet was coningly convoyed: which upon a fit
oportunitie he presented unto his Mistresse,
Lucia Bella.

From shore to sea, from dales to mountaines hie,
From meddowes faire, amid the craggie rocke,
Love doth me leade, I know not whether I,
But evermore a passage doeth unlocke.
Nowedoe I fight, now weepe, now death I feare,
In all these stormes, yet love the healme doth steare.
In desert woods I wander to and fro,
Where I wilde beastes, and firie Serpentes meete.
Yet safe I passe, Love doth direct me so.
In tempestes rough, my barke doth alwayes fleeete,
Yea, when Sunne, Moone, and starres forsake the skie,
Love gives me light, from my faire Mistresse eye./

I mount to heaven, I know not with what winges
I sinke to hell, yet drowne not in distresse:
Twixt Ice and flame, Love mee in safetie bringses,
But to what end? in sooth I cannot gesse:
Yet hap what shall, Love giveth me this scope,
In daungers mouth, to live alwaies in hope.

FALIERO lighted by a Page, attired in Peach
colour, yellow, and popenjay green Taffeta,
as the fifte and last that entred: who (as ye shewe were climynge up his Arme) caryed a whyght
Turtle, so artificially made, as it deceyved, no lesse, then Parrhasius paynted Table Clothe: In
whose Beake, were fynely rowled these Verses.

If one firme Faith, one Hart uncharg'd with frawd,
One langour sweete, one wish desire dooth move:
If honest Zeale, a gentle breast doth lawde,
If wanderyng long, in the Lab'rinth of Love,
If wan pale cheekes, are witnesses of woe,
If reaking sightes, throwne from a burnyng harte:
If all these, and thousand sorrowes moe:
May charme Mistrust, and make you rue my smart,
Faire Mistresse, looke but in my Meagre face,
And you shall reade, that I have neede of Grace.

In this order, and with these devises, the
Maskers entred, and after they had saluted Queene Aurelia, and the honourable of the company, they placed themselves, some of the one side, of the great Chamber, and some of the other, observynge therein a more discrete order then the ordynary Maskers: who at their first entraunce, either daunce with them selves, or rudelye sease uppon the Gentlewomen: but these Maskers, intainted a smal Tyme, with their Musick, while they had leasure to looke about, and espie who were the worthiest amonge the Ladies./

In the ende, Ismarito kyssing his hand, with a Countenaunce abased, humbly desired Queene Aurelia, to do him the grace, to daunce with him. Next, Bergetto made choice of Franceschina Santa: after him, Soranso, chewsed, Maria Belochi: Dondolo, raysed Lucia Bella: and last of all, Faliero, take his Mistresse Catharina Trista: and thus, they observed in their choyce, the same course they kepte in their entrance.

After this Companie had performed all the civill Services of Maskers, leavyng behinde them, their Mistresses honoured, and the whole companie much contented: they departed in the good order they entred: savyng that their Mistresses were possessed with their severall Devices.

Which done, the Gentlemen and Gentlewomen began to shrinck out of the great Chamber, as the Starres seeme to shoote the Skie, towards the Breake of Daye.

FINIS./
The thyrd Daies Exercise.

Contayning: sundrie Morall Preceptes: With a Large Discoverie, of the inconveniences of Rash Mariages.

The Aucthorytie, is dayly Experience, that prooveth, how that the bitterest worldly Sorow, soone endes, eyther by Benefit of Fortune, or violence of death: neither is the firmest worldly pleasure, yet of more continuance, than an Imagynation, whiche is straight crost with a contrary Suggestion.

What difference was there betwene the Fortunes of Cesar and Pompey, when their endes were both violent? save that I hould Cesars to be the harder: for that, he was murthered in the Armes of Prosperytie, and Pompey, at the feete of Disgrace: but being both dead, unto their Monumentes, Writers adde this Opinion.

Cesar, in his lyfe, was more fortunate then Pompey: and Pompey, more honest then Cesar.

A proofe, that some Disgrace, is the ground of Good Reporte: and some good Fortune, the Trumpe of Infamie: therfore, let no man yeld to Adversitie, nor affie too much in Pompe and painted Prosperytie: for the one, is but vexation, the other vanitie, and both in short time vanish.

A sodayne alteration (as me thought) made me to contemplate of these causes: for that (commynge out of my lodgyng, somewhat tymely) I entred the great Chamber, with as strange a regarde, as he that commeth out of a House full of Torch and Taperlights, into a darke and obscure Corner: knowing that at midnight (aboute whiche
tyme, I forsooke my company) I lefte the place, attyred lyke a seconde Paradice: the earthly Goddesses, in brightnesse, resembled Heavenly Creatures, whose Beauties daseled mennes eyes more then the Beames of the Sunne./

The sweet Musick recorded the Harmonie of Angels, the straunge and curious devices in Maskers, seemed as fygures of devine Misteries.

And to be short, the place was a verie Sympathie, of an imagined Paradice. And in the space of one slumbering sleepe, to bee left lyke a desert wildernesse, without any creature, save sundrie savadge Beastes, portrayed in the Tapestrie hanginges, imprest suche a heavy passion in my minde, as for the time, I fared as one, whose sences had forgot how to doo their bounden offices: In the ende, to recomfort my throbbing hart, I tooke my Citterne, and to a solempne Note, sung this following Sonet, which I a litle before, composed upon a quiet thought, I possessed after my reading of Boetius of the Consolation of Philosophy, translated into Italian, by Cosimo Bartoli.

Farewell, bright Golde, thou glory of the worlde,
Faire is thy show, but foule thou mak'st the soule:
Farewell, prowde Mynde, in thousand Fancies twirld:
Thy pompe, is lyke the Stone, that still doth rowle. SISIPHUS.

Farewell, sweete Love, thou wish of worldly joy,
Thy wanton Cuppes, are spiste with mortal sin:
Farewell, dyre Hate, thou doost thy selfe annoy,
Therefore my hart, no place to harbour in.
Envy, farewell, to all the world a foe,
    Lyke DENNIS BULL, a torture to thy selfe:
Disdaine, farewell, though hye thy thoughts doe flow,
    Death comes, and throwes, thy Sterne upon a shelfe.

Flatterie, farewell, thy Fortune dooth not last.
    Thy smoothest tales, concludes with thy shame:
Suspect, farewell, thy thoughts, thy intrayles wast,
    And fear'st to wounde, the wight thou faine woul'dst blame.

Sclaunder, farewell, which prayest with LYNX his eyes,
    And canst not see, thy spots, when all are done:
Care, Care, farewell, which lyke the Cockatrice:
    Doest make the Grave, that all men faine would shun.

And farewell world, since naught in thee I finde
    But vanytie, my soule in Hell to drowne:
And welcombe Phylosophy, who the mynde
    Doest with content, and heavenly knowledge crowne.

During the time, that my thoughtes swounded
with the charme of my passionate Musick, the
Sun decked in his most gorgious Raies, gave a bon 
Giorno, to the whole troupe: and so many as were,
within the sownde of my Instrument, were drawne,
with no lesse vertue, then the Steele unto the
Addamant. In so much, of the suddaine, to beholde
the statelynesse of the presence, I was dryven
foorth of my muse, with a starklyng admiration,
not unlyke unto him, that sleeping over a dying
brand, is hastelye wakened with the lyghtenynge
of a thousande sparcles.

The offices of Curtesie discharged on every 
part, Segnior Soranno sayed: the Poets fayned not
without reason, that Amphions Harp gave sense unto stone Walles. For so divine (quoth hee) are the operations, and vertues of Musick; As he that shall be bounde, to declare her particuler Graces, shall be no lesse troubled then the Paynter Zeuxes was in the counterfettinge of Cupid: Who after much travell, was driven to draw him blynde, for otherwise, he had under taken Sisiphus taske, because the twinkling reflections of Cupids eies, threw a thousande Beauties upon his face, and shadowed the worke of the Paynter.

Thus through Ignoraunce, Cupid hath ever since bin reputed blinde, and for his owne perfection, is honoured with the title of the God of Love. The name of Love gave a large occasion of discourse: but for that an other tyme was appoynted for those disputations, and the morninge was wholly dedicated, unto the service of God: the question drowned in Sorensos suggestion, and the whole company scylent, in such affayres, attended Queene Aurelias comming: who, in chaunge of gorgious, and rich apparrell, kept her accustomed howre, to go unto the Chappel. By that time service was ended, and every mans devotion donne, dinner was ready to be set uppon the Tables, with such choyce of delicate Viandes, as unto the bountie of the Feast, there might nothing be added.

After that Queene Aurelia and the rest, had taken their ordinarye places, every one helped the disgestion of their meate, either in inventing some civill merriment, or in hearinge it reported by an other.

Bergetto all this while, was neither heard to speake, nor seene to smyle.
Which, perceived by Franceschina Sancta his Mistres, she (moved with the spirit of compassion) studied, howe with Justice, shee might revoke her sentence, and unstring her servauntes tongue: and to that ende, shee demaunded, how three good turnes, might be unrewarded, three offences pardoned, three injuryes leaft unrevenged, and in everye of these, Justice preserved? This question passed through the table: and retourned without his true resolution.

In the end (quoth Segnior Philoxenus) Monsier Bergetto, what is your opinion?

Sir (quoth Bergetto) my Mistresse hath locked the tongue, that should pronounce it.

Why (quoth Franceschina) these be no questions of love, and therefore you have libertie to speake.

No Lady (quoth Bergetto) but his vertue may appeare in the aunsweare.

Well (quoth his Mystresse) if you canne cleare your trespasse, by one of these questions, I must do no injurie to Justice, and therefore, saye your pleasure.

Uppon this warrant (quoth Bergetto) to your first/ three, I aunsweare, A Captayne maye betray his charge, which is a benefit to the enemy: but the betrayer, is not to be received as a friende: for he that will sell his countryman, may not be held assured, to a straunguer. Secondly, a Theefe that peacheth his fellowes, doeth good to the Common wealth: and yet, deserveth no reward: for he that may previleadg his own theft, in bewraying other mens, will evermore steale upon presumption. Thirdly, to win a mans money, is a good turne, and yet the loser is not to be recompenced: for his
intent, was to winne the winners.

To your second three questions, a man maye offende through ignoraunce, which is excused without a pardon: for ignoraunce, is without intent of evill: therfore to be suffered, though not to be cherished: A man may offend, through necessitie, which commendeth Justice, with the vertue to forgive: for necessity, is bound unto no law, and therefore, deserveth not to be punished with the rigour of law: To the third, a man may offend through rashnes, and make amends with repentance: which Justice may pardon, without prejudice to equity: and herein (faire Mistres) I have shown my trespass, and the reparation of my trespass.

To your third three questions, a man may hurt his friend against his will, which is an injurie: yet, ought not to be revenged: for revenge, can but afflict the trespasser, and the misfortune, greeveth him: Before the husband, a man may kisse the wife, by mistaking: which is an injury, not to be revenged: for the wife may wipe away the wrong with her hand, and the husband by revenge, may make worke for the Chirurgion: And to the last, a man must be content to take good wordes of a beggerly debtor: which is an injury not to be revenged: for a man can have of a Cat but her skin, and of a beggar, but his scrip: unles he will sel the Apothecary the greace of the one, and the dice maker, the bones of the other.

The whole company gave a verdict, that Bergetto, had expounded his Mistres doubts without blemish to Justice: and therfore were earnest suters for his remission. Whom she
pardoned, with this proviso, that he should
behave himselfe honourably towards women
heareafter. For his lybertie, Bargetto
reverently kissed his Mistresses hande, and thus
all unkindnesse pacified.

Queene Aurelia movyng alittle, raisde the
companye, from the Table, who a pretty tyme after
dinner, had respyt, to prepare their wits, for
the accustomed exercise.

The Clocke had no sooner sounded the
disputation howre: But Queene Aurelia, and her
Ladies were redy in the drawinge Chamber, and
upon warnyng, the chosen Gentilmen gave their
attendaunce: who havyng taken their places, the

To thee I sende, thou fayrest of the fayre,
The Vowes and Rites, of an unfayned hart:
Who with my plaintes, doe pearce the subtil Ayre,
That Beautie thou, maist heare and see my smart.
Who sues, but that thy Deputie on earthe,
May take in gree, my off'ringes of good wyll,
And in accompt returne my Love in worth.
With charge thy priestes, my bones to Ashes burne:
And with the same, thy Aulters all to meale,
That I may make (to serve, eche Lovers turne)
The peace off'ring, with Sacrifice of zeale.

This Sonet in Beauties behalfe, put the
whole companie in remembraunce of Doctor Mossenigoes
last nights lavish speach of Beauty, and the
scandalous comparyng of her to Poyson, or, which
is worse, a more subtil infection: And therefore,
to bee resolved of his wronge, or her gyltines, Queene Aurelia, appointed Monsier Bargetto to be her Champion, and to assist him, (for it was agreed that free choice of Marriage, shoulde (this daye) bee disputed: whose affection for the most proceedeth from the vertue of Beautie,) she lycensed every one that favoured her cause: which done, she willed the Doctor and his favourers to spit their venym.

Maddame (quoth the Doctor,) it neither beseemeth the stayednes of my yeares, nor agreeth with the gravetie of my profession, in such an assembly, to speake the thing I dare not avouch, and therefore since it cometh to this issue, that I must, hazard upon a charge, or shrinke away with shame: though my ennemyes be many, my cause is juste: uppon which warrant I am feareles of my foes, and resolute in myne opinion.

Bergetto likewise glad of this favour, protested before Queene Aurelia and the whole company, that in the faithfull execution of his charge, the prodygall spoyle of hys lyfe, should give contempt to death.

The Doctor, that had given as many deepe wounds with his Pen, as ever he had done with his Launce, shronke no more at these threats, then an Oke at the Helve of an Axe, but coldely wylled him, to use his pleasure, he was ready to defend (or to die, in) his oppinion.

Whereupon Bergetto, to strengthen himself the better, made this remembraunce, of the yesterdays reporte.

It is (quoth he) already approoved, if the married in forced Mariages, could as well finish
with the Church, as they can account with their consciences: their joy to be Married was not so colde, as their desire to be devorsed would be whot: therfore by this awkeward successe in forcement: a free choise in Mariage, can not choose, but continue (as I thinke) as much love betweene the Married, as the other sowed debate.

Rashnes and constraint (quoth the Doctor) are bothe violents and every violent is a vice, then how can a vicious attempt have a vertuous successe: Men doo evill (quoth Bergetto) that good may come of it, and it is allowed.

And men doo good (quoth the Doctor) that evill may come of it, and it is forbidden: for it is the intent bothe in good and evill, that commendeth or condemneth: and what good intent hath the foolish young man, that by his rashnes in Marriage, robbeth his parentes of their comfort, and him selfe of his credit.

He satisfieth his fancie (quoth Bergetto) a speciall regarde in Mariage: and where there is a sweete accorde betweene the married, the parents cannot but rejoice, and the neighbours are bound to speake well: and beautie in his wives face, will feede his heart with a thousand delights: so that he shall sustaine want with little greefe, and labour to get wealth with a great desire: for where unitie is, small things growth to great.

Such may be the unitie (quoth the Doctor) as small greefes may growe to great sorrowes: when the winde is in the neck of a stooping Tree, it falleth downe right: and when the unthriftines of the Husband, agreeeth with the evill huswiferie of
the Wife, Sorrow striveth to be in the married mans bosome, before the maried be in his wives bead: and what other expectation may there be, either of the one or the other, when he satisfyeth his fancie, before he considereth of the dutyes of Mariage: and she in taking an husband, that is ignoraunt in the affaires of husbandry, and in offices of Mariage: It is the office of the married, to be advised ere he love, and loving to be reposed in his choise: It is the office of the married to provide for an Household, before he take possession of his hearts delight: and it is the office of the marryed, to examine the conditions of his Mistresse, before he enter into any covenaut of Mariage. And how can he be advised, that marrieth without the privitie of his Parents? and how can he supporte an household, that marryeth with his Parents displeasure, upon whose devotion he liveth? and how can he judge of his Mistresse conditions, that wanteth discretion to consider of his owne estate? And where you alledge, the beautie of his wives face, wyll feede the husband with delight: his delight will starve his body, without other supplyes: so that when charge shall increase, and his wealth diminish, let the foolish younge marryed man, impose him self upon this fortune, that he cannot so oft kisse the sweete lippes of his beautifull wife, as he shalbe driven to fetche bitter sighes, from his sorrowfull hart. /

Sir (quoth Soranso, taking Bergettos parte:) of two evils the least is to be chosen: and it is lesse evill for a man, to lyve a while hardly, and satisfye his owne fancie, then to live ever
discontented and please his freendes. The good behaviour of the maryed, may winne the Parents to consent, and amend their exhibition: or death may come, and put them in possession of their Parentes living.

If either of these chaunce, as one is shortly like to happen, the penaunce that they indured, wyll season theyr prosperitie, and counsell the Married to keepe within their teather, to leape within their latchet, and lyve within theyr compasse: The loving advise of the husband, wyll reforme the disposition of evill in the wife. For (as Plato sayeth,) there is no woman so perfect good, but in some one point may be reprehended: nor no man so faultlesse, but that somewhat in him may be amended: so that if the Husband gently reprehend the fault of his Wife, and the Wife patiently suffer the offence of her Husband, the abylytie of their estate wyll sustaine a household, and their loove and agreement wilbe an especiall comfort unto them selves, and a commendable example unto all the neighbours.

The best of bothe your evils (quoth Doctor Mossenigo) is starke naught: but our question was not, to chuse the least of evyls, but that which is simply good: notwithstanding, to aunswer to the sequell of this rashenesse in Mariage, you saye, theyr good behaviours may recover theyr Parents good wyll, but I Prophesie, that theyr evill demeanures, are more likely to extinguish the affection of a Father: for necessitie wyll accustome the Husband with dishonest shyftes, and keepes his fayre Wife from beeing ydle: for want
muste be supplyed, what shame so ever ensue.
Then is it lykely, that the Parentes which did
shutte their Pursses in the beginning, to punishe
the contempt of their Children, wyll now fast
locke them, to be revenged of theyr infamie.
And where you gave them a hope, by their parentes
death, I say no man dyneth worse, then hoping
Tantalus, nor none are more wetshed, then they
which expect deade mens shoes, and when they
fall, the soules (perhaps) wilbe wore: I mean
the Father in his life tyme, may take order to
dye even with the worlde, or at leaste, leave his
living maimed, and the most of his substaunce
wasted: for in a tempest at Sea, what Pylote hath
any care of goodes, that seeeth the ship, at the
poynte to syncke: even so what parents can have
any joye of worldly wealth (more then to defende
necessyties) when he seeth, the heyre bothe of his
labour, and lyving, out of hope of weldooing: so
that through this rashnesse many sonnes, during
their fathers lyves, with hard shiftes, shift of
necessity, and after their deaths live disinherited:
and not altogether so much for their owne contempt,
as for their wives incontinencye: and truely in
the fyrst, although the parentes may be thought
cruell, yet are they not to be reputed unnaturall,
for that every offence hath his proper scourge:
restitution is the true payne for robbery: an
eye is revenge for an eye, a hand for a hande,
death challengeth death, and disobedience in the
sonne, deserveth disinheritaunce, by the father.
Touching the dishonesty of the daughter in lawe
(as it is great hazarde but that necessitie, thus
bestowed, will bend her a little:) the severitie

Their
pennaunce is
great that
live in
incertaine
hope.

An ungodly
childe maketh
an unthriftie
Father.

The several
paines of
offences.

Incontinency
is sufferable, if her husbandes father shut her forth of his doores, for that the honour of a mans house is so delicate, as it can awaie with no staine: and (reservyng your favours vertuous dames) where a strumpet entereth, she stuffeth the house with slander, as carraine infecteth the ayre with stincke, yea the occasion is just: if the father spare to gette, and the mother cease to save, nay if they spend that which they have, for it ware great pitty, that there should be any thing leaft either of their livyng or labour, to support a harlots pride. O how innumerable are the inconveniences, of this timeritye in Marriage? The wise by conjecture and daylye/ experience seeeth, and the foolish (with sorrowe in theyr own entrailes) feeleth: and therfore as a hainous offence: the auncient Philosophers (which without partiallitie, checked Vice and cherrished Vertue) punished this contempt of Children. Plutarke saythe, the sonne that marryeth without his Parents consent, among the Greekes was publikely whipped: among the Lacedemonians dishearited, and among the Theabanes bothe dishearited, and of his Parents openly accursed.

The yonger company, began to feare a restraint of Freeloves libertie, and their Goddesse Beauties disgrace: The Doctor gave Capitaine Bergetto such crosse blowes, who though he fainted in his opinion, yet (like a Cocke, that hath one of his eyes stricken out, and his head bared to the braines, yet striketh untill he dyeth) he assayled the Doctor with this one more reason.

Maister Doctor (quoth he) they go farre that never returne, and the battaile is very cruell Defence, &c.
where none escapes: what although a number speede ill in making of their owne choyce, many have prospered well. In matches of the best foresight, good Fortune hath not always beene found, and yet foresight is not to be blamed, nor the other adventure to be dispitefully condemned. Ovid sayeth, that Forma numen habet, then by vertue of her Divinitie, it is like she will sustaine them in adversity, that in prosperity became her vowed Servaunts: neither dooth this stayne of the wives behaviour often follow, for where Beautie, Love, and Free choyce, maketh the Mariage, they may be crossed by Fortune, and yet continue faithfull. Piramus and Thistie, Romeus and Juliet, Arnalt and Amicla, and divers others at the point to possesse their loves, were dispossesst of their lives, but yet unstained with dishonesty. This want with which you threaten them, what is it in respect of the pleasures these Lovers possesse? Wealth which is the contrarie, what is it, beeing ill used? a beautie in the Chest, a bondage to the minde, and a blot in the soule: but a couple united by this affection, for a little Fleabiting of worldly/ pennury, suck Nectar betweene their lippes, Cram Manna into theyr Bowels, and possesse Heaven in their hearts. How farre Maister Doctor argueth from the opinion of auncient Philosophers, and famous Schoolemen, these authorities witnesseth: Ovid, Nigidius, Samocratius, Petrarke, and others in their life time, addored Beautie, with their bookes honoured her, and by their deatthes eternized her glorye. But for that her vertues be Divine, and Maister Doctor is soyled with slander,
blasphemy and mallice, he is unworthy to be perfected, with one thought of her excellencie, which ignorance maketh him so obstinate. The yonger company began to take heart, in hearing of this Tale, so that the Gentlewomen strengthened Bergetto with good countenaunces, for (for modesties sake) they were silent, and the Gentlemen succoured him with theyr best reasons. But all this hope proved but a lightning joye: for Doctor Mossenigo, dubble inraged, partly for the check he receyved, partly for the countenaunce the company gave his adversarie: but cheefely for to behold a new Dye, set upon a stayned matter, so sharply refuted Bergetto, as he had no delght to reply, nor his supporter desire to succor him. (Quod he) Ovid dreamed of a divinity in Beautie, but never tasted other then a sweete venim, to proceede from her: He loved Julia, Augustus Daughter, and enjoyed her: but with what fortune? marry, he was stript of his living, and spoyled of his libertie, for her sake. Nigidius, an auncient Romaine, and in great favour with the people, for this folly, tasted of Ovids fortune, which was, to dye in exile. Samocratius was in youthe, so prodigall of his Love, as in age hated of his freendes, he dyed in Prison, with famine. And as for frantick Petrarke, I feare me Madonna Laura smyled more often in reading of his follyes, then he himselfe did, with the sweete recompences of his fancies. All these were men learned, wise, and in their other actions (for their gravitie) were admyred, and onely for their lightnesse in love, live to this day defamed: For your/ other authorities, your
ows remembrance of their deaths, shew a
vengeance sufficient, for the contempt of the
Children. But where you say Beautie, Love, and
Free choyse, lade the Maried with such pleasures,
that they endure povertie, as a Fleabiting. In
deede, want will so quicken them, as the Husband
will leap at a Cruste, and the Wife trot for her
Dinner. But suppose the best, thus married (whose
loves are indifferent) with patience doo indure
the afflications of Fortune: their agreement is
no generall warrant. The greater number of these
Mariages, are not solemnnyzed, through equaltye
of love, but through inequalitye of lyving. The
coveitous Marchaunt, with no more delight heereth
the passing bell of his ritch neyghbour, which
promyseth hym the first loppe of his sonnes
lyving, then the poore gentleman eyeth the able
heyre, with desyre to match him (perhappes) with
his fayre proud Daughter. Then as pleasant
baytes baineth Fyshe, as counterfet Calles
beguileth Foules, and as Crocadyles teares,
intrappeth Foules: to lyke destruction, lures
are throwne to lime this gallant: frendly usage
shall intyce hym, good wordes shall welcome hym,
curtesy shall cheere hym, Beauty shall bewitch hym,
and fayre promises, shall altogeather beguile hym.
Newe Vessels are apt for any licquor, and young
heads (empty of experyence) are seduced, with
easy subtilyes, to be shorte, he shalbe
betrothed by cunning: hys promyse once past (for
that in delaye, is daunger) the Mariage must be
in poste haste, and the mislikyng at leasure:
but in most of these matches, the sorrow
begynneth, before the solemnitye of the Mariage
endeth. The father hearynge of the indiscretion of his sonne, galleth his harte with greefe: the mother, spoyleth her eyes wyth teares, and the freend occupyeth his toungue, in bemoning of hys kynsemans follye. There is yet a further sorrowe, byter to the father and unbenefyciall to the sonne. The father that thought to bestowe hys daughter wyth the Marryage money of hys sonne, is forced/ to diminishe his inheritaunce, for her advauncement. And by this meanses, the joye which begunne in the beautie of his Wife, is like to end in the beggery of himselfe: and since these unsaverie effectes, growe from the vertue of Beauties Divinitie, let Mounsier Bergetto burne in his Heresie.

But Doctor Mossenigo will holde himselfe happie, never to be warmed by her fyre. Bergetto had not a worde more to saye, but angrily looked upon his Sworde, with a countenaunce that promised vengeance upon the Doctors blaspheamous tongue, had he not beene stayed with a reverent consideration of the company.

In the end, because Maister Doctor should not be too proud of his conquest, nor Bergetto overmuch appalled with his defeate, (quoth Signior Fabritio, Judge of the controversies:) in a single controversie the argument of the one, is to be allowed as truthe, and the caviling of the other, to be rejected as error: but for that this hath bee ne a double contention, as in defence and reproofe, bothe of Beautie and Free choise of Mariage, Madona Isabella, and I, pronounce sentence with Bergetto, in the behalfe
of Beautie, for Beautie is a blessing, and if she
worke evill effectes in some, their naughtie
disposition, and not Beautie is to be blamed: and
with Doctor Mossenigo we likewise give judgement
in reprooife of rashenesse in Mariage.

This judgement pleased Queene Aurelia and
the whole company, who were glad that they were
thus forewarned of the inconveniences of Free
choise in Love, which they a little favoured, but
yet were more glad of the Triumpe of Beautie,
whom they all affectedly honoured: and therefore
(quoth Queene Aurelia,) good Wine neede no Ivie
Bushe, fyne Marchaundise are solde without a Signe,
and Beautie is sufficiently commended by her owne
excellencie, and therefore we wyll spare
Bergettos ready service, untill oportunitie,
present further imploymcnt. But for that your
Tryumphe shall have his full right, we licence
you to tel some one Historie to confirme your
reasons.

The Doctor glad of this lybertie, who
(although he had receyved no Disgrace, yet he
repined that he had not the whole honour of the
Disputation,) determyned in his Historie, a litle
more to nettle the favourers of Beautie: with
which intent, upon Queene Aurelias commaundemente,
he reported as followeth.

The Historie in reprooafe of rash Mariages,
reported by Doctor Mossenigo.

Besides Capo Verdo, in times past, the
capitall Citie, within the kingdome of Naples,
sometime dwelled a forward young Gentleman called
Marco Malipiero: the sonne and heire of Cavaliero
Antonio Malipiero, in his youthe renowned, for
manie valiant services. This young Gentleman in
the pride of his youth, became inamoured of a
most fayre Gentlewoman named Felice, the Daughter
of Philippo Provolo, an auncient Gentleman, by
harde adventure decayed. But yet in dispight of
fortunes injurie, who disabled him with many
losses, and thereby, of small wealth to advance
his Daughter: Felice her selfe was enriched with
s suche perfections of nature, that the friends
lamented, but could not blame the affection of
young Malipiero: which in verie deede, grewe so
great, as it contemed the dutie of a childe, and
scorned the advise of a Father: Felice alone
governed him, and none but Felice he obeyed.

Provolo intertayned Malipiero, with the
curtisie of a friende, as much for the good partes he
possessed: as for the possibilitie of living he
stode in, who (striking the yron while it was
whote) secreatlie fianced Malipiero to his fayre
Daughter. The old Knight stormed at these newes,
and notwithstanding this knowne contract, if by
any perswasions he could have revoked his sonnes
consent, he would have caused the Pope to have
dispensed with his conscience: and to that
effect, hee caused sundry of his friendes to
deale with him in these affayres. And among many
an auncient Gentleman, his Governour, and
somtimes his Schoolemaister (whose gravetie,
Malipiero reverenced) in a mylde order commoned
with him, and amonge other questions demaunded,
with what reason he could justifye his light
affections, and condemne the sounde advyce of
friendes.

Malipiero, resolute in his love, boldly
answered, that Felices divine beauty, was a sufficient warrant for ether.

This wise Governour would not harden his hart with obstinacy, in a sharp reprehension of his publike arrogant aunswere, but with an affable countenaunce, conjured hym to lysten unto his grave sayinges.

O (quoth he) is she beautifull? then you have worke inough to watch her, and mischance sufficient to suspect her.

Is she beautifull? then her rashnesse in consent, sheweth that she is indiscreet: so that the diversitie of quallities will soone finde out a division in your desires.

Is she beautifull? then is lyke (by her quick agreement) that she is poore, then is her Love fastened on your riches: so that when you lacke money to maintaine her pompe, she leaves, to make much of your person.

Is she beautifull? then she is withall (lightly) proude, and the pride of a woman (saith Periander) is lyke unto a Dropsey: for as drinke encreaseth the drouth of the one, so (sayeth he) Cost enlargeth the expence of the other: then if your Purse be not open to feede her folly, she will pawne her honour to please her fancy.

Is she beautifull? then her indiscreation, in this hastinesse, showes her but a slender huswife, so that the charge of your house, shall eate and consume your gaines abroade. Is she beautiful? then your dispence, must be in her dispositicr, or els her lookes will little repose you: if she order your goodes, her expences will be great, and her gettinges small, your house
shall be stored with costlye stuff, and your servants starved with lack of meate: she will/5 goe like a Pecock, and you like a meacock: what followeth? in her bravery, she must be seene: if she take the lyberty to walk, shee giveth other occasion to speake, and your selfe to sigh. A faire picture set in the Market place, moveth many to gase: if the counterfet giveth contentment, the creature must needes delight: and if any view your wife with unlawfull affection, his practises wil be many to win his desyre. Take heede, you undertake an intisinge course, which without good order, will make you breathlesse before the midst of your race: you enter into great charge, see means to support it. Your Father lives, and must maintaine his accustomed reputation: if he spare to sustaine you, it is much: to defraye the charge, of your wife and housholde, he cannot: therefore so love, that this dispence may be shared betwene you, and your wives Parents: and as far foorth as I can see, Felices Father hath much adoe, to kepe rayne out of his house top: then if with difficultie he lieth drye in his Bed, it is impossible he should have anye great cheare at his Boorde: what reckonyng can you make, to be supported by him that hath it not? and howe can you dare presume, to bee supplyed by your owne Father? when the timeritie of your marriadge displeaseth him to death. Looke into these mischeeves, before you feele the miseries they presage: looke before you leape, leaste you be wet, before you be a ware: your friendes hath a comfort, but you the benefite of weildoing.

The Schoolemaister gave Malipiero this
advice, with such a temperate gesture: that
(although good counsell prevailed not, yet) reverently told him, that his experience knew more, then his greene imagination could containe:
and therefore, he woulde meditate of his loving admonition, and proceede no further without his privitie. But ah, these weare but sweete wordes to betraye himselfe, and to blinde his friends.
For uppon the first oportunitie Malipiero speeds unto Philippo Provolo, and recountes the importunitities of hys Freendes, with a desire to have the Mariage previlie solemnised, since that he could not obtaine the open consent of his parentes.

Provolo, fearing the daunger of delay, was as ready to satisfy, as Malipiero was earnest to request: insomuch as early in a morning, Marco Malipiero, was set in possession of his hearts delight: and before night, was dispossessed of his whole bodies welfare: For his sorrowful Father, and heavy frendes, hearing of this suddaine Mariage, after they had a while bemoned, the rashnes of Malipiero, with the Affection of Parentes, menaced to punish his oversight (in not regarding him) as Strangers.

Provolo, on the other side, to geve knowledge to his Sonne in Lawes frendes, that although Fortune had crossed him, she had not wholly consumed him: set out his abylytie to the most Advauntage: much like unto a Market Marchant, that on a Newyears Day mornynge, exposeth his painted tokens, to the ritchest show: His Sonne (in lawe) was accomodated with the Attyre and furnyture of a Gentleman, and his Wife was set
foorth, with the showe, of rich Malipiero's Heires Espouse, and not as poore Provoles Daughter: Insomuch, as the common sorte, blinded with showes, judged after their eyes affection, and reputed old Malipiero a cruel covetous Churle, for dealing with Provolo so frowardly, that had intreated his Son so honorably. But these murmuring, litle moved the good auncient Knight: for well he wist, this braverie was but a blase, as soone ended as the flame of a drie Faggot. And which should avenge him, this pride promised a change, attyred with as much pennurie as the other with pompe. The following effect, confirmed olde Malipieros opinion: for Provolo spent so largely at the beginning, in hope with this florishe, to make accordre betwene the Sonne and the Father: As nowe his Table was furnished with emptie Platters, and his Audit Bagges with a set of Counters. So that want, that will make a tooth-lesse woman to bite at Brasen Walles, entred into Provolo House, and swore both him and his whole householde unto the statutes of necessitie: whose lawes were so straite, that although they all had great occasion of sorowe, they had no leasure for shifting to supplie their wantes: In so much as in shorte time, there was no neighbour, that Provolo was not in his debt or daunger, and no good natured youth there aboutes, that Marco Malipiero had not boorded or coosoned.

And what shoulde faire Felice doe in this extremitie? live upon her husbands travel, and be idle her selfe? that were no good Huswiferie: and yet poore Malipiero loved her so dearely,
that hee woulde have ventured uppon a thousande infamies, to maintayne her in the state of an honest Gentlewoman: but although his shiftes helped, they defrayed not her desire to be brave.

5 A Diamond hath not his grace but in golde, nor a fayre Woman, her full commendation but in the ornamentes of braverie. So that attyred to her best advantage, faire Felice would manie times walke, unto the Piatso Richio, a place where the bravest Gentlemen assembled, and where the fynest devices were sould: she taking this liberty to walke, bound the gallant yong Gentlemen, in curtesie to Court her: curtuous service, is to be accepted with thankes: acceptance of service, inlargeth acquaintance: acquaintance ingendreth familiarity: and famyliaritie, setteth al Folies abroach: So that, let other Married men take warnyng, by Malipieroes hard fortune: for, if their wyves love gadding, lyke faire Felice, and be inconstant, do want, or finde in their Husbands, miscontentment: Twentie to one, they wil pawn their honours, to please their fancies.

Well, Felice lost nothyng by these Journeyes: for some one Gallant, would present her with a Ventoie, to coole her selfe: some other, with a Mirroure, to behould her selfe: and some, with Lawnes, Ruffes, Coyfes, and suche necessaries, to set out her selfe: and yet upon no dishonorable condition, but (by your leave) wyth hope of an after favour./

This trafique, faire Felice used, untill (amonge a number, that temperately affected her,) Marino Giorgio, the rich Orphant of Capo Verdo immoderately loved her, and with all the honors
of courtisie served her: But notwithstanding, his lusty personage, might please: his lovely countenaunce, might intyce: and his rare wit, passing through a swete tongue, might bewitch a woman in love: for that Malipiero, was inrichted with these perfections: Felice, regarded Marino, but with an ordinary grace: and had it not ben for that Archinchaunter, Golde (perhappes) would never have bene inconstant.

This light account of Felice, inlarged the affection of Marino: for as drincke increaseth the dropsies drowth, so disdaine, heapeth coales upon desire: whereof Marino, (Teste se ipso) hath leaft an infallible aucthoritie: whose torments were so greevous, as the fire: which of al flames, burneth most, and appeareth least, burst out of his mouth, the smoake of such furious sighes, that where he was but late, of a pure Sanguine Compltection, hee seemed nowe, nothyng, but Choller adust: So that, his friends mourning, and many moned his strange alteration: who counsayled him to take the Physitions advice: But neither Galen, Hipocrates, nor their Enemie, Paracelsus, could skyl of his cure: so that he was in danger to have consumed to Cinders, had not Macrello, the Physion of Love, undertaken his helth, who comforted him with many sweete wordes of hope: but, Marino, continually afflicted himselfe in recounting an impossibilytie of favour.

Why (quoth Macrello,) is not your parsonage seemely? Yes: but it doth not please. Is not your face lovely? Yes: but it doth not allure. Is not your wyt quicke and good? Yes: but it can not persuade. Is not Felice, a woman? Yes:
and more, an Angell.

Well, then (quoth Macrello,) be of good comfort, Angelles be not cruell, nor steelie harted.

O (quoth Marino,) but Felice, is constant, and true to her husband, who to continue her affection, is graced with these and many more perfections./

Yea (quoth Macrello) but hee wanteth one of your cheefest beauties.

What one is that (quoth Marino?) Even that, that opened the double locked dores of Acrisius brasen Tower, and put Jubiter in possession of his daughter Danais love. And thinke you this Goulden Beautie, will not make a passage into poore Malipieros Bed Chamber? I warrant you yees: you have Gouldde more at commandement then I, but I know the vertue better then you.

This short tale quickned dying Marrino, as the flashe of Rose water dooth a sullen swounding Childe.

Wherupon (quoth he) Macrello, if your Medicine be of no lesse vertue to restore my lyfe, then your wordes to geve me hope: the fortune, shall be your profit, as well as my pleasure.

Well (quoth Macrello) sustaine your selfe with hope, and for that your invention is delicate, devise you some curious rich Juell, and let mee alone (quoth hee) bothe to charme and to present it: and so with a remembraunce in the hande, he left Marino, to contemplate of his love, and to consider how to recover his lyfe: who in the ende, concluded to sende faire Felice, the Image of himselfe in Gouldde, inameled blacke, his
face meager and pale, and by a device, the blacke mantell throwne aside, for to appeare, the bared Carkasse of Death, with the intrayles consumed, and in the seate of his lyfe, to place Felice, attyred with Diamonds, Rubyes, Emrodes, and other precious Stones, looking uppon his smoking harte, wherupon, was written these two breefes.

Love onely gives mee health,  
Not Medicine nor wealth.

This Image made unto his fancye, he wrote this following Letter. /

Marino Georgios letter, to Felice the fayre.

Fayre Mistresse, if I enjoyed any health, I would wishe you parte: but what I do possesse, I acknowledge to be yours, and my selfe to be, but your steward. And for this service, because it is duty, I crave nothing, but leave my merrit wholly to your consideration. Yet, least my scylence, shuld rob the glory of your pitty, and my death, reave you of a faythfull Servaunt: more of zeale, to do you long service: then of any desire I have to live. I heare present you my consumed selfe, only kept alive, by the lyfe of fayre Felice, who sitteth crowned, in the Pallace of my heart: whych bleeding at her feete, showeth the meanes of my cure: which if you witsafe, I live: if not, you see my death. And thus, doubtfull betweene both, untill I kisse your sweete aunsweare, I remayne.

Unto my latter Gaspe,  
Your faythfull  
MARINO GEORGIO.
This letter Sealed, and Subscribed, To the hands of the most faire Felice: Macrello was sent for: to whom Marino delivered, both the Juell, and the letter, with out instructions to do his message: for Protheus could not change himself into moe shapes then Macrello: as well, to avoide suspition, as to compasse his purpose: who behaved himselfe so cunningly, in Marinos errande, as (to be shorte, vertuous Dames) after many perswasions, Felice returned him with this Answer.

FELICES Answer, to Marino Georgio.

I am not cruell, although with difficultie, I consent too love: and for that your passions are so extreame, I kepe your Picture in my Bosome: But, with what thought, I blush to write, though Pitie be my warrant: so that I leave the event of our Love, to your Consideration: and my yealding, to Macrelloes Reporte: who, in bewraying your passions, lette fall more teares, then I could drie up with a thousand sighes: So that overcom with rueth, to see your Affection so great, and your passion so daungerous, I can not but commyt my love, my honour, my selfe and all, to the Affection and wise government of Marino Georgio.

FELICE.

This Letter, was subscribed: Lyfe, to MARINO GEORGI0: and delivered to the faithfull Macrello: with charge, that he should make knownen, his great Importunities, before Felice woulde graunt so hye a favour: which Proviso,
might have ben spared: for Macrello, (partly for his glorie, but chiefly, for his owne benefitte) upon deliverie of this Letter, willed Marino, to receive it, as a Conquest as hardly gotten, as Hercules labours: and if (quoth he) I had not indured your torments (by Imagination) it had not ben impossible to have mooved Felice to rueth: Marino, heard these circumstances, with no better remembrance, then if he had ben in an Extasie: The Subscription: Lyfe to Marino: overcame him with suche a sodayne passion of Joye, who read, and a hundred times over read this Life letter: and for that it came from Felices sweete hand, he a thousand times kissed the Paper.

Which done, by the direction of Macrello, this Conquerour Gowlde, made suche a passage, into a reputed honest Cytizens House, as, without suspiration, Marino Georgio, and Fayre Felice, theare (many tymes) mette, but to what purpose, I leave.

to your constructions: and yet, thus much I say: this Fortune followed: Marino, in shorte space, recovered his former Complection: and it was not long, before Felice was richer, then either Father or Husband.

But, O that Furie Jelousie, envying this Accord, sent slie Suspiration, to infect Malipieroes heart: who pryinge with Lynx his eyes, presented him a thousande causes of mistrust, which love straite supprest with as manie/ contrarie imaginations of his Wives good behaviour: inso much, that with the sharp incounter of Love, and mystrust, poore man, he was continually afflicted.

In conclusion, seeing his Wife to exceede in braverie, and knowing himselfe, to declyne with Suddaine joy or sorrow dulleth our senses.

Suddaine joy or sorrow dulleth our senses.

A shrewde suspition.

Gold maketh passage into difficulte places.

The venemous nature of Jelosye.
povertie, he resolved uppon this certentie: this cost coulde not come from the emptie Coffers of her undone Parentes: and then proceedinge from others, it was impossible to bee the favours of honest curtesie: so that armed with furie, he deferred revenge, but to intrap the friende of his wives follyes, and the enyme both of her honour, and his dylyght.

In fine, as heedfull, as these Lovers were in their dealinges, Jelosye directed suspecte, to Marino Georgio: and moreover, made him an eye witnesse of the injuries done unto Malipiero: which when he assuredly knew, hee studied a while of a torture, equall to this treacherie: for who hath not hard the Neapolitan to bee the severest revenger of dishonor in the world. To be breefe, his bait was this: he fayned a journey far from home, and furnished him selfe, with such an apparence of trueth, as tooke a way all colour of suspition: whiche done, with a dissembling kysse, hee committed his wife to God, and the charge of his house, to her good government: and so set forwarde towards Rome.

Malipiero was no sooner a mile on his way, then Macrello certified Marino of this wished oportunitie: and Love made both him and Felice so boulde, as in his owne house they determyned the followinge night, to exercise uppon Malipiero their wonted injurie: but about mydnyght when mistrust was at repose, Malipiero entred the house with such a sodaine violence, as these two unfortunate freendes, were surprysed amids their embracements, before they had warnyng to shift: I sowrrow to tel the rest, but trueth will have

Suspect is more cunnyng, then Argus was warie.

Neapolitans, are most seveare in revenge.

A Judas kisse.

A fit time, to deceave mistrust.
passage.

Malipiero, in his revenge like a Lyon
hungring after/ his pray: with his Rapier and
these bitter wordes nayled Marino unto the Bed.

Thou Couche (quoth he) soyled with dishonour,
washe out thy staynes, with the Adulterers
blood.

But holding death too easy a scurge for his wives
trespas, hee condemned her to this torture, more
extreme then death: Hee made an Anatomy of her
welbeloved Marino, and set him in a fayre Chamber,
within whiche, hee inclosed his wyfe, without
dooing her any bodely injurie, save the cutting
of her haire: and to say trueth, this beautifull
ornament of haire, beseemeth not an Adultresse
head. And to punish her the more, Malipiero
caus'd her everie dinner and supper to take her
accustomed place, that at meales shee might be
tormented with the sighte of her lyvinge enemie,
and all the daye with the bones, of her martired
friende: neither could she quenche her thirst,
but out of a Mazar, made of Marrinoes skull. But
(to tell her vertue, with her vice) hir patience
was suche, as shee was never harde to complaine
of this crueltie: and yet her penitent sorrowe
so great, as the plentie of her teares, somtimes
moved her injured Husbande to pittie.

But least he should be overcome with
compassion, manie times from dinner, hee commaunded
her to her pryson: who after an humble reverence,
went behind the Tapestrie Hanginges, and so unto
her solitarie Chamber, barred from other companye,
then the gastly bones of unfortunate Marino:
whiche pennaunce shee patientlye indured, untyll

Death is too easie a scurge,
for a disloyal wyfe.

Haire, the ornamenti
de Chastitye.

The bounden
office of a Writer.

Justice, must
not yeald to
the teares of
Trespassers.
GOD, who saw that her repentance was unfayned, sent Segnior Cornaro to bee a peace maker betweene her Husbandes injurie, and her offence: who (when Supper was sette uppon the Boorde) seeing from behinde the Tapistrie Hanginges, a fayre Gentlewoman to appeere, somewhat pale with sorrowe, her head bare, both of attyre and Hayre, apparrelled all in black, and in her hand, her drynking Bowle of Marinose scul, and saying never a word, with a sober reverence sitting down in the cheefest place: was stroken with such a maze, as on the suddayne he wist not what to say.

Dinner being ended, which was longer, then pleasant, either to husbande, wife, or friende: Felice, as she entered so departed. Who, notwithstanding, leaft part of her sorowe behinde in Cornaros heart, whose cheareles countenance, when Malipiero perceyved (quoth he) let not the martyrdome of this Woman afflicte you: for her fault deserveth this vengeaunce, and so recounted the reported adventure. And in advantage, shewed him her prison and the Annotomie of her dishonour, and withall licensed him to talke with Felice, to heare what plee shee had for her discharge.

Uppon which warrant, (quoth Cornaro,) Madame, if your patience be equall with your torment, I holde you the most happie Woman of the worlde. Felice with a countenance abased, and Cheakes dewed with teares tolde him in humble wordes, that her trespassse was tenne times greater, then the torment which the Lorde of the House, whom shee was not worthie to call husbands, had appoynted her. And therewithall, the sorow of her hart, tooke away the use of her tongue. Whereupon Malipiero,
ledde the Gentleman awaye, who rendred him affected thankes, in that, besides his good intertaynment, he witsafed him the honour to knowe so great a secreasie: withall, moved with compassion, hee effectually intreated Malipiero, to accept Felices sorrow the true witnes of grace and amendement, as satisfaction of her offence, which proceeded of frayltie, and withall importuned him, with such earnest reasons as Malipiero was content to sende both for her and his owne friendes. To bee partly ruled, and partly advised by them in her behalfe.

The parentes and friendes of everie side seeing the humilitie, sorowe, and patience, of poore Felice, were all earnest suitors for her remission.

The roote of auncient love not altogether dead in Malipiero, was comforted with their intercessions, and quicke-/ned with the hope of amendement: in so much, as uppon sollemne promise to be hencefoorth of good behaviour, he receyved her to grace: and to repayre her erased honour, with the favour of both their parentes, hee newe married fayre Felice, in which holy estate, they lived, loved, and agreed manie happie yeares afterwarde together: And with the Bones of Marino Georgio buried the remembrance of former injuries.

Maister Doctor, (quoth Fabritio,) you have reported a verie necessarie Historie: for it contayneth many heedeful notes, both of Amonition, and advise. Besides the due punishment of rashnesse in Marriage. For therein wee may see howe hungersterved want, compelleth the best natured man to deceive his friendes, and yelde unto True repentaunce, is to be receved in satisfaction of offences.

Perfect love, cannot be so injured, but it will alwais retaine some affection.

A reparation of dishonour.
his owne slander. Againe, how that monster, 
Golde, conquereth the honour of the fayrest. Yea, 
(quoth Isabella,) and corrupteth the conscience 
of the wisest: so that this is no example of any 
honour to you men, because Golde intised Felice, 
to be disloyall to her Husbande, for it draweth 
manie of you, both from the feare and love of God. 

Well, (quoth Soranso,) let it passe, Felice 
in her repentance, hath made a large amendes of 
her trespasse, and I feare me, if every lyke 
offence were so sharply punnished, we should 
have Mazers of mens Sculles, more ordinarie then 
Silver Boules, and powled Women more common then 
baulde men.

Not so, (quoth Queene Aurelia;) for a fewe 
of these examples woulde bridle the incontinent 
affections both of man and woman, if not for the 
love of vertue, for the feare of correction. 

After these and a fewe other Morrall notes 
were culled out of Doctor Mossenigos Historie; 
Maddam, (quoth Don Dolo,) if we continue this 
course, it will be a good while, before, we doe 
finde out the Parradice, Plato speaketh of.

Be it so, (quoth Queene Aurelia,) but if we 
still continue the way to his House Hel, our 
error will instructe others: and since we have 
yet long respyte, it shall not / be amisse everie 
day to take a sundrie hie way, untill wee finde 
out the true passage: And for that our Question 
is concluded, and our Howre Glasse ronne: we 
will (for this Daye,) make here an ende.

The Question that arose, by behouldyng, the 
MOWNTIBANKES, in the thirde Nightes Pastime. 
At the accustomed Houre, Supper was served
in with manie daintye Dishes: whiche were saused, with sundrie shorte civill, and pleaasunt eventes of the Gentlemen, and Gentlewomens wittes: For he, or shee, was helde of weake capacitie, that either of forestuddie, or upon offered occasion, coulde say nothing of good regarde.

In the ende, when Supper was done, and Queene Aurelia, and the most Honourable of the companie had taken their places uppon a Scaffolde made for the nonce, there mounted, a Mountebanke, his necke bechayned with live Adders, Snakes, Eav'ts, and twentie sundrie kinde of venemous vermines, whose mortall stinges were taken away by Arte, and with him a Zanni, and other Actors of pleasure: who presented themselves onelie with a single desire, to recreate Segnior Philoxenus, and his worthie companie: and not with the intent of common Mountebanckers, to deceyve the people with some unprofitable Marchandize.

In the middest of this pastime, an auncient Gentleman (of the generall Societie) seeinge these Viperous Beastes, by cunninge usage, to be made so Domesticke and affable, whether it were uppon an impression of his owne greife or of the experience he had of an others mans Plague, I know not: but sure I am, he burst into these passions./

O GOD, (quoth hee) of what mettell is a Womans tongue, which correction cannot chastise, nor lenitie quiet, when these dumbe Serpentes, by the one or the other are tamed?

Marie (quoth a pleasant Companion) it is made of the same mettle, that Virgils Brasen Flayle was off, which strooke both his friendes and foes.

But (quoth the Gentleman) Virgyll knew, and

Brevitie, is best, for Table talke.

Mountibanks of Italie, are in a maner, as Englysh Pedlers.

Lit The strange nature of a Womans tongue.
taught others howe to pacifie this engine.

It is true (quoth the other:) but in teaching the secrete unto his Servant, coste him his owne life. So a woman knowes howe to holde her Tongue, by havinge of her will, but if a man thinke to stay it, he must beate her to death.

A young Youth named Phrisio, thinking to winne the Spurres, by building a Fortresse for women, who have no weapons but their tongues, to defend, and offend, tooke uppon him, to proove a chiding wife, though shee bee a little unpleasaunt, both profitable and necessarie: his reasons were these.

Unsaverie receytes tourne to holsome effectes: The strongest Poyson is pleasaunt in taste, and the remedie for the poysioned, offendeth the mouthe with tartnesse: Nettles that stinges the Hande, maketh Pottage to conforte the heart: the bloude of the Scorpion cureth the biting of the Viper. If poysioned, unpleasant, and bitter things retayne a vertue for the benefite of man: in my imagination (quoth hee) an unquiete wife is not unprofitable though shee bee a little unpleasaunt: Her anger keepeth Servauntes in awe, and her quicknesse overseeth their negligence: If her tongue runne at ryot, where shee huntes, there is store of abuse, which must be chased either with blowes or wordes: If the furye of her speache offende her Husbande, it is lyke, that her outrage, groweth from his faulte: And where an injurie is offered, it is sufferable, yf the wronge bee blamed: but which maketh a full amendes, for her furious mood: as the clowdy and raynie daie, lightly cleareth towards night: even so, though
she bitterly scowld at boorde, shee will be sure, to kisse sweetely a bedde.

The auncient Gentlemen, commending the quick wit of this yong Gentleman, used thys circumstaunce before he refelled his error.

Ah (quoth he) if witt were as advised in Judgement, as he is ready in conseight: his imaginations, would turne to wonderfull effectes: but as fairest colours soonest staine, as sweetest flowers are blasted with a breath: as beauteful creatures, are blemished with a little care, as the brightest Sunne threateneth suddaine raine: yea, as everye mortall thing hath his imperfection: even so, witt beinge mortall, and assigned by Nature, to make man glorious, above other creatures, by rashnes, corrupts the ripenes of his conseightes: and to good purpose, his pryde is thus abated: for otherwise, man which enjoyeth witt, to worshippe his Creator, and to lyve content, with the liberties of the sea, and to keepe him with in the limits of the earth, woulde search the secreats of heaven: and I thinke, dispossesse Pluto of hell.

Yong Gentleman (quoth he) I use not this ceremony to represse your libertie of speache: for the error of youre rashnes, I will refell with reason and experience: but least heareafter you should be as arrogant in opinion, as you are ripe in conseight: I have thought good, friendlye, and breefelye to signifie your imperfection: and nowe to aunswerere your late suggestion.

I affirme that Nature hath created nothing to a needlesse purpose: but notwithstanding, our abuse, or mischance, changeth hurtefull things, into occasions of our healpe: Surfit, and
Sicknes only, commendeth Medicine: and as you affirme, the bloud of a Scorpion, cureth the biting of the Viper.

But take away the cause, which proceedeth from our greefe, and you shall find medicine, an enemye to health: and the stinge of a Scorpion, no better then death: and trust me, he is to be reckoned a foole, and his misfortune to passe unreleaved, that wilfully indamnageth his health in hope of remedy. In like sorte let him live unpittyed, to oversee the slacknesse of his servaunts, who wyll marry a wife, whose tongue shall over-rule himselfe. But more particularly to discribe the properties of an unquiet wife, and more largely to discourse the displeasures of her unfortunate husband: I will approove her lowrings, as unprofitable, as his life is unpleasaunt: you say her quicknesse overseeth the negligence of servaunts: but I affirme, that her curse[n]esse maketh then as swift to runne away, as they were slowe to serve her: and common use avowes, that often shyfte is neyther beneficyall for Mayster nor Servaunt: for proofe, as the rowling Stone gathereth no Mosse, and want of use canckereth Iron, in likewise thrifie flyeth the fleeting Servaunt, and idlenesse consumeth his abylytie of service. Now touching the cvill reckening of those which are served: their wanderyng servantes not onely charge their common accountes, with double wages, but with secret pilferynge, they sette theyr Maisters in more deepe arrerages. The Gretsians that in tymes paste neither used medicyne for sycknesse, nor patience in adversitye, but uppon every great
vexation, poisoned them selves with venomous
Cicuta. In their Histories remember more, that
have voluntarily died, through the violence of
theyr Wyfes tounges, then of any other calamitye.

Diogenes beeyng demaunded the diversitye in evill,
betweene a Scoulde and a Harlot? aunswered: They
differ as the Viper dooth from the Crockadil:
for the Scoulde, sayeth he, with outrage destroyeth
her Husband, and the other with dissemblyng love,
consumeth hym to death. And so concluded them
bothe ennemyes to lyfe, and quiet lyving of man.
Phrisio, beeing bothe modestly warned, and
throughly aunsweared, with a bashefull grace
replied: that the gravetye of hys person, and
the sounde reason in his wordes, had taken from
hym, all occasion of fur-thre Question, unlesse
that Women were his Judges. This wittie shift
mooved such as were within the hearing to smyle,
for where the cause is ill, it is necessarie to
seeke a Judge that is partiall, and which
commended Phrisios government, uppon a small
check he left to contend, with this auncient
Gentleman: for yonge men, although theyr wittes
be good, are not Priviledged to Dispute with the
graver sort, without lycence, intretie, or great
reverence.

By this time the Mountibanck, with discriting
the quallities of his Vermin, and the Zanni in
showing the knavish conditions of his Maister,
had wasted a good part of the night, and wearyed
the moste part of the company, so that desyre of
repose, sommoned them unto their lodgeings.

FINIS.
The fourth Daies exercise:

Containing: varietie of necessarie Discourse, and yet withall, the greater part appertaining to the generall argument of Marriage.

So deepe are the impressions of Sorrow, as the fayning of Poets, may be held for Morrall truths, where as they affirme, that the bytter mone of Orpheus tongue, together, with the passionate sound of his Instrument, mooved suche ruth in infemail creatures, as while he was a suter to Pluto, for the restitution of his Wife Euridice, his plaints so Charmed the tormentes of Hell, as for the time, the Gripe forbare to teare upon Titius growing hart. Tantalus indevoured not to drinke: Danaes Daughters, lefte filling of theyr bryncklesse Tub: toyling Sisiphus, sate and eased himselfe upon his rowling Stone: yea and Pluto overcharged with pittie, made restitution of Euridice. This sorrow to heare, that Queene Aurelia by some distemper, was sick, and kept her Chamber, wrought such greefes in the heartes of the whole company, that they hounge theyr heads in disgrace, like Garden Flowers: which (seeming as teares) are cloyed with the dewe of a fowle misling daye. Among the rest Ismarito, although he used not so many words of lament, as some other did, yet, with the teares of his heart, he solemnized the true Rites of a Mourner: and to saye truthe, where the tongue hath free passage to talke, the heart is occupyed with no great greefe./

Segnior Phyloxenus, seeing Ismarito in this passion, and that occasion entertyned him with no other businesse: while the rest of the company
were hearing of a lyttle superstitious service
lead him into a very beautifull Gallerie, where
the Mappes of the worlde were so artificially
set foorth in Painting, as I doubt the Popes

5 Microcosmos at Latteran, which hath beeene this
sixteene yeares a making, wylbe ended with no
more perfection. In this Gallerie were the
Pictures of all Christian Princes: and in an
other place by themselves, the Pictures of
certain Heathen Rulers: and in an other rancke,
the Pictures of so many learned men and grave
Magistrates, as he could through frendship or
rewardes obtaine.

After much discourse of the especiall
Monuments, wherewith this pleasaunt Gallerie was
attyred, Segnior Phyloxenus brought Ismarito a
fayre booke, wherin were divers rare devises, and
(directing him to Pensils, Colers, and other
necessaries of Harrowdlry) requested that he
would helpe to beautify the sayd Booke, with some
ingenious remembraunce.

Sir (quoth Ismarito) I have already recorded
your good favours in the Table of my heart: and
I beseeche you that this fayre Booke may not be
blemished by me, or remaine a wytnesse to you of
my indiscretion.

This nicenesse (quoth Philoxenus) professeth
more then ordinarie knowledge, and therefore I
conjure you, by the affection you beare me, to
satisfye my request.

Ismarito upon this importunitie, because he
would not leave a suspition, that his curiositie
grew rather of simplicitie then discression: and
missing among the Moderne Monuments, their

The Pope hath begun, and not yet finished
a moste rare Gallerie.

Beautiful attires for
a Gallerie.

An especiall
Booke of
devises.
Pictures, the vertues of whose Fame, are blazed in the Capitols of the whole world: he tooke a Pensill, and with the same drew an Ileland and over the middest thereof, made a Pharos, which shyned lyke the Sunne, and therein a Phenix, bathing of her selfe, whose gleaming reflexions, shined over all Loegria, Cambria, and the greatest part of Albania, and extended unto a great parte of the Continent, espetially unto that parte that lay betwene the Occean, the Mediterrane, and the great Sea called Euxinus Pontus, and underneath writ.

Pharos Europe, non Afric.

Phyloxenus advisedly regarded this devise, before he would either require Ismaritos intent, or give his owne judgement. In the end, devining what should be the secret meaning of this Simbole or Ensigne: quoth he, Segnior Ismarito, this Cognizance of your quicke wit, pleaseth me much, and withall remembreth me of a neglected curtesie, which (I thinke) will showe you the Image of your Phenix, and blason the seceresie of your whole devise: and thereupon he lead Ismarito into a moste curious privie Gallerie, where (drawing a faire Curtaine, and reverently kissing his hand) he shewed Ismarito the Picture of a Royall Princesse, mo3te ritchly and lively set foorth, with which a Marchaunt of Venice, who traffiqued toward the Westerne Islands, presented him: which Ismarito beheld, with a regarde so duetifull, as their needed no glose, to expound the zealous affection of his heart. And by her was stalled a goodly Gentleman, Crowned with a Scepter, whom

light, devised by King Ptolome, surnamed Philadelphus, for the benefit of Navigation in those parts, which cost 800. Talents. M3r
Ismarito knew not, otherwise then by imagination, in beholding his Armes, who bare Gu, an Eagle displayed Crowned Ar.

And (quoth Phyloxenus,) when I followed the Frenche Court, I admYred a young Prince of rare towardlinesse, whose counterfeit at my departure I brought with me, and there withall shewed Ismarito a Picture, which he verye well knew, and in it were written in Charracters, these three woordes: Hercules Franciscus valesius. And by this Prince stooed an other counterfeit, whose Armes Ismarito forgot, but well he remembred his Posie was, Je le meintiendray. The counterfeits of other Potentates there were, which Philoxenus placed in the ranck of these Princes, for some regarded vertues, knowne unto himselfe. And by his owne testimonie, he prised these counterfeits, aboove all the Monuments (auncient or Moderne) which beautified his Pallace.

Upon which warrant, Sir, (quoth Ismarito,) the Honourable regarde that you have of these Princes shaddowes, beeing a strainger, prescribeth rules of dutie, unto theyr Subjectes, humbly to reverence their sacred Persons.

In deede (quoth he,) it is but just, their tongues crie, God save their Highnesse, and theyr hearts aunswer, So be it.

After Segnior Philoxenus and Ismarito had had some conference, as well touching the meaning of this Pharos, as of some other devises figured in Philoxenus Booke: the Trumpets sound, gave knowledge of Dinner: so that this private conference was adjorned, till Segnior Philoxenus pleasure should renue it. When Ismarito entered
into the great Chamber, and among so many fayre Flowers, missing the glorious Rose, his countenaunce well showed, that his mornings sorrowe had beene but a sleepe, which new awakened, streaked with the increase of passion, yea such was the pensivenesse of the whole company, as the fyrst service, represented rather a Funerall Dinner, then a Christmas feaste. But in the mydest of a storm, as Phebus sometymes behouldeth the Earth, with a cheerefull countenaunce, so in the deapth of this heavines, there was newes brought of Queene Aurelias amendment, who commaunded the chosen company, after Dinner, to attend her comming, in the chamber of pleasure. This knowledg so quickned the dulled spyrytes of the Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, as they agreed, for one day (if Queene Aurelia pleased) to alter the sollemne course in theyr ordenarie exercyse: for where the malladie is not mortall, mirth cureth as much as medicine, and houlding this determynacion, they, the rest of Dinner, in actions of pleasure, fullie avenged themselves of the injurie of former sorrowe. After Dinner was ended, and the company had a while pawsed, to set themselves in good order: upon a new sommons, the appointed number, martched into this Chamber of Pleasures, which was hanged with a ritche Ta-/pistrie of voluntarie devise, every Tree, Flower, Byrde, Beaste, or what somever was therein resembled, in his proper coloures of Silke, was portrayed. The Sheepe with theyr Fleeces fryzeled, the Beastes curiously raysed with rawe Silke, like unto theyr naturall heayre, the Trees beautified
with proper leaves and fruite, the Rose with his Buds, Sprigs, and other attyre: and to be breefe, every other Flower was counterfainted with such Arte, as they seemed to be naturall. Yea a man might have beene indifferently wise enough, in other ordinarie matter, and yet have adventured to have gathered a Flower, or have plucked an Apple, in these hangings, and who so was best acquainted, could not wearie his eyes in the beholding of them: so that the very attyre of this Chamber walles, had an intertaining vertue, were there no other creature in the place.

Queene Aurelia attended with the Ladyes and Gentlewomen, presented her selfe, before the younge Gentlemen had halfe gazed theyr will. The company saluted theyr Soveraigne with a reverent curtesie, whose cheekes, somewhat more bleake then ordinary, with this distemperature, resembled in collcure the perfect white Gilliflowre, a little streaked with Carnation.

After some private talke betweene her, and one or two of her favoured Servaunts, she tooke her place where she pleased, and the rest as they were accustomed, which doone, the Eunick with a well tuned voyce, unto the Lute, Songe this following, Care away.

Care, Care, goe pack, thou art no mate for me, thy thornie thoughts, the heart to death doth wound: Thou makest the fayre, seeme like a blasted Tree, by thee greene yeares with hoarie heares are crownd. Which makes me singe, to solace mine annoy: Care, Care, adewe, my hart doth hop for joye.
Care, Care, adewe, thou rivall of delight,
returne into, the Cave of deepe Dispayre:
Thou art no Gueste, to harbour neere my spright,
whose poisoned syghtes, infect the very Ayre.
Wherefore I singe, to sollace myne annoye:
Care, Care, adewe, my hart doth hop for joye.

Care, Care, adewe, and welcome pleasure now,
thou wishe of joye, and ease of sorowe bothe:
To weare thy weede, I make a sollemne vowe,
let Tyme, or Chaunce, be pleased, or be wrothe.
And therefore singe, to sollace myne annoy:
Care, Care, a dewe, my heart doth hop for joye.

The note of this Songe, was farre better then
the Ditty, but for that it answered the determination
of the company, it passed for currant: whereupon,
Maddame (quoth Fabritio) if it be your pleasure,
we wyll this day varrie from our wonted course,
and according to our Theame, begin with some
myrthe, to sharpen our wittes: for graver
discourses, we have time enough besides, to
beate out the passage to Platooes Paradise.

Use your discressions (quoth Queene
Aurelia,) and by her commaundement Bergetto was
appointed to begin the exercise, who obaying,
reported this following adventure, of Fryer
Inganno.

The adventure of Fryer Inganno, reported
by Mounsier Bergetto.

In a little Village among the Appenine
Mountaynes not far from the place, where Saint
Fraunces lyeth intombed, there sometymes dwelled
a fayre younge countery woman named Farina: and
for that her house was in the hye waie, to
Sainct Fraunces holy relykes, she was many tymes
visyted with Friers of his order, who were
intertayned, rather for their habyt, then their
honestie: for the poore ignorant people,
reverenced Sainct Fraunces, as a seconde Christe,
for whose sake, they hould his Disciples, not
inferiour to Saincts: amongst manye that visited
Farinas house, Fryer Inganno, a smugge Chapleine,
ever sealed his blessings, uppon his dames lippes,
and yet, without suspicion of the husband, or
dishonest intent of the wife: for such greeting
was ever taken for a holly favour.

Uppon a time, after Fryer Inganno, had wel
beaked himselfe, with a warme fire, and a good
breakefast, the spirit that Saint Fraunces, was
driven to conjure downe, by tumbling naked in the
frost and snowe, tempted his Disciple with suche
sweete motions, as he was mynded willfully to
abjure heaven, rather then to deale so roughly
with the devill. And taking advantage, of the
good opinion, the ignorant, heald of his holynes:
and was so bould, with Saincte Fraunces (his
Maister) as to make a wanton match in his name:
so that after he had a while considered, of his
perswasion, uppon a quiet oportunitie: Blessed
art thou (quoth he) among the Appenine countrey-
wemen, for Sainct Fraunces, from Heaven, hath
behelde thy charitable usage of his Disciples,
and the last Night after, I had prayed with great
devotion, before his Image, I behelde him in the
Majestie of an Angell, fayre, yonge, lustie, and
in every proportion like my selfe, and nothyng
at all, like his meagre Cripple Image: So that
I was in doubt, of beyng transformed out of my selfe, tyll with a meke voice, he sayd: Be not dismayde, I am thy Maister, Inganno, and am come, to bestow my blessings upon the good Appenine dames, that for my sake cherish you, my Disciples: But with an especiall Affection, I wil visite the good Dame Farina: And for that, her Feminine weakenes, can not indure my Heavenly presence, I wyll many times borrowe thy earthly shape: and in my name, go salute Farina, and showe her, that this night, in that her Husbande is from home, I means to visite her: wyll her to leave open the Doores, because/ I purpose to come as Fryer Inganno, and not as Saint Fraunces.

This is his message, therfore, as I began, I end: blessed art thou among the Appenine countrie Dames: The poore woman, as apparant as this trecherie was, had not the power to mistrust, but gave the Fryer a good almes for his newes, and saide she would attende Saint Fraunces blessed will.

Away goeth the Fryer, with a light hart and a heavy Cowle: but God, to punish his lewde intent, and to preserve her from sinnyng through ignorance, so tyckled her hart with joy, of this blessinge at hande, as to welcome Saint Fraunces shee must needes have the Belles roonge: The Prieste of the Parrishe hearing the cause, smelt out the Fryers counning, and was glad to take one of those Beggers in a Pitfall, that with glorious lyes, had robbed him of his Parishioners devotions, and withall, persuaded her with suche reasons, as shee was fully resolved of the Fryers deceite: And to bee advenged, by the Parsons direction,
shee caused Leayda to lye in her Bed, a Mayde so ougly, sluttish and deformed, as thorough the Parish, shee was called, the Furie of Lothsomnesse. Aboute ten of the Clocke, findynge the Doores open, Frier Inganno mountes into Farinas Chamber, and without light or leave, leaps into her bed: but hee had not blessed Leaydaes lyppes, before the Priest, Farina, and others, entred with Taper and Torchlighte, singing Salve Sainte Francisce: And kneeling about his Bed sides, sung, Sancte Francisce, ora pro nobis.

The poore Fryer, lyke a Fox in a grin, being both intrapt, and imbraste by a Hag of Hel, cryed from his hart:

A dolore inferni, libera me Domine.

After the Prieste and the rest of the companye, were wearye of laughings: and the Fryer almost dead with weeping: It is an office of Charitie (quoth the Priest) to put Saint Frances againe in his Tumbe: for it is so long/ since hee was in the Worlde, that he hath forgot the way backe, into Heaven.

The Fryer learing lyke the Theefe, that honge on the left side of Christe, tooke all with patience: for well hee wyst, Prayer booted not.

Well, for that night, they bounde and stript him, lyke a dead Coarse: and in stead of sweete Flowers, laid him in a bundell of Nettles.

The next mornyng, the rude Countrie people (who in revenge are without civylytie or order) cruelly scourged the poore Fryer. And (setting hym the forenoone naked in the Sunne) annoynted his bodie with Honey: so that the Hornets, Waspes and Flyes, tormented him with the paynes An unwelcome salutation.

Pleasure in others increaseth sorrow in the afflicted.

Envy, and rude people, are not passifyed with prayers of the afflicted.

Rude people extreame revengers.
of Hell.
   In the afternoone, with a hundred Torches, Tapers, and other waxen lyghtes: this rustick multitude, caryed seconde Saint Fraunces unto his Tumbe: and had not other Fryers used mylde and plawsible requests, in his behalf, they would surely have buried him alive: for threatening, increaseth a tumult: when faire wordes, may peradventure staye it.

   The poore Fryer discharged from the handes of these ungentle people, learned afterwarde to be more warie: but for all this punishment, was nothinge the honester. For amponge men of his Habit, remayneth an opynion, that the faultes, whiche the Worlde seeeth not, GOD punnisheth not.

   After the Company had wel laughed at Fryer Inganoes, penance, Queene Aurelia axed Maister Doctor, the Archedetracter of Women, how many suche stories he had read of the religious Dames?

   None (quoth hee) that hath beene so sorely punished, but of an number that have as hyghly trespassed.

   What (quoth Helena Dulce) by suche subtyll practises?

   No (quoth the Doctor) but through simple affection.

   Well (quoth Alvisa Vechio,) their evyls are written in their foreheads, that slanderous mens tongues may reade and inlarge them. And your great evils are buried in the bottome of your hartes that unlesse the Devill meane to shame you, the worlde knoweth not how to blame you.

   This was the Gentlewomens day, wherefore the civill Gentlemen, would not offer to crosse them The best way to win the communaltie.

   Men offende subtilly, and women simply.

   Wemens evyls are wryt in their forheds.

   Mens faultes, lye hydde in their hartes.
much: so that following their advantage, Madam (quoth Isabella,) with your favour and patience, I will reporte an Historie, that shall open suche a haynous trecherie done by a man, as shall take away all possibilytie from a woman to commit so impious an Act.

Queene Aurelia, willed her to proceede, and the whole company seemed to be attentive: whereupon Isabella reported as followeth.

The rare Historie of Promos and Cassandra, reported by Madam ISABELLA.

At what time Corvinus the scourge of the Turkes, rayned as Kinge of Bohemia: for to well governe the free Cities of his Realme, hee sent divers worthy Majestrates. Among the rest, he gave the Lorde Promos the Lieutennauntship of Julio: who in the beginning of his government, purged the Cittie of many ancient vices, and severely punished new offenders.

In this Cittie, there was an olde custome (by the suffering of some Majestrates, growne out of use) that what man so ever committed Adulterie, should lose his head: And the woman offender should ever after be infamously noted, by the wearing of some disguised apparrell: For the man was helde to bee the greatest offender, and therefore had the severest punishment.

Lorde Promos, with a rough execution, revived this Statute, and in the hyest degree of injurie, brake it hym-/selfe, as shall appeare by the sequell of Andrugioes adventures.

This Andrugio by the yealding favour of fayre Polina, trespassed against this ordinaunce, who through envie, was accused, and by Lorde A civill curtesie in a Gentelman.

This Historie for rarenes therof, is lively set out in a Commedie, by the Reporter of the whole worke, but yet never presented upon stage.

A hard Lawe for incontinent persons.
Promos condemned, to suffer execution. 

The wofull Cassandra, Andrugioes Sister, prostrates her selfe at Lorde Promos Feete, and with more teares then wordes, thus pleaded for her Brothers lyfe.

Most noble Lorde, and worthy Judge, vouchsafe mee the favour to speake, whose case is so desperate, as unlesse you beholde mee with the eyes of mercie, the frayle trespasse, of condemned Andrugio my Brother, will bee the death of sorrowfull Cassandra, his innocent Sister. I wil not presume, to excuse his offence, or reproche the Lawe of rigor: for in the generall construction, hee hath done most evill, and the Law hath judged but what is right: But (reverent Judge, pardon that necessitie maketh mee here tel, that your wisdome already knoweth.) The most Soveraigne Justice, is crowned with Laurell, although shee bee gyrt with a Sword: And this priveledge shee giveth unto her Administrators: that they shall mitigate the severetie of the Law, according to the quallyty of the offence. Then, that Justice bee not robbed of her gratious pitty, listen Good Lorde Promos, to the nature of my Brothers offence, and his able meanes to repayre the injurie. Hee hath defyled, no Nuptiall Bed, the stayne wherof dishonoureth the guyltlesse Husband: Hee hath committed no violent Rape. In which Act the injured Mayde can have no amendes. But with yeelding consent of his Mistresse, Andrugio hath onyse sinned through Love, and neverment but with Marriage to make amendes. 

I humbly beseeche you to accept his satisfaction, and by this Example, you shall be as
much beloved for your clemencye, as feared for your severitie. Andrugio shalbe well warned, and hee with his Sister wofull Cassandra, shall ever remayne, your Lordships true Servantes.

Promos eares were not so attentive, to heare Cassandra's ruethful tale, as his eyes were setteld to regarde her excellent Beautie. And Love, that was the appointed Headsman of Andrugio, became now the Soveraigne of his Judges thought. But because he would seeme to bridle his passions, he answered: fayre Damsell, have patience, you importune me with an impossybylytie: he is condemnpned by Lawe, then without injurie to Lawe, he can not be saved.

Princes and their Deputies Prerogatives (quoth she) are above the Lawe. Besides, Lawe, truelie construed, is but the amends of Injurie: and where, the faulte may bee valued, and amends had, the Breache of Lawe is sufficiently repayred.

Quoth Lorde Promos, your passions mooveth more then your proofes: and for your sake, I wyll reprive Andrugio, and studie how to do you ease, without apparant breache of Lawe.

Cassandra, recomforted, with humble thankes receyved his favoure, and in great haste goeth too participate this hope, with her dying Brother: But oh, that Auctoritytie, should have power, to make the vertuous to doo amisse, as well, as throughe Correction, to enforce the vicious to fall unto goodnesse.

Promos, is a witnes of this Priviledge: who not able to subdue his incontinent love, and (withal) resolved, that Cassandra would never be overcome, with fayre wordes, large promises, or
riche rewardes: demaunded the spoyle of her 
Virginitie, for raunsome of her Brothers lybertie.

Cassandra, ymagyned at the first, that Lorde 
Promos, used this speache, but to trie her 
behaviour: Answered hym so wisely, as if he had 
not ben the Ryvall of Vertue, he could not but 
have suppressed his lewde Affection, and have 
subscribed to her just petition: But to leave 
circumstaunces, Promos was fiered with a vicious 
desyre, which must be quenched with Cassandraes 
yeldyng love, or Andrugio must dye.

Cassandra, mooved with a chaste disdayne, 
departed, with the resolution, rather to dye her 
selxe, then to stayne her honour: And with this 
heavie newes, greeted her condemned Brother: 
poore man, alas, what should he do? Life was 
sweete: but to be redeemed with his Sisters 
Infamie, could not, but be alwayses unsaverie.

To perswade her to consente, was unnaturall: 
To choose the leaste of these evylles, was 
difficult: to studie long was daungerous.

Fayne would he lyve, but Shame cloased his 
mouth, when he attempted to perswade his Sister.

But Necessytie, that maistereth both Shame 
and feare, brake a passadge for his imprysoned 
intent.

Sweete Cassandra, (quoth he) that men love, 
is usuall, but to subdue Affection, is impossyble:

and so thornie are the motions of incontinent 
Desire, as to finde ease, the tongue is only 
occupied to perswade. The Purse, is ever open 
to entice, and wheare neither words nor Giftes 
can corrupt (with the mightie) force shall

A monstrous request.

Unlesse they be reprobate, good Examples, may reforme 
the wicked.

A hard choice of two evyls.

The force of Necessytie.

The force of Love.
constrayne, or dispight, avenge. That Promos do love, is but just, thy Beautie commandes hym. That Promos be refused, is more just, because Consent is thy Shame.

Thou maiste refuse and lyve: but he beynge rejected, I die: For wantyng his wyll in thee, he wyll wreake his teene on mee.

This is my hard estate: My lyfe, lieth in thy Infamie, and thy honour in my death. Which of these evylles be leaste, I leave for thee to judge.

The wofull Cassandra, answered: that Death, was the leaste: whose Darte, we can not shunne: when Honour, in Deathes dispight, outlyveth tyme.

It is true (quoth Andrugio,) but thy Trespasse, wyll be in the leaste degree of blame: For, in forced Faultes, Justice sayth, there is no intent of evyll.

Oh Andrugio, (quoth she) Intent, is now adayes, lytle considred: thou art not condemned by the intent, but by/ the strickt words of the Law: so shall my crime bee reproched, and the forced cause passe unexcused: and such is the venome of Envye, one evill deede shall disgrace ten good turnes: and in this yeelding, so shall I be valued: Envye, Disdaine, Spight, Mallice, Slaunder, and many moe furies will endeavour to shame mee, and the meanest vertue, wyll blush to help to support my honour: so that I see no lybertie for thee but Death, nor no ease for mee but to hasten my ende.

O yes (quoth Andrugio,) for if this offence be known, thy fame will bee enlarged, because it will lykewise bee knowne, that thou receavedst
dishonor to give thy Brother lyfe: If it be secret, thy Conscience wyl be without scruple of guiltiness. Thus, knowme, or unknowme, thou shalt be deflowered, but not dishonested, and for amends wee both shall lyve.

This further hope remaineth, that as the Gilliflower, both pleaseth the eye and feedeth the sence: even so the vertue of thy chast behaviour may so grace thy bewty, as Promos filthie lust, may bee turned into faithfull love: and so move him, to salve thy honour in making thee his wife. Or for conscience, forbear to doe so hewmy an injurie.

Soveraigne Maddame, and you faire Gentlewomen, (quoth Isabella) I intreate you in Cassandras behalfe, these reasons well wayed, to judge her yeelding a constrainte, and no consent: who were of her owne life, and tender over her brothers, with the teares of her lovely eyes, bathed his Cheekes, with this comfortable sentence.

Lyve Andrugio, and make much of this kisse, which breatheth my honour into thy bowels: and draweth the infamie of thy first trespasse into my bosome.

The sharpe incounters betweene life and death, so occupied Andrugios sences, that his tongue had not the vertue, to bid her fare well. To greeve you with the hearing of Cassandras secrete plaints, were an injurie: vertuous/ Ladies, for they concluded with their good fortune, and everlasting fame: But for that her offence grew neyther of frayltie, free wyl, or any motion of a Woman, but by the meere inforcement of a man, because she would not staine the modest weedes of A faint hope.

A cause that may excuse the breach of honour.

A lovyng kys.

A good consideration in Cassandra.
her kynde, shee attired her selfe in the habit of a Page, and with the bashfull grace of a pure Virgin, shee presented wicked Promos, Andrugioes precious ransome.

This Devill, in humaine shape, more vicious then Hylíogabalus of Rome: and withall, as cruell as Denís of Sicýll: receaved this Juell with a thousande protestations of favour. But what should I say? In the beginnyng of his love, Promos was metamorphosed into Priapus: and of a Feende what may we expect? but vengeaunce heaped upon villany. And therefore, let it not seeme straunge, that after this Helhound, had dishonoured Cassandra, hee sent his warrant, to the Gayler pryvely, to execute Andrugio, and with his head crowned with these two Breefes, in Promos name, to present Cassandra:

Fayre Cassandra, as Promos promist thee: From Pryson los, he sendes thy Brother free.

This was his Charge, whose cursed wyll had ben executed, had not God by an especiall providence, at the howre of his Death, possessed Andrugio with the vertues of the two brave Romanes, Marcus Crassus, and Marius, the one of whiche, by the force of his tongue, and the other by the motions of his eyes, caused the Axe to fall out of the Headsmans hand, and mollyfyed his cruell mynde.

With lyke compassion, the Gayler (in hearinge Andrugioes hard adventure) left his resolution: And uppon a solempne othe, to live unknowne, yea to his deare Sister, he gave him life, and in the dead of the night, betooke him to God, and to good fortune: which done this good Gayler
tooke the head of a yonge man newe executed, who somewhat resembled Andrugio; and according to lewd Promos commandement made a present thereof to Cassandra. How unwelcome this Present was, the testimonie of her former sorrowes somewhat discover: but to give her present passion a true grace, were the taske of Prometheus, or such a one as hath had experience of the anguishes of hell.

O (quoth shee,) sweete Andrugio, whether shall I firste lament thy death? exclame of Promos injurie? or bemone my owne estate, deprived of honour? and which is worse, cannot die, but by the violence of my owne hands. Alas, the least of these griefes, are to heavie a burden for a man, then all joyned in one poore womans hearte, can not be eased but by death: and to be avenged of injurious Fortune, I wil forthwith cut my Fillet of life. But so shall Promos lewdnesse escape unpunished: what remedie? I am not of power to revenge: to complayne, I expresse my owne infamie, but withal, proclaime his vilanie: and to heare his lewdnes reproved, woulde take away the bitterness of my death. I will goe unto the King, who is just and mercifull, hee shall heare the ruthfull events of Promos Tyrannie: and to give him example of vengeaunce, I will seale my complaintes with my dearest bloode.

Continuing this determination, Cassandra buried her imagined brothers head, and with speed jornyed unto King Corvinus Court: Before whose presence when shee arrived, her mourninge Attyre, but especially her modest countenaunce
moved him to beholde her with an especiall regarde.

Cassandra (uppon the graunt of audience)

with her eyes overcharged with teares, reported, the alreadie discoursed Accidentes, with suche an apparaunce of greefe, as the King and his Attendants were astonied to heare her: and sure had shee not been happily prevented, shee had concluded her determination, with chast Lucretias destiny. The King comforted her with many grattious words and promised to take such order, that (although he could not be revived) her brothers death should fully be revenged, and her erased honour, repayred, withoute blemyshe of her former reputation.

Cassandra, upon these comfortable wordes, a lytell succoured her afflicted hart, and with patience, attended the Justice of the King: who with a chosen companie, made a Progresse to Julio, and entred the Town, with a semblaunce of great favour towards Promos: by that colour, to learne what other corrupte Majestrates, ruled in the Cittie: for well he knewe, that Byrdes of a feather, would flie together, and wicked men would joyne in Affection to bouster each others evil.

After this gratious King, had by heedfull intelligence understoode the factions of the people, unlooked for of the Magistrates, he caused a proclamation to be published: in which was a clause, that if anie person coulde charge anie Magistrate or Officer, with anie notable or haynous offence, Treason, Murder, Rape, Sedition, or with any such notorious Crime: where they
were the Judges of the multitude, hee woulde
himselfe bee the Judge of them, and doe justice
unto the meanest.

Uppon this Proclamation it was a hell to
5 heare, the exclamations of the poore, and the
festered consciences of the rich, appeared as
lothesome, as the River of Stix.

Among manie that complayned, and received
judgement of comfort, Cassandras Process was
10 presented, who lead betweene sorrow and shame,
accused Promos to his face.

The evidence was so playne, as the horrouer
of a guiltie conscience reaved Promos of all
motions of excuse: so that holding up his hande,
among the worst degree of theeves, the little hope
that was leaft, moved him to confesse the crime,
and with repentance to sue for mercy.

O (quoth the King) such especial mercy were
tyannie to a common wealth. No Promos no, Hoc
20 facias alteri, quod tibi vis fieri: You shall be
measured with the grace you bestowed on Andrugio./

O God (quoth hee) if men durst bark as
dogges, manie a Judge in the world would be
bewrayed for a theefe: It behoveth a Prince to
25 know to whom hee committeth Authoritie, least the
Sword of Justice, appointed to chasten the lewde,
wound the good: and where good subjects are
wronged, evill Officers receave the benefit, and
their Soveraignes beareth the blame.

Well, wicked Promos, to scourge thy impious
offences, I heere give sentence, that thou
forthwith marry Cassandra, to repayre her
honour by thee violated, and that the next day
thou lose thy head, to make satisfaction for her

The clamors of the poore, and the
consciences of the rich, like Hell.

Sorrowe and Shame, the
Attendantes of Cassandra.

An unusual place for a Judge.

A necessarie regarde in a Prince.

Princes bere the blame of evyll Officers extortion.

A just Judgement.
Brothers death.

This just Judgement of the good Kinge, in the first point, was forthwith executed: But sacred is the Authoritie, that the vertues of the good, are a Sheelde unto the lewde: So sweete Cassandra, who (simply) by vertue overcame the spight of Fortune: In this marriadge was charged with a new assault of sorrow: and preferring the dutie of a wife, before the naturall zeale of a Sister, where she before prosecuted, the revenge of her Brothers death, shee now was an humble suter to the Kinge for her Husbands lyfe.

The gracious Kinge, sought to appease her with good words, but hee could not do her this private favour, without injurie unto the publyke weale: for though (quoth he) your sute be just, and the bounden dutie of a wife, yet I in fulfilyng the same should do unjustly, and (generally) injure my Subjects: and therfore, good Gentlewoman, have patience, and no doubt vertue in the ende will give you power over all your afflictions.

There was no remedie, Cassandra must departe, out of hope, to obtayne her sute. But as the experience, is in dayly use, the dooings of Princes post through the world on Pegasus backe: And as theyr actions are good or badde, so is their fame. With the lyke speede, the Kynges Justice, and Promos execution was spred abroad: and by the tonge of a Clowne, was blowen into/ Andrugioes eares, who tyll then lyved lyke an Outlawe in the Desart wooddes.

But upon these Newes, covertly, in the Habyt
of an Hermyt, by the Divine motion of the soul, who directes us in things that be good, and the Fleshe in Actions of evill, Andrugio, goes to see the Death of his Capitall enemie: But on the other parte, regardyng the sorrow of his Sister, he wishesh him lyfe, as a friende.

To conclude, as well to geve terrour to the lewde, as comfort to his good Subjectes, the Kyng (personallie) came to see the execution of Promos: who, garded with Officers, and strengthened with the comfortable persuasions of his Ghostly Fathers: Among whom, Andrugio was, meekely offered his lyfe, as a satisfaction for his offences, which were many more, then the Lawe tooke knowledge of: And yet, to say the truth, suche was his Repentance, as the multitude did both forgeve and pittie him: yea, the King wondred that his lyfe was governed with no more vertue, consideryng the grace he showed at his death.

Andrugio, behouldyng this ruethfull Spectacle, was so overcome with love towards his Sister, as to give her comfort, he franckly consented anew to emperill his own life: And followinge this Resolution, in his Hermys weede, upon his knees, he humblye desired the Kinge too give hym leave to speake. The Kyng (gratiously) graunted hym Audience. Wherupon (quoth he) regarded Soveraigne, if Lawe may (possibly) be satisfied:

Promos true Repentance meritteth pardon.

Good Father (quoth the King) he can not live, and the Lawe satisfied, unlesse (by Miracle) Andrugio be revived.

Then (quoth the Hermyt,) if Andrugio lyve,
the Law is satisfied, and Promos discharged.

I (quoth the King,) if your Praier can
revive the one, my mercie shall acquite the other.

I humbly thanke your Majestie (quoth

Andrugio) and discoveryng himselfe, shewed the
Providene of God and the meane of his escape:
and tendrynge his Sisters/ comfort, above his
owne safetie, hee prostrated him selfe at his
Majesties Feete: humblye to obay the sentence

of his pleasure. The Kinge uppon the reports of
this straunge Adventure: after good deliberation,
pardoned Promos, to keepe his words, and withall,
houldyng an opinion, that it was more benefitiall
for the Citezens, to be ruled by their olde evell

governour, new reformed, then to adventure uppon
an newe, whose behaviours were unknowne: And to
perfect Cassandras joye, he pardoned her Brother
Andrugio, with condition, that he should marrie
Polina. Thus, from betwene the teethe of
daunger, every partie was preserved, and in the
ende establyshed in their hartes desire.

Madam (quoth Soranso) your good conclusion,
hath likewise preserved us from a great daunger:
for had you ended with the sorrow you began, wee
had beene all like to have bene drowned in teares.

Indeede (quoth Katharina Trista) you men had
cause sufficient of sorrowe, by hearing your
kynde reproched with such monstrous evils: and we
women free passage to lament, in behoulding none
but cross fortune to succeede the good
indevours of a vertuous Ladie.

It is true (quoth Fabritio) but to participate
of their joye, wee men have learned out of Promos
example of evil, for feare of his likelie
punishment of evil, to doo well: and you Women, by example of Polinas vice, and Cassandras vertue, are both warned and incouraged to weldoing.

Indeede (quoth Queene Aurelia,) there are many Morall precepts in either Historie, to be considered: whiche I hope the company have so regarded, as there needeth no repetition. And further, because I will not be to bould of the victorie, over my late distemperature: we will heare ende: And therwith she rose, and retired into her Chamber: with charge that the company should attende her, in the same place, until Supper, who obaying, intertained time, every one with their speciall fancy./

The Question that arose at Supper upon the fourth Dayes exercise.

Many prettie nyps, passed (betwene the retyred Companye) this Night at Supper, as well on the Gentlewomens parte, as of the Gentlemens. In so much as presumyng upon this Daies honour (when the Table was readie to be taken away,) Alvisa Vechio, tooke upon her, to mayntaine a woman, to be a creature every way, as excellent and perfecte as Man. For naturall shape (quoth she) they are more beautifull, of a better temperature, and complection then man. In valiant exploytes, what difference was there betweene Semiramis and her Husbande Minus? betweene the Amazon women and Alexander? For constantnesse of mind, did not Loadice imbrace deathe, with lesse feare, then Mithridates her Husband, Asdruballes Wife, then Asdrubal himselfe. And what man hath kept a constant resolution of death, so long as Lucretia. In Morall vertues,
you men that reade Histories and Cronicles of all ages, shall finde Women, renowned for learnyng, Government, and pollicie. In Mecanycall Artes, there are Women, lykewise experienced. In the vertue of Devining, what man hath come neare the Sibels? To bee shorte, what Man hath bene so perfect in any vertue: but Histories make mention of a woman as perfect?

Yea (quoth Dondolo) but there be so few of these women, as an easy wit may remember them. But it will cumber your Tong to report them (quoth Katharina Trista.)

The other Gentlemen although they were willinge to give place unto the Gentlewomen in small matters, yet this comparison of equal soveraignty, netted them a lytil. In as much, as Soranzo aunswered. Madam Alvisa, you have made a bould comparison, and but a bare profe: Where you vaunte, to be more excellent in shape, and more delicate in substaunce then men./ It is an over ruled question, that Women receive perfection by men, and men imperfection by Women: then by how much the vertue is of more emprise, that is simplye of it selfe, then that which is compounde of an other: by so farre wee exceede you in this perfection.

Your honour of valyantnes, died with your examples, and although there hath bene Women learned, and experienced in Mecanicall craftes, yet to heare a Woman plead at the Barre, preache in a Pulpit, or to see her build a House, is a wonder and no example in use. How shorte your devinyng Sybels, come of the credit, of the Prophets in the olde Testament, is no question
disputable: For your constancie at deathe, you knowe not how precious lyfe is, which maketh you rash and not constant: and in trueth, what you have frowardely determined, you will not bee forbidden. As shee that had her Tongue cut, for callyng of her Husband Theefe, woulde yet notwithstandinge, make the signe of the Gallowse.

Well sir (quoth Queene Aurelia) Epicarias obstynacy, who endured to bee rent in peeces, before shee woulde confesse the conspyracie agaynst Nero, would have ben holden for a Vertue of staiednesse in a man.

And what say you of Leena, that byt off her tonge, and spit it in the Tirant Hippias face, because she would not bewraye a conspiracy against him.

Madame, with your favour,(quoth the Doctor) had she not had this foresight, it had ben lyke the Athenians shuld have bene driven to have made a brasen Bell, as a Monument of her talke: rather then a tonguasles Lionnesse, as they did in honour of her silence, for had she not mistrusted her imperfection, she would never have committed that tirannie upon her selfe.

Had her tongue beene venomed with your mallice, it is like (quoth Queene Aurelia) that the Athenians had/ veryfied your slaunderous opinion: herewith she looked a skanse, upon her favoured servaunts, as who would saye, I check the omission of your dutie, in not defending of my right. Upon which warning, and espetially, for the excellencie of this sexe, (quoth Ismarito,) a man may doo justice unto an other, without injurie to himselfe: and sure without the

Life is precious.

Epicaria, in the trembling passage of death, was constant.

PLIN. lib. 34. Cap. 2.

An envious Suggestion.
reproche of men, a man may commend the excellency of Women: in whose behalfe (although I wyll not condemn Sir Soransos reasons,) yet in my opinion, he erred in the first Article, where he toucheth the perfection of Men, and the imperfection of Women: for neither of themselves are perfect, nor may have essentiaall substance without the other: But to dispute of this secret in nature at large, were unpleasing to their chaste eares, and too breefely to misticall, for theyr understandings. But who so is so curious in searche, let him reade the Philosophers Probleames, with an unpartiall judgement, and he shall finde them in substance every way as perfect as man.

And in the opinion of the eye, of all the sences, who is the moste perfect Judge, they farre excell man in purenes of complection: Where exception is taken to the few in number, of singulerly well qualyted Women, I affirme that it is not the quantity, but the quallity that commends: a little Salte, relisheth more then a great deale of Sugar. Judeth with her owne hands, atchieved a more honourable conquest, then all the Cilisions besides.

Alexandra, the wife of Alexander, King of the Jewes, (when the uncivill multitude, were ready for his tiranie) to make the inrailes of Dogges, a Sepulture for his dead body: yea and to be further avenged, to murther his two Sonnes: by her sweete behaviour, so mollified theyr cruell hearts, as losing theyr resolutions, they gave her husband an honourable buriall, and prostrated themselves, at her Childrens feete: which pacification, the strength nor wisdom of her
counsel could not obtaine. By what instrument did God first showe the vigor of his vengeaunce? by a Woman. And by what instrument did he showe the / vertue of his mercie? by a Woman.

5 Soveraigne Vertue is Feminine, and (I blush to tell it,) Yrkesome Vice is Masculine. The Ladies laughed out right, to heer Ismaritos difference. But Soranso, halfe angrie, aunswered, that if Ismaritos countrimen, were of his minde, they might be ashamed that they were so effeminate.

Pardon me, (quoth Ismarito,) it is theyr commendation to yeelde unto Women, and to conquer Men.

Tush, tush (quoth Bergetto) to nip himself by the nose, Ismarito is to be pardoned: for his Captaine Saint George, is shackled in a Womans Garter.

It is true (quoth Ismarito) but thus fettered, he hath many times chased Saint Michael to his Mounte.

Fabritio, fearing that these crosses would turne to the Devils blessing, studied how to accorde this contention, and with that intent, (quoth he,) Ismarito, you have well deserved to kisse these Ladys handes, for your honourable commendation of theyr sexe: But where you say Vertue is the Feminine, and Vice the Masculine, bothe Men and Women, are understood in either.

The old Divines, tooke Vertue to be God, and Vice the Divill, and either to be bothe Feminine and Masculine. Orpheus sayde, that Jupiter and Pluto, were bothe Male and Female. It is also read in Scripture: That God fashioned bothe Man and Woman to his owne likenesse. Moreover this worde Where an injurie in words, may be revenged in words, a Gentleman is not bound to his sword.

Discreete standers by pacifieth contentions.
Homo, signifieth bothe kindes: so that since Man and Woman, are not simply of themselves, but compounded one of an other, I blame this unnaturall contention for excellencie, for neither can obtaine Soveraigne victorie, without dooing injurie unto themselves: The head among some is taken for the Man, and the heart for the woman, (for bothe are of an indifferent gender) and all the other members indifferently at their commandement.

Queene Aurelia, with a smiling countenaunce, aanswered, that she was content, that a Man should governe as the head, and women direct as the heart, and because we will not doo injurie, unto our naturall vertue of Modesty, / we will give place to you, in contention for Soverainetys, and binde you to serve us for our vertues, and therewithall in rising, she broke of this controversie.

After Supper, there was a little time bestowed in the hearing of sweete Musique, but for that Queene Aurelias late distemprature, grew of over watching: the company this night, went unto their lodging in a good howre.

FINIS.
The fifth Days Exercise:

Containing a brief discourse, touching the excellencie of Man; and a large discoverie of the inconveniences of over lofty, and too base Love: with other Morall notes, needfull to be regarded.

The last nights good howre of repose, was the cause of the companies this daies early rising: who by nine of the Clock, entered the great Chamber, armed for any lawdable exercise. And after an accustomed duty of salutation discharged, every man be thought himselfe of some pleasing matter, to entertaine the present time. Soranso and Ismarito were severed from the rest of the company, upon private discourse: which being ended, Soranso, casting his eye aside, beheld in the hangings, the picture of Ixion, heardled to his tormenting Wheele. See yonder, (quoth he,) the worthy scourge of Ambition, and withall reported the Fable, of his presumptuous making of love to Juno.

Naye (quoth Ismarito,) Ixion is rather the example of Vaine Glorie punished: for Jupiter, so well allowed of Ixions his minde (in that he represented his Image) as he raysed him from Earthe to Heaven, and because he should not perish in his affection, he satisfied his desire with the embracement of a counterfeit Juno, and so sent him backe unto the Earth: where vaine glorious Ixion Proclaymed, that he was the Minion of Juno, and had Acteoned Jupiter: for which arrogancie, Jupiter threw him to Hell, with this pictured vengeaunce.

Questionlesse, (quoth Soranso,) this
imagination of the Heathen Poet, could not but be the travell of a Divine spirit, it exposeth such needefull matter, for Christians to contemplate of."

5 You neede not doubt of your opinion, (quoth Ismarito,) for after God had created Adam after his owne Image, he scattered the seede of Adam uppon the face of the whole world, and where some ever the essentiall forme of Adam was, there was also the Image of God, which in the moste barberous and Heathen creature, laboureth to bring out, hye and excellent things.

I beseeche you, (quoth Soranso,) to inlarge this discourse. I am not so simple to beleive, that we are like the Image of God, in our outwarde shape: yet my knowledge is not perfect, in what vertues we resemble the Image of God.

Referring you, for your better knowledge, to graver judgements (quoth Ismarito) I wyll onely to satisfye your request, say what I have reade, and what in my oppynyon, standeth with reason.

In our exterior body, to say we resemble God, were a grosse ignoraunce: but in that our soule is closed within our body, and giveth life, and moving, to the whole body: it is no absurdity to conclude the lesse within the greater, to shewe how the soule resembleth God: who consisteth in a Trinity. Notwithstanding she is but one, yet she comprehendeth in her three dignities, to wit, Intendment, Will, and Memorie. And as the sonne, is ingendered of the Father, and the holy Ghost proceedeth from bothe: even so Will is engendred of Intendment, and Memorie proceedeth from bothe: and as the three persons of the Trinitie, are but
one God, so the three powers of the soule, are but one soule: and in that man is created in this sorte, according to the image of God, because he should resemble his creator in excellencie, he is formed straight and not curbed: to behold the earth, not thereby to shew a dyfference betweene him and other brute Beastes, but only because he should raise his spirite, and heave hys eyes to heaven, his originall, to contemplate of divine and dureable thynges, and not of earthly and such as peryshe. And sure the monuments, that to this day renowne heathen Alexander, Julius Cesar, Scipio, Haniball, and manye other stoute warriors, Plato, Pithagoras, Socrates, Solon, and many thousand grave Philosophers weare the exercyses of the soule, who in her function is alwaies occupied, to make men shine like Angels. And doubtles, the exploits of man, would be wonderful, and glorious, were not the passages of the three powers of the soule, Intendment, Will, and Memory stopped, with these three evils or defects of the body: Ignorance, of that which is good, Covetousnes, of that which is evill, and the Infirmitie, and langor of the body. These be the evilles, that eclipseth the excellencie of many who otherwise would appeare more glorious then the Sonne, Moone, Starres, and Christall Firmament, into whose motions, revolutions, and influences, his knowledge foreseeth: or the earth with all her faire furniture which he governeth, and therfore he is called Microcosmos, for that in excellencie, he egalleth the beautie of the whole worlde.

Sir (quoth Soranso,) you have inchaunted my
Eares with such a pleasing regarde, as if you were as tedious in discourse, as I would be attentive in hearing, we should bothe lose our dinners, without any great repining: but in advauntage I beseech you, what may be the remedy of these three evils, which thus obscure the excellencie of man.

Three soveraigne remedyes (quoth Ismarito,) to witte Wisdome, Vertue, and Necessitie, which to chase the other three evils, are thus ordered: Wisdome against Ignoraunce: Vertue against Vice, and Necessitie against Infirmitie. Wisdome is to be understoode according to the condition of the things, wherein we be ignorant. Vertue is an habit of the soule, which without great difficultie cannot be shaken out of his place and subject: By Necessitie, absolutely is intended, a supply against those wants, with which Infirmitie hath charged us, as if we be lame, to have Horse to ride: if we be sycke to have medicine: if our bodyes be weake, to have nourishing meates, etc. And by these three remedyes, all Artes and Disciplines have beene invented, to acquire Wisdome: Theorique, which is contemplative, and consists in these three parts, Theologie, Phisick, and Mathematique, was found, for Vertue. Practise, which is active, and devi-/ded, into Solitarie Private and Publike, was put in use. And for Necessitie, all Mecanicall craftes were invented. These three vertues if we imbrace them, will chase the other three evilles bothe out of our body, soule, and remembrance. You have given me a short sweete reason (quoth Soranso.) And a longe
remembrance of my weake understanding (quoth Ismarito:) but for that I have made this Sermon, uppon your importunity, your curtesy I hope will pardon me, as well as your wisdome will correct my errors.

I had thought Ceremonies had beene in disgrace, among you Englishmen, (quoth Soranso,) but I finde you superstitious in curtesie, and therefore will take no example by you: but let it suffice, I am your freend, and wyll deserve this favour, in any resonable service.

By this time, Dinner was ready to be set upon the boarde, and Queene Aurelia came againe unto the open viewe, whose presence was as welcome unto the generall company, as the cleare Sunne (after roughe stormes) to the wether-weried Sayler. After she had acquited the courteous salutations of the whole troupe, she fyrste toke her place, and then the rest as they pleased, or were accustomed. At this Dinner there passed much pleasäsunt Table talke, impertinent for this report: which beeing doone, at the accustomed howre, Queene Aurelia sent for the chosen company, who placed in the drawing Chamber: the Eunuck knowing his charge, tuned his Lute, and songe this following Sonet.

Who prickels feares, to pluck the lovely Rose,
   By my consent, shall to a Nettle smell:
Or through fainte heart, who dooth a Ladie lose,
   A droyle I wishe, or to leade Apes in Hell.
   On Thornes, no Grapes, but sowre Slowes do growe:
So from base love, a base delight dooth flowe.
Then minde crowne thou, my thoughts above the skie,
    For easie gaynde, the Conquest is not sweete:
  My fancie swift, with Icarus wings dooth flye.
    Yet fastined so, as fyre and Froste may meete.
  For pleas'd am I, if hope returne but this:
  Grace is obtaynde, thy Mistrisse hand to kisse.

A Grace indeede, far passing all the joye,
    Of egall love, that offereth wish in wyll:
For though her scorne, and light regard annoy,
    Dispaire of grace, my fancie can not kill.
For why this joye, all passions sets in rest:
    I dayly see, my Mistresse in my breast.

Who so invented this sonet (quoth Queene
Aurelia,) deserveth to be well favoured of his
Mistresse, in that he kept her so carefully in
his bosome.

Nay (quoth Dondolo,) if his eyes were so
subtyll, as absent, he could see her behavior,
his affection were more daungerous then his
service necessarie.

We geve you to know (quoth Isabella) that
we waye not though our husbandes, a hundred myles
of, knowe our behaviours at home.
I thinke so (quoth the plaine Doctor,) for
so farre off they may 'sighe at their one mischaunce,
but not chasten your amisse. Perchaunce they
should not be charged with such injurie, as this
company should be (quoth Maria Belochy) if wee
would offer to aunswer your envious sugiestions.

Ladies I speake not with intent (quoth
Scranno) to make a question of your behaviors,
but admit you of all creatures the most perfect:
yet for that you have motions, as well bad, as
good, you maye many tymes make showe of evill,
and yet not doo amysse, which if your husbandes
be so quicke sighted, as to perceive, they will
judge by their owne eyes, and not by your hartes,
and so from shaddowes may growe evill effectes. / 

If their sight be so quick (quoth Franceschina
Sancta) then, though by a negligent trespasse,
their wives sometime give them cause to sigh, with
a number of loving usadges, they will give them
daylye occasion of rejoysinge.

I graunt as muche (quoth Soranso) but this
will follow, the Husband will turne his owne
mistruste, to hys Wives sorrow, and receave her
good usage to his owne pryvate comfort.

Indeede (quoth Alvisa Vechio) the love of a
jelous husband, is sawced with such frowarde
motions, as I had rather be matched with him,
that regardeth mee not at al, then with him that
loveth mee too muche: for of the one, though I
am not beloved, yet I shall not be much crossed:
of the other, I being too much beloved, I shall
never be in quiet.

I am not of your mynde (quoth Helena Dulce)
I had rather have my Husbande jelous, then
carelesse: for being carelesse, no good usage
will reconcile him: and being Jelous, the Wife
may studie out how to please him.

Yea, but (quoth Katharina Trista) Men are so
easye conceited, that if they perceive a woman
studdieth how to please them, they straight
waies, imagine, she will lykewise studdie how to
deceive them: and therefore, God sheelde mee
from a Jelous Housbande. I have heard, the

The evyll of Jelousie.

Harde is the difference, betweene a carelesse
and a jelous Husbande.
whightstreaked Carnation Giliflower, was the Metamorphos of a Faire Gentlewoman, beheaded by her husband, upon this Jelous thought, that his wife beinge so faire, could not but be beloved of the Gods, although hee had no cause to suspect men. And where have yee a larger Example of Love, then the Adventure of Orpheus, who by extreame sorrow and sute, recovered his Wife out of Hell, and by over Jelous Love sent her thither againe.

Doctor Kossenigo was smyling out a scoffe, upon this tale, which Queene Aurelia intercepted, by ending of the Gentlewomens contention. By your talke of Hell (quoth she) I see we are out of the way to Platoes Parradice: and / therfore, good, we tourne backe agayne.

In deede Madame (quoth Fabritio,) if we travell styll, to choose the leaste of Evylles, it wyll be longe before we come to the Fountayne of Goodnesse.

Me thinkes (quoth Isabella,) the Sonet, which mooved the late Question, directes a fayre way to happinesse in Mariage: for it commendeth loftie Love: And if, accordyng to the oulde Proverbe: The best, is best cheape: this Adventure, geveth Hope, and promiseth good Fortune.

It is true (quoth Soranso,) and I dare undertake to approove it, the happiest estate in Mariage.

Dondolo, because he would not be disgraced, by mariyng a Burgoys fayre Daughter of Ravenna, offered to prove the contrarié.

Queene Aurelia, licensed them to shew their reasons.
Wherupon, (quoth Soranso:) to give great Ladies and Gentlewomen of calling, their true right and honor, who lightly, marry not their Inferiours in reputation, but for some especiall Vertue, that doth commend their choice, and cleareth the Blemish of their Husbandes baseness: I must confesse, that he which raiseth his thought so hie, undertaketh (no doubt) a tedious sute: his delayes will be greevous, and his Solliciters will be well rewarded, in what sort so ever he be regarded. But what of this? Quo quid difficilius, eo pulchrius: Perryll maketh honor perfect: the styngynge of the Bee, mendes the sweetenes of Honie: Roses best refresheth our Sentences, when we prick our handes to reache them: He that crackes the Nut, thinkes the Kernell sweetest. The reason is, not for that the goodnesse of a thing, is the better, for the evil therunto belonging: but, for that the remembrance of the evyl, maketh us holde the good in more reputation: especially, in love. The Affection, whiche is forced with teares, wonne with sighes, gaind with expence, and compassed with sorow, is held most pleasant, most perfect and of longest continuance. Againe, easie gotten good wyll, becommeth in a while lothesome: the cause is, as I conceive, for that the pleasure was never seasoned with paine. Once, a man, in loving his better, to encrease his passion, shal lack no occasion, both to seeke, sue, sigh and serve: and yet, to feede his hope, he shal want, neyther faire lookes, good wordes, nor possybility of favour. For, for to obtain a great Ladie, acquireth many circumstaunces, not
for that shee is precise to love, but for that shee is wise, (or woulde bee so thought) in her proceedings. But whether she love or no: Ovid saith, there is no woman, but wil endure the demand: she is contented with service to be courted: and in recompence, rewardeth with good countenance. But, which most sustaineth hope, the example is in continual use: that love spareth no degree, transgresseth every law, and bringeth the mightiest in bondage to the meanest.

King Cofetua, the Affrican, became enamoured of a Begger: faire Venus, espoused yll favoured Vulcan: Pigmalion doted upon an Image: Narcissus was drowned in imbrasing his owne shadow: and mightie Jove, many times, cast aside his divinitie, to dallie with simple country trulles: then, why shuld the affected (how base so ever his estate be) dispaire to attempt a great Ladie, when his warrant is signed with so large Authoritie?

But whether he speede or faile: be accepted or rejected: well entertained, or yll intreated: the ymagination, that time wil invest his desire with delight, is to the Affected, a Paradice, farre excellyng the possession of equall love:

But if in the end, her affection, or his good fortune, conclueth his wish in desire: her love, whiche can not choose but be great: in that she marieth beneth her callyng: And her Abylytie, which allured at the first, with his inhabylytie: to realysh both, can not but make the Husbande fortunate, and the Wife well pleased: for that in recompence of this advancement, she may presume, somewhat, to rule her Heade: but, which most contents, she shal have the satisfaction
of her fancie a bed.

If a House, were as soone bilted, as the Plot is drawn (quoth Dondolo) Shepherds wold disdaine to live in Cotages; even so, if every man could as soone compass a Lady for himselfe, as he can report the fortune of other: there must be an Act to make Ladies, or Lords must be glad of mean Women. But admit, by the example of other mens Advancements, that the meanest may be raised, by the yeelding fancye of the mightie: I prophesie that such an upstarte, had more neede of ten Eyes, to warde the mallice of his Wives kindred, then one tongue to move her to kindnesse. A woman cannot myslike affectionated profers, because they procee of love: But her kindred disdaineth his attempte, for that the conclusion, tendeth both to their and her dishonour: A woman seeing her servaunts passions, cannot but sustaine him with pittie, her Kindred seeinge him in good way to bee beloved, will lye in waite for his lyfe: For though she may dispose of her affection, her kindred hath an interest in her honour, which if she consent to staine, or deminishe, shee dooth injurie to her whole house.

The Cardinal of Aragon, advenged the base choice of his Sister, the Duchesse of Malby, with the death of her selfe, her Children, and her Husband: and alleaged in defence, that he had done no injurie to Nature, but purged his House of dishonour: for Nature (quoth he) is perfect, and who blemishe her is a monster in Nature, whose head, without wrong to Nature may be cut off.

Yea (quoth Soranso) but, this Cardinall, for
all his habit, and close of Justice, is for this Act, so often registed for a Tirant, as I feare mee he will never come among the number of Saints. But the example of these Mariages are usuall, and such ensuing vengeaunce is but rare, and besides her espetiall contentment, a woman looseth none of her general titles of dignitie by matching with her inferior.

In deede (quoth Dondolo) in common curtesie she enjoyeth them, but in the strickt construction of the Law, she is degraded. And by this meane is bounde to intertaine the meaner, with familyaritie, least, they (being prowde, or repecting her scornfully) doo crosse her over the thumbes with the follyes of her fancy. But admit the meane servant, / marrie his Mistresse, and escapeth the mallice of her friendes: which success, one amonge tenne suche Suters hardly attaineth. Let him yeelde to pay this rent for his good fortune: To suffer his Wife, to rule, to direct, and to commaunde his owne determynations.

And where shee ordereth: The uncontrouled Wife, desireth to be served with pompe, and to be set foorth with pride: whiche the ruling Husband would represse, as wel for saving his wives honour, as for sparing his owne pursse.

The uncontrouled wife desireth to walke at lybertie, and to be visited of many: of which the ruling Husbande, woulde barre her: as well to preserve his mynde from mistruste, as to kepe his Chimney from being fyred.

The uncontrouled wife disdayneth the Countrie and desireth the Citie: which the rulyng Husband would mislyke, for that in the
Countrie, the exercise of huswiverie inlargeth
his Wives estimation, and in the Cittie, Idlenesse
hazardeth her reputation.

The uncontrouled Wife, desireth without
checke to prate, and without discretion to
governe: which the ruling Husbande in no wise
would allowe, for that manye wordes is a blemish
to his wives modestie, and the rule of his Wife,
is warrant sufficient, for the wise to over rule
him for a Woodcooke.

Many other vanities, follow the desires of
Women: which a man thus advaunst, must forbeare
to chasten, least hee expose himselfe to a
thousande daungers: for the wife taking pepper
in the nose, will suffer him, (yea perchaunce,
agree to make him) a pray, to the displeasure
of his enemies: I meane her able Friendes and
kindred: which bondage is not within the
Paradise, Plato speaketh off: For according to
the opinion of sundrie Philosophers, as Nature
will not be controuled, for that she createth:
as Fortune is won with no praiers, because shee
is blinde, and shooteth at adventure: no more
dooth Marriage allow of inequallitie, because her
will is to devide her be-/nyfites, and blessing
among the married with indifferencie.

To this ende Marriage is lykened to Sienes
grafted in a stocke of contrarie qualitie: for
as by groweth and good order, they both become of
one nature, even so, man and woman united in this
honourable estate, with good usage, become of one
disposition. Againe, as Sienes thus grafted
without speciall Husbandrie, while they bee
tender, come to no proofe: even so man and woman,
thus joyned in Matrimonie: unlesse in the prime of their Mariage, with equall care, they love and cherrish one an other, in the waine of their yeares, the sweete Fruites of wedlocke, will be blasted with repentaunce.

Segnior Fabritio, to conclude Don Dolos opinion, with his owne Judgement, saide in trueth, that Marriage coulde not away with such servitude: as the Husband, who is wise and the cheefe, shoulde obay the wife, who in common construction, is simple, weake and the inferiour. And where a Rich woman (as Don Dolo hath said) Marieth her poore Servant, because she is the cause of his advancement, she will looke to governe: which if she doo, her indiscretion, will move others to speake, and her Husband to sorrow: and if he challenge the previledge of a husband to direct, hee shall bee bounde to a lyfe more bitter then Death. Not, but that in respect of his former estate, he may endure these crossinges of his wife, but because, as hee is growne in estimation: so is hee growne in hautinesse of mynd, and can now worse brooke an unkinde word, then in times past, an injurious deede. And therefore in Don Dolos behalfe, I doo judge Soranso to be in an error.

I wil not dispute, against the Authoritie of your judgment (quoth Soranso) but at adventure if yonger Brethren er in Mariage, God send them to stumble upon no worser fortune.

Queene Aurelia, who regarded, that Dondolo was somewhat to lavish, in painting out, of the natural desires of a woman, knew as well, how to set forouth his follyes and oversight: and therefore
to take a modest revenge (quoth/ shee,) If
happinesse in Mariage consisteth so much in the
Lordly rule of the Husbande, then where a man
maryeth his inferiour in reputation, there is
a lykelyhood of good agreement: Wherefore
Segnior Dondolo, because I think you married
your wife, with the same Judgement, with which
you manyfested the inconveniences of loftye Love:
I beseeche you, show us the blessinges of this
inferiour choyce.

Soranso, and the rest began to smyle, to
heare this commaundement: for well they knew
Dondolo, was intrapt with a slaunder of his owne
reputation: but Dondolo, although, he were a
little gauled, set a reasonable florish, upon his
bace fancie: and therefore (quoth he) as it is
alreadie adjudged, if a man marrie above his
callyng, he must beare with his Wife in folly,
as much as shee was blynded in fancying of him:
which bondage, Mariage can hardly endure: Then
if hee matche with his inferiour, if contraries
have contrarie qualyties, per consequence: she
will be as lowly, as the other is loftie: as
pacient, as the other is prowde: and as dutiful,
as the other is disdainfull: if the other
prodigally spend, because her portion is large,
she wil with huswiverie spare, because her
substaunce was small: If the other presume,
because of her Gentrie, shee vail seeke reputation,
with her good conditions: And if the other
bolster her faults, with the countenaunce of her
able Friendes, she doing amisse, will crie her
Husbande mercie, because she lackes succourers,
to sustaine her evill: a course, as Plato sayeth,
that maketh the dowrie of the poor virgin of
greater value than the possessions of a riche
Ladie.

You are nothing deceived in the course
(quothis Faliero) but much mistaken in the creature.
As touching your Contraries, I dislike your
Consequent: For Fire and Water have contrary
workyng, and unorderedly used, both hurtfull,
Prodigallytie, and Coveitusnesse, are contraries,
and neither necessarie: even so, the courtly
dame, and the Countrey Droyle, as they contrary,
in callyng, so are they contrary in conditions:
and so they may be matched, neither profitable.

A Diamond is blemisht, by the setting in
Brasse, and a Flynt, not the beautyfuller, for
beynge garnisht with Gold: even so, the honour
of a woman, is Eclipst, in matchyng with her
Servaunt, her slave, or her Inferiour: for that
Straungers will value her by her Fortune,
although her haughtie nature, will not lose the
name of her reputation: Neither is the estimation
of a Kitchynstuffe inlarged, by marrying with a
Courtier: for that the Best will disdain her
Basenes, not so much for her byrth, as her
bryngynge up: Yet, presumyng on her Husbandes
callyng: in Pryde, she will pearch with the
hyest: whiche Soveraigntie, in the one, and
saucines in the other, separates pleasantnesse
from their Husbandes, and quietnesse, both from
themselves and their Houshouldes: where, as if
the Gentlewoman, marry with a Gentleman, and a
Kitchin stuffe with a Cooke: the one with
duetifull regarde of her Husband, may hold her
reputation, and the other shall not be driven, to
dissemble with their kinde.

Well, let this suffice, to refell their Suggestions, that thinke pleasantly to spende their dayes, by marrying eyther their better or inferiour.

Now, touchynge the generall disposition, of suche wemen, as from the Cart, are raysed unto this account: they will use the better sorte with straingenesse, because they lacke the order of honest curtesie to entertain them, and with the basest wyl be famyliar, because the rudenes of the one answereth the ignorance of the other: So that, it is more requisite for him that is thus married, to watche his wyves goyng into the Stable, for feare of his Horsekeeper, then in her Parlour, to eye her behaviour, in entertainynge the Gallant.

Examine Kyng Astolphus, what constancie he found in his three halpenie Juell, whome he had tourned out of Sheepes Russet, into Cloth of Silver: In such honours, / had no otherwise altered her manners, but that she thought the Lyppes of a Captaine was a sweete as a Kings, and therfore in all her braverie, she fell to her kinde.

If this suffice not, heare the usage of Bianca Maria, Daughter and onely Heire of Giaccomo Scapardcn, a notable Userer of Baetta. Biancas beautie, made her sufficiently knowne, but her Fathers Bagges, made her wonderfully desiered: so that both joyned together, advaunst her, from a Shop Maide, firste, to be the wife of Vicount Hermes: after whose death, clyming up to further honor, and declyning in honestie, she
espoused the Counte of Zelande. Long after the seconde Mariage, shee dallyed not with her disposition, which was rather in an open Shop, to bee courted with men, then in a secrreat Chamber to be accompanied with wayting women: so that following her unmodest fancy, with a few Prentices, she fled from her Husband to Padua, where she set up for her selfe: and thus she unworthely raised to bee a Countesse, wickedly, and wilfully fel to be a Courtisan.

Andrea Zeno, a Gentleman of Vennice, was as slutishly served with via a Cookes Daughter, who upon her Mariadge day, made an easye way for her Husband, with no better man, then a Carpenter.

If you coveit more Authorities, to approve so common a mischiefe, read Ovid Metamorphosis in Latine, Segnior Lodovicus Regester, in Italian, Amadis de Gaule, in French, and the Pallace of pleasure, in English, where you shall finde store of Histories to the like purpose.

Sir (quoth Dondolo) without offence, either to your person or your proofes (for that the one I love, and the other I allowe) to confirme my oppinion I can likewise, summon women as base as these in birthe, and as hie as these in fortune, which with their good behaviours, gave a grace to their reputacion. Chaste Epethia, the welbeloved wife of Hanno Prince of Carthage, was a Sailers daughter. The vertuous Virginia, espoused to Sextillius a worthie Senator of Rome, was a Laundresse. Both these / were beautified with such singuler vertues, as while they lyved, their honest lyves instructed the greatest Lady, in pointcs of honor: and being ded, the remembrance
of their worthinesse is a special commendation to
the whole sexe of wemen.

Sir (quoth Faliero) as the Proverb goeth:

One or two Swallowes, prooves not Summer: two
or three, may thrive by Dice, yet is dicyng yl
Husbandrie: because for the inrichyng of a few,
it beggereth many: so, though two or three
worthy Parsonages were wel wived out of worthles
parentages: a thousand, following the same course,
have had a contrary fortune: and wher the
knowledge of evil, is more then the possibility
of good: vertue, warrants not the venter: In
warre, the miraculous escape of two or three rash
persons, is no safecundit, for every man to ron
upon the pikes: yet I graunt that in war,
desperate men are nedeful, for the safetie of the
discreate, and so are homely women, necessarie
for their service: but if you will use either to
your benefit, incourage the one with gret pay, and
the other with good wages: for if you commit a
charge to a harebraine Souldior his timeritie in
one houre, wil hinder more, then his yeres hazard
did further. And as I have said, if you make of
your Kitchen maid, a companion, her pride in one
dayes libertie wil anoy more, then her seaven
yeres love wil comfort.

Seeing the company begin to smyle, I am
satisfied. (quoth Dondolo.)

But how? (quoth Alvisa Vechio?) doe you
repent you of your bargaine, or disallow of
Falieros proofes?

Neither (quoth Dondolo:) For in general
choice, this course is out of the way, to Platos
Paradice: but for that my especial Fortune is
good, I am pleased.

Yea, (quoth Soranso,) or if the contrary had happened, this might have comforted you, that your wife should not have been the only blamed woman in the Parish, nor you the sole unfortunate man.

Wel, (quoth Fabritio, and Isabella:) There needes no further judgement in this Question, then Dondolos confession and his yealding, to Falieros proofes. /

We have in this exercise taken three sundrie wayes, (quoth Queene Aurelia) and yet never a one the right way to our Paradice: and nowe it is too late to travel any further. Therefore we will refresh our spirites with a little Musicke, and so adjourne our further controversies untill too Morowe: but as the Eunuke was a tuning his voyce, to have fulfilled his Ladies commaundement, Knowledge was given of certaine honourable Personages arival: by occasion wherof, the company left their determination to furnish the great Chamber.

The wittie device of Segniors Philoxenus, to give certayne Comedians a Theame, to present some pastime in action, the fift night, after Supper.

By that time, Supper was done, certayne Comedians of Ravenna, presented their service to Segniors Philoxenus, and his honourable companie, who are not tide to a written device, as our English Players are, but having certayne groundes or principles of their owne, will, Extempore, make a pleasaunt showe of other mens fantasies: So that to try the quicknes of the Gentlemen, and Gentlewomens wittes, to give the Comedians a
Theame, Segnior Philoxenus, demaunded the meaning of certaine Questions.

Seginor Soranso, (quoth he:) What passion is that, that tormenteth a man most, and hath least power to overcome?

To thinke of a Womans Inconstancie, (quoth Soranso:) which greeveth every man, and cannot be subdued by women themselves.

Madame Aurelia, (quoth Philoxenus:) What thing is that, which most delighteth, and most deceiveth a Woman?

A mans dissimulation, (quoth Queene Aurelia:) Which hath such a sweete passage, through his Tongue, as it delighteth like the Sirens Songes, and yet turneth to as deceitefull a conclusion, as the Crocadiles Teares.

This yet, was but quid pro quo: so that neither one parte, nor the other was displeased.

The modest laughter being ceased, Segnior Philoxenus demaunded of Ismarito, what was the cause of most Devotion? and yet the greatest replenisher of Hell.

Ignoraunce (quoth Ismarito)whiche causeth men to worship Stones, and dishonour God.

Madame Maria, what is that (quoth Segnior Philoxenus) that of men is least esteemed, and of God most regarded?

Chastitie (quoth Maria Belochy) whiche is precious before God, and a laughing stock among men.

Doctor Mossenigo (quoth Segnior Philoxenus) amongst men who is the most cruell?

A Dycer (quoth the Doctor) for he teareth God in peeces. This answer, was both true, and
moved newe laughter: Although it were propounded to discover the nature of the Envious, who murthereth the lyving, and the fame of the dead.

Madam Lucia (quoth Segnior Philoxenus)

wherein doth a man please a woman best, and displease himselfe most?

The modest Gentlewoman began to blush, and with great difficultie resolved this Question.

In the end, by the tongue of Alvisa Vechio (quoth she) In giving of her, her Wyll.

It is true (quoth the Doctor) for her delight is to governe, wherein her discretion, giveth others cause to laugh, and her Husband to hang the Lyp.

Segnior Don dolo (quoth Segnior Philoxenus) what is the greatest freende to men at libertie, and the most enimie to such as are condemned?

Hope (quoth Don dolo) whiche encourageth men at lybertie, to attempt great matters, and maketh such as are condemned, unprepared for death.

Madam Helena (quoth Segnior Philoxenus) what is that which woundeth the hart, and yet is worshipped of the eye?

Beautie (quoth Helena Dulce) for it pleaseth a mans eye, and pearceth his hart.

Segnior Bergetto, (quoth Segnior Philoxenus) What is that which oweth most and payeth least, and of all evils is the worst.

Ingratitude: (quoth Bargetto:) For that Monster receiveth good turnes, and payeth vengeance.

Madame Franceschina, (quoth Segnior Phyloxenus:) What is that, whiche in lovynge too muche, baneth with Hate?
Jelousie: (quoth Franceschina Sancta:)  
whiche, by overmuche lovyng, raiseth Suspition: 
Suspition mooveth Contention, and Contention 
tourneth to mortall hatred.

Segnior Faliero: I demaunde (quoth Phyloxenus:) who he is, that profiteth his 
frendes, but by Death? is a Stewarde, for other 
men: and maketh his Account (only) with God?

A Coveitious man (quoth Faliero:) who, whyle 
he lyveth, is enemie unto hymself, and therfore, 
unlykely, to be friende to others: also is but a 
Stewarde of the goods hee gathereth, for he 
spareth for others, and spendeth little or nothing 
upon himselfe: and at the judgement day, before 
God, must make account of all his deceit.

Madam Katherina, (quoth Segnior Philoxenus:) 
what is that, which is couldest clad in Friese, 
and warmest attyred in pretious Stones?

Pride, (quoth Katherina Trista,) which hath 
no grace, but in braverie.

Lovely Guestes, (quoth Segnior Philoxenus,) 
you have so lively devined my meaning in your 
sharpe answeres: as I expecte wonders, of your 
dayly disputation.

Sir, (quoth Fabritio,) we hitherto, have but 
exposed, and refelled errours.

If you have done so muche (quoth Philoxenus) 
you have made a fayre passage for the glorie of 
Trueth, which by the refelling of Error, you 
shall finde: for everie vertue is commended by 
his contrarie. A Diamond seemeth the fairer, for 
his foyle. Blacke best setteth foorth White: 
Good is most praysed in the reprehension of Evill: 
and Trueth in / the hyest degree is renowned by
the refelling of errour: and therfore follow your purpose, the conclusion, cannot, but bee profitable.

Here Segnior Philoxenus stopped his digression, and commaunded the Comedians, to bethinke themselves of some action, that should lyvelie expresse the nature of Inconstancie, Dissimulation, Ignoraunce, and the rest of the passions, before named: Which charge being given, while the Actors, were attiring themselves, for the stage, Queene Aurelia, and her Attendaunts, tooke their places, with such advauntage, as every Gentleman, had lyberty, to devise with his Mistresse.

After the Comedians had put themselves in order, they patched a Comedie together, and under the resited names, showed some matter of Morallytie, but a greate deale of mirth: who with their pastime, kept the companie up so long, as drowsie sleepe, which delighteth in nothing but scilence, arrested the greater part of them, and caried them close prisoners, unto their Chambers.

FINIS.
The syxt Dayes Exercise:

Contayninge: Many needefull regardes, for a Gentleman: with a Discoverie of the inconveniences of Marriages, where there are great inequalitie of yeares.

The chearefull Sunne, which comforteth everie earthlye Creature, as the Lanterne of broade day, so lightened every Chamber of Segnior Phyloxenus Pallace: as the Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, to bee avenged of the injurie of Night, (who being the Mother of confusion, had seperated them, from their companions of pleasure) hastily rose and attired themselves: and (like unto Partryges, that how so ever they are seavered, know (and retire unto) their meetynge places) presented themselves, in the great Chamber. The office of civill courtesie discharged, such as were coupled, intertained Time, with the device of their especial fancyes: others, contemplated of their private affaires: and Ismarito amongst the rest, in a quiet place, was reading in Peter Mesiere his Cronicle of Memorable things: The rare Historie of Tamberlaine the Great, surnamed Flagellum Dei, where he much admired, the vertues of the man, who of a laboring Pesaunt, or (in the best degree) of a poore Soldiier, by his vertues and Invincible valure, became a great Monarch: Yea, and while Tamberlayne lived, was as much feared as Alexander. But Ismarito, more lamented, that so mightie a Monarchie, erected by the Father, should end, by the envy, and civill dissention of the Children.

Segnior Phyloxenus (after he had given a Bon giorno, to the companie,) seing Ismarito, not
chained to a companyon, determined to geve his solytyarinesse, a disgrace, by conversing with him, in some Gentlemanly Discourse: but finding him accompanied with so sweet a companion, as

Mesires Cronicles, Segnior Ismarito, (quoth hee)
you have deceived my imagination, which persuaded mee that you were solitare, and therefore, bounde mee (in courtesye) to visite you. / But, seeing the great personages, with whom you devise, I envie your happy contemplation.

But your Envie (quoth Ismarito) is lyke that of Mutius Seavola, desirous to excell the better sort in vertue, as you exceede the rascal multitude in curtesie.

This encounter, and a litle other pryvate talke ended: Segnior Philoxenus, lead Ismarito, into a fayre Lybrarie, beautified with such a number of goodly Bookes, of all Sciences, Lawes, Customes, Governementes, and memorial Monumentes, as wel auncient as Modem, as it came very neare in excellencie, to the famous Lybrarie of Cosmos de Medicis in Florence: who imitated in his Monument, Ptolomey, surnamed Philodelphus: who had the seventie Interpreters of the Jewes, to translate the Sacred Bible, into the Egyptian Language: and with great dylygence, soughte to have the severall Copyes of all Bookes.

After Ismarito had well regarded, the orderly sortinge of these Bookes, (and how, by a shorte Kallender, a Man without greate paine, mighte turne unto anye harde Question, in any Science, and have large resolutions) and had taken a note of the title of certayne Bookes that hee had not seene, and yet necessarie to be read.

He is not alone that hath good Bookes.

A Gentleman tooke advantage of a words to praise the good, as to check the evyll.

A most famous librarie in the Dukes Pallace at Florence left by Cosmos de Medicis.
Segnior Philoxenus ledde him into his owne private studie which was furnished with Summaries, or Abridgementes of all Sciences, which he studied, with such a judgement, as there was no Arte, wherein he had not a speciall knowledge, whiche in argument, he exposed, with so good a wit and memorie as, manie times, he grounded Masters in that science. And for that in all his actions he was the true pattern for a Gentleman to imitate. In honour of his worthines and for the benefite of such Gentlemen, as will follow his example, in Vertue, I am bounde to set brieflye downe, the chiefeest course of his Studie.

First and principally, for the comfort both of his bodie and soule. In Theologie, he reade those booke, that cleared the mistes of Ignorance, and unmasked the deceiptes of the superstitious Monkes, Friers, etc. And contemplated in the sweete comfort of those Aucthors, that expounded the hard passages of the Scripture.

And for that Health, is the most precious Phisyck. Juell of the worlde, knowynge the Constitution of his owne bodie, he studied so muche in Phisicke, as without the direction of Doctors, hee knewe, what meate and Medicine, agreeed with his nature.

To minister Justice, unto the Ignorant multitude, and to kepe hymselfe out of the Forfaites of Lawe, he studied the civill Law, and specially, the Statutes of his Countrey: And (questionlesse) the Gentleman, that is ignorant in the Lawes of his Countrey, is an enemie to hymselfe, and a Cipher in the comon weale.

In Militarie Knowledge, he was experienced, as wel, by service in the Field, as in readyng Art Militarie.
Vegetius and other Authors in his Studie. And some travell in this Arte, is needefull, as well as comendable for a Gentleman: for it is not ynough for hym, to be Togatus, as a Romayne Oratour, nor Paliatus, as a Gretian Phylosopher: in that he must as well in the field, looke his enemie in the face, as imbrace his frend in the house: and therfore, though he bare a Pen in his eare, (to write his owne Commentaries) hee is bounde to weare a Sword by his side, to doo his Countrie service. 

For Government, and Civil behaviours, he read Plutarches Moralles: Guevaraes Dial of Princes: The Courtier of Count Baldazar, Castillio: and others. And (in trueth,) it is not so necessarie, to be well borne, as to be well quallyted and of good behaviour: wherfore, the studie of Morallytie, is verie needefull for a Gentleman.

He (likewise) studied Cosmographie, and had therein commendable knowledge: which studie, can not, but much please and commende a brave minded Gentleman: For by the vertue therof, he shalbe, in his Studie, able to survaye the whole worlde: and with an agreable Discourse, shall bound out a Stranger his owne Countrey.

He was a good Hystoriographer, and had read manie rare Chronicles. How pleasing this studie is to a Gentleman, is lively expressed in his owne nature, greedy of newes. And where may hee have better intilligence, then Chronicles? in which, quietly in his owne Study, he may receive knowledge, of Actes done throughout the whole worlde.
He was a good Harrolde, and had read much in Armorie: An Arte most needefull, for a Gentleman, in that it is the Cognisaunce of himselfe. And in my opinion, he that is not able to blason his owne Armes, is not worthie to beare them.

These Gentlemanly studies he used, intermedled with others of more pleasure, whiche I had not leasure to regarde, nor memorie to beare away: but in all his actions, and behaviours, he exposed a Gentleman so perfect, as in regarding of hym, but one halfe yeare, a man might have noted downe a Courtier, not inferriour to that of Count Baldezar.

By that time Segnior Philoxenus had sufficiently fed Ismaritos eyes, with this honourable favour: the sounde of the Trumpet, gave knowledge of dinner, so that Ismarito, was driven to leave, that earthly Paradise, to attende honourable Philoxenus, into the great Chamber: against whose comming, the Table stoode furnished with manye daintie Dishes. And Queens Aurelia, and the rest of the Companie, were readie to salute him: whiche curtesye perfourmed, she tooke her appointed place and the rest, as they pleased.

Towards the latter ende of this dinner, a meane fellow, garded between two Furies of the Kitchen, was brought coram nobis: for some pettie pilfering in the Scullerie.

Segnior Philoxenus, referred his paine to the Judgement, of the Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen there present. / Some of the Gentlemen, appointed him some pleasaut paine, in the office, where hee dyd the trespasse: some other of the Gentlewomen
overcome, with a natural pitty, accepted his teares in satisfaction, and so discharged him:
But the Doctor more rougher then the rest, tooke him up so short, as the poore fellow was driven to say, Sir, where you may help, hurt not: The Doctor, to satisfie his request, and to keepe his first determination, amswered, to help hange a Theefe, is no hurte, to the common weale, your petition shalbe signed. The rascall Theefe,

hearing this severe Judgement (as the Italians are naturally quicke witted) replyed: If cheefe Majestrates shoulde set their handes to this Justice, There would bee more Lawyers hanged, for stealing of Houses, then Roges for robbinge of Headges. The aunswere of the Doctor, and the replye of the poore Fellow, made the company so merrie, that for the pastime, the trespasser had made them, they remitted the punishment of his offence.

The laughter quieted: in the commendation of his Countriemans capassitie (quoth Soranso) Master Doctor, this poore Snake, spake true Italian.

Yea (quoth the Doctor,) but he lackes the virtues of the auncient Romaines: covertly expressing thereby, that their wits were good, but their conditions were evill.

Bargetto (envying the favours, Ismarito receaved, and for some pryvate grudge, about crossing in Argument) sought by some pleasant scoffe, to raise an unkinde quarel: And with that intent (quoth he) Segnior Ismarito, I drink unto you, with a better affection, than I bare you in my sleepe, for I dreamed, with my Rapire drawne,
I chased you, to your Chamber.

Ismarito, quickly aanswered, I pleadge you (Segnior Bergetto) but with lesse feare then you supposed to bee in mee, when you were asleepe:

for men after they are awake, expounde dreams by contraries.

Bergetto, deceaved of his expectation, was dryven by patience, to salve the wounde, he had given hymselfe. / But Segnior Philoxenus: to take away the cause of after unkindnesse, reaved the companie, of leasure, to judge of Bergettos quarrilynge dreame, or of Ismaritoes crosse exposition, by keeping of them exercised with a newe device.

In deede (quoth hee) Dreames are incertaine, and therfore, not to be regarded, but there is a true kinde of divination, in Palmestrie, and so in looking in Maria Belochi's hand, hee used certaine names of Arte, and gave a voluntarie pleasing Judgement: which fired all the Ladies and Gentlewomen, with an earnest desire, to know their fortune: and by this meanes, the remembraunce, of former questions was taken away. Wherein Segnior Philoxenus wisdome, may be a president, for other Gentlemen, that heare quarrelcs a breedinge, to smoulderc them in the shell: for men that bee angrie, are bounde to their passion, when such as are not moved, have libertie, to pacifye, with discretion.

Thus, with their spirites well pleased, Queene Aurelia, and the reste of the companie, rose from the table, and after ordenarie curtesie ended, they paused a time by the Fire, to put their witts in order, for the following disputation:
who at the ordinarie howre, entred the drawing
Chamber, where the Eunuke readie to discharge his
dutie, unto the Lute sung this following Sonet.

Regarde my love, but not my frostie haires,
Although faire Dame, the least may move content:
For Love, Faith, Zeale, standes firme in aged yeares,
When light greene youth, is fickle in intent.

The aged knowes, the leaves and fruite of youth,
The leaves they leave, and with the fruite doe love:
The sayinges of olde Age, are judged trueth.
Let love and trueth, mislyking then remove. /

What though my chin, be clothed all in white,
Whight in your cheekes, the chiefest coulour is:
Which fayre dye, doth make you seeme so bright,
As men holde you, the source of beauties blisse.

Sweete Mistresse then, of all the fayre, the Flower,
Let not condemne, what doth your selfe comend:
Ruthe seems your face, let rigor not devour,
His love, and lyfe, that lives and dies your friends.

This Sonet, mooved the company to smile, not
because the invention was unwittie, but in that,
it was the fruites of Doctor Mossenigoes Muse,
who to revenge uppon himselfe all the injurie,
which he had done to the sexe of Women, became
inamoured of Katharina Trista, the waspsisest
Damosel, among the whole troupe of Gentlewomen:
But knowing the Doctors Phylosophie, could not
so subdue his affection: but that time would
make them all sporte and him smarte, they
dissembled their knowledge of his folly, as deeply as hee covered the passions of hys fancy: notwithstanding to raise some speach, and to set the Doctor a work with hope.

5 (Quoth Alvisa Vechio) this Sonet prophesieth a hapie lyfe to a young woman, and much comfort to an olde man if their fortunes be so good, as to be maried together. And if I had as good a passage, for my opinion, as I have Reason to mayntayne the same: I woulde thinke to proove this couple, worthye of a place in Platoes Paradice.

Among so manie good Orators (quoth Queene Aurelia) you cannct want an Advocate.

15 Whereupon Katharina Trista, with a false eye, conjured the Doctor, in this question, to maintaine his Love: who thus injoyned, tocke upon him to maintaine Alvisa Vechios opinion.

Queene Aurelia licensed him, and no adversary appea-/red to discourage him: whereupon (quoth he) where an old man marieth a yonge woman, the contentment seems too be mueh, and the comfort more: my reason is, the oulde man hath not onlye chosen a Wyfe, to recreate him as a companyon, but a Cooke to prepare chosen meates for his impayred appetite, and a Staffe to sustaine his Age. The yonge wife also may hold her selfe happie in this fortune: for she hath chosen one, whom she may not onely rule, but command: and for a litle paynes, who will leave her posset of a great deale of lyvyng. And this is most certain, that cruel and wilde Creatures do most hurt, where their wyll is moste resisted: and have great compassion, where they finde no
proffer of repulse: The Lyon in his greatest hunger, hurts not the wounded sheepe: the Crocadile with teares wassheth the blood from a murthred man, and the raging Sea refressheth the yealding Reede: much more, a woman (that by nature is beautified with pittie) if she rule without checke, wyll glorie in the good usage of her Husbande: and this is in dayly use, that the olde man, in assemblies, findes his yonge wife, modest in her speache, basshefull in her lookes, and nice, in occasion of suspition: and whyther this behaviour procedes of desire to be praysed, or of feare to be blamed, I conclude the cause with her commendation: for that to do well in hope of praise, commes of the encouragement of vertue: and to do well for feare of reprehension, is the signe of a good inclination.

By Sainct Anne Sir (quoth Soranso,) you well deserve a Fee, (especiallie, of the yonge wyfe) in that you so connyngly have coloured her oversight, and so Clarckely have commended her good usage of her olde Husband: but your Suggestion tends to as small effect, as the Fortune is evyl, of a couple thus unequallie matched: for that common reason wil refute your weake opinion, and dayly experience recordes the miseries of the other.

What likelyhood of continuance, hath the House, whose grounde worke is rotten, although the prospect be beautifull and stronge, God wotte the feeblenesse of the Poun-/dation, wyll overthrow the firmenesse of the upperframe.

Compare this unequall estate in Marriag,
with this oversight in building, and you shall finde the disorde as great betwene the one, as the ruyne and decay, speedie in the other. The good and able Government of the Husbande, is the foundation and ground worke of Mariage: and the Beautie of the Wife, the blessyng in havynge of Children: and the benefit of possessyng lyvinges, are the outwarde buyldings of Mariage: And as they are pleasant in the eye of the worlde, even so, they greatly please the mindes of the maried, and geve a singuler Grace to this honourable vocation. But, if the Government of the Husbande, be inabled, with Age: (as in trueth) Olde Age is no other then a seconde Infancie: In whose desire, direction, discrescion and delight, there are imperfections. The Beautie of the wyfe, wyll be blasted with sorrowe: for the insufficiencie of her Husbande: evyll Education wyll accurse their blessyng in havynge of Chyldren, and negligence wyll waste their benefites of livyng. You hould a yonge wife, a Companion to recreate an olde man, but he shal finde her a Corsive that wyl consume him to death. A yong man conclutheth, the sweetest sollace in love with sighes: it is then, lyke, an olde man endes it with teares: And God, he knowes, he often weepeth, more of desire, to please his wyfe, then of any Devotion he hath to wantonesse: yet is al his paynes to a fruitlesse purpose, for that the Game finissheth in his grieve, and neither began nor endes in his wyves contentment.

You are too quicke, in Advauntage, Segnior Soranso, (quoth the Doctor) Oulde Wine, thoughhe
it be dead in the mouthe, yet is it warme in the Stomacke, when the Newe, fumes in the Heade, but comforteth not the heart. Dry woodde, maketh a bright Fyre, where greene Bowes consume halfe awaye in Fume and Smoake.

The Sonne riseth watrishlye, and is longe before it geveth heate, where, in the After noons, it scorchethe the face: So, a Yonge man devideth his Love, into a hundreth Affections, and every fancie pleased, there wyll but a little fall to his wyves share: where an Olde mans Love is settled, and his fancie is fixed upon one: And as the resighted Examples, in Age, are in best hart: so to prove an olde mans sufficiencie, there is a common Proverbe: Gray Hairoes are nourished, with greene thoughts.

Now, to content his yong wyfe, she shal have no cause to suspect his Affection abroade, and shall not lacke to bee belooved at home.

Moreover, whiche delighteth a yong woman, (who naturallye, is Ambitious) shee shall take her place, accordyng to the gravitie of her Husband, and not as her yong yeares requyreth.

And to conclude, to give her an honourable name, the most precious Juell, with which, a woman may be beautified, she shall receyve grave Directions from her Husbande: and through the sweete delight, she taketh in hearyng her good Government commended, she wyll put them in Execution.

Doctor Mossenigo, replied not with this vehemencie, for any delight he had to commend this unequall estate in Mariage, but to flatter Katharina Trista, with an Ambitious Hope, of
great Reputation, in matchyng with his aged self: but she (that knew a leg of a Larke, was better then the whole Carkeasse of a Kyte) woulde none God thank him.

And to make him horne wood (if hee persevered in his opinion,) in Soransoes behalfe (quoth Bergetto his auncient crosser:) Maister Doctor, there is more pryde in your wordes, then Substance in your proofes: your hartie olde Wine, must be drawn out, when it is broached: your drie woodde is but a blaze, and your hot Sunne, doth but sweate, for sorow, that he is goync to cowche in the dark Caves of Tartessus. But as touching Old men, they may well be sufficient in greene thoughts, as you terme them, / but I am assured, that in deedes, they are weake, and wythered: And therefore, a man cannot speake too muchoke evill, of this excesse in dotage: withered Flowers, are more fit for a Dunghill, then meete to deck a house: olde rotten Trees, are needefull for the fyre, but unnecessarie to stande in an Orchard: even so, olde decaied creatures, are comely in the Church, but unseemely by a yong womans side.

The olde man, which marrieth a yonge Wyfe, is sure of this sowre sauce, to rellish his sweete Imaginations: his beloved wife (how so ever she dissembleth) disdayneth hym: his neighbors al to be flouteth him, and soothing Parisites, beguileth him: common opinion will counterfeit him lyke Acteon, not so much for the ficklenesse, they see in his wife, as for the infirmities, they know in himselfe. And breefely, to conclude his joye: hee may (perchaunce) lyve
two yeares, with his faire wife: but the
mischaunce of his Children, will remember his
infamie, for ever: Greene Ivy, which catcheth
an olde Tree, maketh quicke worke for the fire:
and the imbracements of a faire Woman, hasteth
an olde man to his Grave. And although it be a
haynous wronge, causelesse to condemne the Wyfe:
yet this will be the opinyon, shee killed her
Husband with thought, to heare and see, how she
trespassed, both against, his and her owne
honour.

Foule fall, suche a Marriadge (quoth Maria
Belochy) where the vertuous Wife, shal be
slandered, through the imperfections of her
Husband.

It is some wrong (quoth Fabritio) but she
might have foreseene the mischiefe, while she
was free.

Well (quoth Queene Aurelia) upon this
knowledge of mischaunce, our companie, are
sufficiently warned. Procede in Judgement, as
you allow eithers opinion.

Whereupon, Fabritio with Isabella, with one
accord, gave sentence, against Doctor Mossenigo,
in these words: An olde man amorous, of a yong
Woman, is an enemie, both to his health and
reputation, for the causes aforesaid.

The rest of the companie, smyled to heere
this judgement: but the Doctor, brake foorth
many a secret sigh, not for the disgrace he tooke
in his pleading (for he defended an yll matter,
with colour sufficient) but in that he knew this
verdict would alwaies be a barre in his sute.

While the Doctor and Soranso argued: Queene
Aurelia, espyed in the Cloath of Arras: a Beast fourmed like an Unicorne, save that he bare his
Horne in his nose: whiche beast, sleeping, laide
his murthering Horne in a yong Maidens lap: and
after the question was decided, shee demaundd,
what that Beast was? and what the misterie
signyfyed: but the meaning was as straunge, as
the sight, to most of the companie.

In the ende (quoth Ismarito) Madam, I have
read of a gallant yong Gentleman of Naples named
Rinautus, that was Metamorphosed into such a
Beast, by this adventure: passing through the
Iland Circeiun (that Homer speaketh off) which
is now annexed unto the Continent: he was espyed
of Circes, who inhabited that Ilande. This
wrincled, yll favoured Witch, at the first sight,
was surprised in Love, with the goodly shape and
beautie of this seemely Gentleman: but for al her
charmes, and Inchauntments, her Arte failed,
either to force him to Love, or to free her selfe
from loving: for, notwithstandinge, shee was a
Goddesse, he disdained her over wore, foule and
wythered visage: and shee presumyng of her
Sorcerie, powred fresh Coales, uppon her kyndled
desyre, in hope that necessitie would force him
to consent, to the requeste, freewill contemned:
but Cupid (to whom such power onely belongeth) to
scourge her presumption, in suche sorte hardened
Rinautus harte, that all Circes Sute and Sorceries
tended unto a fruitlesse successe. In so much,
as in her rage she turned him into a Rhinocerot,
a Beast of unconquerable force, who in his nose,
beareth a horne, much like to the Unicorne: But
notwithstanding hee was thus transfourmed (as
King Nabucadonizer, in the fourme of an Oxe, retained the spirit of a man so hee in his altered shape, nourished his auncient disdaine of yll favoured Circes: and to bee fully avenged, with all hys force, pursueth olde Creatures: and such as hee overtaketh, hee goret to death: yet is he by this polycie subdued: Place a faire Maide, in his walke, and forth with hee will with a lovinge countenaunce, repair unto her, and in her bosome, gently bestow his murthering Horne: and sodainlye, (as one ravished with contentment) hee fauleth a sleepe, by which means he is slaine before he recovereth the use of his force.

The Companie laughed well, to heare this straunge Metamorphosis. In the end (quoth Queene Aurelia) I would Maister Doctor had hard this Hystorie, when hee so invayed against Beautie, perhaps, he would have bene affraide of her vengeaunce, seeing her power able to conquere savage and wilde Beastes.

But the Doctor, glad of this advantage, not unlyke the cunning Lawier, that buyeth Robin hooles penniworthes, and yet with some nice forfaitures, threatneth the seller, with continuall bondage: and many times, bringeth backe his money, and keepeth his bargen: not caring for his Concience, so that hee have a colour for his offence: or as the wysest sorte of Atheistes, (that live as though, they hoped neyther after heaven, nor feared Hel) yet confesse God with their mouth, because the contrarie woulde make them hated of men: so he by this tale, found out both a warrant, to maintayne his
former Blasphemie, and to excuse his present
Follie in Love: And to Authorize either:
Madame (quoth he,) the inchaunted Beaste,
approoveth myne opinion of Beauties power, and
his Death is a greater witnesse of her crueltie,
then is Doctor Mosseigne, who confesseth that
men, in vayne prescribe Remedies for the Affected,
or Receites, to preserve men from the Infections
of Beautie.

You are welcome under our Lee (quoth Alvisa
Vechio.)

But, to take awaye all hope of good
intertaynment: (quoth Katharina Trista) no, no,
Maister Doctor, you deceyve your selfe: Beautie,
neyther retaineth the power, / nor poyson, which
you speake of, and with you, Ovid and all the
amorous Poets are mistaken: who say, Affection,
riseth from Beautie, and not of the free wyll of
man: But say you all what you please: good
foresight wyll contrary your opinions. There is
no sore, but hath his salve: no griefe, but hath
his remedie: nor no daunger, but may be forstoode,
eyther by prayer or good indevoure.

In deede (quoth Faliero) Socrates altred his
inclination, by the Studie of Phylosophie: The
Nymivites preserved their Cittie by prayer: and
Virbius doubled his life, by mastering of his
disposition.

Floradin, bewitched with the love of faire
Persida, his deare friend Pericles Wife, wrote in
a table Booke: fye Floradin, fye, shee is thy
friend Pericles Wife: and so often as idlenes
presented him with thyss passyon, he read his
written remembraunce: and by some honest exercise,
remooved his imagination.

This is not your day Maister Doctor (quoth Soranso) I beleewe, there is some unkindnes betweene Saturne and Venus, by the envious aspeckt of some other Planmet this howre.

It maye be (quoth the Doctor) by the flatterie of Mercurie, who is evermore enemie to the plainnes of trueth.

Well (quoth Queene Aurelia) let us leave this bye matter, and consider better of Ismaritos Metamorphosis: me thinks it prophesieth muche mischance to an Oulde Wydowe, whyche marieth a Yonge man, and no greate pleasure to the yonge maried Bacheler.

O good Madam, say not so (quoth Soranso) for in this fortune, lyeth a younger Brothers welfare: and the cause that maketh happinesse accompanie olde wemen to their Grave.

It may well be to their Grave (quoth the Doctor) but it bryngeth sorow into their House, and maketh their life more unpleasant then death: and if Soranso followe this Course, perhappes his day wyll be no better then Doctor Mossenigos. / Queene Aurelia smilinge, saide, shee feared this contention woulde bring the companie to hell gates. Yet (quoth she,) In that I imagine the way will be pleasaunt, I licence you to persever in your purpose.

Uppon which warrant (quoth Soranso) to maintaine that to be true, which I have alreadie alleadged in the commendation of this estate in marriage. This further reason (in my conceite) you will neither disalowe, nor the married couple shall have cause to mislike: which is where a
fresh young Gentleman, either of small living, or farre spent with lustinesse, lights of a rich olde widow, for that both their desires in this fortune shall bee satisfied. He shall have plentie of Coyne, the onelie Grace hee lacked, and she the possession of a goodlie Parsonage, the cheefest Jewel she loveth: which exchaunge of Marchandise can not chuse, but continue their liking and raise much contentment.

Cleane contrarie (quoth the Doctor) for the follies of a yong man is sufficiently punished, by marrying an olde woman: and the sins of an olde widdow, ar fully plagued, in matching with a yong man: for that (contrarie to your suggestion) neither can injoye, the cause of their Mariage, without annoyance to their mindes: for his lyking, is fastned on her riches, which she will not, but by necessitie leave: and her love is setled on his person, which for her pleasure, he disdaineth. to punish. The unfortunate yong man, knowes not what greefe hee joynes to his gaine, in matchinge with an olde widdow, till that experience breaks them forth in sighes: If his wife be ritche, shee will looke to governe, if shee bee poore, he is plagued, both with beggery, and bondage: If she be proude, she will hide her abylytie, to maintaine her pompe: If she be testie, he is forst to pacience: If she bee Jelous, hee canne hardlye indure her rages. And to conclude, if the olde doting widdow be free from one of these faults, she is tied to forty evils of lesse sufferaunce: for if her Husbande commaunde her will, shee straight waies sayeth, her other Husband was more kinde: If hee chance / to dine from home, she
wyls him to sup with his harlots: if he spend
beyond her allowance, thus she reviles hym:

A Beggar I found thee, and so thou wylt leave mee.

To chastice her talke, setteth an edge of her
tongue: to suffer her in her rage, maketh her
raylynges irrevocable.

By your wordes, Maister Doctor (quoth Lucia
Bella,) the wife is the greatest cause of this
contention, and yet in common opinion, the Husband
is most blamed.

Madame, you are too hastie in an advauntage,
I ment no such parciallytie (quoth the Doctor.)

Yea Madame, (quoth Bargetto) Maister Doctor
is now so conquered, as his tong is the Trumpet of
your pleasure.

It is so (quoth the Doctor) to sound out those
thinges which are true: and in trueth, the yonge
Husbande often tymes, maketh the evilles, good in
deedes, which the olde wyfe useth but in wordes:
for no lenger then she feedeth him with Coyne,
shall she enjoy his companie: If she rob not her
Children to inrich him, she shall lack no froward
lookes, nor fowle usage: If she put him in
possession of her lyving, he straight wayes
dispossesseth her of his love: for having, what
he sought, he wyl els where be enamoured. And,
uprightly to speake, she lacketh neither occasion
too lament, nor cause to be inraged: for who is
so patient, as can dissemble her unsufferable
passions? both, to be spoyled of her lyving, and
to be exyled from that she loveth: And, in verie
trueth, so egall are their evilles, as it were a
harde matter to judge, who deserveth leaste blame,
or most excuse: She reproacheth him, of Beggerie,
Hooodome, Untriftinesse, yll usage: and of the ruine, both of her selfe and her Children. He blameth her of Olde Age, Jelousie, curstnesse, scowldyng: and for hidyng of her goods, which he hath bought, with doyng Injurie unto his person. If she be determined to be merie, he (scornfully) telleth her, that it is as sightly, for a toothelesse Mare to eate Marchpane, as for suche a wrinckled Mumpes to faule a bylling. If he come in wel disposed, and affably intreateth her, she calleth him dissembling Hipocrite, and saith, he salu-\text{-}teth her with his tong, but his hart imagineth of his minions abroade: she runneth to the neighbors to complaine: In the meane while he sendeth her corne to the Market, and her cattel to the Faire. If the frends, of good wil, or neighbours, of charytie, labour to accord their contention (as she imagineth to shame him) she thundreth out a thousand Injuries that he doth her: for her owne praise, she saith, that of pure love she maried him with nothing: and to reproch him, she sweares, he hath spent her substance, and hateth her person: To show her owne good Huswiferie, she tells that she worketh al day at her Distaffe: and to blase his unthriftinesse, she showeth how he plaieth away her gaines at Dice: She crieth out, that (perforce) he taketh what he openly findeth, and privylie stealeth, what she secretly hideth.

These, and many moe complaints, she preferreth against her Husband, with the vehemencie of a womans passion.

Her Husband, that knoweth how to be revenged in deeds, (for his own credit) is more milde in
words: he layeth all these blames upon her own
crooked disposition: who though she be so olde,
as a man can hardly love her, yet with a cankred
ejalous froward nature, she wold force a man to
hate her: But what remedie, since his fortune
was so hard? he wold starve her with patience:
and only adds this Suffrage to his Letanie: A
prava muliere, good Lord, deliver mee.

These drie scoffes, sets her hart in a light
fire, and (save that she hath not so many colours
like unto Iris,) thundreth out the venome of her
cankred Spirit in revylings, and raylyngs against
her Husbande: And (to say trueth) her case is to
be pittied, as much as her tong is to be blamed:
for Injurie is not so grevous unto a man, as to
see his Adversarie soothe his trespasse with an
honest shoe.

But to my purpose, her Husband crosseth her
with a quiet Aunswere: you may see friendes,
(sayth he,) wyld fire wyl burne in water, Drinke
wil make the Dropsie dry, and mildnes in mee,
mooveth madnesse in my wife: by her example here,
you see my lyfe at home, as tedious as Hel; then
(perhaps) som flowting Marchant, sayth: lyke
ynuffe, and the shee Devill weareth the homes. /
Thus with their own mischeefes, they greve their
friends, delight their foes, and wareie their
Neighbors, in according their debates: and if
they be in the morning quieted, and go home in
peace, at Noone like enemies they ar redy to
throwe the house out at the window: a slut like
the furie of lothsomenes, shall bring in dinner,
because the Jelious wife, dare not trust her
husbands with any maide that is hansome: the
husbande offended, throweth the Platters at her head, and axeth if she meane to poyson him: the Wife taketh pepper in the nose, and sayth, if hee had not married her, he woulde have beene glade of the worst morsell there.

The Husband replieth that if he had not beene so mad, the divell would not have married her.

Then beginneth the old Musik, tuned perchance with a rap or two of the lippes, and when they have brawled their fill, shee runneth and benoneth her selfe at her neighbors, and he goeth and maketh himselfe merie with his Mistrisses.

In sooth, Maister Doctor, it seemeth to mee (quoth Sir Soranso) that you have verie substancially proved my opinion: for Marriage equallye devideth her blessings, and mischaunces, betweene the married: and as farre as I can see, neither of these knoweth, who hath the better or worser bargen: there is raylinges and unquietnesse of both sides: but what of that, pleasure is best seasoned with paine: and though they sometimes jarre at home, they agree wel when they are seperated among their neighbours. And although you have streatched their debates, upon the rack of vengeaunce: yet at adventure, I wish my selfe no worse bestowed, then marrie to an old welthy Widdow. I doo not thinke, but by good usage, to continue her first affection geven, even unto hir verie Grave.

You will kill her with kindnesse, (quoth Maria Belochye.)

Yea, Madam, (quoth Soranso) if her nature be so froward, as to die with good usage. /
In deede Ladyes (quoth the Doctor,) there are
some men, that entertaine their olde wives, with
such a fayre shewe of flattering love, as they
bewitche them even to their latter gaspe. But
at what rate dooth she purchase this kindenesse?
0 even with the undoing of her selfe and Children:
yea, and which is worse, it is the pollicie of
Father in lawes, to dandle the infancie of their
wives Children, in the lap of Ignorance, to this
ende, that being of lawfull age, they may with
lesse fetches beguyle them of their living: so
that the unfortunate childe, knowes not whether
he may more bemone his losse of living, or lacke
of good bringing up: and in my judgement, of
bothe the evils: want of education is the
greatest: for learning and vertue purchaseth
living, and lyving corrupteth, but coyneth not
good conditions: and as Seneca sayeth, libertie
without learning is a bondage to the minde: and
further, the Childe were better to be dead borne,
then barren of good Letters, for that Ignoraunce
is a grave which buryeth life.

Maister Doctor (quoth Queene Aurelia) me
thinketh your wordes doo too much wrong to the
wife, though they cannot sufficiently blame the
husband. I graunt that father in lawes, esteeme
their owne profiets, before their wives Childrens
preferments: but yet (I suppose) Nature dooth
direct the naturall Mother, to eye their good
bringing up, who with muche sorrowe brought them
foorth: For (as the Proverbe goeth) things that
are dearely bought, are of us intirely belooved,
and nothing is more dearely purchased, then what
is attayned with the hazarde of life, which venter

A most wicked pollysie.

Senecas opinion that Children were better
to be dead borne then ignoraunt of good
letters.

Things that are beast esteemed.
the Mother maketh, before she is assured of her Childe: then this cruelty towards her Children, to satisfye the wyll of her second husbande, will make indifferent men, holde her an unnaturall Mother, whether her husband esteeme her a dutifull wife or no.

Oh good Madame (quoth the Doctor,) how can the Hen succour her Chickens, when she her selfe is at the mercy of the Kite? how can the Conny preserve her Rabets, when the Ferret is in possession of her Burrowe? and how may the unfortunate Mother, Foster her shiftlesse Children, either as she should or would, when her fancie or folly hath enthralled her to a second Husband, whose power is to direct, and displeased, to check?

This severitie of Father in lawes, hath bred much division in Marriage: but still the quarrels are concluded, with the detryment of the Children: for the unhappie wife, is bound to one of these two evils, either to agree to the tyrannizing of her entrayles, or to yeelde to her owne continuall sorrow and unquietnesse: And where the case is so desperate, it may be lamented, but not wondred at, that necessitie breake the boundes of nature.

To staye this mischeef (quoth Helena Dulce) Honourable is the custome of Spaine, where the vertuous Dame holdeth the second Mariage, a retrograding of her reputation, and a wrong to her deceased husband: for by this stayednesse, she is in possession of her libertie, and hath the disposing of her living.

I holde this precise custome (quoth Dondolo) more profitable then necessarie: for the penaunce were to harde, yea, impossible to be induced, that
the lusty young Widdowe should be constrainyed to
a Virgins chastitye, for as Ovid devineth.

I that some times of Nuptiall rites,
Have taste the pleasant toyes:
Now cannot chuse, but call to minde,
Dame Venus sugred joyes.

But if the aged widdow, could live within
this lawe, it would bring honour to her yeares,
and happinesse to / the end of her life. What
better husbands may she have, then her owne
Children, whom shee may bothe command and
controule, whose dutyes are to labour in her
causes, and to unburden her heart of cares? and
when she departeth this life, where may she better
dispose her living, then upon her owne Children,
whom to releve, she is conjured by nature, and
to bring up in good nurture, bound in conscience:
But from the beginning so rife hath beene the
dotage of Widdowes, that when their feeble legges,
faintely supporteth their consumed bodyes, when
at hie noone, their mistie eyes hardly discerneth
the hye way, and when (forste) thorough lack of
teethe, they swallowe theyr meate, theyr lippes
notwithstanding, take delight in kisses, and their
mindes thirst after wantonnesse.

Mens follyes are as great as Womens
simplicities, in this oversight in dotage (quoth
Queene Aurelia) but I thinke it necessarie, that
here we staye our jorney, least we enter into

Hell, before we be aware: and therefore Segnior
Fabritio, I pray you let us have your sentence, to
over rule this question.

Madam (quoth Fabritio) the evill of this
inequallitie in Mariage, is bothe so auncient and so common in use, as there needeth no other judgement, then experience of our neighbours mischaunces, but to succour the injured children, I would that one of Laertius lawes, were common to the whole world: which is, wher the Tennaunt sued his Lorde, the Servaunt his Maister, or the Childe his Parents, that Judges themselves, should forthwith looke into the Processe, and determine the same, for it is vehemently to be supposed, that these sutes are forced upon vehement injuries, otherwise the Servaunt would feare to sue his Maister, who hath power moderately to chasten him: the Tennant would quake to unquiet his Lord, who hath many meanes to crosse him, and without whose grace he may never live in peace. Shame and dutie (in any sufferable matter) would make the child forbeare to molest his Parents, for (but where his cause is known) / Reporte like a two edged Knife, would (besides his injurie) wound him with blame, and omission of dutie. Therfore, where the least of two daangerous evils, forced the above sayd to sue, it is much to be lamented, that delaye, countenaunce of freends, corruption with bribes, and other supporters, which the riche hath, should torment the poore complayntant, more then his originall injurie.

Your reason is but just, (quoth Queene Aurelia,) and the rest of the company; who wearie with the multitude of the resited mischaunces, heere broke of the Disputation, and went and reposed themselves in the great Chamber.
The speeche which passed the sixt night
at Supper, betweene Segniour Phyloxenus,
and his Honourable Cuestes.

According to the order of Merchants, who at
the latter ende of the yeare, survey theyr accounts,
to see what fortune and mischaunce they have
receyved thorough the whole yeare past, Segnior
Phloxenus (towards the latter end of Supper)
smilelingly, demaunded an account of the benefit
of the chosen companies sixe dayes Disputation.

Sir (quoth Soranso, with a modest merry
countenaunce) we are like to present you a
Banckrups reckoning, who the longer he occupieth,
the worse he thriveth: so we these sixe dayes,
have travailed to finde out a way, to the
Farradise in Mariage, and every day we have been
further and further off, of our determination,
one day we thought that the wealthy matches of
Parentes, would have speeded our jorney, but
there, lack of love in the Children, cast us
beindie hand: an other day, we imagined that
free choise in the Children, would have directed /
us to happinesse in Marriage: but want of
maintenaunce and frowardnes in the parentes,
marred this match. In lofty love we found
dainger: in base love lothesomnesse and
inconstancy: and where there is inequality of
yeares, fume and smoke of Hell: so that now wee
shall be dryven to renounce our profession: and
runne awaye with the Banckrowt, least (if he
staye, as he is chopped up in pryson) so we, if
wee procede any further be drowned in the ryver
Stix.

If you travaile with as much pleasure, as

It is no striving against the streame.
you report your adventures with ease, (quoth Signior Philoxenus,) I wonder but a little though errour carried you to Hell gates: but to incourage you to persever in your first purpose, let this comfort you: that thinges when they are at the worst, begin again to amend. The Feaver giveth place to health, when he hath brought the pacient to deaths doore. The Bee, when he hath lefte his stinge in your hand without dainger may playe with your eye lidde: so, when all the inconveniences of Marriage, are in your eares, you may very well receive her into your heart: and to conclude your beniffyte with your owne example, there is no such husband as the unthrifte, when he fasteneth uppon the worlde: for in spending of other mennes goodes he learned howe to spare his owne, when he gettes them: so in the pleasantaunt beating out of these inconveniences, you knowe what maketh Marriage bitter, and the greefe knowne, the remedye is easie.

With your favour, Sir, (quoth Dondolo,) to be sicke is common to all men, but to restore to health, under God, is the office of the Physition: so we all knowe by our owne travaile, the infirmities of Marriage, but to fynde out the blessinges, muste proceede from your sound directions which favour to obtaine we are all earnest suters.

Your request is so juste (quoth Segnior Philoxenus,) that if I were able (as I am not) to better your judgementes, I would not be daintye in this pleasure: but for that the more the opinions are, in the end, the more pro-/found the sentence is: I wyll too morrowe (in part, to
satisfie your demand) joyne with you in your ordinarie sweete exercise. Perchaunce you have ended all the inconveniences in the olde yeare, and I may begin the New yeare, in helping to bloome the blessings of Marriage.

Queene Aurelia and the rest of the company, affectionately thanked Signior Philoxenus for this hye favour: and so rose from the Table, who after a little pawsing, daunsing and devising, at theyr pleasures, went unto theyr lodgings.

FINIS. /
The vii. Dayes Exercise:

Containing: a Discourse of the excellencie of Marriage: with many sound Lawes and directions, to continue love betwixt the married: with the rare Historie of Phrigius and Pieria, reported by Segniour Phyloxenus: And other good notes of regard.

Like as when the royall Armie, lies incamped before a Towne of warre, the sound of Trumpets, noyse of Drums, and neying of Horses, dooth awake the Souldiers and Cittizens, before Aurora be willing to leave the sweete embracements of her husband Tithon: so, even with the departure of the day Star, in honour of the New yeare, the Trumpets, Drummes and Flutes, sounded through every small passage, into the lodgings of Segniour Philoxenus Pallace, such shrill salutations, as the company envying the confusion of night: broade waking, attended the Mornings light, to apparell themselves: who in their moste brave and sumptuous araye, by nine of the clock, made the great Chamber resemble a fayre Garden in Maye. In the imbroderies of whose Garments, Flowers and fancies, were so naturally and artificially wrought: some of Pearle, some of golde, some of Bugle, every one according to their own humour: More over, every Gentlemans head was armed with his Mistrisses favor, and every Gentlewomans hart, was warmed with her servaunts affection.

In the most soveraigne place of the great Chamber, Janus, God of Time (as the Poets faine) was hung up, in the likenes of a Serpent, winding his body into a circle and holding his taile in his mouth, expressing under / this figure his
revolution, who through his continuall motions environing and compasing the world, retourneth into himselfe, and endeth and beginneth in himselfe: and in joyfull token of the newe yeare, he was garnished with many sweete flowers, garlandes, and devices: some artificiall lively counterfeited. Segnior Philoxenus although he hated superstitious Ceremonies, and shund them, yet he honored auncient lawdable customes, and kept them: who according to the custome of the countrey, presented every one of his guests, with a riche new years gifte, which exployned some morrall vertue. Among the reste he gave his sister Queene Aurelia, a fayre plaine tablet, which opened, represented the picture of a faire Lady garnished with many precious stones: covertly, expressing thereby, that gorgeous apparell vras but base and counterfeit, in respect of the brave vertues of the mynde. This order the Italians use, the best giveth newe yeares giftes to his inferior freendes, and in England cleane contrarie. The Tennaunt giveth his Lord: the meane Gentlemen, to Knightes: Knightes to Barrons: Barrons to Earles: Earles, Marquises: and Dukes, to their soveraigne Prince: but it seemeth the Englishmen, observe this custome more neere the originall then the Italians: for the founders therof were the auncient Romaines, who bounde theyr Knights, the first day of Januarie, in the Capitole, to present theyr Newyeares giftes, to Caesar Augustus, were he absent, or present: but so many Countryes, so many customes. And (to my purpose) Segnior Philoxenus, thus bountifull solemnized the use of his owne Countrey. This
memorable curtesie performed, Segnior Phyloxenus, with some of the graver company, went before unto the Chappell, and Queene Aurelia and her attendantes, followed with such a gyltering show, as the Preests needed no other Tapers to see to say service by, then the glistening reflexions of the Gentlewomens eyes, and the pretious Stones they wore in theyr Jewels: and in my oppinion, God was better plea-sed, and more honoured, with the Braverie of the companie, then with the babling and Ceremonies of the Priest: who in the honour of the New yeare, sets forth his relikes to the best shoue: By that time Service was ended, and the companie retourned: the Tables were furnished with many daintie Dishes: to wreake her hunger of some few wherof, Queene Aurelia, tooke her Royall place, and the rest of the companie, as they pleased. This Dinner was spent in Discourse of certain Ceremonies and olde Rites used in times past, in the celebrating of God Janus Feast, too tedious, and (withall) impertinent for this Discourse. When Dinner, and a little other pausyng talke was ended, the companie arose: and Queene Aurelia, with the reverent Salutations of the whole troupe, retyrde into her owne Chamber, tyll the howre of Disputation sounded.

About which time, she, with Segnior Phyloxenus, and the rest of her Attendauntes, entred into a moste delycate Banquetinge House, where, uppon the Walles, in so good order, and representation of Nature: were painted, all maner of Fruictes, Flowers, Vines, Arbors, and causes of Pleasure, either in Orchard or Garden: as a man (without Segnior Phyloxenus banqueting hous.
blushing) might have adventured, to gather upon the bare Walles, a Pomegranate, a Cluster of Grapes, a Gyllyflower, or suche lyke: had not the dead of Winter, reaved the likelyhoode, that they should be perfect.

After Queene Aurelia, and the rest of the companie, had taken their places, in this earthly Paradise: Segnior Phyloxenus (secretly) wylld the Eunuke, to chaunt out the prayses of Hymen: who obaying this Charge, tuned his Lute, and to a sweete Noate, sung this following Sonet.

Even as the Vine, that clasps the tender Elme,
Amonge greene leaves, his purpled Grapes doth beare:
When (wanting props) himself doth overwhelme,
And for the fire his Branches doth prepare. /

So two in one, with Hymens ryghtes fast bound,
Of their sweete love, live alwayes in the seede:
When Death, or time, the single doth confounde,
Which ruine of fame, the barren thought doth breed.

Sweete Hymen then, thy Godhead I adore,
And bow my selfe, by thee to be controlde:
In fouled Amies, my Spouse my eyes before:
Yeelds more content, then Dymonds, Pearle, and Gold.

In quiet home, uncheckt, to rule, and lyve,
What lyfe more sweete? what hartes ease like to this?
Or through mischaunce, my mind when care doth greeve,
What Medicine, is better then a kysse?
At unawares, geven by a lovyng wife,
O none, nor state, lyke to the married lyfe.
This Sonet ended, and well considered: Sir (quoth Queene Aurelia to Segnior Philoxenus) to be revenged of the injurie, of our former disputations, who have painted Marriage with a thousand inconveniences, I beseeche you, and binde you, by your promise, to blazon the blessings and excellencie of this sacred Institution: that she who is devine, may have her due prayses, and we that are ignoraunt, may knowe how to receave her benefites, and with the same to honour her.

Madame, (quoth Segnior Philoxenus) you charge me, beyonde my promise, and binde mee to an impossibilitie: I promist but to joyne with this quick witted Company in opinion, which I am readie to accomplish.

To blaze the excellencie of Marriage, is a werke of no great difficultie, because her vertues illustreth the same through the whole worlde, but to direct the maried, is a labor of Art, wit, and experience: in the fyrst, wherof, I am ignoraunt, in the second unperfect, and to the thirde a Strainger: so that, as I am sorry to injurie your expectation, so am I loth to expose my insufficient judgement. / Sir (quoth Queene Aurelia) if wee were not assured of a lyberal contentment, in contemplating of your weightie Censure, we would receive your modest refusall, for just excuse. But for that we have all an intrest in your vertues, and you should be enemie, to your owne honorable commendation, in keeping of them close prisoners in your brest (although you be Lord of the Pallace) yet I, as soveraigne of the Civill Pleasures, commaund you to give Cerimonies a disgrace, and
sincerely to obey my will.

Madam (quoth Signior Philoxenus) so strickt is your charge, as I must adventure, of this waighty labour, hoping, that as by authoritie you command my opinion, so by the motion, of some one of your vertues, you wil pardon my errours.

Upon which incouragement, to obey your wyll, I say, and approove, by sacred Authoritie, that this holy Institution of Marriage, was erected by God, in the earthly Paradice, before the transgression of Adam, when he joyned him to Eve, with these wordes of blessing, Increase, multiply, and replenish the earth. Againe, after Adams fall, and the deluge: to strengthen his fyrst institution, God commaunded, the good Patrarcke Noe, to encrease and multiply the earth a new. Moreover, God would have no more women, then men, in his Ark, to show there shoulde be a Sympathie in number, as well as agreement in love betwene man, and wife: for if the one might lawfullye have many Wives, and the other, many Husbandes: how should this expresse Commandement of God be unviolated? You shall be two bodies in one flesh, and no more.

Compare the Joye, honour and reverence, geven unto Mariage, by the delight, that proceedeth from any other cause, and you shall see her gleame, lyke a blasyng Comet, and the other, but twinkle as an ordinarie Starre.

Gorgeous and rich Apparayle, delighteth the Gasers eye: and (perhaps) offendeth the wearers hart: where Maryage, in homely Attyre, is every where honored, and reaveth unquiet wandring
thoughts, from the Married: to abound in riches, is a glorious fortune, but they charge men with a double care, extreme in the getting, and fearfull in the keeping: the married, hath as great, or greater riches, in their children.

When the stately Dames of Rome, bragged of their Juelles, Cornelia boasted that hers, excelled them all. A Ladye of the company, seeing her, set forth with none, that was precious, demanded where her Juelles were? Yonder (quoth Cornelia,) and pointed to her children.

When certaine most rare, and precious Juelles, of King Darius, and his wives, were presented to Olympia, Mother of Alexander the great, she bestowed them upon her Ladyes, as to lowe prised for her wearing, who was continually, adorned with a Juell, in value, as riche as Asia, Affrica, and Europa. And sure Queene Olympia, and Ladye Cornelia, gloried not in their Juelles, without reason: for golde, and precious stones, set but a close, upon beautie, when vertuous children, giveth a newe lyfe unto their parentes.

The administration of Justice, and auctoritie, in a common weale, are the proper offices of the married: for that the care of wife, and children, presupposeth them to be settled: when the unmarried, though their wittes be good, rayseth a suspicion in the wise, that their thoughtes, are vagrant. The unmarried, hath no agreeable Companion, to participate of his pleasure, or to lessen his sorrowe. The Married, hath a Companion of his owne flesh, of his owne will, and of his owne Spyryt, so wrought to his owne Affection: that
betweene them, there is seene two bodies, and but one thought, perceived: The Married joy alike, sorrow alike: are of one substance, one concord, one wealth, one povertie, Companions at one Boorde and in one Bed. The love we beare unto our Parents, is (or ought to be) reverent and duetifull, because, they gave us lyfe: Unto our Breetherne, naturall, because of the privitie in blood: To our frendes, affectionate, by certaine motions and consents of the minde: Notwithstanding, that these Loves be / thus greate, yet are there divers causes too lessen them.

But betweene the married, no mischaunce, or infirme Fortune, is cause sufficient of hatred: for none, governed by reason, is so inhumaine, as to mallice his owne fleshe: Compare their severall affections, by sorrow, and you shall see the weakenes of the one, in regard of the strength of the other. The greatest mone we make, for the death of our Father, Brother, or friend, appeareth in sighes, or (most vehement) in teares: whereas if wee our selves, are but a little wounded, we crye outright: so that by howe much we exceede, in sorrowing our owne mischaunces, above another mans: by the same reason, so much we love our selves, more then another. The Rynge that is given by the Husbande, and put on the Wives finger, ought to be of Gould, to witnes, that as gould is the most precious of Mettallas, so the love of the married, exceedeth all other loves.

To which effecte, Propertius sayth, Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major: moreover, the close Joyning of the rings, is a figure of true unitie of the married: betweene Love to our Bretheren, naturall.

Love to our Friendes, affectionated.

Love between the married irrevocable.

A good mean to trye the love of the married.

The rynge, a triall of the love betwene the married.

An other fygure of the rynge.
whom, there should be no division in desire, nor difference in behaviour. To honour this holy institution of God, God would have his only begotten sonne, to be borne of a Wife, perfectly married, save that she was not Carnally soyled.

Licurgus, the good King of the Lacedemonians, so reverenced this sacred estate, as he made a Lawe, that what Lacedemonian soever were unmarried, after the age, of thyrtie and eyght yeares, should be chased and hissed out of all publique plays, and assemblies, as one, unworthy to be see[n]: and that, in the cold winter, he shuld (naked) indure the reproches of the people: and withall, was bounde to confesse, how he justly suffred the punishment, as a Mispriser of Religion, a contemner of Lawes, and an enemie to nature. The Romaines were not so severe: but yet the Aged, unmaried, were condempned (according to their abylytie) to pay unto the Treasurer, for publique use, a good Summe of Money. /

Plato, in his Lawes, enacted: that the Unmaried, shuld execute, no honourable Office, Estate, nor dignytie, in the Common wealth.

The good Emperour, Alexander Severus, although he maryed, rather, to gave ende to his Mother, Memmeas, Importunyties: then (as he thought) to begin a more happie lyfe: yet fayre Memmia, his wyfe, so naturally accorded with his disposition, as when she died, he would often renewe his Sorowe, and remember her Vertues, in these wordes:

So great a Treasure, as I have lost, a man seldome findeth: Death were gentle, if he tooke nothyng but that whiche offendeth: but, oh, he hath reaved the better parte of my selfe.

Christ was borne of a married woman.

Licurgus law for the unmarried.

The Lawe of the Romaines, for the unmarried.

Plato's lawes for the unmarried.

Alexander Severus love to Memmia his wife.
How wonderfullie, was the Love of Paulina, sage Senecaes Wife, who opened her Vaines, not onely, with an intent to accompanie him to death, but also, with a desire to feele her Husbandes maner of deathe.

Quintus Curtius, resiteth, that Kyng Darius, with an unapaule Spirit, tooke his Overthrowes, by Alexander the Great, the ruine of his kingdome, and the daunger of his royall parson: But having knowledge of his wives death, he wept bitterly, shewing by this sorrow, that he loved his Queene, farre above his Crowne.

King Admetus, being sore sicke, received this answer from the Oracle: that if he lived, his best friend must dye: which when the good Queene heard, shee presently slewe her selfe, and in the trembling passage of Death, constantly saide: To give King Admetus lyfe, his Queene and dearest friende dooth die.

Tiberius Graccus, finding two Serpents, in his chamber, went to the Augurers, to know what they devyned? who answered, that he was bound to kill the one of these two Serpents, if hee slew the Male, he should die himselfe: if hee killed the Female, he should lose his wife: who (murtherer of himselfe) slew the Male, and saved his wife: and so by his rare love, raised a question, whether his Wyfe were more fortunate in haveinge suche a Husbande, or / unhappye in loosing of him. One of the seven wonders of the worlde, is an eternall testimonie of the love whiche Queene Artemesia bare to her Husbande Mausolus, who for to engrave his dead coarse, erected a Sepulchre, so royall and sumptuous, as tooke away Paulinas rare love, to her Husbande Seneca.

The precious love of King Darius to his wife.

The devine love of King Admetus Wife.

The exceeding love, of Tiberius Graccus, towards his wife.

The wonderfull love, of Queene Artimesia, towards her husbande Mausolus.
the glorie of all princely Tumbes, before her time, and lefte no possibilitie, for any (in time to come) to excel the same: but holding this too base a Mansion, for his Kingly hart, she dried the same to powder, and spising her wine there with, she buryed it in her owne bowels: and to crowne his fame, with an everlasting memorie, for that the ruine of his Sepulcher was subject to the injurie of time, with great rewardes she incouraged Theopompus, Teodectes, Naucrites, and Isocrates foure of the most famous Orators of Greece, to renowne his vertues.

    Amonge whom, Theopompus (as we read) received the triumph of victorie, in that learned skirmish.

I coulde reporte manye other Authorityes, of unseperable Love betwene the Married: the least of a hundred whereof, would equall, the friendshippes of TITUS and GISIPPUS: Or of DAMON and PITHIAS, the two woonders of mens affections. But for that I know, the able wittes heere present, can cloth my naked prooffes, of the excellencie of Marriage, and of the devyne Love, betwene the Marryed, with manye other sounde reasons, I wil give place Madam, that you, and the rest of your Ingenious Companie, may doo better service to the one, and Justice to the other, desiring that, that which is saide, may discharge my promisse, though not satisfy your expectation.

    Sir (quoth Queene Aurelia) if you give us good lawes to preserve Love amonge the married, as you have with precious authorities set forth the excellencie of Mariage, and the devine operations of her blessings, with a ful performance / of your promisse, you shal binde us a1 to be your
Debters.

Madame (quoth Phyloxenus) you set me to a verie hard taske: the Rose, is Hostesse, as well for the Butterflie as the Bec: the Sunne shineth, both upon the good and bad: yea, Christe him selfe, was (aswell) Maister to a Theefe, as to a true Disciple: Even so, divine Mariage, can not have, but some Devillysh Subjectes, whome Examples wil not feare: much lesse, may Lawes, kepe in unitie.

I graunt (quoth Queene Aurelia:) the evyll are fearelesse of the Lawe, untill they be scourged with the vengeaunce thereof: but the good embrace Lawes, as their Directors in Vertue, and Defenders from daunger: for whose Benefite, I intreate you now, with as large a power, as I lately commaunded you: that (in this behalfe) you wyl commyt, some counsaylyng Lawes, to our attentive Memories.

Madame (quoth Segnior Phyloxenus,) to showe that your Vertues, have as great power to commaund me, as your Aucthorytie to enjoyne mee: I wyll set downe my owne Imagynations, to preserve (and multiplye) Love, peace, wealthe, and Joye, among the Maried: leavyng the same to be perfected, by the hearers better Judgementes.

Householde Lawes, to keepe the M aryed, in Love, Peace, and Amytie: Reported, by Segnior Phyloxenus.

The Satisfaction of Fancie, is the Sourse of Joye in Maryage: But, there be many meanes too damne up the Course of Delight, betweene the Maried, if the Match be not made, aswell, by foresight, as free choyce.
The Office of Foresight, is to prevent, folowing Mischaunces: and (advisedly) to consider, if present Abylytie, willl support an Househoulde, and (according to their callyng) leave a Portion, to their Posterytie. / In this point, the experyence of the Parents, is to be preferred before the rashe imaginations of the sonne: for the aged Married, by proofe know, that in time many accidents of mischaunce, will hinder the indevours of the best husbands.

The office of foresight, is likewise to consider, of the equallitie in yeares, least the one growing, and the other declining in perfection, after a while, repent, when remedie comes too late: the Rose full blowne, seemeth fayre for a time, but withereth much sooner then the tender Bud.

It is the office of foresight, to consider of the equallitie of bringing up, least a diversity in manners, betwene the married, make a devision of desires: for Spannyels and Curres, hardly live together without snarling.

And it is the office of foresight, to see that there be a consent in Religion, betwene the married, for if theyr love be not grafted in theyr soules, it is like theyr Marriage will be infyrmed, with the defects of the body.

The office of Free choise, is the roote or foundation of Marriage, which consisteth onely in the satisfaction of fancie: for where the fancie is not pleased, all the perfections of the world, cannot force loove, and where the fancie delighteth, many defects are perfected, or tollerated among the Married.
When Marriage is solemnized, there are many things to be observed one the parte bothe of the husband and the Wife.

The Husband is to consider, his house is a petty Common wealth, whereof himselfe is cheefe, and his Servaunts Subjects: therefore, for the welfare bothe of himselfe and householde, it is needfull, that he set downe such orders, as God may be gloryfied, himselfe profitably served, the good servaunt well rewarded, the evill chastened, and the neighbour pleased: And as it is the Husbands office, to set downe these orders, so it is the Wives dutie to see them executed.

The charge of the Husband, is to get abroade for the provision of his householde: and the Wife is bounde to spare at home, towards the maintenance of her children.

The office of the Husband, is to see his ground Tilled, his Cattell cherished, his fences sound, his labourers worke, and their wages paide.

The dutie of the wife is to see her Garden weeded, her Vines cut, and in her Orcharde her fruite Trees pruned: within doores her house well ordered, her Maidens busied, her Children instructed, the freend intertained, and the Tables well furnished. And in this Oeconnie, many women have so excelled, as Socrates affirmeth: that he learned of Women more Morall Philosophie, then naturall reason of Anaxagoras and Archelaus: wherein Socrates testifyeth no more then theyr woorthy sexe deserveth: for many Women governe theyr Families with such Prudence, Temperance, Pietie, and other
commendable vertues, as may well instruct the wisest.

The Husband ought to beware, that in the presence of his wife, he useth no filthie lascivious talke: for besides the witnesse of his owne indiscretion, he maketh her a passage for many an unhappy thought.

The Wife ought to be nice, in occasion of suspicion, for her husband that see'th open cause of mistrust, cannot but feare, that in secret, he receiveth injurie: and Jelowsie though she proceeds from exceeding love, yet is she the greatest enemie of the Married.

The Husband is bound to keepe his wife in civill and comely apparell, as well to make her seeme beautifull unto himselfe, as to prevent the reproche of the neighbour: for this hath beene an auncient custome among the Romaines, and it is to be feared, that if the Husband breake it, to spare his Purse, the Wife will repayre it, though she gage her person.

The Wife that will please her Husband, and make a great showe of a little, though her Gownes be plaine, in her lynnen she must be curious and fine: for otherwise, / were she attyred all in Silke: if her sleeves, Partlet and other Linnen be coorse, torne, or sluttishly washed, she shall neither be praised of straungers, nor delight her Husband.

The Husband, after householde jarres, if the Wife seeme to be sorie, he ought not to be sullen: for if shee perceive him of a frowarde nature, it is like in other suche squares, she wilbe negligent to please him.
The Wife, if she offend her husband, by some ignorant trespass, she must please him with a loving countenance: least if he finde her of a crooked condition, he will take delight to crosse her with continuall foule usage.

The olde Husband, is to accompany his young Wife with grave Matrons, and to set her forth with costly civill attyre, that seeing the reverence and honour that is given her for her Husbandes gravitie, she will studdie how to please him, though she displease her owne disposition.

The young Wife that hath an olde Husband, is bound to make much of him at home: for the reputation she receaveth in his life, and for the wealth she is like to have by his deathe: and abroade must be sober in her behaviours, discrette in her talke, and no harkener to young mens tales, least her owne lightnesse, make her openly infamed, where her Husbands imperfections, could cause her but to be secreatly suspected.

The young Husband is too beare with his olde Wife, in her will, as well for the reverence due to her yeares, as for the advauncement, the love bringeth to himselfe: least the neighbours terme his Wife an unfortunate old Woman, and himselfe, a naughtie, frowards, vile natured young man.

The olde Wife, to give excuse to her dotage, must in open assemblies, commend her young Husband of modest and staied governement: and secreatly, to be lovingly used, must kisse him: with Midas lippes for, if she fyll not / his Purse by fayre meanes, with foule intreatie he will be his owne Carver: if she complayne, she joyneth but scorne to her owne mischaunce.
Generally, the Husband ought not to forbid his Wife, in assemblies modestlie, to intertaine time, in devising with the better sorte: for in such jelous restraint, he shall leave a suspition, that he injoyneth her this open penance, for some secret trespass, and so bothe slander himselfe, and injure his wife.

The Wife should have an especiall care, to shun the company of light Women: for the multitude, though they can charge her with no misdemeanour, yet they well condemne her honor, by the known evils of her companions.

Many other needefull directions, may be given to preserve unitie in Mariage (quoth Segnior Phyloxenus) too cumbersome for me to reporte, and too tedious for this honorable company to heere, whose patience I have already injured too much: but finding my error, I end my tale, and remaine ready to make satisfaction in some other service.

Sir (quoth Fabritio) the end of your Tale, puts us in remembrance of our duetie and your right, which is for this honourable favour, to remaine your indebted Servaunts, to embrace your counsels, and to commend (and submit our reasons to) your learned Censure.

It is your favour and not my merit (quoth Segnior Phyloxenus.)

Sir, (quoth Queene Aurelia) I will beare the blame of this dayes importuning of you, and you alone shall have the honour, in graunting of my requests, who to the former joyneth this one more favour, which is, that you conclude this your worthy exercise, with some rare Historie at large.

Madam (quoth Segnior Phyloxenus) this is the
least of your commandments, considering that Histories make mention of thousands, who in their unseparable loves, have sounded the excellency of Marriage, wherefore I obey your pleasure. / The worthy Historie of Phrigius and Pieria. Reported by Segniore Phyloxenus.

In the Register of Fame, wherein the Monuments of the vertuous are Cronicled, as presedents for theyr posteritie, I reade, that in the famous Cittie of Miletum in Ionia, as soveraigne Prince and governour, there raigned a worthy Duke, called Nebeus, who to comfort and supporte his aged yeares, had to his sonne and onely heayre, Phrigius, a young Gentleman of such rare towardlines, as it may be a question, whether he weare more beholding to Nature for the perfections of his body, to Vertue for the qualities of his minde, or to Fortune in suffering him to be so nobly borne.

In Myos, a neighbour Cittie to Miletum, there was also a Prince of much renowne, named Pythes, whose Daughter and heyre, was fayre Pieria, by whose vertues all Ionia was renowned. The auncient envie betweene the Cittizens of Miletum and Myos, was tourned into amitie: and the open warre betweene Duke Nebeus and the noble Pithes, was peaceably and honourably ended: All such happie events, succeeded this following adventure. Upon the Feastivall day of Diana, the Cittizens of Myos, with out the injurie of Souldiers, might lawfully repayre to Miletum, to sacrifice to Diana, upon which safe conduct, with many other Ladys and Gentlewomen of Myos, fayre Pieria waighted on
her Mother to **Dianas Temple**, whose rare beauty was such, as dazeled the eies of the behoulders, like the reflections of a Myrror, placed against the Sunne.

Among many that looved, and few or none that saw possibility of grace, such was the renowne of her chaste disdaine, young **Phrigius** beheld **Pieria** with such a setled eye, / as **Dianas Temple** sheelded him not against the Arrowes of Loove: but as a wounded Stag, at the first seemeth little dismayde: so **Phrigius** with an unappalled cheere, returned to the Dukes Pallace, and as pledge of truce, he sent his heart to **Myos**. The Ceremonies and Sacrifices of **Diana** ended, the Warres renued, the wonted Massacres, Murthers, Rapines, and outrageous cruelties practised by the Souliours of either part: in so much as Lawe gave place to Armes, equitie to violence, and all publique order was perverted, and upon the point to be destroyed. The Captaines of **Myos** encouraged theyr Souliours of the one part: but the Souliours of **Miletum**, were driven to comfort theyr Captaine with a threatening of disgrace. But ah poore **Phrigius**, what aunswer shouldest thou make? To see thy Souliours slaine, and thy Citties spoyled, without proffers of rescue were dishonourable: to bend thy forces against thy owne heart, were unnaturall: to make the best chyse of these two evilles, required leasure: and judgement. And therefore advisedly to consider of his estate, at this time **Phrigius** satisfied his Souliours with hope of some speedy venturous exployte, and daungered not his enemies, with the proffer of any violence: so that either power kept their
trenches peaceably, but yet with this indifferent perryl, that they attended oportunitie, to make the one Conquerors, and the other Captives: for the long Civill contention, had now made the estate of either as desperate, as the fortunes of two that have their substraunce upon the chaunce of Dice, the one to have all, the other to be undoone.

When Phrigius had with slender hope thus quieted the acclamations of the people, he retyrred himselfe into a solitary Chamber, to be the sole companion of his outragious passions, with whom he thus devised.

Ah trayterous eyes, betrayers of my whole body, the scourge of Miletum, and enimies of my honour: the vengeaunce of Cedippus is too gentile for your injuries: what doost thou say? oh blasphemous tongue, rivall of humanitie, callumner of Beautie, and hinderer of thy countrys peace: thou reprocher of vertue, and Phrigius welfare: know to thy shame, the perfection of my eyes have constantly behelde Pieria, whose devine beauties, emblemed in humaine shape, dazeleth the youngest sight in Ionia: Then to revile them thus, thou tyrannisiest nature: to demaunde why I love and serve Beautie, thy question is blinde, and deserveth a double aunswer: But aye me, though my eyes, and Love, have doone but what is just, Fortune hath dealt too rigourously with me, to render my heart Captive to his Daughter, who is the rivall of my father: what hope may I give to my afflictions? when possibility of comfort is taken away: the Parents are ready to sheath their Swords in one
an others entrayles: is it then like, the
Children shall embrace a mutuall affection? 0 no:
for though mylde Venus consent that they love,
wrathfull Mars will sever their affection. 0

The vengeaunce scourge of God, for in thee is containned a
greater vengeaunce than might be imagined by man:
thou armest the Sonne against the Father, the
Uncle against the Nephew, the Subject against his
Soveraigne: Thy Drinke is blood, thy foode the
flesh of men: thy Fiers are flaming Citties:
thy pleasures, spoyling of Widdowes, ravishment of
Virgins, subversion of Lawes and publique benefit:
thy Judges, Tyrannie, and Injustice: and where
thou remaynest, her known enemy is not so
daungerous, as the fayned freend.

But why exclaime I of Warre, who double
Crowned Alexander with the riches of Asia and
Affrica? who honoured Caesar, with imperiall

The vengeaunce of Warre.

triumphe? and rewarded Hanniball, for the
travailes of his life, with renowne after death?
by whom Millions of men, are regystred in the
life Booke of Fame: and thorough whom, Phrigius
giveth expectation of benefit unto his Countrey,

comfort to his aged Father, and honour to his
posteritie.

I receyved my wounde in the tyme of peace,
nay in the Temple of Diana: shall I then exclayme
of / Peace, and upbrayde Chastitie: foule fall

the heart that should moove, and shame worme the
tongue that pronounceth such blasphemie: 0
blessed Peace, thou fast chainest Treason, Tirannie,
Murther, Theft, and Wrathe, with all disturbers
of common tranquillitie, and in the hyest dignities,
placest Justice, Pietie, Temperaunce, Concorde
and Love, with many other Morall vertues, by
whom the lawde are chastened, the good are
cherished, and Common weales prosper and florish.

5 O Chastitie, thy divine vertues deserve a better
Trumpet, then my injurious tongue: thy excellencie
is written in the browe of Pieria. And is Pieria
the Deputie of Diana? O yes: and Phrigius the
servaunt of Venus? too true: it is then impossible
they should agree in affection? yea sure. O
unfortunate Phrigius, through Peace which
receivedst thy wound, before Diana's Aulter, and
by cruell Warre art seperated from the Surgion
that should cure thee. These sundrye conflictes

10 Phrigius had with his bitter passions, which
pursued theyr advantage, with such thorny feares,
as if he had not beene suddenly succoured, by the
advise and comfort of Lorde Miletus, a favoured
Counseller to Duke Nebeus, and an assured freend.

to his sonne Phrigius, he had beene like to have
yeelded to Dispaire. Miletus was glad to see him
thus affected, and sorry to behold him so
daungerouslie afflicted: for in this loove he
foresawe an end, of the auncient envie and enmitie,

15 betweene the Cittizens of Miletum, and Myos: whose
civill Fraies, had buried more young men in the
Fieldes, then aged in the Churches and Churchyardes.
Therefore to confirme his affection, and to comfort
him with hope: Lord Phrigius (quoth he,) to blame
your affection were cruelty and no sound counsell:
for you love Pieria, the Parragon of the worlde,
to discomfort you with an impossibilitie of her
favour, were cleane against the possibilitie of
your fortune: for besides that, your person
alluringly pleaseth, your authorities command: yea Pithes cannot but rejoice, Pieria consent, and all Myos desire is to solemnize this Mariage. My selfe, and the graver sort of the counsell, will motion the matter to the Duke your father, who I trust wil holde the affection of his sonne, rather to proceede from the justice of Diana, then the injurie of Cupid. Who regarding the zelous offeringes of Pieria, agreed that you shoulebe wounded, that Pieria might have the honour to cure you, in whose vertues, all Ionia hopeth to be blessed. Therefore, to make your affection known, in some pleasing Letter, to Pieria commend your service, and to deale with both your fathers, refer the care to mee. How sweete the smallest hope of grace is to a condemned man? or the leaste woordel of comfort, from the Phisition, to the infirmed patient: the soden change of Phrigius mone, truely manifesteth: who nowe began to looke cheerfully, and with hope appeased his passions: so that imbrasing Miletus, he committed his life to the fortune of his discresion: and while his passion was quicke, hee presented both love and service to Pieria, in this following letter.

Phrigius Letter to Pieria.

Faire PIERIA, sith it is a common thing to love: and a miracle to subdue affection, let it not seeme strange, that I am slave to your bewtie, nor wounder though I sue for grace. The wounded Lion, prostrateth himselfe at the feete of a man: the sicke, complayneth, to the Phisition: and (charged with more tormentes) the lover, is inforced
to seeke comfort of his Mistresse. To prove that
I love, needeth no other testimony, then the witnes
of your rare perfections, and to give me life is
the only work of your pittie. Wherefore (Madame)
since the Vertue of your eye, hath drawn away
my heart, as the Adamant doeth the steele, I
beseech you that my hartlesse bodie may so live
by your ruth, as I may have strength (as well as
wil) to do you service: and let it suffice for
more honor of your tryumph, that by the power of
beutie, your vertues have achived, a more glorious
conquest, then might the whole strength of MYCS,
and whiche is more, of a puissant / enemie, you
have made so perfect a friende, as Phrygius, shal
hold him self in no fortune, so happie, as to
encounter with the oportunytie, to do Pieria, and
her favourers service, or their enemies damage:
If which amendes, may repayre all Injuries past,
I shall hould, the Safecundict blessed, that
licensed you to enter Myletum: If greater ransom
be demaunded, it must be my life: which (if it
be your wyl) shall foorth with be sacrificed,
notwithstandinge, in such crueltie, Dianas
Temple shalbe prophaned, before whose Aulter, I
received my wound from the eyes of fayre Pieria:
but houldynge it unpossible, that a stonie harte,
may bee enemie to so manye Graces as live in your
face: I Balme my woundes, with hope that I kisse
your gracious hand: and that your Aunswere wyll
returne an acceptaunce of service.

He, whose hart waighteth
on your beautie.

PHRIGIUS.
This Letter sealed and subscribed: To faire Pieria, Triumph after victorie: was delivered unto a trustie Messenger: who (having Safecunduict, to passe through both the Armies) in good houre, arrived at Prince Pythes Pallace: and in the presence of her Mother and other friends reverently kissynge the same, delivered Pieria, with Phrygius lovyng commendations, his letter. Who so in the Spryngtime, in one Moment had seene rayne and Sunshine, might againe beholde the lyke chaunge in Pierias troubled countenaunce: who found no lesse Joye in reading the Letter, then cause of wonder, in beholding the superscription, who (by the consent of Diana, to bring peace into Nyletum) was by love, with the selfe same Arrowe, and at one instant wounded in as deepe Affection, as Phrygius: notwithstanding, bounde to no desire so mucche, as to the Direction of her Parentes, she shewed them this Letter: who, weerie of the warres: and embracynge this meane of peace. After they had advisedly considered the Contentes: to comforte Phrygius, without injurie to Pieriaes chaste behaviour: in her name, they returned this Aunswere. /

PIERIAS Answer to PHRIGIUS Letter.

SIR PHRIGIUS, I received your Letter, and as I confesse, that your prayses, so far passe my meryt, as I wunder at the errour of your Judgement: so, I doubt whither so honourable a personage, as your Lordship, can yeald your service, to so meane a Lady: or if love were of that power, whether you woulde obey, to bee Servante to her, whose Fathers ryvall, your
parentes, and you are: but on the other part: I entertaine a faint hope, that you are not so much enemie to your honor, as to leave in your Adversaries possession, a Monument of Dissimulation:

Upon which warrant, and your free offer of service: I bind you, by a curtuous request, to indevour to conclude a speedie peace: that I may without danger of Hostility repaire to Dianas Temple: In compassyng of which gratious League, you shal receive great glory: the countrey much quiet, and I, whom you wysh such welfare, shalbe bound to do you any honourable favour.

PIERIA of MYOS.

This aunswer sealed, and subscribed, To my Lorde Phrygius: delyvered by the handes, and blessed with the loving countenaunce of Pieria, was returned to Phrigius, by his owne messenger: who, after hee had read and reread this Letter (not for that, the Contents, gave him any assuredance of Love: but for because, they commaned an imployment of Service) hee comforted his Spirit, with hope, that his indevour in this charge, shoulde, both reave all doubte, of dissimulation, by hym, and smoothe Pierias Browe, of Chaste disdayne: and to further a happy ende of the Countries calamitie. In the beginnyng of Phrigius contentment, Lorde Miletus had so dealt in these affaires, as in shorte time Duke Nebeus, and Prince Pythes came to parle of peace: and while the Counsels of either parte, considered upon the Articles of agreement: Safecundit of Trafick, was geven to the Inhabitants of either Citie.

How sweete the friendly encounters, of these
aunciente enemies were: is the office of him, that hath beene scourged with warres: who, though they were but in the estate of reprived men, yet the hope of assured peace lightned their hartes of former sorrowe, and replenished the place with gladnesse.

Faire Pieria, nowe safely repaired to the Aulters of Diana: and Phrygius, more of desire, to salute his Mistris, then of zeale to sacrifice, to Chastetie: payned many Devotions, to visit her Temple: where these Lovers, for the reverence they bare to the place, forbare to encounter in any speeche of Love: Yet if Diana, wolde have publyshed their thoughts, shee shoulde have confessed, that the most devotionate of them both, in their hartes, honoured Juno, in the eye of her owne Image and Aulters. But Diana, though shee be the Soveraigne of single Nymphes: yet is she friende to Juno, and the Chast Married: and only enemie, to Venus and the wanton sort: so that shee tooke in worth, this light trespasse: yea, held her self honoured, that her sacred Temple, should bee the originall cause of Myletum and Myos, peace and amytie: and the ende of their auncient envy, and enmitie. Wherfore, to conclude, the begun agreement, she sent Concorde and Charitie, to chayne up Grudge, and Dissention.

Duke Nebeus and Prince Pythes, freed from the vexation of these furies, with affable and friendly entertaintment, reasoned of their affayres: and while the Parents parled of their common profit: the Children, upon lawfull opportunities, devysed of their pryvate Loves: but yet with suche a dutifull regarde, of their friendes consent, that
although their hartes were lynked together, by free choyce, the clapping of hands was referred to the forsight of Parentes: who burying former injuries, in the Cave of Oblivion, made an Edict of Amyty, sealed, and strengthened, with the

Marriage of Phrygius and Pieria, Heires of eithers renowne and dignytie. Beholde heere the worke of Love, grafted in the honorable hartes of the vertuous. The wrath and stormes of war, is
turned to calm and temporate peace: the blossoms of enmytie are altered into fruts of amyty: and the roote of mallice, grown to the tree of pitie. / The Nobles in honour of this Mariage, lavisht cut their treasure, in all their triumphes and showes
to be in good equipage. The meaner Gentlemen, by exceeding cost, learned by experience, how afterwarde to spare. The Citizens with giftes of great Emprice, presented their dutiful affections. The learned eternised this marriage peace, in

Tables of Memorie. The Cleargy song Himnes of joy, The common people ronge the Belles, and everie sorte showed some token of delight. So that Phrigius and Pieria, after the deathes of their aged fathers, were crowned with the dignities of Myletum and Myos, and all their happie life, were honoured with these acclamations of their subjectes. Live, blessed Princes: the appeasers of Jupiters wrath, by whom War, the Monster of humanitie, is fast chayned: And peace the soveraigne of morall vertues, Triumpheth in the Capitals of IONIA. Live blessed princes, and long enjoye the heartes of your subjectes. In your vertues who have multiplied wealth: and to doe you service are readie to spende their lives.
This zeale and reverence of their subjectes, Phrigius and Pieria, manie yeares possessed, betweene whome there was such equallitie in disposition, as fortune knew not, by anie accident of joye, or mischance, howe to sever their desires. And when the time came, the heavens (envying the glorie of the earth, in possessing this divine cupple) charged nature, to render their right. Who obaying the will of Jove, sent sicknesses to summon both Phrigius, and Pieria, and licensed death to doe his worst. And (as there yet remaineth an opinion in Miletum) as their loves began in one houre, so their lives ended in one momente: whose spirites metamorphosed, into white Turtles, tooke their flight, towards that heavenly Paradise. Where I wish all faithfull lovers, and this lovely companie, abiding places.

Segniour Philoxenus, by the vertue of this dayes exercise, the onely travell of his learned wit, so raysed the heartes of the companie, with the desire of Mariage, that Lucia Bella, who, in the beginning of Christmass, was determined to have beene a vestall Nunne, now confessed that they were enemies to Nature, and not worthy the society of men, which scandylised, or scorned this sacred Institution. The rest of this honorable company, by plausible speeches, confirmed Lucia Bellas opinion, or by silence shewed a willying consent. And to conclude the exercise, (quoth Queene Aurelia,) Segniour Philoxenus, your sweet vertues, have described so devyne a Paradice, as our soules cannot, but long, after this holy Institution, and our hartes honour your perfections, by whose bountie this company is not onely highly
intertained, but by your most precious treasures richly inriched. Madam (quoth hee) the vertue you speake of, belongeth to Mariage: the benifit to this gracious assembly: and the bare words, to Phyloxenus. Such bare wordes (quoth Fabritio) deserve to be registred amongst the lyfe deeds of Memorie. Upon this Judgment, Queene Aurelia, erose, and the company performyng the office of reverent curtesy, returned into the great Chamber to salute some other of the New yeeres Pleasures.

The Device of a Stately Show, and Mask, the seventh Nyghte, by Segnior Phyloxenus, to honour Queene Aurelia, and the other Ladies and Gentlewomen.

Upon Newe yeeres daye at Night, about nine of the Clocke, in an inclosed place in the great Hall: after Queene Aurelia, and her chosen attendants, had daunced certein soleymne Almaynes, appeared a hye Mountain, the Forestery wherof, was of faire Bay Trees, Pomgranate, Lymons, Orenge, Date Trees, and other fruities of most pleasure: among the Mossy Rocks appeared Snailes, Lysards, Moles, Frogs, Greshoppers, and such lyke unvenymus vermin, and by the fountaines, which run aslant the side of the Mountain, Lions, Unicorns, Elephants, Camelions, Camels and other beasts of honor: as if they were appointed by Nature, to garde those sacred streames, from being troubled with the raskall multitude of Cattel, which domesticall desart, was perfected with such art, as nature confessed her ex-cel lent cunning, to be vanquished by mans industrie. This Mountaine which resembled, some wildernes in Arabia, dewed with the pleasant springs of Africa, by a still motion, removed towards the upper end of the hall, into the ful presence of Queene.
Aurelia, and the most statly company. In the mydst of this Mountaine was an Arbor of sweete Egлentine, intercoursed with Roses, and fully shadowed with the spreadinge Branches, of the purpled Vine: in which, upon a statly throne sate Diana attired all in whyte, and at her feete weare the nyne Muses, clothed in severall colours, according to their several qualyties, sounding heavenly harmony, both with voice and instrument: out of this arbor sprang a Bay Tree, in which was the Hyen, which at pleasure being both Male and Female, expressed the ful power of vertue: who though shee hath the forme and habit of a woman, yet is her essentiall substance compounded of both kindes: At the foote of this Hil, was the Monster Envy armed with fire and sword, to hinder their passage, which adventred to clime the Mount: a forest Nimph clad all in flowers, in a short speech, declared, that Diana, and the Muses, who in the golden age, had their Pallaces, in the Forrests, Mountaines, and rivers of pleasure, through out the whole world: now by the injury of time, were driven to their sanctuary of Parnassus: at the foote wherof the Monster Envy kept, to hinder the passages of such as attempted with their renown, to set those Ladies at lyberty: who hering by fame, the glory of this honorable company, were arived by hope, that the vertu of some of the troupe, should redeeme them from captivytie, and therefore, she summoned the Knightes present, to make tryall of their vallors, and the Ladies of their vertues: whiche saide, she retired back into the Mountaine: The Gentlemen and Ladies, having a cunning foreknowlege of the intent of this show,
armed themselves, with sundry attempts to
overcome this Monster. Soranso, Dondolo, Ismarito,
and Faliero, drew their rapiers, and assailed
Envy, but dry blows availed not: so that they
were conquered, and committed to the gayle of
Tediusnesse. Maria Belochy, Franceschina Sancta,
Lucia Bella, Helena Dulce, and other Ladies, and
Damosels, indevored to charme hym, with the sweete
sounde, and Heavenlye / impressions of Musick.

But Envy more warie then Argus, and lesse pitifull
then the Tormenters of Hell: the first whereof,
was overcome with Inachus Oten Pipe: the other
moved to ruthe with Orpheus passionate Musick (to
show himselfe composed of all the vennom of Hell)
could not bee conquered, by the sharp swords of
the Knightes, nor would not be intreated with the
sugred Harmonie of the faier Ladies: But amidst
this Monsters Triumphes, there was a voyce heard
in the Mountayne: Non vi, sed virtute: Wherupon,

Queene Aurelia, with a Myrrour, devised by Segnior
Philoxenus, peaceably, made towards Envie: whiche
Monster, presumyng of his force, lifted his Club
against this vertuous Dame: who, by the reflections
of the Concave Superficies, of this Myrrour,
daunted with the feare of his own weapon, imagining
that he stroke him selfe, recoyled backe with such
haste, as he fell downe: Wherupon, Segnior
Phyloxenus, seasyng on his Club, and laying him
on, therwith, said: As Phallaris, dyd to Perillus:
die with the weapon, thou preparst for other.

In Triumph of this glorious Victorie, Diana
sent down the Nymph Chlora, to salute Queene
Aurelia, with this Present: which was a Shield,
wherin was quartred, four severall Honours.
The first. VERT: A lookynge Glasse of Christall.
The second. AZURE: a payre of Ballance, Argent.
The thryd. OR: a Pyller of Porphier.
The fourth. ARGENT: a standing Cup of Ruby Rock.

The Muses them selves, came also downe, and
crowned her with a Garland of Roses, parted, perpale,
ARGENT, and GULES: and electing her for their
Sovereign, to comfort the five Knights that were
discomforsted by ENVY, two and two leading a Knight,
between them, daunced a statly Almain, of XV. which
ended: thei bestowed a favor, and certain Latin
verses, upon every one of the Knights: and returned
unto their Mount. The Silver Pen, and Verses
delivered by URANIE to ISMARITO, stand in the
forefront of this Booke: the rest, for that they
were proper unto them selves, and impertinent for
this matter, I omit: By this time, the Cock was
ready to sing his midnight song: and the company
(fully satisfied with pleasure) departed unto their
lodgings, to spende the rest of the night in
Contemplation and sleepe.

FINIS. /
EXPLANATORY NOTES

Works Frequently Cited

Full bibliographic citations are given below, or in the Explanatory Notes, only for works that are not listed in the bibliography. Classical references in the Notes are to texts in the Loeb Classical Library; Biblical references are to the Geneva Bible (1560; facsimile rpt. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

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ODEP

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The Historie of Serpents (London, 1608), STC 24124.
1.1 An Heptameron] A work divided into seven days. From Greek ἑπτά (hepta) = seven, and ἡμέρα (haemera) = day. Whetstone is undoubtedly echoing the title of Marguerite de Navarre's framed collection of tales published in 1559, L'Heptameron, which in turn is modelled on Boccaccio's Decameron. In both the Heptameron and the Decameron, a group of people entertain themselves, in times of flood and of plague respectively, by narrating a series of novellas or tales on successive days. The OED suggests that Boccaccio may have entitled his work on the analogy of the Hexameron, an account by Ambrose of the six days of creation -- a work which inspired many imitations in the Renaissance. The fact that the word "hexameron" became current in English after 1573 testifies to the popularity of this type of writing in Whetstone's time. For a discussion of other framed novellas, see Introduction, p. 1xxvi.

1.2 Civill Discourses] Entertaining discussions appropriate to a refined society; also, discussions on social questions. As T. F. Crane has pointed out in his Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century, such discussions were a popular social game imported from Italy into England in the late sixteenth century. The word "civill" includes the connotations of "educated," "well-bred," "polite," and "polished," and is derived from the Renaissance ideal of civility, of the civil life (see Introduction, p. xxxix). It might also suggest a type of exposition, civil narration, which deals with "facts in controversy." (Richardre Rainolde, A Booke Called the Foundacion of Rhetorike, 1563, as quoted by W. G. Crane in Wit and
Rhetoric in the Renaissance, (p. 66). Crane also mentions (p. 124) that "discourse" was "a word much in vogue at that time" -- that is, in 1577.

Both "Civill" and "Discourses" are words that appear frequently in the titles of Renaissance books. Examples that Whetstone may have known are Fenton's Certaine Tragicall Discourses (1567), Lodowick Bryskett's A Discourse of Civill Life (written about 1582 but published 1606), Pettie's translation of Guazzo's Civile Conversation (1581), and the anonymous Cyvile and Uncyvile Life (1579).

Thus, Whetstone's title sets up definite expectations: a Renaissance reader would expect his book to be a pleasant series of debates on some topic or topics (in this case, marriage) appropriate to, and of interest to, a polite social gathering, set within a framework of seven days, and including some novellas.

1.4 well Courted Well behaved in a courtly manner. The phrase originally meant "of the court," but Whetstone uses it to refer to gentlemen rather than to courtiers.

1.6-8 the better sort . . . the Inferiour] Superior or inferior in rank or station, in social standing. These phrases are not to be interpreted in an absolute moral sense; however, since social rank and proper conduct were often linked in the Renaissance, Whetstone is probably suggesting some moral judgment.


1.16 Civyll Pleasure] Pleasure appropriate to well-bred, cultured persons.

1.17 Morall Noates] Observations of a moral, as opposed to a ribald,
nature that are worthy of notice. Whetstone makes the common Renaissance
claim that his work combines pleasure and profit -- a claim derived ultimately
from Horace, Ars Poetica, 343: Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile
dulce (so quoted on the title page of Pettie's Petite Pallace of Pettie
His Pleasure, 1576, and in Timothy Kendall's Flowers of Epigrammes, 1577,
sig. a4v).

1.20 Formae, nulla fides.] Latin, "Beauty is not to be trusted."
Whetstone also used this motto at the end of his poem in The Paradise of
Dainty Devices (1578) and on the title pages of The Rocke of Regard (1576),
A Remembraunce of George Gaskoigne (1577), Promos and Cassandra (1578),
A Remembraunce of Sir Nicholas Bacon (1579), A Remembraunce of Thomas
late Earle of Sussex (1583), and A Remembraunce of Sir James Dier (1583).
He then used a succession of different mottoes: Virtute Non Vi ("By
virtue, not by might") in A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties (1584) (see
note 229.19); Malgre de fortune ("Inspite of Fortune") in A Mirror of
Treue Honnour and Christian Nobilitie (1585) and in The Honorable Reputation
of a Souldier (1585); Malgre in The English Myrror (1586); and Mors honesta,
vita ignominiosa preferenda ("An honourable death is preferable to a dis-
graceful life") in Sir Phillip Sidney (1587) (see RR, sig. Nl r, and Tilley
H576).

In his edition of The Paradise of Dainty Devices, p. 263, H. E. Rollins
notes that Whetstone's first motto is an adaptation from Juvenal: II. 8,
frontis nulla fides ("Men's faces are not to be trusted," in the Loeb
translation). An autobiographical passage at the end of A Touchstone
for the Time (1584) may explain the significance of this motto for Whetstone:
after complaining of the deceitfulness of friends as well as of enemies,
he adds, "but I finde the old Larkes song true: There is no trust in faire words, nor assurance in natures obligations" (sig. K4v).


We do not have sufficient information to state whether the imprint here identifies Jones as the printer or as the publisher of the Heptameron. Whetstone may have met him through Gascoigne, whose Spoyle of Antwerpe had been printed or published by Jones in 1576 or 1577. Although it was not Jones who gave Whetstone his start as a published author, he has the distinction of being the only printer or bookseller whose imprint appears on more than one of Whetstone's title pages: Promos and Cassandra (1578), A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties (1584), A Mirror of Treue Honnour and Christian Nobilitie (1585), The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier (1585), and The Censure of a Loyall Subject (1587) bear the name of Richard Jones.

Robert Waley and Edward Aggas preceded Jones as Whetstone's publishers or printers. The Rocke of Regard was apparently Waley's as well as Whetstone's first published book. Other printers or booksellers associated with Whetstone are, in succession, Miles Jennings, John Wolfe (with Richard Jones), John Charlewood, John Windet for Gregory Seton, and Thomas Cadman.

Jones appears to have been interested in works dealing with manners and civility, especially those influenced by Italian social ideals.

Among the books published by him before 1582 were the following: Thomas
Twyne's *The Schoolemaster, or Teacher of Table Philosophie* (1576), a work showing "howe a yonge gentleman may behave him self in all companies etc." (SR 17 July 1576); *A New Yeeres Gift: The Courte of Civill Courtesie* (1577), "Out of Italian" by Simon Robson; and *Cyvile and Uncyvile Life* (1579).

1.24 neare Holburne Bridge] Whetstone's Epistle in *The Rocke of Regard* is signed "From my lodging in Holburne the 15. of October 1576" (sig. H3). However, there is no evidence to indicate whether he was still residing in the vicinity of Jones's shop in 1582.

1.24 3. Feb. 1582] This date might be questioned since sixteenth-century England officially followed the Julian calendar, in which the year began on March 25. (Most continental countries, including Italy, adopted the Gregorian or New Style calendar on October 15, 1582, but England held back until 1752.) Nevertheless, the New Year was popularly celebrated on January 1 — as it is in the festivities described in the *Heptameron*. As a result, official documents dated between January 1 and March 24, 1582 would in fact belong to the year 1583, but non-official writings might be correctly dated by our present reckoning. To confuse the issue further, printers were inconsistent in their practises: even though Whetstone's *A Remembraunce of Sir Nicholas Bacon* bears the date 20 February 1578 yet was apparently printed in 1579, we may not assume that the *Heptameron* similarly bears an Old Style date. On the contrary, since Arber, in the *Stationers' Register*, enters the *Heptameron* on 11 January 1582, and since it is extremely unlikely that a delay of more than one year occurred before the book was published, we may accept the title-page date, 1582, as the year of publication of the *Heptameron*. 

Maecenas, most celebrated among our leading men, beloved by the Clarian god and the chaste Muses, accept the Pierian honors that the singing Muse of the Troianovantean George has dedicated to you.

The Muse does not sing of useless or worthless things, but mindful of praise, she devotes herself to more serious concerns: confined by this same aim, she recommends the compact of marriage between equals. The author reports the disadvantages of unequal marriage.

Not only this: he reveals the true celebration of a great leader, and he raises him above the heavens with Aonian lyre.

He has divided the sequence of the work day-by-day, in marvellous order, with equal judgement: the labours of the seven days contend (in my considered opinion) with Castiglione.

And the things that the Muse has described in such a small book are not, believe me, unworthy of such a great patron.

2.1 Mecoenatem] Maecenas (d. 8 B.C.), a great patron of Latin literature. In English, simply, a patron.

2.2 CARMEN HEROICUM] A poem in dactylic hexameter.

2.4 Clario] Clarian, from Clarus, a surname of Apollo derived from the name of a town in Asia Minor where one of his major oracular shrines was located. Apollo was the god of song and poetry, as well as of prophecy and medicine, and was associated with the Muses.
2.4 Camaenis The Camenae, Italian prophetic nymphs of springs, were identified by the Romans with the Muses.

2.5 Pierios Pieria, a district at the foot of Mount Olympus, was believed to be the birthplace of the Muses. Hence, Pierian = poetic.

2.6 Troianovantaei New Trojan; hence, British. The legendary capital of Brutus on the Thames was called Troia Nova ("New Troy").

2.6 Georgii George; that is, Whetstone.

2.12 Aonio Aonia, part of Boeotia, the region containing Mount Helicon and the spring of Aganippe, haunts of the Muses.

2.15 Castilione Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529), author of Il cortegiano, translated by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561 as The Courtier.

2.18 JOANNES BOTREVICUS Botrevicus also contributed a Latin verse to Whetstone's A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties (1584). Franklin B. Williams in his Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641 (London: Bibliog. Society, 1962) identifies him with the Joannes Butterwike who contributed a commendatory verse to William Blandy's translation of Osorio's The Five Bookes of Civill and Christian Nobilitie (1576). Both these works, like the Heptameron, are concerned with civil behaviour, and both are associated with the Inns of Court: Blandy is described on the title page as "fellow of the middle Temple," and the Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties is addressed "To yong Gentlemen of Innes of Court." Izard believes that Botrevicus may have been an acquaintance of Thomas Watson, another student at the Inns of Court, who wrote the English commendatory verse to the Heptameron (p. 9 below). It is likely that Botrevicus, Blandy, Watson, and Whetstone were contemporaries at the Inns of Court.
If Botrevicus were an Englishman, his name would appear in English historical records as John Butterwick or Boterwike. The name "Butterwick" does appear frequently in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and in the Sussex Record Society, Vol. XLI: Sussex Wills, Vol. I (Lewes, 1935-41), but a search of the published records of students at Oxford, Cambridge, and the Inns of Court and of a variety of biographical dictionaries have failed to uncover the author of this verse. However, since Botrevicus retains the Latinized "Joannes" even while anglicizing his surname to "Butterwike," it is possible that he was a foreigner in England. The practice of adopting Latinized pen names was more common on the continent than in England, and it was a practice that foreign visitors often brought with them. (F. B. Williams, "Renaissance Names in Masquerade," PMLA, 69, 1954, 314-23.) "Botrevicus" does not yield to direct translation into English, but it may be a transliterated form of a Germanic name such as "Botterweck," "Buytewech," "Beuterrich," or "Bouterwek" or of the Italian "Boterus."

Izard also suggests (p. 228) that Botrevicus might be the J.B. (John Bodenham) who wrote "In Commendation of Gascoigne's Posies" (1575). Bodenham (fl. 1600) is associated with the publication of Englands Helicon (1600) and is the author of Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses (1600), but the DNB states that of his life "no particulars have been discovered."

The Epistle Dedicatory

3.1 Sir Christopher Hatton] c. 1540-1591. A favourite of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Christopher Hatton was educated at Oxford and at the Inner Temple before he came to court "by the galliard" (Sir Robert Naunton as
quoted in Brooks, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, p. 31). At the Inner Temple, Hatton participated in the writing and acting of dramatic entertainments: he was one of a group of Inner Temple authors who wrote *Tancred* and *Gismund*, a tale from Boccaccio in dramatic verse, which was acted before the Queen in 1566 or 1567 and printed in 1591. Since he was Master of the Game at the Christmas celebrations in 1561, Hatton probably came to the attention of the Queen during the court performance of *Corboduc* on January 6, 1562. The tradition that he owed the Queen's favor to his dancing ability was already widespread in 1582, for Anthony Munday in *The English Romayne Lyfe* quotes a priest in Rome as saying "Sir Christopher Hatton, he pleased the Queene so wel, dauncing before her in a Maske, that since that time he hath risen to be one of the Counsell . . ." (sig. C4r). In 1564 he became Gentleman Pensioner (a member of the palace guards), in 1569 Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, in 1571 a Member of Parliament, in 1572 Captain of the Queen's Bodyguard, and in 1577, the year of his knighthood, Vice-Chamberlain and a member of the Privy Council. As Vice-Chamberlain, Hatton was responsible for organizing the progresses and all major ceremonies at court, for planning the Revels, and for maintaining order in the Banqueting Hall. In 1582 he was made Lord Chancellor, a position he held until his death in 1591.

Hatton's rise at court is attributable not only to his personal charm and fine appearance, but also to his skills as an excellent speaker and outstanding parliamentarian. In religion, the Protestant Hatton who had been brought up a Catholic pursued a policy of toleration; in foreign affairs, he adopted a firm anti-Spanish position; and in domestic politics, he exercised his tact and good temper. At first, with Leicester and
Walsingham, he supported the proposed marriage of the Queen and the
Duc d'Anjou, but by 1582 he was trying to dissuade the Queen from what
was obviously an unpopular match. (For a discussion of the French marriage
question and the Heptameron see Note 117.5.)

Already in 1578 Burghley was describing Hatton as "a lover of learned
men"; certainly many writers were dedicating their works to him in the
hope of recognition and financial reward. F. B. Williams, Index of Dedica­tions, lists 23 works dedicated to Hatton before the Heptameron was published.
One writer who did benefit from Hatton's patronage was Whetstone's friend,
Thomas Churchyard, whose The First Parte of Churchyarde Chippes (1575)
is "the first occasion in which Hatton figures as a patron of literature"
(Brooks, p. 120); another was Barnabe Rich, whose praise of Holdenby in
the epistle "To the noble Souldiours" in Riche his Farewell to Military
Profession, 1581 (sigs. B³-B⁴r) calls to mind Whetstone's description of
Philoxenus's palace (pp. 15 ff. below).

Holdenby was built by Hatton in Northamptonshire, his family seat;
it was the most splendid mansion of its day, with the exception of Hampton
Court, and even before its completion in 1583 it had developed a reputation
for hospitality, luxury, and magnificence that rapidly became legendary.

Thus, it is appropriate that Whetstone should have dedicated to Sir
Christopher Hatton a work which is set in a palatial country home, which
describes a variety of social entertainments including masques and banquets,
which relates novellas reminiscent of Boccaccio, which praises the hospitality
of an unmarried gentleman who is a converted Protestant, and which discusses
the subject of marriage at a time when the court is preoccupied with the
French marriage question. Furthermore, the Italian character of the
Heptameron might be expected to appeal to Hatton, who was interested in Italian works, as is evidenced by the number of Italian volumes -- over 75 -- listed in the library of Sir Edward Coke that bear Hatton's coat of arms or his inscription, including a 1582 edition of Boccaccio's Decameron. (See W. O. Hassall, "The Books of Sir Christopher Hatton at Holkham," The Library, 5th Ser., 5 (June 1950), 1-13. Hatton apparently retained very few of the English works dedicated to him, and there is no record of the Heptameron in his library.)

A full, well-documented account of Hatton's life is Eric St. John Brooks, Sir Christopher Hatton, Queen Elizabeth's Favourite (London: Cape, 1946); other useful studies are Sir Harris Nicholas, Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton (London: Richard Bentley, 1897); and Paul Johnson, Elizabeth I, a Study in Power and Intellect (London: Weidenfeld, 1974).

3.9 PARRHASIUS] Celebrated Greek painter, perhaps 4th century B.C., praised by Pliny (XXXV.36) for his accurate drawing and power of expression. I have not been able to locate any reference to pictures of Ingratitude and Envy painted by Parrhasius: Whetstone is undoubtedly inventing this "authority." Cf. the beginning of the Epistle Dedicatory in Lyly: "Parrhasius drawing the counterfeit of Helen, Right Honourable, made the attire of her head loose . . ."; and Croll's note: "Pliny does not mention, in his account of Parrhasius, a picture of Helen by him . . ." (p. 3). See also Note 73.18.

3.10 ENVIE] In his works Whetstone laments to the point of obsession the power of envy. The English Myrror (1586) is divided into three parts subtitled the Conquests of Envy, Envy Conquered by Virtue, and A Fortress
Against Envy, "this mortall enimie of publike peace and prosperitie."
By "envy" the sixteenth century generally understood something akin to
malice or hatred.

The Heptameron concludes with a masque (pp. 228-29) in which "the
Monster Envy" successfully battles knights and ladies and is overcome
only by Aurelia's virtue.

3.20 degenerate from kinde] Degenerate from Nature, from the established
order of things. Cf. Guazzo, Civile Conversation, tr. Pettie: "they
degenerate not from their kinde" (I, 192).

3.21 maske without visard of excuse] Take part in the masquerade
(that is, put on their performance) without even pretending or appearing
to have an excuse.

Cf. The English Myrror (1586): "There is no defect of mind nor infirmitie
of bodie, but hath his originall of nature, or colour from reason, and
by the benefite of the one or the other, receaveth cure: preposterous
Envie only except, who degenerateth from kind, and masketh without vizard
of excuse." (sig. Al)

3.23 barres of their advauncement] "of" is here used in the sense
of "to." (OED, of, 58) Cf. 64.3.

3.29-30 a Right noble Italian Gentleman] Segnior Philoxenus. See
4.19.

4.3-5 the full consideration of a dutiful subject, denized by the
eternall fame . . . devine Grace] The complete estimation in which the
Queen is held by a dutiful subject, who became, as it were, a citizen after
hearing of the Queen's fame. That is, Philoxenus, in fact a foreigner
to England, is honouring the Queen as though he were an Englishman, so impressed is he by the report of her virtues.

4.16 the civill disputations, and speaches] Social discourses. See Note 1.2.

4.17 well Courted] See Note 1.4.

4.19 Segnior Phyloxenus] From Greek \(\phi\i\lambda\i\omicron\omicron\ = friendly, and \(\zeta\xi\nu\omicron\omicron\ =\) stranger; hence, philoxenus = friendly to strangers. An appropriate name for a gracious host. But in 171.30 Whetstone translates the name also as "greedy of newes," a definition that suits his then immediate purpose. The practice of creating significant names from Greek roots was widespread among Renaissance writers: we need search for examples no further than Euphues and his friend Philautus. Whetstone's names, however, are rarely drawn from a vacuum: Plutarch in his Moralia refers frequently to a Philoxenus who is a dithyrambic poet and in his Life of Alexander to a general of that name; a Philoxenus appears in Sidney's Arcadia (1590), Book I, Chapter 11.

Segnior Philoxenus, if he were indeed a historical person, has not been identified. The DNB accepts the suggestion by Thomas Corser, in Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, that Whetstone's work is a translation "and that, under the name of Signior Phyloxenus, it is probable that Giraldi Cinthio was intended, from whose tales he had collected his own." (p. 387). Such a statement posits the intriguing situation in which both the original author and his subsequent translator appear as characters in the same work (as Ismarito and Philoxenus); however, Corser's suggestion is easily dismissed in the light of research which has determined that the Heptameron
is obviously indebted to Cintio only for the story of Promos and Cassandra. Any further attempt to identify Segnior Philoxenus with Giovan Battista Giraldi, known as Cintio, Cinzio, or Cinthio, is invalidated by the fact that Cintio died in Ferrara in 1573, whereas Whetstone's Italian journey occurred in 1580.

4.24 a president of behaviours] A model of good conduct, worthy to be imitated. "President" is an obsolete form of "precedent" (OED, precedent, 4); the plural use of "behaviours" in this context is accepted 16th century practice (OED, behaviour, 1b).

4.24-25 indifferent well qualified] Of medium quality, of fine but not outstanding character or social standing. Whetstone's book is designed for the rising upper middle class reader, for the gentleman as opposed to the courtier.

5.2 regarded] The earliest example cited in the OED for the past participle "regarded" is drawn from the dedication to Whetstone's English Myrror (1586): "It then followeth, most regarded Queene . . ." (sig. För). "Regard" is one of Whetstone's favorite words (cf. The Rocke of Regard). See Note 9.23.

5.10 Trowchman] Truchman, literally "an interpreter," here used figuratively. A truchman frequently accompanied the presentation of a masque; hence, the term is appropriate in an epistle addressed to a lover of masques. See also 6.5 and Note.

5.19 GEORGE WHETSTONS] "Whetstons" was an alternate spelling of the author's name: it so appears on the title pages of A Remembraunce of George Gaskoigne (1577) and A Remembraunce of Sir James Dier (1582).
Charles Singer, in his otherwise mistaken attempt to prove that George Whetstone was the author of the medical treatise *The Cures of the Diseased, in Remote Regions* (1598), correctly points out that in Middle English "whetstone" is also spelled "watstone" or "weston" (Singer's edition of *The Cures*, by George Wateson, n.p.). A character named "Weston" appears to be the author's spokesman in *The Censure of a Loyall Subject* (1587). Hence, Whetstone's name may very well have been pronounced "Whets-tun" instead of "Whet-stone." See also 8.25 for the spelling "Whetston."

**Epistle to the Reader**

6.5 *Troucheman of a Straungers Tongue*] Thomas Corser, in *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, takes the use of "Troucheman" here to imply that Whetstone is making a translation, probably from a work by Cintio. However, Whetstone is using this phrase figuratively to introduce the commonplace protestation that he is more concerned that he write plainly ("declare his meaning") than that he use much rhetorical art or "grace" in rendering into English the discourses he heard (not read) in Italy; and he goes on to state that he is not bound, as is an interpreter, to a specified text (6.12-14). Cf. MMC, sig. ¶2r: "I dedicate to you (courteous Gentlemen) the Fruits of Noble Alexanders Counsellles, as beseeming your worthinesse: I am but his Trouch-man, and your trustie frend." See also 5.10.

6.7 *Themistocles*] Greek statesman and "a famous capitayne of Athens" (Cooper). He commanded the fleet against Xerxes in 480 B.C. and was responsible for the Athenian victory at the battle of Salamis. This saying is attributed to him by Plutarch (*Life of Themistocles, XXIX.3*), but Whetstone's immediate source is probably Hoby's Epistle in Castiglione, *The Courtier* (p. 1).
9.20 Questions and Devices] Discussions and dramatic entertainments. The coupling of "Devices" with the verb "sawe presented" makes clear that this is the sense intended by Whetstone, even though the earliest example cited in the OED for this definition is 1588. Debates of "questions," or discorsi, and dialogues were common academic exercises and popular social diversions in the Renaissance; subjects might be frivolous or weighty, ranging from table etiquette to moral philosophy, but the most frequent topic was love. See Introduction, p. lxii.

9.22-23 the Christmas twelvemoneths past] Whetstone claims to have been in Italy in 1580. See Introduction, p. xiii.

9.5 ff. Soranso . . .] The significance of these names is discussed in the notes for p. 23.

9.6-7 President of government] Cf. president of behaviours, 4.24 and Note.

9.9 a discreete methode of talke] Witty and pleasant conversation was essential in social situations. In fact, conversation, the art of talk, was not distinguished from conversation, the art of social intercourse (cf. Guazzo's Civile Conversation). Whetstone's work may be viewed as a manual in the art of conversation in both senses.

9.16 witty] Wise, discreet. In other instances, Whetstone uses the word in the sense of clever or ingenious, and frequently the two senses overlap. For a discussion of "Wit" see W. G. Crane, Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance, and Croll in Lyly, p. 2.

9.18-25 the honorable institution of Marriage . . . a Paradice on earth] A paraphrase of the Heptameron's underlying theme, summed up in 36.6-8 in a statement attributed to Plato.
7.25 civill and Morall pleasures] The pleasures appropriate to man as both a social and a private being.

8.3-4 injuries received at Roane, Rome, and Naples] A possibly autobiographical incident recounted in The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier (sigs. A2r-A3v) may be relevant. Whetstone relates how he and a fellow Englishman were insulted by a "haughtie proude Spainiard" in a garrison town in the Duchy of Milan; a duel was arranged between the Englishman and the Spaniard, but the latter failed to keep the assignation. However, rumors of the encounter preceded the Englishman and he was refused admittance to Rome.

8.4 Roane] Izard (p. 22) points out that Whetstone is most likely referring to Roanne in eastern France rather than to Rouen.

8.6 Suggestioners] Persons who make false statements or representations. Not in OED.

8.21-22 to give a disgrace to ceremonies] To cut short the social formalities. Cf. 202.34.

8.25 Whetston] Another spelling of the author's name. See Note 5.19.

Commendatory Verse

9.1 T.W.] Thomas Watson 1557?-1592. The identification was made by Thomas Park in Heliconia (1815) and is now generally accepted: S. K. Heninger, Jr., in his introduction to Watson's Hekatompathia (Gainesville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1964, p. viii) and H. H. Boyle in his unpublished dissertation "Thomas Watson: Neo-Latinist" (UCLA, 1966)
agree that this is the first printed English verse by Watson. Educated at Oxford and at the Inns of Court, Watson was a noted classical scholar and a prominent figure in London's literary circle. He was a friend of Lyly, Peele, and Greene; he associated with Walsingham; and he knew Sir Philip Sidney. Watson's works reveal his interest in Italian and Latin authors: his first publication was a Latin translation of Sophocles' *Antigone* (1581); in 1582 he published *Hekatompathia*, a sequence of lyrics drawn from the Italian sonneteers; and in 1590 he published a book of Italian madrigals rendered into English.

Watson's path may have crossed Whetstone's on the Continent: in the dedication to *Antigone* (SR, 31 July 1581), Watson writes that he has recently returned from Italy and France.

9.4-7 *Even as the fruitfull Bee . . . culd from the wise*] T.W. praises Whetstone for drawing material from numerous sources, from the classics and from continental literature. The metaphor of the bee is a Renaissance commonplace in a variety of literary contexts. (See W. M. Carroll, *Animal Conventions in English Renaissance Non-Religious Prose, 1550-1600*, New York: Bookman Associates, 1954, pp. 93-94.) It occurs, for instance, in Greene's *Alcida* (1588) in the commendatory poem signed "E. Percy." Whetstone, however, generally prefers another version of the metaphor, which he first used in his own commendatory poem in Kendall's *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577): "In flowers fooles (like Spyders) poyson finde: / The wise (as Bees) win hony from a weede" (sig. a6v). Cf. Tilley B205 and B208.

9.7 *wit]* Wisdom, good judgement. Or perhaps, brilliance and quickness of intellect as opposed to wisdom and judgement. See Note 7.16.
9.8 Stage Toy] Watson is not censuring all dramatic presentations, but he is condemning frivolous, trifling plays. In this he agrees with Whetstone who contends, in his Epistle Dedicatory in Promos and Cassandra, that the aim of the stage is to illuminate the mind of man (sigs. A2r-A3r).

9.8 thundring of an Hoast] The opposite of "Stage Toy" may be a weighty drama which preaches and declaims without providing enjoyment to the audience. Or T.W. may be referring to the battles of epic poetry. Whetstone's work is to be neither dramatic nor epic, neither too trivial nor too grave.


9.9 twixt burnyng fier and frost] Between extremes -- a frequent Renaissance idiom, especially in Whetstone's works (e.g. RR, sig. Clr; HRS, sig. Alv; EM, sig. l2v). Watson's reference to fire and frost is appropriate in a work that discusses love in marriage, for whereas the courtly lover is tossed between the fire of his love and the frost of his fear or the frost of his lady's disdain, the married lover will find harmony by heeding the voice of common sense. Cf. 73.9 and 149.4.


9.11 the best] Whetstone's models and sources are discussed above throughout the Introduction. They include Castiglione and Guazzo; Boccaccio, Cintio, and Marguerite de Navarre; Guevara and Mexia; Ovid and Plutarch; Lyly and Wotton.
9.15 a natural common weale] A community that has grown naturally (like a bee-hive). Whetstone absorbs his sources so well that they appear to be his own. Or perhaps T.W. means that Whetstone's writing is life-like, not pretentious.

9.23 regards] Considerations of questions or problems. The first example cited by the OED to illustrate the plural use of the word in this sense is taken from Whetstone's dedicatory epistle in The English Myrror (1586): "The reach of my duetie . . . simply laboreth to publish these regards, that common faults may be amended" (sig. *f2v). Cf. Note 5.2.

9.25 The holy Bush, may wel be sparde, where as the Wine is pure] Tilley W462: Good wine needs no bush (ivy bush, sign). A branch of ivy, the plant sacred to Bacchus as god of wine, served to identify a tavern. Cf. 92.12-13; and EM, sig. ¶4f.

A favourite Renaissance proverb: writers use it to emphasize their declaration that a good work does not need to be decked out in ostentatious rhetoric. If for "holy Bush" we are to read "holly Bush," I am unable to account for T.W.'s substitution of holly for ivy; however, I believe it more likely that by "holy Bush" T.W. intended "sacred Bush." Cf. OED, holly, 3, 1594 quotation "To take a Taverne and get a Hollibush."

Prefatory Verse

10.1 translated out of Latine] No Latin original of this poem has been discovered. Izard touches upon the possibility that the verse was composed by the Countess of Pembroke, who was sometimes referred to as "Urania" (for example, in Spenser's "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," l. 487), but I find no basis for such a speculation. The theme of Uranie's
poem is similar to Wotton's "A Welcome of Peace into Fraunce" (sigs. D1\textsuperscript{v}-E1\textsuperscript{v}).

10.2 **URANIE**] Urania, the Muse of astronomy and, later, of the highest wisdom. Her name became confused with that of Aphrodite Ouranos or Urania, the heavenly Venus, goddess of pure and spiritual love, especially of wedded love, as distinguished from Aphrodite Pandemos, goddess of earthly or sensual love (Plato, *Symposium*, 180D-181B). Thus Whetstone's Urania is probably the Muse that inspires him to write of married love; she appears as an actual person only as a participant in the masque of the Seventh Day's Exercise (p. 230).

10.2 **ISMARITO**] The name which Whetstone adopts for himself in this book. See 21.5-6 and Note.

10.3 *a Device*] A dramatic presentation, in this case a masque. See pp. 227-30

10.5 **PANDORA**] One of the many mythological names assigned to Queen Elizabeth. Dora and Erwin Panofsky, in *Pandora's Box* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962), point out that the sixteenth century recalled the classical Pandora not as the bringer of evils to mankind, but as "all-gifted" or "gift of all," the perfect blend of all things. After 1580, her name was generally used as a term of praise. Thus, Spenser in the "Teares of the Muses" (1591) refers to Queen Elizabeth as "The true Pandora of all heavenly graces" (1. 578). See also 10.30-11.3 and Note.

10.6 **JOVE**] The Roman ruler of the Gods.

10.7 *The mistes of sinne, which from the earth arose*] In the Ptolemaic universe, the earth is the seat of sin, of change, corruption, and death.
The regions beyond the sphere of the moon are progressively purer as they approach the perfection of Heaven.

10.8 [IRIS] The goddess of the rainbow. She is usually the messenger of Juno, as in Ovid (Met. I.270-1; XI.589), and is so described by Cartari (sig. L2v). Whetstone may be recalling Homer, who represents Iris as the messenger of Zeus (Iliad II.786 etc.), or he may simply be using the name here in order to create the pun on "Ire" below (10.10). See also 189.11.

10.8.9 to moove . . . the exercise of foes] The words here have military significance. To move = to stir up strife. Exercise = training or drilling troops. Hence, the phrase may be paraphrased as "to incite to military action."


10.17 Cyllen] Cyllenius is one of the epithets of Hermes or Mercury, the god of learning and the messenger of the gods, who was supposed to have been born on Mount Cyllene (Ovid Met. XIII.146).

10.19 the Region next the grounde] The sphere of the moon, where all corruption and dissension begins. See 10.7 and Note.

10.23 PHAROS light] A lighthouse, named after the famous one built by Ptolemy Philadelphus on the island of Pharos. See 116.4 and Note.

10.23 PHENIX] Phoenix, the fabulous bird of Arabia: "It is unique: it is unparalleled in the whole world. It lives beyond five hundred
years." (The Bestiary, p. 125). The reference is to Queen Elizabeth, the light of whose reign attracts Mercury, the bringer of order and the symbol of learning. "Queen Elizabeth placed a phoenix upon her medals and tokens with her favourite motto: 'Semper eadem' ('Always the same'), and sometimes with the motto 'Sola phoenix omnis mundi' ('The sole phoenix of the whole world'); and on the other side, 'Et angliae gloria' ('And the glory of England'), with her portrait full-faced. By the poets of the time, Elizabeth was often compared to the Phoenix." (John Vinycomb, Fictitious and Symbolic Creatures in Art, 1906; rpt. Detroit: Gale Research, 1969, p. 175.) Cf. Cranmer's prophecy in Hen.VIII, V.4. See also 116.5; 33.9; and Notes.


10.26 a Queene] Queen Elizabeth.

10.28 Senate] The Queen's Privy Council. According to the OED, the word was so used from 1584.

10.29 For such as fled, for persecutions feare] Elizabeth's reign was noted for its relative religious tolerance. As Lord Chancellor, Hatton also followed a middle course in religious affairs.

10.30-11.3 To whom he gave . . . in everlasting fame] "Pandora, A woman, unto whom sundry goddes gave sundrie giftes. Pallas gave her wisdome, Venus beautie, Apollo musike, Mercurius eloquence. And therefore she was called Pandora, which signifieth, havinge all giftes." (Cooper). See also Note 10.5.

10.31 PALLAS] Surname of Athena, goddess of battle and of wisdom. She
was considered to be comparable in beauty to Venus and Juno and contested with them for the prize awarded by Paris (in "The Judgement of Paris"). However, her gift would normally be that of wisdom (see Cooper's statement under 10.30-11.3 above).

10.31 VENUS] Roman goddess of love and beauty.

10.32 PI\(\text{TROS}\)] A nymph Peitho does sometimes appear in the retinue of Aphrodite, and a Peitho ("Persuasion") is a helpmeet of the Muses in Plutarch Table-Talk IX.14 (Moralia 743 ff.), but Whetstone's Pithos appears to be his own addition to the classical pantheon. Cf. Cooper: "Pitho, or Pithus, The lady and president of eloquence to perswade, called of Ennius Suada, of Horace Suadela."

10.32 DI\(\text{ANS}\)] Diana, Roman name for Artemis, also called Cynthia -- conventional names for Queen Elizabeth -- a virgin goddess.

11.1 nam'd her Grace] Designated her as the one to be favoured. An unusual use of "Grace."

11.6 leake] Like. There is no authority in the OED for this spelling; however, I have not emended it since there is a close analogy, "leeke" and since this word should rhyme with "breake."

11.16 This Silver Pen, meete for a Virgins praise] In heraldry, silver (or "Argent") is a royal metal, and "it signifieth to the bearer thereof Chastitie, virginitie, cleare conscience, and Charitie" (Legh, The Accedens of Armory, sig. B4'). See also 230.13 and Note.

11.22 Vaticinium URANIES] Urania's prophecy.

12.10-11 over loftye, and too base Love] "loftye" and "base" represent degrees on a social scale.
The first Dayes exercise

13.8 Aestas] Whetstone personifies the Latin noun for "summer."

13.9 Phaebus in his Retrogradation] The falling back of the sun in the sky (away from the zenith). Phoebus, "the shining," is an epithet and later another name of Apollo; Cooper states that this name "is taken for the soenne."

13.11 Hyemps] Latin noun for winter, for stormy weather. "Hiems" occurs in Ovid Met. II.30; XV.212.

13.24-25 a Countrey farre from home] Italy.

13.28 strayed out of knowledge] Wandered into unfamiliar territory; lost. Whetstone is being elaborate.

13.29s.n. Forrest of Ravenna] Ravenna, a city in North-east Italy, was part of the Papal dominions from 1509 to 1859. La Pineta was made famous by Dante (Purgatorio XXVIII.20-21) and Boccaccio (Decameron V.8) and has been eulogized by Byron (Don Juan III.105) as "Ravenna's immemorial wood." "This pine forest, which is believed to be the most ancient and extensive in Italy, is said to have been planted by the Romans as a protection to Ravenna from the ravages of the scirocco. It begins a short distance beyond the church of S. Apollinare in Classe (about 2 1/2 miles from Ravenna), and extends for many miles along the Adriatic coast." (Paget Toynbee, A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in

13.32 Pyne Apple trees] Pine trees. The pine cones were called pine apples, and the fruit discovered later in the New World was called pine-apple for its resemblance to the cone.

14.1s.n. River of Poo] Po river, Northern Italy. Cf. RR, sig. B4r: "In Italie (neare to the river of Poo) there dwelled a noble man."


14.15 in a servisable order] In a customary manner expressing readiness to serve.

14.24 Bollytyne] Italian "bulletino, bollettino." The word is accepted into English by 1645 as "bolletine," an obsolete form of "bulletin," an official certificate. Montaigne comments that "Over the doors of all the rooms in the hostelry is written: Ricordata della bolleta," "Remember your certificate" (p. 102).

This reference to a warrant of health -- which had to be renewed in each town for fear of the plague -- recalls the frame of the Decameron in which the ten gentlemen and ladies have fled from the plague-stricken city. (Cecioni, "Un adattamento," p. 187).

14.33-34 Pisano è Forresterio. Entrate, e ben venuto.] "Pisan (native of Pisa) and Stranger. Enter and welcome." But why "Pisan"? Or might "Pisano" be Whetstone's or his printer's spelling of "Paesano" ("native")?

15.1ff. Which general invyting . . .] Segnior Philoxenus's palace is Italian in design: Galigani, in "Il Boccaccio nel Cinquecento inglese" (p. 54) suggests that it recalls the palace of Urbino. However, the
architectural details mentioned by Ismarito are common to both the princely palaces of Renaissance Italy and the Italian-inspired great houses of sixteenth-century England. The H-plan of the palace emphasizes its symmetry and focuses attention on the main façade. Ismarito approaches the palace by a long drive through a wood or park (p. 13); he is welcomed by a porter at what appears to be the gatehouse (p. 14); the porter conducts him through a court (p. 14) to the main entrance which opens into a great hall, protected from drafts by an ornamental screen (p. 15). The great hall is the center of the general festivities (p. 21); but the "better sort" of guests assemble in the great chamber, and of these, a select few retire after dinner to a "drawing chamber" to participate in their discourses (p. 25). The palace has a chapel for private services (pp. 20, 24), a long gallery in which are displayed maps, portraits and heraldic devices (p. 115), a "chamber of pleasures" (p. 118), a library (p. 169), a private study (p. 170), and a banqueting house for special occasions, as for New Year's Day (p. 200). Ismarito repeatedly admires the plaster ceilings, the elaborate paneling, the tapestries, and the pictorial and emblematic decorations. The extent to which these features are Italianate is indicated by Pearson, Elizabethans at Home, pp. 20-22.

The great country palaces of Theobalds, built by Burghley, and Holdenby, built by Hatton, to entertain the Queen, may have inspired Whetstone's description of Philoxenus's palace. Holdenby, designed by John Thorpe, was begun in 1578. After a visit to the yet unfinished palace in 1579, Burghley wrote to Hatton, "I found a great magnificence in the front or front pieces of the house," praising the "stately ascent from your hall to your great chamber" and the "largeness and lightsomeness" of the chambers (Brook,
p. 158). And in 1581, Rich's *Farewell to Military Profession* pays literary tribute to the magnificence of both Hatton and Holdenby: "Whiche house for the braverie of the buildynges, for the statelinesse of the chambers, for the riche furniture of the Lodginges, for the conveighance of the offices, and for all other necessaries appertenent to a Pallas of pleasure: Is thought by those that have judgement, to be incomparable, and to have no fellowe in Englande, that is out of her Majesties hands . . . . And how many Gentlemen and straungers, that comes but to see the house, are there daieiely welcomed, feasted, and well lodged" (sig. B3^v^ - B4^r^).

The entrance to Holdenby was apparently flanked by two giant statues: did these suggest Philoxenus's Welcome and Bountie? At any rate, the parallel between Philoxenus's palace and Holdenby is sufficiently close to flatter Sir Christopher Hatton, Whetstone's hoped-for patron. (Holdenby is discussed in detail in Brook, *Sir Christopher Hatton*, pp. 158-65; the plans are reproduced in John Thorpe, *The Book of Architecture*, ed. John Summerson, Glasgow: The Walpole Society, 1966, pp. 93-94 and pl. 85.)

15.30 *embost with many curious devises*] Andrea Alciati describes in his *Emblematum liber* (1531) the ways in which emblems may be employed in ornamentation, and Italian artists frequently decorated furnishings, clothes, armor, and apartments with emblems and devices. The gallery of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, to which Whetstone compares Philoxenus's palace (at 18.5-6), is decorated with devices, as is the ceiling of the atrium of the Villa Farnese near Rome (*Encyclopedia of World Art*, IV, 731).

15.31 *in proper colours*] In natural colouring (not in heraldic tinctures).

15.32ff. *his devise . . .*] The devise (or *impresa* in Italian) is to be distinguished from the emblem: both are symbols composed of a figure
and a motto ("posie"), but whereas the emblem simply gives visual, and
often moral, representation to a concept, the device "represents symbolically
a proposition, wish, or line of conduct, employing a motto and a figure
that reciprocally interpret one another" (Encyclopedia of World Art, IV,
726). Segnior Philoxenus's device is not heraldic: it is a personal
symbol that suggests his own attitude or conduct, not a hereditary symbol
that identifies his family, rank, or office. As such, it will not appear
in heraldic dictionaries.

The emblematic trend was popular in Italy, having been given impetus
by Andrea Alciati's Embematum liber (1531) and Paolo Giovio's Dialogo delle
imprese militari e amorose (1555), and the device was even more characteristi-
cally Italian. Rigorous rules were set forth for the device in Italy,
and Philoxenus's device fulfils the five criteria enumerated by Giovio.
It combines body (figure) and soul (motto) in proper proportion; it is
neither too obvious nor too obscure; it represents something pleasing
to the eye (in this case, a bird); it does not contain a human figure;
and it has a motto which is brief and which is in a different language
(French) from that of the designer of the device (Italian) (Encyclopedia
of World Art, IV, 729).

That Whetstone was interested in devices is suggested by the title of
a lost work, A Panoplie of Devices, which is included in a list of his books
on the verso of the title page of The Enemie to Unthryftinesse (1586).

15.33-34 a fluttering MAVIS fast limed to the bowes] The properties
of lime used in snaring birds became a Renaissance symbol for the snares
of love.

Tilley B380: The more the bird caught in lime strives the faster she
sticks. The example cited from Torriano, 1666, indicates that it was also an Italian proverb. The source is undoubtedly Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* I.391:
"Non avis utiliter viscatis effugit alis."


Variations of this motto recur in emblem literature, but usually accompanying a representation of a flame. For instance, Claude Paradin's *Heroicall Devices* (1591) depicts a burning torch turned upside down and the motto "Qui me alit, me extinguit," the device of the Lord of St. Valier (the father of Diana of Poitiers), who was in exile in Milan: "Which simbole was framed for a certain noblewoman's sake, willing to insinuate hereby, that as her beautie and comeliness did please his minde, so might it cast him into danger of his life" (pp. 357-58). The device does not appear in the 1557 edition. In Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes* (1571), an inverted candle is pictured with the motto "Quod Nutrit Me Consummat."
(The history of the device in emblem literature is traced by Alan R. Young, "Othello's 'Flaming Minister' and Renaissance Emblem Literature," *English Studies in Canada*, 2 (Spring 1976), 1-7.)

A portrait discovered in 1953 and tentatively identified as that of Christopher Marlowe, by an unknown artist, 1585, pictures a melancholy youth in black accompanied by the motto "Quod me nutruit me destruct." (Roy Strong, *The English Icon*, London: Paul Mellon Foundation, 1969, p. 353; and A. D. Wraight, *In Search of Christopher Marlowe*, London: Macdonald, 1965, pp. 63-71.) Did Marlowe appropriate from the *Heptameron* a motto that Whetstone had encountered in France or Italy?
16.23ff the rule of a Mayden Queene . . .] Panegyrics of Queen Elizabeth by a foreigner (Euphues) occur in Lyly, pp. 237, 432, 440, 447-49.

16.34-17.6 But the vertue of her Shielde . . .] This passage provides a possible interpretation of the action of the masque in the Seventh Day's Exercise, p. 229.

17.4-5 whose vertue shineth . . . as a Diamond in an obscure place] On virtuous deeds shining like a diamond in the dark, see EM, sig. H3v; Bacon, sig. B2v; Dier, sig. A4v. See also 34.30-31.


18.2 Tivoly] Tivoli, city near Rome famous for the Villa d'Este, designed by Pirro Ligorio in 1550 for Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. The Villa is even today noted for its magnificent gardens and its beautiful fountains. An etching of the Villa and gardens by E. du Perac appears in The Encyclopedia of World Art, VIII, pl. 432. Montaigne describes the gardens fully but unenthusiastically (pp. 164-66); see also Harl.M., p. 31.

18.4s.n. the Cardinall of Esta] Ippolito II D'Este, Cardinal, 1509-1572. Son of Duke Alfonso I of Ferrara and Lucrezia Borgia. In 1549 he was named governor of Tivoli.

18.5-6 Cardinall Furnesaes Pallace] Alessandro Farnese, 1520-1589, became cardinal at the age of 14. "A highly cultivated man, friend of poets, humanists, and artists, he completed the magnificent Farnese palace in Rome that had been founded early in the reign of Pope Leo X. Sangallo

18.6-7 buylded and beautified, with the ruinous Monuments of Rome] Italian Renaissance architects frequently built on the ruins of classical structures -- for example, the Villa d'Este was transformed from the Roman Valle Gaudiosa -- and their buildings were decorated with classical art. The Farnese family were noted for their collections of classical sculpture.

18.24-25 in the French Courte] If Segnior Philoxenus is 30 to 40 years of age, he was probably at the court of Charles IX, King of France from 1560 to 1574. There he may have known both the Huguenot leader Gaspard de Coligny, killed in 1572 in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre ordered by Charles; and Henry Duc d'Anjou, later Henry III of France. The Italian influence at the French court was at its height under Henry III, whose mother was Catharine de'Medici (d. 1589).


Like Sir Christopher Hatton, Segnior Philoxenus was a convert to Protestantism. Since he had become a Protestant at the French court, he probably had Huguenot connections: this would explain the selection of portraits of Protestant leaders displayed in his gallery (pp. 116-17). Cecioni ("Un adattamento," p. 186) suggests that although Philoxenus and his palace are probably imaginary, Whetstone may have had in mind some Italian connected with the Protestant circle at the court of Ferrara under Renata di Francia. At any rate, Ismarito's gracious host does fuse the
virtues of Italy and England: he is both a perfect courtier and a Protestant, and hence morally irreproachable, in addition to being a devoted admirer of Elizabeth (Galigani, "Il Boccaccio nel Cinquecento inglese," p. 56).


19.15-19 a Cake was cut in peeces . . Queene of the Christmas pleasures] The idea of choosing a king or queen to preside over the entertainments is of classical origin. In England, the custom persisted in the office of the Master of the Revels. The selection of the ruler by lots placed in a cake was a popular Italian social custom, as Whetstone's note indicates. Variations of this practice are commonplace in continental Renaissance literature, especially in framed tales and discourses and in courtesy books. Two English examples which precede the Heptameron are Edmund Tilney's The Flower of Friendship (1577), in which a sovereign is chosen for each day of the discourses (p. 75); and George Gascoigne's The Adventures of Master F.J. (1574), in which a "governor" is chosen by lot (p. 87).

19.20-21 there should be but one to commaund, and all to obey] "God wylleth and ordeinethe that one onlye commaunde all, and that all together obey one" (Guevara, The Diall of Princes, sig. G5v).
This statement has a proverbial ring, but I have been unable to identify it as a proverb. It expresses the Renaissance belief in the importance of hierarchical order and in the doctrine of universal obedience.

19.21 [Madonna Aurelia] "Aurelia," or "Golden," was a favourite fictional name; it was also the name of an actress performing the part of the innamorata in the commedia dell'arte (Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy*, p. 500). In 1593 the *Heptameron* was reissued under the title *Aurelia, The Paragon of Pleasure and Princely Delights*.

In character and behaviour, Whetstone's Aurelia is very like Boccaccio's Fiammetta (Cecioni, "Un addatamento," p. 187).

19.29 [the Sirens sweete songes] Cooper: "three daughters of Achelous and Calliope, which dwelled in an ile betweene Italie and Sicilie, who with their sweete synginge drewe suche unto theim, as passed that sea, and than slewe theim." The story of these mythical creatures, who were later identified with mermaids, first occurs in Homer, *Odyssey* XII.39-54; 165-200. See also 164.14.

20.22 [Heliogabalus] Or Elagabalus. Roman emperor, 218-222, noted for his sensuality, debauchery, extravagance, and cruelty. He constantly sought out delicacies and was supposed to have supped on the tongues of peacocks and nightingales, even offering a reward for a Phoenix for his dinner. Mentioned in Gruget's Mexia, p. 269, but more details are given in MMC, sigs. D3^v^ - D4^r^.

20.25-29 [the eyes of the greater parte . . . faire Gentlewomen] A commonplace in Renaissance prose fiction. Cf. Lyly, p. 34: "And so they sat down; but Euphues fed of one dish which ever stood before him, the
beauty of Lucilla." Also Painter, III, p.230: "The Gentleman at supper . . . coulde eate little meate, beinge satisfied with the feeding diete of his Amorous eyes."

21.5-6 Cavaliero Ismarito, in Englishe, The Wandring Knight] Italian "smarrito" = lost; stray. Whetstone may also have in mind the traditional wandering affections of the traveller (see 28.7-9).

21.29 the great Hall] The large vestibule which was also used as a reception room or, in this case, as a dining room for the "inferior sort"; not to be confused with the great Chamber (20.8) where the gentlefolk dine.

23.9ff. Queene Aurelia appoynted . . .] That the names of the characters are to be read as epithets is indicated by Whetstone's own comments throughout this passage. Cf. Wotton, who defends his use of "counterfayte names," "lest that I shoulde offend the parties" (Courtlie Controversie, sig. B2v).

23.10 Fabritio] "The inventor" (in the rhetorical sense). Italian "fabbricare" = to invent, to fabricate. Whetstone may be recalling the Fabricius who is mentioned in Plutarch and in Boethius (II.7) as a Roman consul who could not be bribed and whose name became synonymous with honesty; but he is more likely borrowing the name from the commedia dell'arte in which Fabrizio played the part of a lover (Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, p. 496).

23.11-12 Donna Isabella] A common Italian name in Renaissance fiction: in Tilney's Flower of Friendshipp (1577), Lady Isabella is a lively, emancipated gentlewoman. Isabella and Fabritio are lovers and Franceschina is a serving woman in Li due Trappolini, a scenerio for the commedia dell'arte (Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, pp. 438-40).
23.14 **Segnior Soranso**] I have discovered no meaning in this name. However, "Soranus," a philosopher, is mentioned in Boethius (I.3).

23.16-17 **Don Dondolo**] "The double dealer." Spanish "dolo" = fraud, deception, deceit. The Spanish form of address is appropriate since Dondolo is Neapolitan and the Kingdom of Naples was under Spanish rule in the sixteenth century.

23.18 **Monsier Bargetto**] "A foolish bird." French "bergeretto" = wagtail; or "barge" = godwit.

23.19 **Doctor Mossenigo**] "The negative one." Latin "mos" = humour, inclination; and "nego" = to say no, to deny. Doctor Mossenigo plays the role of the misogynist and the cynic. He is also the pedant and the old man in love, stock figures in the commedia dell'arte.

23.21 **Segnior Faliero**] "The deceiver." Latin "fallere" = to deceive; or Italian "fallare" = to err, to be mistaken.

23.28 **Maria Belochy**] "Of the beautiful eyes." Italian "bello" = beautiful; and "occhio" = eye, look.

23.29-30 **whose eye was able to fire a mountaine of Ice**] Cf. Tilley F284: To force fire from snow. (Earliest example cited is 1594.) See also 62.5.

23.30 **Lucia Bella**] "The beautiful one." Italian "lucere" = to shine; and "bello" = beautiful.

23.31 **Hellena Dulce**] "The charming." Italian "dolce" or Latin "dulcis" = sweet, charming, pleasant.

23.32 **Franceschina Sancta**] "The virtuous." Latin "sanctus" = pure,
virtuous, blameless. "Francesquina" was an actress in the commedia dell'arte (Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, p. 504).

23.34 Katherina Trista] "The Shrew." Italian "tristo" = perverse, malicious; or Latin "tristis" = harsh, bitter. A sharp-tongued Lady Katherina also appears in Greenes Farewell to Folly (sig. F3v) and, of course, in Shakespeare's Taming of the Shrew.

23.34-24.1 Alvisa Vechio] "Old woman." Italian "vecchio" = old person. Alvisa is a common Italian name.

24.21-23 lyke fowles on Saint Valentines day morninge] Tilley S66: On Saint Valentine's Day all the birds in couples do join. From medieval folklore.

24.28-29 an adventage of braverie] A great deal of finery.

25.4 a faire Eunucke Boy] In Italy, boy singers were frequently castrated to preserve the boyish quality of their voices; these castrati were much in demand especially in the seventeenth century (Harvard Dictionary of Music). Although Renaissance works often mention the practice of solo lute playing after meals -- for example, in Painter's tale of the Duchess of Malfi (III,p.39-40) Antonio sings a "sonnet" after dinner to the accompaniment of a lute -- I know of only one other instance in sixteenth-century English fiction in which a eunuch is the performer: in Emanuel Forde's Parismus (1598), the hero's mask at the court of Thessaly includes "Eunuches apparelled all in greene" (sig. C3v).

See also 49.32; 81.15; 119.24; 148.24; 163.16; 175.2; 201.9.

25.25 sonet] The fourteen-line sonnet as we know it had not reached its final evolution in Whetstone's time. The "sonnets" collected by Thomas
Watson in his *Hekatompathia* (1582) are eighteen-line poems. The medieval "sonet" was simply a song, and in the Renaissance the word designated any short lyric but especially a love poem. Gascoigne, in his *Certayne Notes of Instruction* (1575), recognized the current confusion: "then have you Sonnets, some thinke that all Poemes (being short) may be called Sonets, as in deede it is a diminutive worde derived of *Sonare*, but yet I can beste allowe to call those Sonets whiche are of fouretene lynes, every line conteyning tenne syllables" (*Works*, I, 471). In Italy (more so than in England), such poems were generally sung to some instrumental accompaniment: in Painter's story of the Countess of Celant, "the songes of their Love were more common in ech Citizen's mouth, than Stanze or Sonnettes of Petrarch, Played and Fayned upon the Gittrone, Lute, or Lyra" (III, p. 59).

26.5 sights] Obsolete spelling of "sighs."

26.33–34 they have a custom among them selves, not to live chast] One of Whetstone's attacks on the priesthood; such attacks are characteristic of the novella. See 120.27ff.

27.19–20 as Yron and Flynt, beat together, have the vertue to smite fire] Cf. Tilley F374: Out of two flints smitten together there comes out fire. Lyly, p. 47: "Fire cometh out of the hardest flint with the steel."

That is, only through clashes of opinions would truth be discovered.

27.24 studing] Not an error. The OED cites "studing" as a sixteenth-century form of the present participle for "study."

27.27–30s.n. Wise scilence worketh mor regarde than foolish talke]
Tilley S721: Speak fitly or be silent wisely. (The earliest example cited is 1611.)

For W519, No wisdom to silence, Tilley cites the following example dated 1732: Silence is wisdom, when speaking is folly. Cf. also M1148, More have repented speech than silence (earliest example 1640); and N250, Better say nothing than nothing to the purpose (earliest example 1606).

27.30-21 Floods, when they are most hyest, maketh least noise. Tilley W123: Water runs smoothest where it is deepest. (Still waters run deep.)

28.7-9 Travayler . . . disdayne of Mariage] Renaissance literature abounds in references to the cynicism of travellers (as of Jacques in As You Like It). Cf. Lyly, p. 61: "But alas, Euphues, what truth can there be found in a traveller, what stay in a stranger"; and Pettie, A Petite Pallace, p. 199: "travaylers wordes are not much trusted." However, Whetstone here appears to echo Ascham, The Scholemaster, p. 71: "For commonly they [travellers to Italy] come home common contemners of marriage, and ready persuaders of all others to the same."

28.19-20 Venus, though she love not Diana, yet is she the sworn enemie of Juno] Venus here represents illicit sexual love; Diana, chastity; and Juno, marriage. The rivalry of Venus and Diana is a frequent theme in classical and Renaissance narratives. "Thus, averse to love and under the vow of virginity, Diana is out of all harmony with Venus, the goddess of love, and her son, the sportive Cupid. The contrasting pleasures of the two are thus summed up by Spenser:

As you [Diana], in woods and wanton wildernesse
Your glory sett to chace the salvage beasts,
So my [Venus'] delight is all in joyfulnesse,
In beds, in bowres, in banckets, and in feasts.

F.Q.3.6.22."
(A. E. Randall, The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology, p. 49.)
See also 33.28, 224.16, and Notes.

28.22 Hymen] Cooper: Himeneus, "The god of marriage." The word originally referred to the marriage song, but it was personified even in classical times. See also 36.1, 201.9; 201.20.

29.25-27 Marriage is an honourable estate, instituted of God, and embraced of men] A paraphrase from the Book of Common Prayer (1559), "the fourme of solemnization of Matrimonie," sigs. 05r-v.

30.2-3 a vertue uppon necessitie] Tilley V73: Make a virtue of necessity.

In Promos and Cassandra, Whetstone writes "vertue of necessity" (sig. M1r). See also 31.3.

30.7 Baye] Identified with the laurel in the Renaissance: "The Bay tree is consecrate to Apollo . . . . And it is called Laurell of laude, and so in old tyme it was called" (Guicciardini, The Garden of Pleasure, sigs. C4r-v).

30.8 Daphne . . . Appollo] Ovid relates the story of Apollo's (Phoebus') love for and pursuit of Daphne (Met. I.452-567). She scorned his love; fleeing from him, she prayed for help to her father the river-god Peneus and was turned into a laurel tree. Apollo adopted the laurel as his emblematic plant and made its leaves eternally green.

30.21 in advauntage] To add to the strength of the argument.

30.24-25 Baccus minions] The Bacchae, women who engaged in wild rites at festivals in honor of Bacchus or Dionysius. By calling them "minions"
Whetstone characterizes them as mistresses or paramours of the god.

31.1 *as spotted as Labans Sheepe*] Surely a proverbial phrase for something that is not genuine or honest, that is based on false grounds, or that is acquired by stratagem. Laban, the father of Leah and Rachel, promises to give Jacob "all the shepe with litle spottes and great spottes" or the spotted goats (the word is imprecise in both the Geneva Bible and the Authorized Version) in his flock. Jacob tricks the stronger sheep into conceiving many speckled and spotted offspring. (Genesis, xxx. 32-43.) The same phrase occurs in EM, sig. C3f.

31.3 *a vertue upon necessytie*] See Note 30.2-3.

31.12-13 *The Turtle is never merie after the death of her Mate*] Tilley T624: As true as turtle to her mate.

The turtle-dove is a symbol of constancy in love and marriage. Whetstone's version of the proverb is closer to Lyly's: "For as the turtle having lost her mate wandereth alone, joying in nothing but in solitariness" (p. 254). See also 73.17 and 226.15.

31.16 *unpollitique*] The OED definitions of "Impolitic" are not relevant. Whetstone's word appears to refer to creatures that have no political organization, hence, to animals.

31.17-18 *by the Impression of Nature*] By the influence of Nature, according to natural laws.

31.25-26 *the Bay Tree is barren of pleasant fruit*] Cf. Tilley C945: Like cypress trees, that have fair leaves but no fruit.

31.29 *Syrinx . . . God Pans*] Syrinx, an Arcadian wood nymph was loved by Pan; as he pursued her, she prayed for help and was changed by the
stream nymphs of Ladon into a bunch of marsh reeds, from which Pan made his pipe (Ovid, *Met.* I.689-712).

31.31-33 Anaxaretes . . . Iphis . . . Samarin] Anaxarete, a princess of Cyprus, scorns and mocks the love of Iphis because he is of humble birth, and he hangs himself at her door. At the funeral, she looks with indifference upon his corpse until the stony nature of her heart takes possession of her body, and she becomes a stone figure (Ovid *Met.* XIV. 698-764). But in Ovid, the image stands in the temple of Venus in Salamis ("Salamin" in Golding's translation). See also Pettie, *A Petite Pallace*, 7.

32.2-6 But in the behalf of Mariage . . . directed and noorished] Stories of faithful lovers are narrated by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*. Pyramus and Thisbe are not changed into mulberry trees, but the berries of the tree are colored dark red with Pyramus's blood (IV.115-127). Baucis and Philemon are transformed into an oak and a linden (VIII). Crocus and his beloved Smilax become flowers (IV.283-284). Arcas and his mother (the Great Bear), Hercules, and Julius Caesar are metamorphosed into stars, but these are not lovers. I have not come across stories of lovers being changed into the olive, the pomegranate, or into precious stones.

32.6 directed] Influenced (by the stars).

32.7 In many well governed common wealthis] Plato, *Laws* VI.784. Cf. Guevara, sig. P2*: "for the man that hath not a wife and children legitimate in his house, cannot have nor hold greate aucthority in the common wealth." See also 206.6-23 and Notes.

32.16-18 you have read a Leafe more then Sainct Katherynes Nun] This statement is proverbial in style, but I am unable to explain the allusion satisfactorily.
Whetstone is possibly referring to St. Catherine of Alexandria who, in 305 A.D., when she was eighteen, is supposed to have disputed with fifty pagan philosophers. She succeeded in converting them through her eloquence, but was put to death on a spiked wheel. Her cult became popular after the tenth century, especially in Italy; she is the patron saint of maidens and of orators and philosophers. In art, one of her attributes is a book representing wisdom.

Saint Cathern favours learned men, and gives them wisedome hye:
And teacheth to resolve the doubtes, and alwayes giveth ayde,
Unto the scolding Sophister, to make his reason stayde.

(Barnaby Googe, The Popish Kingdome . . . by Thomas Naogeorgus [Kirchmeyer], 1570, sig. M2V.) Hence, the reference to St. Catherine in the context of an argument is appropriate. But why does Whetstone write "Sainct Katherynes Nun"? A nun is a follower, and one of St. Catherine's followers was Joan of Arc, who claimed that the Saint spoke to her directly. "Surely the Lord gave Catherine to Joan of Arc to help her in her debate with the famous theologians . . . Joan of Arc is the Catherine of modern times, indeed of all times" (Encyclopedia of Catholic Saints).

Thus, Ismarito's statement might read, "you are more cunning in argument than Joan of Arc who had Saint Catherine to support her."

32.24-25 The Monsters, Serpents, and loathsome Creatures] The monster is undoubtedly the Minotaur, the offspring of Pasiphae and the bull (Met. VIII); the serpents are Cadmus and his wife (Met. IV); and one loathsome creature is the hermaphrodite resulting from the union of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis (Met. IV).

32.26 Ovide, in his Metamorphosis] Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 B.C.-A.D. 17, was the leading Roman poet of his time. He is best known for
the *Metamorphoses*, a collection of stories from classical and Near Eastern legends, all dealing with changes. It was the great source book for mythology throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Whetstone probably read Arthur Golding's English translation of the *Metamorphoses*, the whole of which first appeared in 1567, but there is no reason to doubt that he was also familiar with the Latin text.

32.29 Oedippus] Cooper gives the classical version of the Oedipus myth: "Finally having knowledge at length that by misfortune he had murdered his father at Phocis, and by inceste had knowen his owne mother, so sore it greeved him, that in revengement thereof he pulled out his owne eyes, and lyved ever after in banishment." Thus, Oedipus blinds himself in horror of his own deeds, not, as Ismarito argues, in horror of his children's vices -- although, according to the myth, he later does curse his sons. Ismarito's mistaken interpretation is repeated by Whetstone in EM: "So outrageous was the envy betweene Polinices and Eteocles, as old Oedipus their father scratched forth both his eies because he could not endure to behold the murthers and other deadly mischiefes, inflicted upon the poore Thebanes, in sustaining their unnaturall quarrels" (sig. A4r).

Whetstone may have known Alexander Neville's translation of Seneca's *Oedipus* (first printed 1563 and revised in 1581); he was undoubtedly familiar with *Jocasta* (1572), a translation by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwel-marsh of Euripides' *Phoenissae*. See also 217.16 and Note.

32.31-32 Marcus Aurelius] Roman Emperor, A.D. 161-180, and philosopher. His son Commodus was exceptional in his bloody cruelty, debauchery, and mad excesses; some accounts suggest that Commodus prevailed upon the physician to poison his father. An unauthentic account of Marcus Aurelius
is given by Antonio de Guevara in his *Libro Aureo* (1527), translated by Lord Berners as *The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius* (1535), and in his *Relox de principes* (1529), translated by Sir Thomas North as *The Diall of Princes* (1557). See 171.13-14 and Note.

33.7-8 **Dianas band** Diana's followers, that is, maidens. More specifically alluding to the nymphs which accompanied the goddess in her hunts.

33.9 **ashes of the Phenix** The Bestiary, on the phoenix: "When it notices that it is growing old, it builds itself a funeral pyre, after collecting some spice branches, and on this, turning its body toward the rays of the sun and flapping its wings, it sets fire to itself of its own accord until it burns itself up. Then verily, on the ninth day afterward, it rises from its own ashes!" (p. 125). In Ovid's version (*Met.* XV.391-407) no mention is made of flames and ashes, but the legend is a Renaissance commonplace, derived primarily from Pliny X.2.

33.10 **some Phenix** Queen Elizabeth. See Notes 10.23 and 116.5.

33.21 **Acteon** Actaeon, the hunter who chanced to come across Artemis (Diana) bathing. Angered at being seen naked by a man, she turned him into a stag and he was torn to pieces by his own hounds (*Ovid Met.* III.138-252).

33.22 **Addonis** Adonis, the youth beloved by Aphrodite (Venus). He insisted upon hunting the boar in Arcadia and was fatally wounded; from his blood sprang the anemone (*Ovid Met.* X.519-559; 708ff.) Ovid makes no reference to any deity seeking revenge on Venus and Adonis, but in other versions Ares (Mars) or Hephaestus (Vulcan) are accused of killing Adonis out of jealousy.
33.28-34.12 Juno and Diana. Goddess of marriage and goddess of virginity. (Cf. 224.16.) Whetstone's descriptions have been traditional since the time of Homer. Diana (Artemis) is also "the goddesse of hunting, and imperiall governesse of pleasant groves, shrub-bearing hils, and christal-faced fountaines" (Cartari, sig. H1v); hence, her proper sphere is the earth. As a huntress, her attributes in art are the bow and quiver of arrows and the greyhound; her favourite game is the hind. Juno (Hera) is often referred to as the Queen of heaven and (in Homer) as "mistress of the thunder and lightning"; as the consort of Jupiter (Zeus) she shares the manna and nectar that are the food and drink of the Olympian gods. Her chariot glistens with gold and silver and carbuncles, "beautiful, adorned, and bespotted round about with starres of gold" (Cartari, sig. L2r); she is the "goddess of riches" (sig. L2v); and in art she is usually crowned and adorned with precious stones.

In his description of the contrast between Diana and Juno, Whetstone is suggesting the contrasts between nature and art, between the simple pastoral life and the elaborate civil life; and in Whetstone's view, the civil and civilized life is more attractive.

See also 28.19-20, 224.16, and Notes.

34.8 Phaetons wynged Chariot] Phaeton is usually the son of Helios who borrows the sun's chariot for a day, but there are classical precedents (as in Homer) in which Phaeton, "the shining," is used as an epithet of Helios.

34.14-16 the Marygoulde. Whetstone is here mistaken: the marigold opens its petals to the sun and always faces the sun. Painter's reference is one of many in Renaissance literature: "like the flaring
Marigold flowre, which in the moste fervent heate of the Sommers day, doth appeare most glorious, and upon retire of the nights shadowe, appeareth as though it had never bene the same" (I, p.46). In Claude Paradin's Devises Heroiques (1557), "la fleur du Souci," a flower that turns towards the sun as to God, is the device of Marquerite de Navarre (Menston, Eng.: Scolar Press, 1971, p. 41). See McKerrow's edition of Nashe, II.218,4. The subject has been exhaustively treated in Notes and Queries, Ser. 4, 12 (July-Dec. 1873), 243, 283, 363; Ser. 5, 12 (July-Dec. 1879), 306.

34.15 [cloaseth] The OED provides no authority for this spelling of the verb "to close." Lucia Bella is "shut up" and cannot speak.

34.15 [Phebus] Phoebus, the sun.

34.23-24 [Al is not gold ... that gistereth] Tilley A146. See also 53.1-2.

34.30-31 [a Diamond in the darcke, shineth of her selfe] See 17.4-5 and Note.

35.8-10 [who can stop a streame? measure the fire? weygh the winde? or hynder Fancyes passage?] Cf. Lyly, p. 89: "To give reason to fancy were to weigh the fire and measure the wind."

Tilley S927: It is hard (folly, in vain) to strive against the stream.

F288: To weigh the fire and measure the wind.

W417: He that weighs the wind must have a steady hand.

L531: Love will find a way. (Earliest example 1597).

35.21 [the Image of himselfe] Children, who become images of God.

36.1 [Himen] See Note 28.22; 201.9; 201.20.
36.1-2 as mute as a fishe] Tilley F300. Plutarch, Table-Talk VIII.8 (Moralia 728) points out that fish are silent "because they keep their mouths shut and under restraint."

36.5 the opinion of Plato] I have been unable to find the source of this quotation, if it is a quotation. Cf. 85.13; 146.14; 158.34; and 206.21.

36.21-22 a woman hath no measure in her love, nor mercy in her hate] Tilley W651: A woman either loves or hates to extremes.


36.30 Hyen] Natural historians believed that the hyena could change its sex; hence, it became a symbol of inconstancy. (Pliny VIII.44; Ovid Met. XV.409-10; Topsell, p. 435.) Whetstone gives the legend a new twist: perhaps he is conflating it with the myth of Teresias who, because he had once been a woman, was asked by Juno and Jupiter to judge whether men or women derived more pleasure from love-making (Ovid Met. III.316ff.). See also 228.11.

39.26 Ab re nuntio] "I renounce [it]." For example, in Ecclesiastical Latin, "abrenuntio diabolo et operibus suis" ("I renounce the devil and all his works").

40.4ff DOCTOR MOSSENIGO HIS Satisfaction . . .] The source of this novella is Marguerite de Navarre's Heptameron 71. Whetstone follows the main features of the original, but he adds the opening anecdote of the painter Parmenio and the final detail of the hanging in the crabtree. Also, Marguerite's version is set in Amboise, the saddler is called Brimbaudier, and the unnamed wife is a good, honest woman.
40.9 Ophella] The name is Whetstone's invention. Italian "offella" = tart, cake.

40.10 Emperour Charles the fift] Charles I of Spain, 1500-1558, one of the greatest Spanish kings, was the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V from 1519 to 1556. He has a place in art history as the patron of the portrait painter Titian.

40.11 Parmenio] I have discovered no such painter. Izard states that "In giving the name of the painter as Parmenio he had apparently confused a general of Alexander the Great with a celebrated painter of the Lombard school . . . commonly called Il Parmigiano" (p. 84). However, it is more likely that Whetstone had no historical person in mind: he was possibly influenced by stories of Titian, and for these stories he appropriated the name of Parmeno, mentioned in Plutarch, Table-Talk V.1 (Moralia 674) as a painter whose realistically mimicked pig became proverbial. Also, "Parmenione" is a character in Boccaccio's Filocolo.

40.17ff. a plesaunt conceit . . .] This anecdote, possibly Whetstone's invention, is an exaggeration of the Renaissance painters' preoccupation with witty devices and emblems. The Encyclopedia of World Art (IV, 730) points out that "Great Italian painters, for example, often painted devices on the covers of portraits. Titian painted a device of love for the portrait of Sperone Speroni. Another was painted by Lorenzo Lotto on the cover of his magnificent portrait of Bernardino de' Rossi."

Cf. Lyly, p. 216: "But as the painter Timanthes could no way express the grief of Agamemnon, who saw his only daughter sacrificed, and therefore drew him with a veil over his face, whereby one might better conceive his anguish than he colour it." From Pliny XXXV.36.
41.4 at a good passe] In a desperate state. This idiom is not in the OED.

41.19 out of fear of her life] No longer fearing that she might survive.

42.4, 16 Thymon of Athens] Cooper: "Timon, A man of Athens, notable for his inhumanitie, and hatynge of the company and society of men."
The classical source for the life of this semi-legendary figure is Plutarch, Life of Antony LXX; Whetstone was probably also familiar with Painter, I.28. According to Painter, "He [Timon] had a garden adjoyning to his house in the fields, wherein was a Figge tree, wheruppon many desperate men ordinarily did hange themselves." When he wished to cut down the tree in order to build a house on the site, he charitably announced to the town his intentions so that anyone who planned to hang himself could do so forthwith. Gruget's Mexia (pp. 78-79) mentions a gallows instead of a fig tree.

43.6 report] Common opinion. No authority in OED for precisely this definition.

43.16-17 better to have you a fayned friende . . . then an open enemie] Cf. Tilley F410: It is better to have an open foe than a dissembling friend.
Whetstone has reversed the proverb. See 218.15-16.

43.29 a dio] Italian "addio" = farewell, adieu, goodbye.
The seconde Dayes Exercise

44.6-7 Aurora . . Tithons bed] Aurora, the dawn-goddess, traditionally leaves the bed of her consort, the now immortal Tithonus, to prepare the way for the sun. (For example, Homer, Odyssey V.1-2.) See also 198.11-13.

44.7ff. Phoebus . . ] Phoebus, the sun-god, drives his chariot from Oceanus in the east into the heavens, then across the sky, to return via the underworld to Oceanus.

44.8 Caves of Tartessus] Cf. Cooper: "Tartessus, a citie in the uttermost parte of Spaine"; and Ovid: "Now the setting sun had bathed the Tartessian shores" (Met. XIV.416). Whetstone apparently confuses Tartessus with Tartarus, the classical underworld; hence his reference to the "Caves." See also 180.13.

44.10 Mountaine Oeta] Volcano in central Greece. In Ovid, the road for the sun's chariot is steeply up-hill, but no mention is made of Oeta.

44.11-12 Pyrois and sparklinge Phlegon] Two of the four horses that pull the sun's chariot, named in Ovid Met. II. 153-54.

44.13 Vulcan] Hephaestus, the god of fire, who acts as blacksmith for the gods. His workshop is on Olympus, and the Cyclopes help him to forge lightnings for Zeus.

44.14 Thunderboltes of Jubiter] Zeus, or Jupiter, as god of the sky, has the power to wield thunderbolts. See for example Ovid Met. I.154. The spelling "Jubiter" (also at 100.13; and EM, sig. M8v) is an infrequent Renaissance variant, and in Aurelia it was emended to "Jupiter."
44.20s.n. *The Bed resembleth the Grave* Cf. Tilley S527: Sleep is the image of death.

Whetstone's form of the proverb is not cited by Tilley; it occurs in John Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577): "Thy bedde is lyke thy grave" (sig. S1v).

44.31 *Fryer Bugiardo* From the Italian "bugiardo" = liar.

44.32 *our Lady was come from Loreto* Loreto, a town near the Adriatic in central Italy, south of Ancona, is the location of the Shrine of the Holy House of the Blessed Virgin (Santa Casa di Loreto), one of the most famous attractions in Italy in the sixteenth century. According to a tradition which was popularized by Teramano's leaflet in 1472, the building was the house of the Virgin Mary in Nazareth: it was made into a church and was transported by angels in 1291 to Tersato in Illyria (Yugoslavia), then in 1294 to Italy, where it moved several times before finding a permanent place in Loreto in 1295. The details of the miracle were inscribed in the sixteenth century on the eastern façade of the basilica (*New Catholic Encyclopedia*).

Anthony Munday, in *The English Romayne Lyfe* (1582), comments on the wealth which the pilgrims donate to the shrine: "the Pope finds her a good sweet Lady of Loreto, for the pilgrimage to her, encreaseth his treasure, many thousands in a yere" (sig. H1r-v); he describes the pictures, tapers, and wax candles which adorn the shrine, and the gold and silver which ornament the image of our Lady. Munday's comments tally with those of Montaigne, who speaks of crowds of pilgrims and many tradesmen: "There is more show of religion here than in any place I have seen," and "This place is full of miracles without number, for which I refer to the books"
(pp. 177-83). Also Harl.M., p. 8.

Whetstone later refers to Loreto with less restraint: in The English Myrror, "Racconati, Maddona de Loreto, Ancona" are mentioned as strongholds of Papacy (sig. H3; also C5); and in Censure of a Loyall Subject, he attacks "their lewd lie of our ladyes house" (sig. G1).

45.2 RACANATI] From 1240 Loreto belonged to the Sees of Recanati and Macerata (New Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, 993).

45.5 JURY] Jewry; that is, Judea, Palestine.

45.21 blinde Ignoraunce Cave] Cf. Cartari, sig. D1: "the darke cave of ignorance."

45.27 as wylye as Serpents] Matthew x.16: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." Cf. Tilley M162: To have more of the serpent than the dove. Topsell discusses the subtlety of serpents in Serpents, p. 18.

45.31ff. Judas . . .] Matthew xxvii.5.

46.lis.n. Dennis Bull] Meaning uncertain. Aurelia changes the phrase to "Phalaris Bull" here, but not at 77.2, where the poetic metre precludes such a substitution; and The Censure of a Loyall Subject states "so odious as Perillus Bull" (sig. A3). Whetstone may indeed have confused the two tyrants of Sicily, Dionysius (Denys or Dennis) and Phalaris. (For the bull of Phalaris, see note 229.29.) The two names are also closely associated in the Gesta Romanorum, XLVIII: "Dionysius records that when Perillus desired to become an artificer of Phalaris, a cruel and tyrannical king . . ."
(trans. C. Swan and W. Hooper, New York: Dover, 1959, p. 84). Gruget's Mexia both recounts the cruelty of Phalaris (p. 140) and states that the first to tame bulls was Denis or Dionysius (p. 253). However, since the name of Phalaris was proverbial in the Renaissance, and since "Dennis Bull" occurs twice in the *Heptameron*, I am inclined to believe that Whetstone is not mistaken, even though I am unable to explain the allusion.

46.14s.n. **Alcaron, a Lawe . . . of Mahomet**] "Mahomet being by these means strong and puissant, he made his lawe named the Alcoran: and for that he distrusted the goodnes thereof, he generally forbad all men, upon the paine of death, not so much as to dispute of his lawe" (*EM*, sig. D5v). See also *EM*, sig. M1r. Gruget's Mexia, p. 51.

46.20-22 **the sacred Byble . . . in vulgar Language**] The sixteenth-century English translations of the Bible included Coverdale's Bible (1535), the Great Bible (1539), the Bishops' Bible (1568), and the Geneva Bible (1560).

46.25 **And synce**] The sentence picks up again at 47.8, "By how much more . . . ."

46.26 **Alexander Severus**] Severus Alexander, Roman Emperor A.D. 222-35. Cooper refers to him as "a man from his childhood of wonderful gravitie and prudence" who made Rome into "a perfecte publike weale." Alexander's reign was one of justice, wisdom, and clemency. Whetstone gives an account of his reforms in *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties* (1584), "Representing the Ordinaunces, Policies, and Diligence, of the Noble Emperour, Alexander (surnamed) Severus, to suppresse and chastise the notorious Vices noorished in Rome." Izard points out that Whetstone is greatly indebted to Sir
Thomas Elyot's *Image of Governaunce* (1541), but that the three orations attributed to the Emperor in *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties* appear to be original to Whetstone. (For Whetstone's sources, see Izard, pp. 145ff.) See also 206.24.

47.33-34 his lippes layde on loade] To lay on load = to deal heavy blows; To lay on by load = to heap or pile on. Hence, his lips moved rapidly (in order to pile on the food).

48.2-3 Tantalus dinner] The phrase has proverbial force, meaning "a tantalizing meal." Cooper on Tantalus: "he is in hell tormented in this wyse: He standeth by a fayre ryver, havynge before hym a tree laden with pleasant appuls, and yet he is alwayes thursty and hungry: for as often as he stoupeth to drynke, or holdeth up his handes to gather the appuls, bothe the water and the tree dooe withdrawe them so from hym, that he can not touche them." See also 86.7-8 and 114.14.


48.19-20 Pauca sapienti] "A few words to the wise." Tilley W781: A word to a wise man is enough.

48.23 beaten with hys owne sentence] Tilley W204: To beat one at his own weapon. (Earliest example 1591.)

S802: To be beaten with one's own staff.

Cf. 173.13 s.n.; and 229.30.
The blessing asked at table.

Tilley cites this as the first instance of the proverb D340: After dinner sit a while, after supper walk a mile. According to the ODEP, the source is the School of Health at Salerno, "Post prandium stabis, post coenam ambulabis." It also occurs in Bryskett, A Discourse of Civill Life (a translation from Cintio, c. 1582) as "an approoved opinion of all antiquitie" (ed. T. E. Wright, p. 74).

Not in OED.

Omitted by Tilley, F286. Whetstone's is the first example of this proverb in the ODEP.

The story of Samson and Delilah is told in Judges xvi.4-21. Delilah betrayed Samson by cutting his hair, the source of his strength.

With customs we live well but laws undo us. (Earliest example 1640.)

See Note 25.4.

No source found.

Implicit, perhaps, is an image of Tityos who was punished for his passion by being stretched out on the ground while vultures (gripes) tore at his liver.

Pelops, the son of Tantalus, wooed Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaus. Having been warned that his daughter's husband would kill him, Oenomaus had set as a condition of her marriage a race between each suitor and himself; if the suitor was overtaken by Oenomaus,
he was speared. Pelops borrowed winged steeds and bribed Oenomaus's charioteer to sabotage his adversary's chariot: Oenomaus was killed in the resulting accident and Pelops wedded Hippodamia.

51.4-5 Impression of nature] the dictate of nature.

51.17 evill served] Poorly provided with game. "Serve" = to drive out game into view of the hawk (Falconry).

51.19-20 flie at checkes] Fly after some lesser game instead of her proper game (Hawking).

51.20-21 rated from riote] Prevented, by scolding, from following the wrong scent (Hunting).

52.33-34 The greatest Clarke . . . proves not alwaies the wisest man] Tilley C409: The greatest clerks are not the wisest men.

53.1-2 He valueth all, that glistereth, Golde] Tilley A146: All is not gold that glisters.

See also 34.23-24.

53.2-3 he esteemeth fayre wordes, as friendly deeds] Cf. Tilley D402: It is better to do well than to say well.

53.3-4 lovely countenaunces, doo spring from a lovyng condition] Tilley F5: A fair face must have good conditions.

53.5s.n. Experience is the best Judge] Possibly proverbial.

53.9-10 the sowre Crab, the savorie Pippin] Cf. Lyly, p. 108: "The sour crab hath the show of an apple as well as the sweet pippin."

53.11s.n. The forme deceiveth . . .] Tilley A285: Appearances are deceitful.
53.17-18 counterfeits will to kinde] Cf. Tilley L286: Like will to like.

53.18-19 Copper holds print, but not touch with Gold] Cf. "but counterfeites wil unto kinde, Copper may holde print but not bide tutch with golde: even so these hypocrits, as place and opportunitie served, bewraied their beastly natures" (MM, sig. B^{4r}).

"Touch" = "the touchstone," which tests the fineness of gold. Copper will retain an impression just as well as gold, but it will not abide the touchstone to the same extent (that is, it is not as valuable as gold). Cf. OED, print, sb., A.c., quotation 1400: "The same preent is made, bothe in gold and in copyr."

53.19-20 Fire hid in Ashes, will breake foorth in heat] Cf. Tilley F264: Fire raked up in ashes keeps its heat a long time.

Whetstone's version is closer to that of John Grange in The Golden Aphroditis: "But time trieth troth and bringeth all to light, the smothering heate at length breakes foorth in flame" (sig. R^{4v}).

53.20-21 water courses stopt, find out new passages] Tilley S929: The stream stopped swells the higher.

54.18-19 a riche young Warde] After the death of the father, an heir or heiress who was a minor was assigned by the Courts, often as a reward, to the guardianship of some gentleman or nobleman, who then controlled the estate. It was a common Elizabethan practice for the guardian to arrange his charge's marriage to his own benefit.

54.29s.n. Love will not be constrained.] Cited by Tilley L499: Love cannot be compelled (forced).
54.34-55.1 **no more can forcement enforce the free to fancie**] As above.

55.3-7 **Petrarke . . .**] Petrarch, 1304-1374, Italian poet and humanist.

No definite source can be assigned for this quotation, but Izard suggests that a similar passage occurs in *Trionfi* III (Izard, p. 107). Whetstone does draw on Petrarch for the poems on pages 69, 70, and 72. See also 89.27 and Note.

55.15 **which account**] In which instance.

55.24 **Reason and Love**] The opposition of Reason and Love is traditional in the literature of courtly love. A well-known debate between them occurs in the thirteenth-century French poem *The Romance of the Rose* (ch.21ff.), which was popular in the Renaissance France of Marot and Ronsard.

55.25s.n. **Reason and Love, as enemies**] Cited in Tilley L517: Love is without reason.

See also 63.10-11.


A Proverbe olde I beare in mynde,  
The whiche I hope will be full true:  
The fallyng out of lovers kynde,  
Is fayned wrath love to renewe.

Tilley F40: The falling out of lovers is the renewing of love.

56.27 **taile to taile**] I have not found another instance of this phrase. Probably, "in opposite directions."

57.8 **in neyther of theyr wretchednesse**] In the wretchedness of neither.

57.17ff. **The Historie in the reproche of forced Mariage**] No known source. But the motif of an arranged marriage joining two families is
very common: Whetstone uses it again in The Seventh Day, with a contrasting outcome.

57.19 Cirene] Cyrene (or Cirene in Italian), ancient city in North Africa.

57.20 Tryfo] In Plutarch, Table-Talk IX (Moria 646ff.), one of the speakers in the dialogues is Trypho, a doctor.


58.3-4 though he take impression by sight, rooteth in contemplation] An echo of the Platonic theory of love, as popularized in the Renaissance by Bembo's speech in Book IV of Castiglione's Il cortegiano. "Take impression" = takes hold superficially.

58.19-21 deylght to recount . . . theyr shrewde payments] (The young men) will delight to add up the benefits (pleasures) they receive but will neglect to take into account the damaging payments required for those pleasures.

58.27-29 Salomon deceyved, Sampson subdued, Aristotle derided, and Hercules murthered] Solomon, Samson, and Hercules are traditional Renaissance examples of men deceived by women. (For example, see the poem on this theme by George Gascoigne in The Adventures of Master F.J. [1574], p. 52.) Solomon's thousand "outlandish women" brought him "to idolatrie" (1 Kings xi.1-8); Samson was tricked by Delilah into revealing the secret of his strength (Judges xvi.4-21); and Hercules, the Greek super-hero, was killed by a shirt soaked in poisoned centaur's blood, sent to him by his wife Deianira because she mistakenly thought that it would ensure his love
for her (Ovid Met. IX).

But why was Aristotle derided? Cooper may provide a clue when he states that Aristotle "was little of personage, crookebacked, ill shapen and strutting." Or is Whetstone thinking of Socrates and his scolding wife?

58.31-59.7 **Kinge Demetrius . . . Lamia . . .**] The story appears in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, but Whetstone's immediate source is undoubtedly Painter, II, p. 302-4: "One yere and two Moneths before the Death of King Demetrius, his frend Lamia died, who sorowed so mutch hir death, as for the absence and death of hir, he caused the Phylosophers of Athens to entre in this Disputation, Whether the teares and sorow whiche he shed and toke for her sake, were more to be estemed than the riches which he spent in her obsequies and funerall pompes." Painter goes on to relate how Demetrius buried Lamia before his chamber window so that he might lament her.

59.12 **reddy in conceyt**] Quick in thought.

60.22 **Bees ungently used stinge our faces**] Cf. Tilley B211: Bees that have honey in their mouths have stings in their tails.

60.28 **fowle falle thee**] That is, foul befall thee; may something foul happen to you.

60.28s.n. **That which is blessing to one, may be a curse to an other**] There are a number of proverbs on this subject.

Cf. Tilley M483: One man's meat is another man's poison.

B51: What baits one banes another.

61.7-8 **his finger never akes with my mallice**] An idiom that occurs in Painter: "I cannot abide . . . to see your finger ake" (III, pp. 60,154).
61.8-9 *Forberaunce edgeth the sword of Revenge*] Cf. Tilley F584: Forbearance is no quittance.

61.9-10 *Choller, though it often strikes, it woundes not muche*] Cf. Tilley C359: Choler has more heat than light. (Earliest example 1659.)

61.18-19 *the Deviill who is the Executioner of Vengeance*] The usual proverb is "Vengeance belongs only to God" (Tilley V24), but underlying both statements is the condemnation of revenge -- an attitude shared by the Christian humanists.

61.29-30 *Ixions torments, for his ambitious attempting of Junoes love*] Angered at Ixion's pursuit of his consort Juno (Hera), Jupiter (Zeus) formed a cloud in her image on which the deceived Ixion begat the centaurs. Because Ixion boasted of his supposed conquest of Juno, Jupiter punished him by attaching him to a fiery wheel perpetually revolving in Hades. See also Note 144.17.

62.5 *a Mountaine of Ice*] Cf. 23.29-30.

63.10-11 *Love quickeneth a mans wit, although it burieth Reason*] Cf. Tilley L517: Love is without reason. See also 55.25s.n.

63.14 *a light to mischiefe*] A way shown to evil-doing.

63.24-26 *Mahometians . . .* I have not found the source of this statement, but Whetstone attacks Mahometanism throughout *The English Myrror* (see for example, sigs. D5\(^v\) and M1\(^r\)).

64.3 *the Barre of his welfare*] "of" = to. See 3.23 and Note.

64.14-15 *wilfull faultes may be pitied, but deserveth no pardon*] Tilley F105: A fault wilfully committed deserves no pardon. (Earliest
example is 1596.)

65.10 Metamorphosed into Vipers] No source has been found for this metamorphosis. In The Bestiary, "The Viper (vipera) is called this because it brings forth in violence (vi). The reason is that when its belly is yearning for delivery, the young snakes, not waiting for the timely discharge of birth, gnaw through the mother's sides and burst out to her destruction." The female is supposed to destroy the male at coition, angered at his lust. "Thus both parents perish, the male when he copulates, and the female when she gives birth" (p. 170). The viper traditionally represents disorder in marriage, and in the Renaissance especially it became a symbol of envy. In his examination of Envy in The English Myrror (1586) Whetstone says that "Socrates likeneth envie unto a Viper," for it "will not be bound unto the obedience of nature" (sig. A3r).

The classical source of these traditions in Pliny X.82; they are retold in Topsell, Serpents, pp. 293ff.

65.33s.n. Sorrowes causeth scilence] Cf. Tilley S664: Small sorrows speak, great ones are silent. (Earliest example is 1587.)

66.10s.n. Good moralitie, is better than evil doctrine] A re-phrasing of Tilley E213: Examples teach more than precepts.

66.14s.n. There is no trustinge of a reconcyled enemye] Cf. Tilley H373 and H378: Take heed of reconciled enemies.

66.15-16 a sneaking dog, that never barkes but bites withall] Tilley D503: A still dog bites sore. (This example cited.)

Cf. also C912: A cur will bite before he bark. (Earliest example 1623.)
67.23 Minervas sheelde] The huge aegis in which is represented the head of Medusa is the standing attribute of Pallas Athene, or Minerva, the goddess of wisdom; it was originally the shield of Zeus, her father (Homer, Iliad V.738ff.; Virgil, Aeneid VIII.433ff.). But what is the source of Aurelia's specific claim that the shield is impervious to poison?

67.30 Euripides] Greek dramatist, 5th century B.C. The source of this poem may be Phoenissae, 524-25, which was translated as Jocasta (1572) by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarsh. However, Whetstone's version is closer to that of Pettie: "For Ennius saith flatly, there is no friendly or faithfull dealinge to be looked for at any mans handes, in matters pertayninge to a kingdome: and Euripides makes it in a manner lawfull for a kingdoms sake to transgresse the limittes of law, nature, and honesty" (A Petite Pallace, p. 78). See also Lyly, p. 78; and EM, sig. F3v.

67.33-68.8 In these two thinges . . . a fayre wife] This poem may be paraphrased as follows: In the pursuit of these two things -- the obtaining of a Kingdom and the persuading of a fair women to one's own will -- so sweet is the taste of the final achievement, that men do not fear to destroy their friends with their foes. The reason for this is that exercise of restraint would shrink the scope of the authority which a King might wield as sovereign Judge; and in love, reason does not have the power to restrain the self-conceits of the mind. So that God knows, in danger stands his life, that is a King or hath a fair wife (for others will always strive to steal kingdom or wife).

Cf. Tilley L495: Love and lordship like no fellowship.

68.4 whereas] Read "in which."
68.19 [Mask] The masque presented here is not the elaborate dramatic
presentation that it became in the England of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones,
but a symbolic parade ending in a dance. The masque in The Seventh Day's
Exercise (pp. 227ff.) is an allegorical tableau with action.

Whetstone is once again describing an entertainment that was originally
Italian. Edward Hall's *Chronicle* (1548) describes the first masque at
court, held in 1512-13: "On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the
kyng with a xi. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called
a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande" (1809; rpt. New York: AMS,
1965, p. 526). As early as 1573, Italian players performed in masques in
London: Reeves & Turner, 1890, p. 22, 26).

69.2 Spero, Timeo, Taceo] "I hope, I fear, I am silent."

69.10-12 They agreed to be thus attyred . . . their Mistresses]
Through their costumes masquers symbolically revealed their states of
mind and their feelings. In *Euphues and His England*, Philautus says,
"It hath been a custom, fair lady, how commendable I will not dispute,
how common you know, that Maskers do therefore cover their faces that
they may open their affections, and under the colour of a dance discover
their whole desires" (Lyly, p. 316).

Whetstone carefully describes the colours of the costumes, for in the
Renaissance colours were frequently chosen for their symbolic significance.
Russet and murrey suggested low rank or servant status; white symbolized
faith, truth, and sincerity; green was a colour for lovers; carnation
was worn by gallants; blue (azure blue or watchet, a sky blue) represented
honor, wisdom, and power; orange tawny (popular at the Tudor courts)
suggested pride; popenjay green expressed high hope; yellow revealed arrogance; black symbolized constancy or sadness (Pearson, *Elizabethans at Home*, pp. 593-94). The *Rocke of Regard* discusses the significance of the colors worn by lovers; one youth complains that his "Dye" must change with "wanton moode" (sig. F7v).

69.20 *Te stante virebo*] "Whilst thou endurest I shall flourish."

69.23 *English Italian*] Probably an English translation out of Italian (see *OED*, English, 3c). Or perhaps English written in the Italian script.

69.24-70.10 *Two Soveraigne Dames . . . of the world*] Derived from the first quatrain of Petrarch's sonnet "Due gran nemiche inseme erano aggiunte" (*Rime* CCXCVII).

69.24 *Beautie and Honestie*] Tilley B163: Beauty and honesty seldom agree.

69.29 *make riot of their Grace*] Put on an extravagant display of their good qualities. *OED* does not cite an example for this use of "riot" before 1649.

70.19 *passion*] A love poem. In Watson's collection of 1582, the *Hecatompethia*, the poems are called "passions" or "Love passions."

70.20-71.7 *Hence burnyng sighes . . . my Mistresse Good*] Derived from the opening of Petrarch's sonnet "Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core" (*Rime* CLIII).
70.30 For even as drink, dooth make the Dropsey drye] Tilley M211:
Like a man in a dropsy, the more he drinks the more he may.
See also 94.22-23; 99.11; 189.20-21.

71.18-72.13 Even as the Hart . . . I am your owne] I have found no
specific source for this poem, but the comparison of the lover to a wounded
deer is a common Petrarchan conceit.

71.28 Holde this for ease] Seek ease by doing this.

72.20 in the thought] In keeping with this idea.

72.21 Basta che spero] "It is enough that I hope."

72.25-73.12 from shore to sea . . . to live alwaies in hope] Derived
from Petrarch's canzone "Di pensier in pensier, di monte in monte" (Rime
CXXIX).

73.9 Twixt Ice and flame] See Note 9.9, and 149.4.

73.17 Turtle] The turtle-dove represents constancy in love. See
Note 31.12 and 226.15.

73.18 Parrhasius paynted Table Clothe] The story originates with
Pliny XXX.36; it is recalled by Gruget's Mexia, p. 228. The two most
famous classical painters, Parrhasius and Zeuxis, contended with one
another. Zeuxis painted a table of fruit to which flew live birds, thinking
the grapes to be real. Parrhasius painted only a cloth, which all observers
took to be a real sheet: Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to take away the sheet
and show his painting. See also Note 3.9.

73.19 rowled] "Enfolded" or "rolled."

73.20-29 If one firme Faith . . . neede of Grace] Derived from Petrarch's
sonnet "S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto" (Rime CCXXIV).
Cesar and Pompey...] Pompeius Gnaeus, called Magnus, was defeated by Caesar at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. He then "privily fledde by sea into Aegypte where under the faulse conducte of the Kynge Ptolomeus, he was slayne in a bote, his head beyng sryken of, and his bodie caste on the stronde, where it was poorely buryed" (Cooper). Julius Caesar was killed -- stabbed twenty-three times at the foot of Pompey's statue in the Capitol -- in 44 B.C. at the height of his career.

I am unable to determine whether Whetstone is quoting a specific source.

In a quiet state of mind.

Boethius, Roman aristocrat, humanist, and statesman, 6th century A.D. Put to death for alleged high treason in 525 A.D. His De Consolatione Philosophiae (Consolation of Philosophy) is a Ciceronian dialogue in Latin between Lady Philosophy and the condemned Boethius; many translations were available in the sixteenth century, including those by Chaucer (printed by Caxton in 1478), by John Walton (1525), by George Colvile (1556), and by Queen Elizabeth (1593). Yet Whetstone appropriately chooses to recommend an Italian version.

Cosimo Bartoli] Florentine writer, 1503-1572. Among his varied works is an Italian translation of Boethius, one of three commissioned by Charles V in 1549, published in 1552. (G. Mancini, "Cosimo Bartoli," Archivo Storico Italiano, 76 (1918), 84-135.) Izard mentions that this work is "said to be not without merit" (p. 108).
76.24-77.16 Farewell, bright Colde ... heavenly knowledge crowne]
No specific source. The theme of the poem -- the rejection of worldly vanities in favor of philosophy -- echoes the "rejection of love" poems of the courtly tradition, and it certainly is compatible with a reading of Boethius.

76.27s.n. SISIPHUS] One of those eternally tormented in Hades. (See Ovid Met. IV.460;X.44.) Cooper says that "in hell he turneth a stone up to a great hyll toppe: but whan it is at the toppe, it falleth downe againe, and reneweth his labour." Hence, Sisiphus is often an emblem of futility. See also 78.8 and 114.16.

77.2 DENNIS BULL] See 46.11s.n. and Note. Could "Dennis Bull" be the bull of Dionysius to which Amphion and Zethus bound Dirce to be dragged to death? Philoxenus refers to Amphion at 78.1-2. This story is represented in the sculpture group discovered in the early sixteenth century and now called the Farnese Bull, which Whetstone may have seen at the Farnese Palace (see 18.5-6s.n. and Note).

77.9 LYNX his eyes] The lynx is a symbol for sharp sight. Lyceus the Argonaut was supposed to have had extremely keen sight, and this ability was later attributed to the animal. Topsell refers to "the common proverb Lynceo perspecacior, for a man of excellent eyesight" (p. 493), but it is not in Tilley. See also 103.27.

77.11 Cockatrice] A composite creature, generally part bird and part serpent, said to be hatched from a cock's egg; since the fourteenth century it has been confused with the Basilisk. One glance from the cockatrice turns its victim into stone; hence the proverb "The Cockatrice slays by
sight only" (Tilley C495). See Topsell, _Serpents_, pp. 119ff.

Whetstone may be intending a pun on Cockatrice as a name of reproach for a woman, a whore (OED, earliest example 1599). In this case the grave would be the bed.

77.19-20 **bon Giorno**] Italian "buon giorno" = good day, good morning.

78.1-2 **Amphions Harp gave sence unto stone Walles**] The son of Antiope and Zeus, Amphion was given a lyre by Hermes and became an outstanding musician. With his brother Zethus he built the wall around Thebes: the stones moved into position of their own accord to the music of his lyre. He is mentioned in Ovid _Met._ VI.

78.5 **Zeuxis**] Zeuxis, 4th century B.C., famous painter mentioned by Pliny XXXV.9. Whetstone may be recalling Zeuxis' picture of "Eros in fairest youthful beauty, and as crowned with roses."

78.6-11 **Cupid . . . the worke of the Paynter**] There is no classical authority for this story. In his study "Blind Cupid," Erwin Panofsky points out that the figure of Cupid was very rarely blind in classical literature and never in classical art. The blindness of Cupid is a medieval addition, growing out of the belief that "love is blind," and appears frequently in Renaissance art and literature: "In fact the discussion of Cupid's blindness or non-blindness kept very much alive in Renaissance literature, with this difference however that it was transferred to a definitely humanistic level and thus tended either to degenerate into a mere _jeu d'esprit_ or to become associated with the Neoplatonic theories of love" (_Studies in Iconology_, New York: Harper, 1962, p. 123). In philosophical poetry, a bright-eyed "Amore" appears as the opposite of the
blind Cupid of the courtly love poetry; these two figures represent spiritual love and sensual passion respectively. By claiming that Cupid is not really blind, that he is only represented in art as being blind, Whetstone has the best of both worlds: he suggests that whereas love is in fact divine, it has nevertheless been debased by man through ignorance.

The question of Cupid's blindness is discussed in Greenes Farewell to Folly, sig. F4v.

78.8 Sisiphus taske] That is, an impossible or futile task. See Note 76.27 and 114.16.

79.5ff. shee demaunded . . .] Other riddles occur at p. 48 and p. 164.

80.8-9 necessity, is bound unto no law] Tilley N76: Necessity has no law.

80.11-12 a man may offend through rashness, and make amends with repentance] Cf. Tilley H191: He that resolves in haste repents at leisure.

80.27-28 a man can have of a Cat but her skin, and of a begger, but his scrip] Tilley M167: You can have no more of a cat than his skin.

(Whetstone's example cited.)

80.28-30 unles he wil sel . . . the dice maker, the bones of the other] The ODEP cites this as the first example of the proverb "To make dice of one's bones." But Whetstone intends the statement to be understood literally: dice were originally made of bone or ivory.

81.15 Eunuck] See Note 25.4.

81.17-27 To thee I sende . . . with Sacrifice of zeale] I have found no source for this poem.
82.15 hazard upon a charge] Take the risk of making an impetuous attack.

82.24-26 as many deepe woundes with his Pen, as ever he had done with his Launce] Cf. Tilley W839: Words hurt more than swords.

ODEP: The pen is mightier than the sword.

82.24s.n. The dashe of a Pen, is more greevous then the counterbuff of a Launce] Cited by both Tilley (W839) and ODEP. In ODEP, the original reading, "counterbuse," is emended to "counter use."

82.27 an Oke at the Helve of an Axe] Cf. Tilley T496: The oak falls not at the first blow. And A411: He sends the ax after the helve.

"Helve" = handle, so there is no real danger.

83.28-29 where unitie is, small things groweth to great] Tilley Ull: In union is strength.

83.32 in the neck] Strongly assailing. (OED, neck, 3c.)

84.32 of two evils the least is to be chosen] Tilley E207: Of two evils choose the least.

85.9-10 to keepe within their teather] To keep within the limits of their ability or position. Cf. "To reach the end of one's tether" (ODEP; not in Tilley).

85.10 to leape within their latchet] To keep within their limits, not to meddle with what does not concern them. "Latchet" = a thong (OED, 1d).

85.13 as Plato sayeth] No source found. Cf. 36.5; 146.14; 158.34; and 206.21.
85.15-16 no man so faultlesse . . . amended] Tilley M116: Every
man has his faults. Cited in ODEP.

86.7-8 no man dyneth worse, then hoping Tantalus] See Note 48.2-3.

86.8-10 none are more wetshod . . . the soules (perhaps) wilbe wore
Tilley M619: Who waits for dead men's shoes shall go long barefoot.

86.16s.n. An ungodly childe maketh an unthriftie Father] A denial
of the proverb "A sparing father and a spending (prodigal) son." (Tilley
F91, earliest example 1586.)

86.27 every offence hath his proper scourge] Tilley S467: Every
sin brings its punishment with it.
(Earliest example 1616.)

87.19-20 Plutarke saythe] Plutarch of Chaeronia, philosopher and
biographer, 1st century A.D. He was a popular educational writer and had
a great influence in the Renaissance, especially through his Lives and
Moralia. The major translations include James Sanford's Amorous and
Tragicall Tales (1567); Sir Thomas North's The Lives of the Noble Grecians
and Romanes (1579), translated from the French of Jaques Amyot; and Philemon
Holland's Morals (1603). See also 171.13.

87.29-31 like a Cocke . . . untill he dyeth] Koeppel intensely dis-
likes this image drawn from cock-fighting (Studien, p. 40).

87.33-34 they go farre that never returne] Cf. Lyly, p. 182: "he
runneth far that never returneth." Not in Tilley.

88.7 Ovid sayeth, that Forma numen habet] "Beauty has divinity."
Amores III.3.12.
Quoted also in PC, sig. C2v.

88.14 Piramus and Thisbie] Frequently cited in the Renaissance as examples of lovers who died for love. Their story is told in Ovid Met. IV.55-166.

88.14-15 Romeus and Juliet] Also a commonplace Renaissance example. The source is Bandello, II.9, which reached England through Boaistuau to be retold by Painter, II.25. Also available was Arthur Broke's poem, The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet (1562).

88.15 Arnalt and Amicla] I have not been able to identify these lovers. However, if Whetstone intended to suggest "Arnalt and his Friend," he may be referring to the romance Arnalt and Lucenda (1575), translated by Hollyband from the Spanish; or to Arnaut Daniel, praised in Petrarch, Trionfi IV.40-41 as the "Master in love."

88.30 Ovid, Nigidius, Samocratius, Petrarke] See Notes below for p. 89.

89.16-21 Ovid . . . Julia . . .] The poet of love, Ovid died in exile. The popular medieval and Renaissance version of his banishment is referred to by Cooper: "The cause of his exile is uncertaine, savynge some suppose it was for abusynge Julia, daughter of the emperour Augustus."
Ovid refers to his own life, including his exile, in the Tristia, which was translated by Thomas Churchyard, Whetstone's acquaintance, in 1572 and reprinted in 1580. The legend is discussed by John C. Thibault in The Mystery of Ovid's Exile (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1964).

89.21 Nigidius] Nigidius Figulus, a friend of Cicero, an active
supporter of Pompey, died in 45 A.D. Cooper refers to him as "An auncient Romaine, which was a philosopher, of the secte of Pythagoras, and wrote woonderfully subtilly, about the yere of our lorde xlvi. he dyed in exyle." Caesar probably exiled him because he took an active part in the civil war on the side of Pompey. Fragments of his work survive in Aulus Gellius, who was probably read by Whetstone, and in other writers.

89.24 Samocratius] I cannot identify this reference. However, its source appears to be Guevara's Epistolae Familiares, correctly translated by Geoffrey Fenton in his Golden Epistles (1582): "Samocratius, Nigidius, and Ovide have written many volumes of the remedie of love, wherein they rather taughte remedie to others, than founde any themselves: for that they all three dyed in persecution, not for the abuses they committed at Rome, but for the loves they practised at Capua" (sig. T5v). The same trio are mentioned by George Gascoigne in the epistle to his Posies (1575): "I neither take example of wanton Ovid, doting Nigidius, nor foolish Samocratius" (Works, I, 5-6).

89.27-30 Petrarch . . . Madonna Laura] Petrarch fell in love with Laura, he tell us in Rime CCXI, on April 6, 1327, when he first saw her in Avignon. Although she was unattainable, being both married and superlatively virtuous, he remained faithful to his love for her even after she died in the Black Death of 1348. Petrarch's collection of poems, the Rime (or the Canzoniere), addressed to Laura living and dead, popularized the sonnet throughout Europe and established the themes and conventions of love poetry for centuries. Whetstone draws on his works for the poems on pages 55, 69, 70, and 72; and attributes to him the quatrain on page 55.
90.6-8 the Husband will leap at a Cruste, and the Wife trot for her Dinner] Tilley C870: To leap at a crust. (Earliest example 1616. The ODEP indicates that Whetstone's is the first recorded use.)

Tilley N79: Need makes the old wife trot.

90.19-20 pleasaunt baytes baineth Fyshe] Cf. Lyly, p. 46: "Is it not the pleasant bait that causeth the fleetest fish to bite?"

90.21-22 Crocadyles teares, intrappeth Fooles] Tilley C831: Crocodile tears.

The crocodile was popularly supposed to lure its prey by pretending to weep; or, it was supposed to shed tears after devouring its victim. Hence, its tears are a sign of hypocrisy (Topsell, Serpents, pp. 126ff.). See also 164.16 and 177.2-3.

90.31-32 the Mariage must be in poste haste, and the mislikyng at pleasure] Tilley H196: Marry in haste and repent at leisure.

Cf. 96.18s.n.

92.12-13 good Wine neede no Ivie Bushe, fyne Marchaundise are solde without a Signe] Tilley W462. See 9.25 and Note.

92.28ff. The Historie in reprooфе of rash Mariages . . .] The direct sources for this novella are Marguerite de Navarre's Heptameron 36 and Painter I. 57. Similar motifs appear in Bandello, Belleforest, and Gruget's Mexia. Painter translates Marguerite de Navarre's tale, and Whetstone appears to be following primarily Painter's version, even echoing his language. Whetstone's additions and alterations make for a more interesting story: he pays more attention to motivations and economic conditions; he attributes Malipiero's forgiveness of Felice to love, not simply to
his desire for children; and by including an account of Marino Giorgio's persistent wooing and seduction of Felice, he engages more sympathy for her.

92.30-31 **Capo Verdo . . . the capitall Citie, within the kingdome of Naples**] "Capua, in ancient times, the chief city of the Campania region of Italy; it was located 16 miles (25 kilometres) north of Neapolis (Naples) on the site of the modern Santa Maria Capua Vetere" (New Encyclopaedia Britannica).

93.18-19 **striking the yron while it was whote**] Tilley 194: It is good to strike while the iron is hot.

93.26ff. **And among many an auncient Gentleman, his Governour . . .**] The schoolmaster giving sage advice to Malipiero is reminiscent of the old gentleman lecturing Euphues in Naples (Lyly, pp. 13ff.).

94.22 **Periander**] Tyrant of Corinth, c. 625-585 B.C., sometimes listed as one of the seven sages of Greece. His home is the scene of Plutarch's "Dinner of the Seven Wise Men" (Moralia 146-164). Whetstone may be recalling the story (recounted by Herodotus and Diogenes Laertius) of Periander's campaign to purge his city of luxury and idleness -- he is supposed to have stripped the Corinthian women of their ornaments -- but I have been unable to locate this exact saying.

94.22-23 **a Dropsey: for as drinke encreaseth the drouth of the one**] Tilley M211: Like a man in a dropsy, the more he drinks the more he may. See also 70.30; 99.11; 189.20-21.

95.2-3 **she will go like a Pecock, and you like a meacock**] Proverbial in style, but not listed in Tilley or in ODEP. The peacock is proverbially
proud (Tilley P157), and the meacock (according to OED perhaps originally a name of some bird) is meek, sexually weak, effeminate. Cf. example cited by OED for 1719: "For my part I will no more be such a Meacock To deal with the plumes of a Hyde-Park Peacock." Also Shrew, II. i. 305-6.

95.31 looke before you leape] Tilley L429.

96.18s.n. An early marriage, worketh a late repentaunce] Cf. Tilley M694: Marry today repent tomorrow. (Earliest example 1623.) See also 90.31-32.

96.24-25 menaced to punish his oversight (in not regarding him) as Strangers] They were hostile to Malipiero, punishing his oversight (that is, of not considering his parents' wishes) by not giving him any consideration, as if they were strangers to him.

97.9 this braverie was but a blaze] Cf. Tilley B167: Beauty is a blaze.

97.28 not in his debt or daunger] Tilley D166: Out of debt out of danger.

M451: He is in every man's debt and danger; that is, "under every man's jurisdiction or power, under an obligation" (Tilley's note).

98.5 A Diamond hath not his grace but in golde] "When the Dyamonde is sette in golde, the mettall honoureth the stone, and the stone the metall" (Legh, The Accedens of Armory, sig. B7V). For only the most royal metal is suitable for the finest gem. Cf. Wotton, Courtlie Controversie, sig. B1F.

98.9 Piatso Richio] Italian "piazza" = square, market-place; "ricco" = rich.
98.19 their wyves love gadding] Cf. Tilley W695: Women and hens are lost by gadding. (Earliest example 1591.)

99.11-12 as drincke increaseth the dropsies drowth] Tilley M211. See also 70.30; 94.22-23; 189.20-21.

99.12-13 so disdaine, heapeth coales uppon desire] "But so extreme are the passions of love that the more thou seekest to quench them by disdain the greater flame thou increasest by desire" (Lyly, p. 350).

99.13 Teste se ipso] "Himself an (eye) witness."

99.18-20 a pure Sanguine Comp lection . . . Choller adust] According to medieval physiology, one's temperament was determined by the predominant humour in the body; the four humours were blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy. Because blood was formerly the chief humour in Marino Giorgio's body, he had been always sanguine or cheerful; now that black bile is uppermost, he is melancholy.

99.23 Galen, Hipocrates] The ancient physicians who were the authorities of medieval and early Renaissance medicine.

Galen of Pergamun, A.D. 129-?199, was court physician in Rome under Marcus Aurelius. His works were revived by the early sixteenth-century humanists -- Thomas Linacre translated them into Latin directly from the Greek (1521-24) -- and some were translated into English by Robert Copland (1541), by John Jones (1574), and by George Baker (1574). Galen was considered to be infallible: "In phisike he was so excellent, as he may justly seeme to be raysed by divine providence, at that time to make perfecte that noble arte" (Cooper).

Hippocrates lived at the time of Socrates (469-399 B.C.); his works
are now lost, but Aphorisms attributed to him were translated into English by Humphrey Llwyd (1550?). "If one asks what Hippocrates meant to the Greeks, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, what he means even today, the answer is that by a complicated historical process he has become the embodiment of the ideal physician" (Oxford Classical Dictionary).

99.24 Paracelsus] Physician and alchemist (1493-1541), whose true name was Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim. His works brought new ideas into chemistry and medicine and upset the schoolmen. He criticized the traditional medical authorities, and on June 24, 1527, in front of the University of Basel, he burned the books of Galen and of the Arabian physician Avicenna.

99.26ff. Macrello, the Physition of Love . . .] In late Renaissance prose fiction, love affairs are frequently furthered by an exchange of letters and by the machinations of a go-between.

100.12-14 Acrisius bracen Tower . . . Jubiter . . . Danais love] Learning from an oracle that his daughter's son would slay him, Acrisius, King of Argos, imprisoned his daughter Danae in a brazen subterranean chamber or (according to the Latin poets) in a brazen tower. But Jupiter fell in love with her and descended into her lap in the form of a golden shower: the son was Perseus. "By this fable is signified, that Jupiter sent treasure pryvilye unto Danae, and also to them that had the kepynge of hir, wherewith they being corrupted, suffered Jupiter to enter into the towne, and accomplyshe his pleasure. The fable declareth the force of money and giftes in assauting of chasttie" (Cooper). A classical source is Horace, Odes III.16.1-8.
100.13 **Jupiter** An accepted, though infrequent, spelling of Jupiter. See also 44.14.

100.20 **the flashe of Rose water** A common Renaissance treatment. Albertus Magnus, *The Book of Secrets* (c. 1550) credits the rose with the power to restore life (ed. M. R. Best and F. H. Brightman, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, p. 16); and in Gascoigne's *The Adventures of Master F.J.*, "damaske water" is used to revive the hero (p. 86).

100.26s.n. **Hope comforteth but Love cureth the Lover** Cf. Tilley H605: If it were not for Hope the heart would break.

102.5 **Protheus** Proteus, a sea-god, has the power to take on any shape; he appears as The Old Man of the Sea in Homer, *Odyssey* IV.384ff., and in Virgil, *Georgics* IV.387ff. "He also tourned himselfe into sundry fygures, sometyme beynge like a flame of fire, sometyme lyke a bull, an other tyme lyke a terrible serpente . . . . Of him came this proverbe, *Proteo mutabilior*, more chaungeable then Proteus, applyed to him that in his actes or woords is unstable" (Cooper).

Tilley S285: As many shapes as Proteus.

103.5 **Hercules labours** Hercules "Seemeth to be a generall name geven to men excellynge in strengthe all other of their tyme" (Cooper). He was the son of Jupiter and Alcmena and one of the most famous of Greek heroes. By accomplishing the twelve seemingly impossible tasks imposed upon him by a jealous Juno, he won immortal fame and immortality. The twelve labours feature the Nemean Lion, the Hydra of Lerna, the Boar of Erymanthus, the Hind of Ceryneia, the Birds of Stymphalus, the Augean Stables, the Cretan Bull, the Horses of Diomedes, Geryon, Cerberus, the Apples of the
Hesperides, and the Girdle of the Amazon (for the last, Cooper substitutes the Battle with the Centaurs).

103.25ff. But, O that Furie Jelousie . . .] The manner in which Malipiero's suspicion is aroused and the way in which he confirms it echoes Painter's story of the Lady of Thurin (I.43) from Bandello and Boaistuau.

103.27 Lynx his eyes] See Note 77.9.

104.5s.n. Argus] The mythological figure who is said to have a hundred eyes. Juno set him to watch over Io, who had been turned into a white heifer by Jupiter in order to keep her safe from Juno's jealousy. Mercury with his pipes lulled Argus asleep so that Jupiter might possess Io. In anger, Juno placed the eyes of Argus in her peacock's tail. (Ovid Met. I.588-746.) Thus, Argus is a symbol of watchfulness and of jealousy. See also 229.10.

Cf. Tilley E254: As many eyes as Argus.

104.15-16 the Neapolitan to be the severest revenger of dishonor in the world] The contemporary estimate of the Neapolitan character is summed up by Jerome Turler in The Traveller (1575): "but if you breake promise, they be very sharp revengers of the injurie done unto them, like as they be very mindfull of a good turne receaved" (sig. N5r). Cf. Nashe, II,298: "The Neapolitane carrieth the bloodiest mind."

104.20s.n. A Judas kisse] Like a Judas Iscariot in its character, traitorous. From Luke xxii.48: "And Jesus said unto him, Judas, betrayest thou the Sonne of man with a kisse?"

Tilley J92: To give one a Judas kiss. (This example cited.)

104.34-105.1 trueth will have passage] Cf. Tilley T591: Truth will
come to light (break out). (This example cited in ODEP.)

105.15s.n. Haire, the ornamentes of Chastytie] Painter explains more fully: "for the ornament of the heare doth not appertaine to an adultresse, nor the vayle or other furniture of the head to an unchast woman. Wherefore she goeth so shaven, in token she hath lost her honestie" (II, p. 99).

105.22 Mazar] A mazer is a bowl or drinking-cup; it may also refer to the head. Whetstone is introducing a pun found neither in Marguerite de Navarre nor in Painter.

108.10-14 if every lyke offence . . . baulde men] Not in Painter, but found in Marguerite de Navarre's version of the tale: "If all, ladies, in like case, drank out of like vessels, I am afraid that many a golden cup would be turned into a death's-head" (tr. A. Machen, New York: Knopf, 1927, p. 217).

108.33ff. MOWNTIBANKES] Itinerant entertainers, usually assisted by a professional clown, the Zanni; they originated in Italy. Coryat, who visited Venice in 1608, writes that "the word Mountebank (being in the Italian tongue Monta'in banco) is compounded of two Italian words, Montare, which signifieth to ascend or goe up to a place, and banco, a bench, because these fellowes doe act their part upon a stage, which is compacted of benches or fourmes." These Venetian mountebanks were orators, musicians, actors, and pedlars, whose wares were often "very counterfeit and false"; they frequently played with living vipers. (Quoted in Winifred Smith, The Commedia Dell'Arte, 1912; rpt. New York: Blom, 1964, pp. 30-34.) Topsell repeats an account of mountebanks in Padua who put on a show with
vipers, but he points out that the serpents had been rendered harmless (Serpents, p. 4). K. M. Lea, in Italian Popular Comedy, states that Whetstone's descriptions of Mountebanks and improvising comedians (p. 163 below) "show that he was perfectly acquainted with both kinds of professional entertainers" (pp. 345-47).

109.17-18 common Mountebanckers] The mountebanks encountered by Ismarito are unusual in that they were only entertainers and not hawkers of fraudulent goods. K. M. Lea mentions the mountebank called Scotto who was a juggler in England c. 1579-80 (Italian Popular Comedy, p. 360).

109.32 Virgils Brasen Flayle] The medieval legend of Virgilius tells how the poet-necromancer shut himself in "a goodly castell" with one gate: "And this castell stode without the cytie of Rome and this enteringe of this gate was made with xxiii yron flayles, and on every syde was there xii men on eche syde, styll a pece smytynge with the flayles never seasynge, the oon after the other; and no man myght cum in without the flayles stode stylly but he was slayne" (Early English Prose Romances, 2nd ed., ed. W. J. Thoms, London: Nattali and Bond, 1858, II, 54-55).

110.7 Phrisio] Phriso is a character in The Courtier who is somewhat sceptical of women's virtues.

110.8 winne the Spurres] Tilley S792: He has won the spurs.

110.14 Unsaverie receytes tourne to holosome effectes] This and the following proverbs are variations on a theme, "There is no ill but may turn to one's good" (Tilley I35).

Tilley P327: Bitter pills may have blessed effects.

110.17-18 Nettles . . . maketh Pottage to comforte the heart] The

110.18-19 *the bloude of the Scorpion cureth the biting of the Viper*

Cf. Tilley S153: Those that are stung by the scorpion are healed by the scorpion.

Topsell points out that the "oyle of Scorpions" is effective against the poisons of all "other Serpents and venemous beasts" (*Serpents*, p. 231), and that the Scorpion and the Viper are enemies, for they die by one another's poison (p. 297). See also 112.2-3.

110.26 *runne at ryot* Acts without restraint (Hunting).

111.4 *used thys circumstaunce* Beat about the bush.

111.9-10 *faireset colours soonest staine, as sweetest flowers are blasted with a breath* Tilley F391: The fairest flowers (freshest colors) soonest fade.

111.11-12 *the brightest Sunne threateneth suddaine raine* Cf. Tilley S968: Although the sun shines leave not your cloak at home.

111.13 *as everye mortall thing hath his imperfection* C. G. Smith, in *Shakespeare's Proverb Lore*, cites as a proverb not in Tilley, "Nature has given a defect to every thing created" (pp. 90-91).

111.22 *Pluto* God of the underworld, of the classical Hades.

112.2-3 *the bloud of a Scorpion, cureth the biting of the Viper*

See 110.18-19 and Note.

112.23-24 *as the rowling Stone gathereth no Mosse* Tilley S885.

112.32-113.2 the Gretians ... poisoned them selves with venemous Cicuta] "Cicuta" is the Latin word for hemlock or for poison extracted from the hemlock. Cf. The Courtier, p. 207:

In Massilia there was in times past an usage which is thought came out of Greece, and that was, that openly there was poysen laide up meddled with Cicuta, and it was lawfull for him to take it that alledged to the Senate that he ought to bee rid of his life for some discommoditie that hee felt therein, or els for some other just cause: to the entent that who so had suffered too much adversitie, or tasted over great prosperitie, hee might not continue in the one, or change the other.

... I have red an Oration, wherein an unfortunate husband asketh leave of the Senate to dye, and alledgedh that hee hath a just cause, for that he can not abide the continuall weary-sommesse of hys wifes chatting, and had lieffer drinke of that poyson which you say was laid up openly for these respectes, than of his wives scoldinges.

113.5 Diogenes] Philosopher, c. 400-c. 325 B.C. The famous founder of the Cynic sect, so called for its "doggish" nature. Noted for his satirical dialogues, his caustic wit, and his inventives against luxury, Diogenes became a legendary figure. I have not located a source for this anecdote.

The fourth Daies exercise

114.8-19 Orpheus ... Euridice] "Orpheus, A Thracian borne, sonne of OeGRUS, and PolyMnia, or (as some write) of Aполlo and Calliope, an auncient poete and harper moste excellent. He (as the poetes surmised) dyd with his musicke deLyte wylde beastes and infernall spirites, and moved stones with his sweete harmonie: wherby he recovered his wyfe
Eurydice out of hel" (Cooper). Eurydice is killed at her wedding to Orpheus by a serpent's bite. Orpheus seeks her in the underworld, where he addresses the rulers, Pluto and Proserpine, with his lyre. At the sound of his music, the tortures of the tormented -- of Ixion, Tityos, Tantalus, Sisyphus, and the daughters of Belus -- cease, and Pluto is so moved that he grants Orpheus permission to take Eurydice with him, provided he does not look back until he is out of the valley of Avernus. (Ovid Met. X.1-63.) See also 151.7 and 229.13.

114.13-14 the Gripe forbare to teare upon Titius growing hart] "Tityus, the sonne of the Earthe, whom poetes feigned to be slayne by Apollo, because he wolde have ravished Latona his sister: and therefore lieth in hell, havyng an eagle alway eatynge his lyver. And it is also sayd, that his bodie was in length nyne furlongs: witnesse Tibul, which was a poete, and also a great lover, and therefore coulde not lye" (Cooper). In Homer, Odyssey XI.576ff., vultures tear at his liver, which constantly grows back.


114.15 Danaes Daughters] The Danaides, the fifty daughters of Danaus, follow their father's instructions to kill their husbands on their wedding night, and they are punished in Hades by having to pour water forever into a leaky vessel. One source is Ovid, Heroides XIV.

114.16 Sisiphus] See Note 76.27s.n.

114.29-31 where the tongue hath free passage to talke, the heart is occupyed with no great greefe] Cf. Tilley S664: Small griefs speak, great ones are silent.
114.33-34 occasion entertayned him with no other business] At the moment no other business occupied his thoughts.

115.4-5 the Popes Microcosmos at Latteran] The Lateran refers to the group of buildings that stand on the Monte Celio in Rome, now consisting of a Basilica, a Baptistery, and the Lateran Palace. During the Middle Ages, the Lateran was what the Vatican is today — the center of the government of the Roman Catholic church. Whetstone's reference is to the Palace, which was largely destroyed in 1360 and rebuilt by 1585.

Montaigne reports that on Jan. 26, 1581 he visited "the Vatican to see the statues enclosed in the niches of the Belvedere and the fine gallery that the Pope is erecting for paintings from all parts of Italy, and which is very near its completion" (pp. 130-31); Trechmann's note suggests that Montaigne is referring to "The Galleria Geografica." Caligani also believes that Whetstone is describing "la Galleria (la loggia della Cosmografia?), dove il papa (Pio IV?) aveva raccolta le mappe del mondo" ("Il Boccaccio nel Cinquecento inglese," p. 56, n.120). See also Harl.M., p. 18.

By "Microcosmos" Whetstone intends to emphasize the cosmological significance of the gallery; as the Encyclopedia of World Art points out, during the Renaissance church buildings were frequently intended to be abbreviated images of the universe (III.840-43).

116.2s.n. King Ptolomey] Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 308-246 B.C., Macedonian king of Egypt. See also 169.23 and Note.

116.4 a Pharos] "Pharos, A little yle in Aegipt against the mouthe of Nilus, by the citie Alexandria. In this yle was set a very hyghe
towre, wherin were great lightes all the nyghte longe, for the comforte and suretie of them, which were in voyaige, either on the sea or the lande. Wherof all other toures made for suche purpose, are called Phari" (Cooper). Pliny states that "The tower is said to have cost 800 talents" (XXXVI.18). Cf. Gruget's Mexia, pp. 447-48. Guevara claims that it was named for the king's lover, "Pharo Dolovina," and became one of the seven great buildings of the world (sig. L4r). See also 10.23.

116.5 a Phenix] See Notes 10.23 and 33.9. In some versions of the legend, the Phoenix is renewed by the heat of the sun; in any case, the Phoenix with its golden feathers has an affinity for the sun.

Ismarito's witty use of the phoenix device is echoed in an anecdote related by "Weston" in The Censure of a Loyall Subject (1587):

You put me in remembrance of a tale that a Gentleman, a traveler once told me, who being at Rome, when Pope Gregorie ther lived, and finding at the English Colledge, over the armes of England, a Phenix dranw, which the Pope did appropriate unto himselfe: the Gentleman dutifully reverencing her majestie as his soveraigne, and Phenix of the worlde, in scorne of the Pope wrote these verses.

And reason good the Lion should,
the Phoenix stand belowe:
For though the leaves bewray the tree,
the fruit the goodnesse showe.

Applying in secreat zeale, the construction therto, of this sense. The armes of England to leaves as but the generall badge of her kingdome, and the Phenix he did propriat to the vertues of her majestie, as her excellent beautie, and glorie of the world. And of the contrary parte, the matter was wel taken, I know not by what mistaking. (sig. Clv)


116.7 Cambria] A variant of Cumbria (Celtic Cymru) = Wales (Sugden).
116.8 Albania] Or Albany. The old name for Scotland (Sugden).

116.11 Euxinus Pontus] The ancient name for the Black Sea (Greek "Euxine"). Hence, Elizabeth's influence reaches not only over Great Britain, but also into much of Europe.

116.13 Pharos Europe, non Africâ] The guiding light of Europe, not of Africa. Charlemagne also had been called the lighthouse of Europe, in Angilbert's "Carolus Magnus et Leo Papa."

116.22 Phenix] Queen Elizabeth.


116.28 a Marchaunt of Venice] The Venetians were famous as traders, and even in Elizabeth's reign there was a Venice Company. Whetstone's claim that Philoxenus thus acquired a portrait of the Queen is credible: Roy Strong, in The English Icon (London: Paul Mellon Foundation, 1969, p. 157), states that such a portrait, dated c. 1580, was "found rolled up in the attic of the Palazzo Reale, Siena, in 1895."

116.29 the Westerne Islands] England and Ireland.

116.33 a goodly Gentleman] Gaspard II de Coligny, seigneur de Chatillon, 1519-1572, Admiral of France. After 1560 he aroused the enmity of the Guise family by demanding religious toleration. His conversion to Protestantism made him the admired leader of the Huguenots. "Although attracted to the Calvinist philosophy, he saw the reformed religion as a system for the maintenance of order, discipline, and justice" (New Encyclopaedia Britannica). In August 1570, he negotiated the Peace of Saint-Germain favourable to the Huguenots. He returned to court in 1571 and grew in
favor with Charles IX to the point that his influence over the King threatened Catherine de' Medici: she pressured the King into ordering the massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, in which Coligny was slaughtered.

Philoxenus was probably at the French court at a time when Coligny's career was at its height (see 18.24-25 and Note). Coligny's portrait is placed next to Queen Elizabeth's as a tribute to the Admiral's championship of the Protestant cause.

When Whetstone discusses the Guise massacre in The English Myrror (sigs. F8v-G1r), he refers to both Queen Elizabeth and the Prince of Orange.

116.33 Crowned with a Scepter] Signification not clear. Possibly, "bearing a staff of office." The scepter was not necessarily a symbol of royal authority: the Marshals and the Chancellors of France used batons and maces respectively as heraldic devices. However, there is no example in OED of the use of "Crowned" to mean "bearing." Another possibility is that "Crowned" refers not to Coligny but to his portrait, which might be surmounted with a baton or batons as heraldic supporters within an ornamental frame.

If the phrase were emended to insert a comma after "Crowned" difficulties of literal interpretation disappear. But why would Coligny wear a crown? Perhaps a ducal coronet, which was worn by the Marshals of France? (John Woodward and George Burnett, Woodward's A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1969, p. 624.)

117.2-3 his Armes, who bare Gu, an Eagle displayed Crowned Ar] On a red ("gules") background, a spread eagle (an eagle with unfolded wings)
coloured silver ("argent") and crowned. Whetstone misplaces the "Ar" (argent), which must refer to the eagle, since he provides no other colour for the main heraldic figure, rather than to the crown, which would normally be gold ("Or").

"Gules, an eagle displayed argent, crowned or" are the arms of the French family of Coligny, of the Kingdom of Poland, and of the imperial city of Frankfurt (John Woodward and George Burnett, Woodward's A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1969, pp. 254-55, 257). A sketch of Coligny's coat of arms may be found in the Grand Larousse Encyclopedique.

Izard (p. 124) mistakenly identifies the coat of arms as belonging to the House of Anjou and hence to Henry III of France. In fact, Henry was entitled to these arms when he was elected King of Poland in 1573 (he abandoned the Polish throne to become King of France in 1574), but we know from a Renaissance account that when he wore the Polish coat of arms, they were incorrectly blazoned:

Lorsque Henri III fit son entrée à Paris comme roi de Pologne, on connaissait si peu ses armes nouvelles, que Favyn, dans son Théâtre d'honneur, publié en 1620, dit: "Les peintres ignorans, à la vue de héralds plus ignorans qu'iceulx blasonnèrent les armes de Pologne d'argent et de sable, au lieu qu'elles sont de gueules a l'aigle d'argent. (Lorédan Larchey, Ancien armorial équestre de la Toison d'or et de l'Europe au 15e siècle, Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1890, p. 242.)

117.5 a young Prince Hercule-François (Francis), 1554-84, Duc d'Alençon, became Duc d'Anjou in 1574 when his brother Henry became King Henry III of France. In August 1578 he was named by the States General "Defender of the Liberties of the Netherlands," and his importance to the Dutch cause increased as he became the suitor of Queen Elizabeth. In September
1580 William of Orange formed an alliance with Anjou, and in the same year the States General were persuaded by William to grant Anjou the title of *landheer*, "lord of the country," making him the titular hereditary sovereign. Anjou was in the Netherlands in 1578–79 and again in 1582 at William's urging. In November 1581 Anjou arrived in England, hoping to settle the proposed marriage alliance with Elizabeth. When the Queen gave him a ring and a kiss, rumours of their betrothal flew throughout Europe: on November 28, 1581, William of Orange publicly announced the betrothal in Ghent, rejoicing at a match that would join the two allies he most needed, and displayed an allegorical picture on the subject. Anjou left England in February 1582 with no definite commitment from the Queen, took up his new position in the Netherlands as sovereign in place of Philip of Spain, and died in 1584.

For a discussion of these "wooing matters" (Walsingham's phrase), and Hatton's part in them, see Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I; a Study in Power and Intellect*, pp. 249ff.

117.10 **Hercules Franciscus valesius**] Latinized form of "Hercule-François Valois."

117.11 **an other counterfeit**] That of William I, Prince of Orange, 1533–1584, known as William the Silent, who devoted his life to the liberation of the Netherlands. In 1559, while governor in the Low Countries under Philip II of Spain, he became sympathetic to the Protestants and was converted to Lutheranism. During the popular rising in 1572, he hoped for French support from Coligny, but the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre destroyed Huguenot influence at the French court, until the Duc d'Anjou
emerged as a possible leader in 1578. William's fourth marriage, in 1583, was to Louise de Coligny, daughter of the murdered Huguenot leader. In March 1582 he survived an assassination attempt in Antwerp, but he was fatally shot by a fanatical Catholic on July 10, 1584.

117.12-13 *his Posie was, Je le meintiendray*] "I will support (uphold) it." The motto of the House of Nassau-Orange is variously cited as "Je maintiendrai," "Je le maintiendrai," or "Je maintiendray Nassau."

In 1580, William of Orange was outlawed by King Philip of Spain. The *Apologie of Prince William of Orange against the Proclamation of the King of Spaine* (ed. H. Wansink, Leiden: Brill, 1969) was written in December 1580 and first published in Delft in 1581; it ran to sixteen editions in the sixteenth century and was widely translated. By appending the words "je le maintiendrai" to his impassioned plea for freedom and sacrifice, William pledges himself to uphold all that is decided upon for the good of his people.

The pedestrian English 'I will maintain' does not give the effective meaning of the ancient French, 'Je maintiendray'. It is more than to maintain, it is to uphold, for the word carries in it the sense of mutual obligation, of the oath given by the laying of the overlord's hand on that of the vassal, and of the vassal's within that of his protector. This was the proclamation of William's plighted word to his people: he was sworn, handfasted, to the Netherlands. Indeed -- to the Netherlands; for up to this time the device had been, like all ancient feudal devices, not general but particular to the family of its bearer. The words on his coat of arms were 'Je Maintiendray Nassau'. To omit his family and thereby to endow the narrow phrase with wide significance was a touch of genius. (C. V. Wedgewood, *William the Silent*, p. 254.)

The motto occurs in the original French text, but not in the English edition of 1581: Whetstone may have read the French version when he was on the continent. He refers to the *Apologie* in a side note in *The English Myrror* (sig. Df).
118.3-4 his mornings sorrowe had beene but a sleepe] Cf. Tilley S662: When sorrow is asleep wake it not. (Earliest example 1595.)

118.9 Phebus] Simply, the sun.

118.28-29 of voluntarie devise] Ingeniously designed to appear as though it were growing naturally, wild. (See OED, voluntary, 11 -- but earliest example cited is 1620.)

119.24 Eunick] See Note 25.4.

119.27-120.12 Care, Care ... hop for joye] No source found.

119.30 by thee greene yeares with hoarie heares are crownd] Cf. Tilley C82: Care brings grey hair.

120.15 it passed for currant] It was generally accepted. (OED, current, 8. Earliest example cited 1596.)

120.17s.n. One square breaketh no custome] One variation does not upset a custom. OED provides no authority for this usage of "square": the closest approximation is in the sense of "dissension." But compare "To break square": "to interrupt or violate the regular order; commonly in the proverbial phrase, it breaks no square, i.e. does no harm, makes no mischief, does not matter" (OED, break, v.,46).

120.25-26 Fryer Inganno] From Italian "inganno" = deceit, fraud, cheat. "The Deceiver."

120.27ff. The adventure of Fryer Inganno ...] The motifs of this novella are found in Boccaccio, Decameron IV.2 and VIII.4, two tales which are narrated expressly in order to illustrate the hypocrisy of the religious orders. In the first (IV.2) Brother Alberto pretends to be the Angel
Gabriel in order to seduce Lisetta, and as a punishment he has to endure the torments of flies and hornets until he is rescued by his brother friars. Whetstone's Farina, however, is not as vain and feather-brained as Lisetta, and she is allowed to keep her chastity by means of a bed-trick. Such a substitution occurs in another tale from Boccaccio (VIII.4) in which a rector, who loves a virtuous widow, is tricked by her into going to bed with an ugly scullery maid and is there discovered by the bishop. Whetstone's adaptation of Boccaccio is discussed by Galigani, "Il Boccaccio nel Cinquecento inglese"; and Cecioni, "Un adattamento."

Another version of Decameron IV.2 in English is the tale of "Fryer Onyon" in Tarletons Newes out of Purgatorie (1590).

120.29-30 Appenine Mountaynes] The Apennines (Italian, "Appennino"), mountain range in central Italy.

120.30-31 Sainct Fraunces] Francis of Assisi, c. 1181-1226, founder of the Franciscan order. His body is buried in the church of S. Giorgio in Assisi, where he first preached and where he died. "Many miracles are recorded to have taken place at his tomb" (The Catholic Encyclopedia).

120.32 Farina] "Easily moulded"? From Italian "farina" = flour, meal. The name of a zanni in the commedia dell'arte, an "allusion to the 'lazzo' of flouring the face," occurring in Italy as early as 1585 (Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, pp. 488-89).

121.l1s.n. It is said, S. Frances . . .] According to the legend of "The Indulgence of the Portiuncula," St. Francis was assailed by a sudden temptation while he was sitting in his cell in midwinter; he rushed into a garden in an attempt to vanquish his desire and threw himself on
brambles which then turned into red and white roses (E. G. Salter, *Franciscan Legends in Italian Art*, London: Dent, 1905, pp. 112-13).

121.26-28 **Blessed art thou . . . countrey-women** Galigani ("Il Boccaccio nel Cinquecento inglese," p. 56) points out that this deliberate parody of the Annunciation is not found in Boccaccio.

121.34 **his meagre Cripple Image** Whetstone's reference to contemporary images of St. Francis appears to be accurate. George Kaftal states that St. Francis was "Represented in the XIIIth cent. with an emaciated, oblong face, sparse fair hair and a short beard." He was thus depicted in order to suggest his asceticism. ([*Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, Florence: Sansoni, 1965, p. 471.])

122.14s.n. **Ignoraunce heareth every tale as true** Cf. Tilley F456: A fool believes everything.

123.1 **Leayda** Italian "laido" = ugly, repellent, filthy, foul.

123.6 **without light or leave** Perhaps a deliberate echo of the proverb "Leave is light" (Tilley L170).

123.9 **Salve Saincte Francisce** Hail Saint Francis.

123.10-11 **Sancte Francisce, ora pro nobis** Saint Francis, pray for us.

123.15 **A dolori inferni, libera me Domine** From the pains of hell, deliver me O Lord.

123.23-24 **learning lyke the Theefe, that honge on the left side of Christe** Luke xxiii.33: "there thei crucified him, and the evil doers: one at the right hand, and the other at the left." Also xxiii.39-43 and
Mark xv.27,32. Matthew xxvii.38,44 speaks of one of the thieves who cast jeers in Christ's teeth.


124.27-28 their evyls are written in their foreheads] Tilley F120: Everyone's faults are (are not) written in their foreheads. (Earliest example in ODEP is 1609.)

125.10ff. The rare Historie of Promos and Cassandra . . .] A prose summary, with minor changes, of Whetstone's play, Promos and Cassandra (1578). For a discussion of the sources of the story and their relation to Shakespeare's Measure for Measure, see especially Geoffrey Bullough, ed., Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (London: Routledge, 1958), II,399-417. Whetstone possibly knew Claude Rouillet's Philanira (1556) and Giraldi Cintio's Ecatommiti VIII.5 (1565), but it appears unlikely that he also knew Cintio's play Epitia (written c. 1573 but not published until 1583). Both Bullough and Izard suggest that it is coincidence that both Whetstone and Cintio (in his Epitia but not in his novella) substitute a felon to be executed in place of Andrugio.

125.14s.n. in a Commedie] Promos and Cassandra (1578), a source for Shakespeare's Measure for Measure (1604). Reprinted in Geoffrey Bullough, ed., Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (London: Routledge, 1958), II,442-513. Prouty, "George Whetstone and the Sources of Measure for Measure" (pp. 131-45), suggests that the play, which is superior to
other works of its day, may have been too racy and not sufficiently rhetorical for the taste of the Inns of Court or of the Court itself.

125.12 Corvinus] Matthias I, Corvinus, 1443-1490. Painter, in his tale of A Lady of Bohemia (II.28) describes him thus: "Mathie Corvine, sometime king of Hungarie, aboute the yeare of oure Lorde 1458, was a valiaunt man of Warre, and of goodly personage. Hee was the first that was Famous, or feared of the Turks, of any Prynce that governed that king-
dome. And amongs other his vertues, so well in Armes and Letters, as in Lyberallyty and Curtesie he excelled al the Prynces that raynged in his time" (II, p. 196). Prouty ("George Whetstone and the Sources of Measure for Measure) points out that Corvinus was generally thought of as an administrator of justice.

125.13 Bohemia] Former kingdom in Central Europe, part of Holy Roman Empire. In Promos and Cassandra, Whetstone makes Corvinus king of Bohemia and Hungary. According to Prouty, Corvinus was in fact king of Austria and Bohemia by conquest (pp. 137-38).

125.17 Julio] Prouty identifies this city as Jula, Gyula, or Jula in Eastern Hungary (pp. 138-39).

126.18-19 Soveraigne Justice, is crowned with Laurell, although shee bee gyrt with a Sword] Justice is sometimes represented in art with a sword in one hand and a pair of balances in the other. The laurel, sacred to Apollo, is a symbol of victory and eternity; but the context suggests that the laurel symbolizes mercy.

128.8-9 to leave circumstaunces] To cease beating about the bush.
130.16-17 **to judge her yeelding a constrainte**] To judge her yielding to be by constraint.

131.6 **Hyliogabalus**] The Roman emperor Heliogabalus. "He so muche exceeded in detestable leachery and promoting of vyle persones, and rybaldes, that fynally he was hated of all men, and at last slaine and drawn through the city of Rome, and thrown into the ryver of Tyber" (Cooper). Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities (New York, 1962) refers the reader to Dio Cassius for "the disgusting details." See also Note 20.22.

131.7 **Denis of Sicyll**] "Denis" is a frequent Renaissance rendering of Dionysius. "It is also the name of twoo kynges of Sicilie, which for their crueltie and avarice were called tyrannes ... Of both these ye may reade in Plutarke in the life of Dion" (Cooper). Dionysius the Elder, B.C. c. 430-367, tyrant of Syracuse, was especially known for his brutal military despotism.

131.10 **Priapus**] God of fertility; hence, a figure of lust, whose symbol was the phallus. Mentioned in Ovid Met. IX. Cooper speaks of him with restraint: "Priapus, An ydole, unto whom the paynychs committed theyr gardeynes to keepe. Also a citie of Hellespont."

131.24 **Marcus Crassus**] Probably Marcus Licinius Crassus (Dives), who shared the consulsip with Pompey and Caesar in 55 B.C. Cooper identifies him as "the rychest pryvate person of the Romaines." I have not been able to find Whetstone's source for this statement, but he refers to both Crassus and Marius in EM, sigs. A6 and N2; and CLS, sig. D4. Plutarch's
Life of Crassus, III.2 merely states that Crassus cultivated the art of oratory.

131.24 Marius] Marius Gaius, 157-86 B.C., Roman general and seven times consul. Cooper: "Marius, a valiaunt man . . . . He was afterwarde in a civille battayle, overcomme by Sylla in 88 B.C., and in the flyght hyding himselfe among the flagges in a ditch, was drawen out and cast in pryson. At whiche tyme, when a stoute and sterne Frencheman was sent into the pryson to cut of his head, with the majestie of his countenaunce he did so feare hym, that he could not doe it, but rather holpe hym to scape out of pryson." Whetstone repeats the story in EM, sig. N2v. William Smith (Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, London: Walton-Murray, 1869) mentions that to the barbarian "the eyes of Marius seemed to dart out fire, and from the darkness a terrible voice shouted out, 'Man, dost thou dare to murder C. Marius?'" See Plutarch's Life of Caius Marius, XXXIX.

132.7 Prometheus] Prometheus had to endure eternal punishment for stealing fire from the gods to give to man. Cooper: "Prometheus, The sonne of Japetus, firste invented makynge of ymages: wherfore the paynyns supposed that he made men, and feigned that he wente up into heaven, and there dyd steale fire to make his ymage have lyfe, wherewith Jupiter beyng wroth, caused him to be bounden on the hill called Caucasus, and an Eagle standing by him eatynge his herte: by the whiche is signified, that he was studious, and a great astronomer." In some versions, Prometheus is first chained to a rock in Tartarus.

132.8-9 such a one as hath had experience . . . of hell] Cf. EM,
There is an old saying, Orpheus can describe hell better than Aristotle, ... and truly in knowledge is assurance, and in report may be error.

133.9-10 chast Lucretias destiny] Two Renaissance versions of this story are Painter I.2, "The Rape of Lucrece," and Shakespeare's poem of the same name. The ultimate source is Livy, but it recurs frequently in classical literature.

The wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, Lucretia was ravished by her husband's kinsman, Sextus Tarquinius; he forced her to submit by threatening to kill her and to lay beside her the body of a murdered slave to show that she had been slain in adultery. After reporting the rape to her father and to her husband, Lucretia stabbed herself to death (for her body had sinned although her mind was pure). Thus, Lucretia is "a singuler paterne of chastitie, both to hir tyme, and to all ages folowinge" (Cooper). See also 138.34.

133.23-24 Byrdes of a feather, would flie together] Tilley B393: Birds of a feather will flock together.

134.7 the River of Stix] The Styx is the principal river, one of nine rivers, of the underworld in Homer and Virgil. It is also a river in Arcadia whose waters were believed to be poisonous. The epithet "loathed" is commonly applied to it. See also 195.31-32.

134.19-20 Hoc facias alteri, quod tibi vis fieri] "Whatsoever ye wolde that men shulde do to you, even so do ye to them" (Matthew vii.12). Tilley D395: Do as you would be done to.

Whetstone cites the Latin version also in RR, sig. K3r.
134.22-24 if men durst bark as Dogges, manie a Judge in the world would be bewrayed for a thieve] Cf. Tilley D526: All dogs bark not at him.

All7: All are not thieves that dogs bark at.

135.26s.n. Sive bonum, sive malum, Fama est] "Whether a good thing, or a bad thing, it is fame." The Latin form occurs also at the end of "Cressids complaint," RR, sig. B3v.

135.27 Pegasus] The winged horse who carries the thunderbolt of Zeus, and is a symbol of immortality. "Fame is almost equivalent to Pegasus and bears some of his attributes. Bocc. says, 'Ego hunc equum famam rerum gestarum arbitror!'" (Lotspeich, Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser, p. 93.)

138.15ff. The Question that arose . . .] This discussion of the virtues of women is indebted to Castiglione, Book III, pp. 195ff. See Izard pp. 93-97.

In a similar passage in The English Myrror (sig. I4v), Whetstone cites his source as Guicciardini's Commentaries, Book III.

138.28 Semiramis and her Husbande Ninus] Ninus, a great warrior, is the mythical founder of the Assyrian empire. After his death, his fame was eclipsed by that of his wife Semiramis, who took upon herself the government of the empire, who fought as a man in war, and who built Babylon. The classical source is Diodorus Siculus, II.4-20, but it is retold frequently in the Renaissance (see, for example, Gruget's Mexia, p. 99).

138.29 the Amazon women and Alexender] In mythology, the Amazons are a nation of female warriors in the region of the Black Sea. There
is a legend of a meeting of Alexander the Great with an Amazon queen.

138.30-32 Loadice ... Mithridates her Husband] Mithridates VI, Eupator Dionysus, King of Pontus, 1st century B.C. Cooper: "A puissaunt kyng of Pontus in Asia, of great strengthe both of bodie and mynde, and of singular memory ... This man was first overcomme by Sylla, after overthrown and discomfited by Lucullus, and lastly utterly vanquished by Pompey, and dryven to ende his life with poysone. He is noted of great crueltie: for he killed his wyfe, hir mother, brother, and sister, three yonge sonnes, and as many daughters." Laodice was his sister and also his wife. During his absence, believing a report of his death, she took many lovers; on his return she attempted his life by poysone, but he discovered her plans and put her to death.

Cf. Castiglione, p. 206: "Know you not that Mithridates wife and sisters shewed a farre lesse feare of death, than Mithridates himselfe? And Asdruballes wife, than Asdrubal himselfe?"

138.32 Asdruballes Wife, then Asdrubal himselfe] Hasdrubal, Carthaginian general, 3rd century B.C. During the siege of Carthage, he surrendered to Scipio who exhibited him as a suppliant before the deserters holed up in the temple. Rather than yield, they chose to die by setting the temple on fire. "His wife, when the fire was kindling, displayed herself on the walls of the building in the richest attire she could procure, and, having upbraided her husband for his cowardice, slew her two sons, and threw herself, with them, into the burning pile." (Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, New York, 1962.)

138.34 Lucretia] See Note 133.9-10.
The Sibyls were originally women prophets or priests of Apollo, of which the most famous is the Cumaean Sibyl (so called after the shrine at Cumae) who delivers the prophecy in Virgil's *Eclogue IV* and who speaks to Aeneas (*Aeneid VI*). They were said to have foretold the incarnation of Christ. See Gruget's *Mexia*, p. 449.

Women receive perfection by men, and men imperfection by women] Cf. Castiglione, pp. 199-200: "And I remember that I have heard (when it was) that a great Philosopher in certaine Problemes of his, saith: ... For that in this act, the woman receiveth of the man perfection, and the man of the woman imperfection."

The Problemata, a compilation, chiefly on natural history, by Aristotle and other writers. The side note in the original text of *The Courtier* (sig. 2C4v) incorrectly gives the source as Aristotle's *Physics* I.18. Beauregard suggests the *Problemata* XXIX, 951a. However, the answer seems to lie in Pettie's *Petite Pallace*, which attributes a similar saying to Aristotle (pp. 64, 234, 263), a saying which has been traced by Hartman (p. 284, note) to the 1501 edition of the *Problemata Aristotelis*, IV.10. See also 141.12.

This is possibly a reference to the Philomela myth. Philomela is "King Pandions daughter of Athens, whom Tereus kyng of Thrace, that had married hir sister Progne, did ravyshe, and that she might not disclose his vilanie, cut out her tongue, and cast hir in pryson. But she beinge very cunnynge in woorkyng and imbrodering, did in such sorte set out the whole matter
in a garment, that any man might understande it, and sent the same by a servaunt to hir sister Progne, Tereus his wyfe . . . she with speade escaped from him, and, as poetes feigne, was tourned into a swalowe, and he into a lapwynge, Philomela into a nightingall" (Cooper). See Ovid Met. VI.433-674; and Pettie, A Petite Pallace, 2, "Tereus and Progne." "Theefe" and "Gallows" are to be interpreted metaphorically to refer to evil-doing in general.

Cf. Castiglione, p. 206: "Then Phrisio, where obstinacie is bent, no doubt (quoth he) but otherwhile ye shall find some women that will never chaunge purpose, as she that could no longer call her husband prick-louse, with her handes made him a signe."

140.8s.n. the trembling passage of death] Castiglione, p. 207: "in a woman such knowledge and steadinesse in the trembling passage of death" (but not in reference to Epicaria). The same phrase occurs at EM, sig. B2r.

140.8-11 Epicarias . . . Nero . . .] Epicharis was implicated in a conspiracy against Nero in A.D. 65. Even under torture, she refused to name any of the conspirators, but strangled herself with her girdle. This anecdote and that of Leaena occur in Castiglione, p. 206: "Obstinacie that is bent to a vertuous ende, ought to bee called stedfastnesse, as in Epicaria a libertine of Rome, which made privie to a great conspiracie againste Nero, was of such stedfastnesse, that being rent with all the most cruel torments that could be invented, never uttered any of the partners."

140.13-16 Leena . . . Hippias . . .] Hippias, tyrant of Athens, 527-510
B.C., is constantly confused with his younger brother Hipparchus. "Leaena, a common woman of Athens, who (after Harmodius and Aristogiton had slayne Hipparchus the tyranne) beyng tourmented in sundry facions, to the intente she shoule discover the confederates of that murder, spake not one word, but bytyng in sunder her tounge, she spitte it in the face of Hippias the tyranne, who caused hir to be tourmented" (Cooper). Since Cooper supplies all the details of Aurelia's anecdote, Izard's contention that Whetstone's source must be Castiglione's *Courtier* is inconclusive.

Cf. Castiglione, p. 206: "What say you of this other, called Leona? In whose honour the Athenians dedicated before the Castle gate, a Lionesse of mettall without a tongue, to betoken in her the steadie vertue of silence. For she being in like sorte made privie to a conspiracie against Tirants, was not agast at the death of two great men her friendes, and for all she was torne with infinite and most cruel torments, never disclosed any of the conspiratours."

The story is found in Pliny and in Plutarch *De Garrulitate* (*Concerning Talkativeness*), *Moralia* 505.

140.14s.n. PLIN. lib. 34. Cap. 2.] Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXIV, Chapter 2. But Pliny does not state that Leaena bit out her tongue.

140.19-22 the Athenians . . . her silence] The Athenians honoured Leaena by setting up, in the vestibule of the Acropolis, a bronze statue of a lioness (Λέαενα) without a tongue. Pliny does not specify a statue, but Castiglione mentions a "Lionesse of mettall."

141.12 the Philosophers Probleames] See Note 139.23s.n.

141.19-20 it is not the quantity, but the quallity that commends]
ODEP: Quality, without quantity, is little thought of. (Earliest example 1604 is similar to Whetstone's version.)

141.20-22 a little Salte, relisheth more then a great deale of Sugar] 
Cf. Tilley S75: Better eat salt with philosophers of Greece than sugar with courtesans (courtiers) of Italy.

141.22-23 Judeth . . . Cilisions] In the apocryphal Book of Judith, Nebuchadnezzar, ruler of Assyria, subdues Cilicia and other western nations, then assigns his commander-in-chief Holophernes the task of taking vengeance against the rebels. When Holophernes attacks Israelite territory, Judith, an Israelite widow, uses her beauty to gain access to him when he is alone, and thus to slay him. Donatello's statue of Judith and Holophernes was displayed in Florence as "A warning to tyrants and a symbol of liberty."
"Judeth" and "Nabuchodonosor" are the spellings of the Geneva Bible.

141.25-142.1 Alexandra, the wife of Alexander, King of the Jewes . . .] 
Alexander Jannaeus, king of the Jews (103-76 B.C.), apparently butchered his own subjects. The source is Castiglione, pp. 205-6:

Alexandra, which was wife to Alexander king of the Jewes, who after the death of her husband, seeing the people in an uproare, and alreadie runne to weapon to slea the two children which he had left behinde him, for a revenge of the cruel and straight bondage that their father had alwaies kept them in, she so behaved her selfe, that sodainly she aswaged that just furie .. . . she perceiving her children in so great a jeopardie, immediatly caused Alexanders bodie to be cast out into the middest of the market place, afterwarde calling unto her the Citizens, she saide, that she knew their mindes were set on fire with most furie against her husband . . . and therefore shoulde take that bodie of his and give it to be devoured of dogs, and rent it in peeces in the cruelllest manner they coulde imagine. But she desired them to take pittie upon the innocent children . . . .

Of such force were these words, that the raging fury once conceived in all that peoples mindes, was sodenly aswaged, and turned into so tender an affection, that not onely with one
accord, they chose those children for their heads and rulers, but also to the deade corps they gave a most honourable buriall.

142.1-4 By what instrument . . . by a Woman] In traditional explications of the Christian story, as man fell through a woman (Eve first tasted the forbidden fruit) so would he be saved through a woman (the Virgin Mary). Mentioned in Castiglione, pp. 202-3.

142.14-15 to nip himself by the nose] Cf. Tilley N237: To pull oneself by the nose.

142.15-17 his Captaine Saint George] Since the thirteenth century, St. George had been patron saint of England, model of knighthood, protector of women. His cult spread during the crusades to make him patron saint of warriors and travellers. The Order of the Garter, an order of knighthood founded by Edward III (c. 1347), adopted him as its patron.

142.19-20 Saint Michael to his Mounte] Michael the Archangel, leader of the heavenly armies in battle, is supposed to have appeared in France in the eighth century -- on the site of Mont Saint-Michel in Brittany. The greatest French order of knighthood, founded by Louis XI in 1469, was the Order of Saint-Michel, limited to thirty-six Chevaliers. Under Charles IX, however, the numbers increased until by 1578 the order was in sufficiently low esteem to be known as "Le Collier a toutes betes."

142.26ff. But where you say Vertue is the Feminine . . .] Cf. 228.12-15.

142.29-34 The old Divines . . .] Cf. Castiglione, p. 199: "And for so muche as one kinde alone betokeneth an imperfection, the Divines of olde time referre both the one and the other to God: Wherefore Orpheus saide that Jupiter was both male and female: And it is read in scripture
that God fashioned male and female to his likenes. And the Poets many
times speaking of the Gods, meddle the kindes together."

142.31 Orpheus] The Thracian singer, Orpheus is said to be the founder
of Orphism, a religious movement of the 6th and 7th centuries B.C. that
reached into the Renaissance through Plato. Poems attributed to Orpheus
are the basis for the cult.

The fift Daies Exercise

144.17 Ixion] Cooper: "Ixion, A kyng of Thessalie, who falsely brake
promyse with his wives father, and threw him into a pitte of fyre. He
also called by Jupiter unto a feaste, styred Juno to committe adultrie,
whiche Jupiter perceivymg, made a cloude like unto Juno, and delivered
hir to him, on whom he begatte the people called Centauri. But whan he
had avaunted, that he had companied with Juno: he was driven downe into
hel, and there bounde to a wheele alwaies tournynge and full of serpentes,
as poetes feygne." See also Note 61.29-30. Ixion is mentioned in Ovid
Met. X.1 as one of those suffering in Hades, but details of the myth are
not given there.

The explication of myths appears to have been a Renaissance social
game (cf. 182.9ff.). Soranso's interpretation of the picture of Ixion
is the most usual one: Ixion is being punished for his ambition. Ismarito's
analysis is more subtle, for he attempts to integrate details from the
whole myth, pointing out that Jupiter had invited Ixion to the table of
the gods (after purifying him for the murder of his father-in-law). Cf.
Wotton, Courtlie Controversie (sig. 2H4r), where Ixion is an emblem of
vanity; and Plutarch's Life of Agis I, where he represents love of glory.

145.19-20 I wyll onely . . . say what I have reade] The following "sermon" (145.22-147.33) by Ismarito is adapted from Antoine du Verdier, Les Diverse Leçons . . . suivans celles de Pierre Messie (1577). For the relevant passages see Izard's Appendix, pp. 263-65.

145.29 dignities] Faculties. No relevant definition in the OED, but Whetstone is appropriating the word from the French "dignitez" in his source, Du Verdier's Mexia (see note above).

146.11-17 And sure the monuments . . . like Angels] "Monuments" = records (i.e., noble deeds, wise sayings, famous writings, etc.). The monuments by which Alexander, etc. are remembered to this day were the products of the actions of their souls, for it is the nature of the soul to try to make men shine like angels.

146.12 Alexander] Alexander the Great, 356-323 B.C., known as the greatest general of antiquity. See also 168.29 and 218.18.

146.12-13 Julius Cesar] Julius Caesar, 100-44 B.C., the great military leader. See also 75.13 and 218.19.

146.13 Scipio] Probably Scipio Africanus Major, 236-184/3 B.C., Roman general who defeated Hannibal and extended Roman rule in the Mediterranean. Scipio was "The surname of divers noble Romaynes, of the whiche foure were moste excellent, as well in martiaall prowesse, as in other moste notable vertues" (Cooper).

146.13 Haniball] Hannibal, 247-183/2 B.C., Carthaginian general, "Adjudged by common consent one of the world's greatest soldiers" (Oxford
Classical Dictionary). See also 218.20.

146.14 Plato] "The prynce of all philosophers (in wysedom, knowledge, vertue, and eloquence, farre exceedyng all other Gentyles)" (Cooper). Whetstone attributes sayings to him at 36.5; 85.13; 158.34; and 206.21.

146.14 Pithagoras] Pythagoras, c. 531 B.C. "A man of excellent witte . . . . He was in sharpenesse of wit passyng al other, and found the subtile conclusions and misteries of arithmetike, musike, and geometrie. Plato wondreth at his wisedome" (Cooper). Pythagoras taught the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of metempsychosis. See Ovid Met. XV.

146.14 Socrates] The Athenian philosopher, 469-399 B.C. See 184.24-25 and Note.

146.14 Solon] Athenian statesman and poet, 6th century B.C.: "he was a man of excellent witte, and called one of the seven wyse men of Greece" (Cooper). Plutarch, in the Life of Solon, states that his chief delight was moral philosophy.

146.31 Microcosmos] A common Renaissance notion: man is a microcosm or "little world" in relation to the universe. Not in Du Verdier's Mexia, Whetstone's source. Cf. MMC, sig. C3r.


148.27-149.12 Who prickels feares . . . my Mistresse in my breast] No source found for this poem.

148.28 shall to a Nettle smell] Shall smell a nettle (OED, smell, v., 6) — and shall thus get stung. Cf. Tilley N134: It is better
to be stung by a nettle than pricked by a rose. See also Note 110.17-18.

148.29 through fainte heart, who dooth a Ladie lose] Tilley H302: Faint heart ne'er won fair lady.

148.30 to leade Apes in Hell] Tilley M37: Old maids lead apes in hell.

But the subject of Whetstone's proverb is a man -- an effeminate man.

149.3 Icarus] The son of Daedalus, the craftsman who built the Labyrinth and who was then exiled on Crete. Icarus, "having winges, with his father flew out of the yle of Crete: but when he flewe hygher than his father commaunded: the waxe, wherewith the feathers of his wynges were glewed, melted with the heate of the sunne. And the feathers fallinge of, Icarus was constreigned to fall into the sea, afterward called Mare Icarium" (Cooper). Daedalus warns his son that he must follow a course midway between earth and heaven lest he soak or scorch the feathers, but Icarus heedlessly attempts to fly to heaven and comes too near the sun. Hence, he is a symbol of foolish aspiration. See Ovid Met. VIII.170ff.

149.4 as fyre and Froste may meete] The poet's wings are so fastened that they might withstand extremes, the extreme passions and torments of love. See Note 9.9, and 73.9.

151.1-6 whightstreaked Carnation Giliflower, was the Metamorphos of a Faire Gentlewoman . . .] No source found for this story.

151.7 Orpheus] As Whetstone's side note indicates, the story of Orpheus and his wife Eurydice is told in Ovid Met. X.1-63. Orpheus loses
Eurydice for the second time because he does not keep the one taboo imposed upon him by Pluto, not to look back at his wife as they leave Hades:

when Orphe did begin
To dowl him lest shee followed not, and through an eager love Desyrous for to see her he his eyes did backward move.

Shee dying now the second tyme complaynd of Orphye naught.
For why what had shee to complayne, onlesse it were of love Which made her husband backe agen his eyes uppon her move?
(Ovid Met. X.58-60, 64-66; trans. Arthur Golding, 1567.)

See also 114.8ff. and Note; and 229.13.

151.10 smyling out a scoffe] Smiling in a scoffing manner. No such idiom in OED.

152.11-12 Quo quid difficilius, eo pulchrius] "The more difficult something is, the more admirable it is." A version of Tilley T201. See 191.31-32 and Note.

153.3-4 Ovid saith] In his Ars Amatoria ("The Art of Loving") I.345: "And, grant they or deny, yet are they pleased to have been asked". (Loeb translation). See also I.269-70.

153.4-5 there is no woman, but wil indure the demaund] Cf. Tilley W681: All women may be won.

153.8-9 love spareth no degree] Tilley L505: Love has no respect of persons.

153.11-12 King Cofetua, the Affrican, became enamoured of a Beggar] Cophetua, a king in Africa, is the subject of a ballad in Thomas Percy's Reliques of Ancient English Poetry:

He cared not for women-kinde,
But did them all disdaine.
But, marke, what hapned on a day,
As he out of his window lay,
He saw a beggar all in gray,
The which did cause his paine.

The king marries the beggar maid Penelophon:

And thus they led a quiet life
During their princely raigne;
And in a tombe were buried both,
As writers sheweth plaine.


Cf. Shakespeare, L.L.L. IV.1.65-66; and Romeo II.1.54.

153.12-13 faire Venus, espoused yll favoured Vulcan] Aphrodite (Venus) occasionally appears in Greek myths as the wife of Hephaestus (Vulcan), the god of fire and of the smithy, who is ugly and lame (Homer, Odyssey VIII.266ff.). Whetstone tells the story of Venus, Vulcan, and Mars in The Rocke of Regard (sig. F7r-v).

153.13 Pigmalion doted upon an Image] Pygmalion, a legendary king of Cyprus who fell in love with an ivory statue of a woman. Venus grants his prayer and brings the statue to life. (Ovid Met. X.243ff.; and Pettie, A Petite Pallace, 11.)

153.13-14 Narcissus was drowned in imbrasing his owne shadow] Narcissus was a beautiful youth who scorned all lovers. For rejecting the love of the nymph Echo, Nemesis finally punishes him by making him fall in love with his own reflection in the water: he pines away and is turned into the flower of that name. (Ovid Met. III.346ff.) Much less frequently, he is said to have drowned in the well or pool. (See R. K. Root, Classical Mythology in Shakespeare, p. 88.)

153.15-16 mightie Jove . . . to dallie with simple country trulles] Most of Jupiter's loves were in fact daughters of kings or of minor gods:
a list in Ovid *Met.* VI.103-14 mentions Asterie, Leda, Antiope, Alcmena, Danae, Aegina, Mnemosyne, and Dio's daughter. But of comparatively lower rank are Callisto, an Arcadian nymph; and Io, the daughter of Inachus the river god.

154.25-30 The Cardinal of Aragon . . . the Duchesse of Malfy . . .

The source is Painter II.23, from Bandello I.26 and Belleforest 19. Because the Duchess of Malfi secretly marries her steward Antonio Bologna, thus dishonouring her house, she and her family are butchered by her two brothers, Ferdinand and the Cardinal of Aragon. Painter points to the moral: "You see the miserable discourse of a Princesse love, that was not very wyse, and of a Gentleman that had forgotten his estate, which ought to serve for a lookinge Glasse to them which bee over hardy in makinge Enterprises, and does not measure their Ability wyth the greatnesse of their Attemptes" (III, p. 3).

155.14-15 crosse her over the thumbs] Tilley T274: To hit over the thumbs. (That is, to reprove sharply, to "rap her knuckles.")

155.30-31 to keepe his Chimney from being fyred] Proverbial in style, but not in Tilley or ODEP. An obvious double entendre.

156.9-10 for the wise to over rule him for a Woodcocke] Tilley W748: To play the woodcock. (Whetstone's is the first example cited in ODEP.) The woodcock, an easily snared bird, is synonymous with a fool, a simpleton.

156.14-15 taking pepper in the nose] Tilley P231. See also 190.3

156.20 the opinion of sundrie Philosophers] No source found for these generalizations.
156.22-23  **Fortune . . . is blinde**] Tilley F604: Fortune is blind.

158.34  **as Plato sayeth**] No source found. Cf. 36.5; 85.13; 146.14; and 206.21.

159.27s.n.  **Kytte wyll to kynde**] Tilley Cl35: Cat (Kit) after kind.

160.18  **Kyng Astolphus**] A possible reference to Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* XXVIII.1-75: "Tale of mine Host with Rodomonts invective against women." Astolfo, "whilom king of Lombardy," and a knight share the bed-favors of Fiametta, "the daughter of an Inkeeper in Spaine"; even while lying between the king and the knight, she deceives them by taking a Tapster to bed (Harington's translation, 1591). See Note 161.17.

160.19  **three halpenie Juell**] Cf. ODEP: Not worth three halfpence.

160.24-25  **fell to her kinde**] Descended to her true nature.

160.27-161.10  **Bianca Maria . . .**] This story appears in Painter, II.24, "The Countess of Celant," from Bandello I.4 and Belleforest 20; and in Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses*, 7. Whetstone follows Painter's version, even retaining his characters' names, changing only the location (Painter's Pavie becomes Padua).

160.28  **Baetta**] Whetstone is probably recalling Baia, a town in Southern Italy.

161.11 the Counte of Zelande] Painter's Count of Celant.

161.11-14 Andrea Zeno . . . a Cookes Daughter . . .] I have not been able to add to Köppel's comment that he is in the dark for the source of this reference (Studien, p. 36, note 2). Perhaps Via is the woman's name?

161.16-17 Ovid Metamorphosis in Latin] Ovid's Metamorphoses was widely read in the Renaissance not only as a storehouse of mythology for poets and painters, but also as a treasury of moral wisdom. The extent of Whetstone's debt to Ovid is indicated throughout the Explanatory Notes. Although the translation by Arthur Golding (published in 1567) was available to Whetstone, I find no specific evidence suggesting that he used the English rather than the Latin version. Thus, the list of books here probably reflects Whetstone's own reading.

161.17 Segnior Lodovicus Regester, in Italian] Possibly a reference to the Italian poet Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), called "Divino Lodovico," whose popular and influential romantic epic, Orlando Furioso, published in 1516 and expanded in 1532, reflects the same spirit of play and feeling of nostalgia that permeates the courtesy literature of the time. But why the puzzling "Regester?" Izard accepts as probable Köppel's conjecture that the "Regester" refers to Cantos XXVIII and XLIII of Orlando Furioso (Köppel, Studien, p. 37) and mentions a suggestion by R. S. Loomis that "Regester" may be a printer's corruption of "Ariosto" (Izard, p. 106). See Note 160.18.

"Segnior Lodovico" might also refer to Lodovico Guicciardini, whose Commentaries, Book III, is cited by Whetstone as the source for anecdotes of virtuous women in The English Myrroir (sigs. I3r and I4v); or Lodovico
Dolce, author of *Amorosi ragionamenti* (1546).

161.18 **Amadis de Gaule, in French**] An Arthurian romance of Portuguese origin (14th century), the *Amadis de Gaula* is first known in a Spanish version of 1508. Read as a manual of chivalry and courtesy, it went through thirty editions between 1508 and 1587 and was especially popular in France. Whetstone undoubtedly had in mind the French translation by Nicholas de Herberay, Seigneur des Essarts (1540-48), which was widely read by the Elizabethans. Selections from *Amadis* were adapted by Thomas Paynell as *The Treasurie of Amadis of Fraunce* (1567), and Books I and II were translated by Anthony Munday (1589', 1592). The romance had many imitations in England after 1580. It was read "as a courtesy book, a guide to proper behavior and polite manners of knights and ladies in peace and war, and a compendium of speeches, challenges, letters, and rhetorical flourishes for different occasions. Finally it was read as a wonderful treasury of stories, exciting and varied, which ran the gamut from tragedy to farce" (J. J. O'Connor, *Amadis de Gaule and Its Influence on Elizabethan Literature*, p. 23).

161.18-19 **the Pallace of pleasure, in English**] William Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* (1566-67) is a collection of tales from classical, Italian, and French sources. It introduced the novella into English and became a sourcebook for other writers, especially for dramatists. The *Heptameron* is indebted to Painter for the story of Felice and Malipiero in *The Third Day's Exercise* (92.28ff.) and for the story of Bianca Maria (160.27ff.).

161.27-29 **chaste Epethia, the welbeloved wife of Hanno Prince of Carthage . . .**] Guevara, *The Diall of Princes*, mentions "Annibal" among
the rulers ruined by women (sig. 2C⁶), states that his love for "a yong mayden in the City of Capua" proved a bitter love to him (2D²), and links his name with the woman "Tamira" (★★5¹). Cf. Lyly, p. 327; and Munday's Zelauto, III.4. Possibly from Valerius Maximus IX.1.

161.29-31 The vertuous Virginia, espoused to Sextillius . . .] Reference uncertain. Perhaps "Virginea, the daughter of Aureus Virgineus, the Consul Plebeian, the which was forbidden to do sacrifice, for that she was none of the Senator's wives but a Plebeian, as much to saie as a craftes woman, and no gentilmans daughter borne." Her vertue and devotion won her the respect of the Roman patricians, who made her a noblewoman and honoured her after her death with a statue in the Capitol. (Guevara, The Diall of Princes, sig. E², attributed to Livy I.5,10). Whetstone may have confused Guevara's "foundresse" with "laundresse."

162.4 One or two Swallowes, prooves not Summer] Tilley S1025: One swallow makes not summer.

162.14-15 to ron upon the pikes] To rush to destruction. (OED, pike, sb⁵, 2b.)

163.16 Eunuke] See Note 25.4.

163.27-32 Comedians of Ravenna . . .] Whetstone appears to be describing a troupe of players of the commedia dell'arte which originated in Italy in the sixteenth century. The production of the commedia dell'arte were based on scenarios that sketched out the action, but the details and the dialogue were improvised and were adapted to each audience. The language was often rhetorical and witty and would appeal to a writer of prose fiction and courtesy books. Companies of commedia dell'arte players were touring
Italy as early as the 1560's. Their plays were introduced at the English court in the 1570's, and one was played at Kenilworth before the Queen in 1575, but in the sixteenth century such performances were not common in England. (New Encyclopaedia Britannica; K. M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy, especially pp. 342-58.) Cf. Montaigne, pp. 103, 118, 240.

164.2ff. certaine Questions . . .] The proposing of philosophical riddles was both a popular Renaissance social pastime and a frequent feature of dialogue literature. Examples are Plutarch Septum Sapientium Convivium "The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men" (Moralia, 153-54); Guevara, The Diall of Princes, sigs. E5r-E6r, I3v; and Guicciardini, The Garden of Pleasure, sig. B3r. See also pp. 48 and 79.

164.14 the Sirens Songes] That have the power to enchant and charm the hearers. See also 19.29.

164.16 the Crocadiles Teares] See Note 90.21-22.

164.33-34 A Dycer . . . for he teareth God in peeces] Whetstone never passes up an opportunity to attack dicing: such attacks occur frequently in the "Ortchard of repentance" section of The Rocke of Regard, in the epistles in A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties, and throughout A Touchstone for the Time. See especially the long poem, "Whetstons Invective against Dice":

The devill is in the rome . . .
Who chiefly in this hellish house,
Doth God in peeces teare. (RR, sig. N3r)


165.13-14 to hang the Lyp] To look vexed. (OED, lip, 2.)

166.30-31 everie vertue is commended by his contrarie] Cf. Tilley
C630: Contraries being set the one against the other appear more evident.

Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), points out that this is a saying "in Logique" (sig. S1r).

166.32 Blacke best setteth foorth White] Tilley B435. (This example cited.)

*The syxt Dayes Exercise*

168.11 the Mother of confusion] Whetstone is echoing the form of the proverb "Night is the mother of counsel" (Tilley N174). In Wotton's *Courtlie Controversie*, "the night, mother of confusion" separates two equally matched armies, the two sexes (sig. M1r). Cf. 198.18.

168.21-22 Peter Mesiere his Cronicle of Memorable things] Pedro Mexia or Mejia (?1499-1551), Spanish humanist and historian who succeeded Antonio de Guevara as chronicler to Charles V. His *Silva de varia leccion* (1541), a compilation of anecdotes and essays on a variety of topics, enjoyed seventeen editions before 1600 and was read throughout Europe. It was translated into English in 1571 by Thomas Fortescue as *The Foreste*; but Izard shows that Whetstone is indebted to two French versions, Claude Gruget's *Les Diverses Leçons de Pierre Messie* (1554) and Antoine du Verdier's *Les Diverses Leçons* (1577). Gruget's book is described on the title page of the 1557 edition as "contenant variables histoires et choses memorables." (Izard, pp. 98-99, 264-77.) Whetstone acknowledges his debt to Mexia in *CLS*, sig. B3r, and *EM*, sig. C2v; *EM* also has repeated references to "Ant. Verd."

See also 169.5; and Introduction, p. lxxxvii.
168.23-32 **Tamberlaine the Great** . . .] Timur, Tamberlaine, or Tamberlaine, 1336-1405, Turkish conqueror whose life gave rise to many legends; Mexia describes him as a Scythian shepherd who rose to wear the Persian crown and whose empire was divided after his death by the rivalries of his sons (Gruget's Mexia, p. 261). Tamberlaine is described in Chapter 12 of *The English Myrror* as "a poore labourer, or in the best degree a meane souldiour" (sig. E8r), and as "a poore sheepheerd" (sig. Flr); the source is given as "*Baptista Fulgosius* in his collection *Campinus florentin*, in his history of the *Turkes*" (sig. E8r).

168.24 **Flagellum Dei**] The scourge of God.

168.29 **Alexander**] Alexander the Great. Mentioned also at 146.12 and 218.18.

168.33-34 **Bon giorno**] Italian "buon giorno" = good morning, good day.

169.1-2 **to geve his solytarinesse, a disgrace**] To reproach his solitariness.

169.5 **Mesires Cronicles**] See 168.21-22.

169.12 **Mutius Seavola**] Probably Gaius Mucius Scaevola, a legendary Roman. Cooper: "*Mutii*, were men of a noble familie of the auncient Romains, in the whiche one was called **Mutius Scaevola**: who at the tyme that Porsena kynge of Tuscanes, layed siege to Rome, came in a beggers apparayle into the campe of Porsena, and intending to have slayne the kyng, slew his secretary. Wherfore he was taken and brought to a great fyre to be burned, into the whyche he wylyngly thruste his hande that had fayled to slea the kyng, and suffered it to be burned to ashes, affyrmyng that besydes him,
there were three hundred that had vowed to make lyke attemptate. Where-
with the kynge beynge abasshed, and fearing their invincible courage,
made peace with the Romaynes, takynge pledges of them: and reysyng his
siege, departed, without molestyng of them ever after." Whetstone may be
referring to Plutarch's statement that Scaevola behaved most nobly and
courteously, revealing "out of gratitude what he would not have disclosed
under compulsion" (Life of Publicola XVII.4). The story is the basis of
Painter I.3. See also HRS, sig. E2r-v; and MMC, sig. D1r.

169.21-22 the famous Lybrarie of Cosmo de Medicis in Florence] Cosimo,
or Cosmo, de Medici, 1389-1464, Florentine merchant prince, banker, and
statesman. Interested in the new learning, he patronized many humanists,
including Marsilio Ficino, and his palace became the center of literary
society in Florence. Three separate libraries were formed by him: the
library at the newly rebuilt convent of San Marco, which, endowed with a
nucleus of about four hundred books and manuscripts, was the first great
public library in Europe; his personal library, which became the foundation
of the Laurentian Library; and the library at the Abbey of Fiesole. Although
the Marcian Library would have been the most accessible to Whetstone, his
note suggests that he is referring to the Medicean Library, the Duke's
own collection.

169.23 Ptolomey, surnamed Philodelphus] Cooper: "This Philadelphus
was a man of great learnynge, disciple to the philosopher Strato, and
builded the notable lybrarie of Alexandria, furnished with all maner of
woorkes, whiche, to the great losse of learnynge, was burned in the first
warre that the Romains had with Alexandria." His library, attached to
the Museum, was built in the 3rd century B.C., and aimed at housing copies
of the entire body of Greek literature; according to Primaudaye, he "purpose-
ly caused seventie and two of the most learned and religious men of Judea
to come and translate the holie Bible out of Hebrew into Greek" (The French
Academie, sig. G5r). The tradition apparently originates with Josephus
(the Church Father).

See also 116.2s.n. and Note.

171.1 Vegetius] Flavius Vegetius Renatus, Roman author of Epitoma
Rei Militaris in four books (c. 400 A.D.), the only surviving ancient
account of the Roman military system. His work was available to Whetstone
in Caxton's The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye (1489) and in John
Sadler's The Foure Bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus (1572). "The real
importance of Vegetius' work lies perhaps not so much in the mass of informa-
tion which he gives us about the Roman army . . . as in the very considerable
influence which he had upon the military thinking of the Middle Ages and
Renaissance" (Oxford Classical Dictionary).

171.4-5 Togatus, as a Romayne Oratour] Latin "togatus" = gowned;
weaving the toga as a Roman citizen. Since the toga was obligatory dress
on official occasions, it would be worn by orators.

171.5 Paliatus, as a Gretian Phylosopher] Latin "palliatus" = clad
in a "pallium," a Greek cloak; that is, clad as a Greek (as opposed to
"togatus," clad as a Roman).

171.9 Commentaries] Whetstone undoubtedly had in mind Julius Caesar's
memoirs, the Commentaries on the Gallic War and on the Civil War.

171.13 Plutarches Moralles] The Moralia is a collection of short
essays on a variety of topics, primarily on moral philosophy. Whetstone's
works frequently reveal his indebtedness to the *Moralia*: for instance, the outline of his story of Phrigius and Pieria (pp. 215ff.) is derived from Plutarch's essay on "The Bravery of Women" (*Moralia* 253-54). Although Philemon Holland's *Morals* did not appear until 1603, Amyot's French translation (1572) was read throughout Europe, and selected essays were published in English (for example, James Sanford's *Amorous and Tragicall Tales*, 1567). But of course, Whetstone (and Philoxenus) would have read Plutarch in Latin. Cf. 87.19-20.

See Introduction, p. lxiii.

171.13-14 **Guevaraes Dial of Princes**] Antonio De Guevara, c. 1481-1545, Spanish writer, preacher, and official chronicler to Charles V, visited England in 1522. His *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio* (1528), claiming to be a collection of the life and letters of Marcus Aurelius, was translated by Lord Berners as *The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius* (1534). A fuller version, the *Rélox de principes* (1529) was translated by Sir Thomas North as *The Diall of Princes* (1557). Whetstone's form of the title suggests that he was familiar with North's version. See Introduction, p. lxxxviii.


172.28 coram nobis] "In our presence," or "Before the court."

173.3-4 tooke him up so short] Reprimanded him so severely. Cf. OED, short, 5b; and take, 90o.

Tilley M400. (Whetstone's is the first example cited.)

173.5 where you may help, hurt not] See PC, sig. L2f.

173.13s.n. A scoffer is many times smitten with his owne weapon] Tilley W204: To beat one at his own weapon. (Earliest example in ODEP is 1591.) Guicciardini, The Garden of Pleasure: "That scoffing many tymes lighteth upon the scoffers head (sig. C5v).

Cf. 48.23, and 229.30.

173.13-15 There would bee . . . robbinge of Headges] If proverbial, I am unable to locate other examples. "Robbinge of Headges" is stealing linen from the hedge where it was left to dry. Cf. I Hen.IV,IV.ii.46.

174.5-6 expounde dreames by contraries] Tilley D588: Dreams go by contraries.

174.17 Palmestrie] Ascham, in The Scholemaster, refers to the interest in palmistry at court, condemning it as an excuse for "fond and filthy talk" (p. 44).

175.2 Eunuke] See Note 25.4.
175.4–19 Regarde my love . . . dies your friende] No source found for this poem.

175.5 the least] The last; that is, "my frostie haires."

177.1–2 The Lyon in his greatest hunger, hurts not the wounded sheepe] Tilley L316: The lion spares the suppliant.

Pliny VIII.19; Topsell, p. 467. Cf. HRS, sig. C4v.

177.2–4 the Crocadile with teares wassheth the blood from a murthred man] Tilley C831. Whetstone here gives the opposite interpretation to crocodile tears. See 90.21–22 and Note; and 164.16.

177.11 nice, in occasion of suspition] Careful to avoid occasion for suspicion.

177.19 By Sainct Anne] Anna, the Mother of Mary, one of the most popular saints; Anne and Joachim were models of conjugal life.

177.29–33 the House, whose grounde worke is rotten . . .] Tilley F619: Be sure to build on a good foundation.

178.34–179.5 Oulde Wine . . . Fume and Smoake] Cf. Tilley W740: Old wood best to burn, old wine to drink, old friends to trust, and old authors to read.

179.15–16 Gray Haires are nourished, with greene thoughts] Not in Tilley. Cited in ODEP, but no other examples given.

180.2–3 a leg of a Larke, was better then the whole Carkasse of a Kyte] Tilley L186: A leg of a lark is better than the body of a kite. (This example cited.)
Would have none of it, God thank him (for the offer).

180.13 Caves of Tartessus] See 44.8 and Note.

180.31 Acteon] See Note 33.21. Actaeon is depicted in art as sprouting antlers. To be horned is to be cuckolded.

181.5-6 the imbracements of a faire Woman, hastneth an olde man to his Grave] Tilley M348: An old man in love hugs death. (This example cited.) See also 181.25-26.

181.25-27 An olde man amourous . . . health and reputation] See 181.5-6 and Note.

182.1-4 a Beast fourmed like a Unicorne . . .] Since the first description by Ctesias in the 5th century B.C., the unicorn has been confused with the rhinoceros. The Hebrew Re'em was translated in some Biblical texts as "monoceros" or "unicorn," and in others as "rhinoceros." In some early accounts, the unicorn is mild and gentle; in others it is strong and fierce. By the sixteenth century, however, the rhinoceros was generally distinguished from the unicorn, and Edward Topsell is able to provide a realistic picture of the rhinoceros in his Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes (1607), p. 595. Like Topsell, Whetstone is careful to note how the rhinoceros differs from the unicorn (its horn is in its nose), then he goes on to link the unicorn-maiden legend with his "Rhinocerot" (a variant spelling also in Topsell). The third-century Physiologus popularized the belief that the swift and shy unicorn could be trapped only by a fair maid: "A virgin girl is led to where he lurks, and there she is sent of by herself into
the wood. He soon leaps into her lap when he sees her, and embraces her, and hence he gets caught" (The Bestiary, p. 21). This story was often illustrated in medieval and Renaissance art; in fact, the Palazzo Farnese (which Ismarito compares to the palace of Segnior Philoxenus, p. 18) has a fresco by Domenichino entitled "Woman with a Unicorn," in which a ferocious unicorn rests its forequarters in the lap of a woman (Encyclopedia of World Art, III, pl. 392). Topsell states that the rhinoceros "is taken by the same meanes that the Unicorn is taken," and falls asleep in the virgin's lap (p. 597).


182.9ff. The Metamorphose of Rinautus . . .] Narrating stories to explain pictures was an oft-practised Renaissance social and literary pastime; for example, in Greene's Morando, a picture of Europa and the Bull sparks a debate (sig. B2v). Cf. 144.17ff. As the response of Ismarito's audience suggests (at 183.15-16) -- they are delighted with his witty device -- Whetstone has undoubtedly invented this myth. He combines the unicorn-virgin tale with the legend of Circe; he may also have in mind the tale of Severe who was metamorphosed by Diana into a unicorn as punishment for loving a nymph (Luca Pulci, Driadeo IV.56ff.).

182.11 Rinautus] I have found no source for this story (see note above).

182.13-14 Iland Circeium . . . the Continent] Circeii, town and isolated promontory on the Italian coast south of Rome, popularly believed to be the abode of Circe. In Homer, Circe dwells on an island, and Cooper calls "Circius" an island.
The sources of the Circe legend are Homer, Odyssey X.210ff; Virgil, Aeneid VII.10-20; and Ovid Met. XIV.254ff. In Homer, the goddess Circe lives on an island and exercises her magic to turn Odysseus's men into swine; Odysseus is able to resist her spells with the aid of Hermes and the herb "moly," but he lives with her for a year before resuming his wanderings. The Renaissance, preoccupied with the theme of metamorphosis, was fascinated by Circe. She became the prototype of the witch, the enchantress, and she was generally identified with sexual temptation. The pattern for the moralistic interpretation of the myth, in which man becomes a beast when he allows himself to be governed by passion rather than by reason, was established by Plutarch's dialogue, Bruta Animalia Ratione uti, sive Gryllus ("Beasts are Rational"), Moralia, 985-92. (Whetstone's Rinautus, however, is metamorphosed because he refuses to submit to Circe's passion.) A version of Plutarch's dialogue was published by Giovanni Battista Gelli in 1549 as La Circe; Henry Iden's English translation, Circes, appeared in 1557. Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy (IV.3) devotes a poem to Circe. For a discussion of the Circe myth, see Robert Adams' edition of Gelli, The Circe out of Italian by Mr. Thomas Brown (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1963).

Italy was frequently referred to as Circe's court, for it was supposed to transform plain Englishmen into subtle Italians, enchanting them by means of licentious pleasure and the enticements of sin. Cf. Ascham, The Scholemaster, pp. 61-65.

In Greenes Mourning Garment, the "house of great ryot" at which reside the three sisters like Circes, is identified by "the signe of the Unicorne" (sig. D3v).
182.27 **Cupid**] As the god who forces people to fall in love.

183.1 **King Nabucadonizer, in the fourme of an Oxel**] Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabuchodonosor, the great king who rebuilt Babylon. "He by the occasion of his great and wonderful dominions, fell into suche pryde, that he woulde have his image honoured for God. Wherfore almighty God, sodeinly transfourmed him into an horrible monster, having the head of an oxe, the feete of a beare, the tayle of a lyon, and did eate hey as a beast" (Cooper). The root text is Daniel iv.30, where Nebuchadnezzar is not actually turned into a beast, but suffers from delusions. In the artistic tradition he is depcited as an animal; in Chaucer he believes himself to be an ox; and in Gower he is metamorphosed into an ox. Whetstone most closely echoes Gower's version in which Nebuchadnezzar suffers because his body is bestial while his mind remains human (Confessio Amantis I.2772-3042). See Penelope Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1974), especially Chapter 2.

183.23-24 **Robin hoodes penniworthes**] Something sold at a robber's price, far below its real value.

Tilley R149. (This example cited in ODEP.)

184.12s.n. **No Affliction, but hath his remedie**] Tilley G189: God has provided a remedy for every disease.

R70: There is a remedy for everything could men find it.

184.16-17 **Ovid and all the amorous Poets**] Ovid, as author of the Amores, the Heroides, the Ars Amatoria, and the Remedia Amoris, is pre-eminently the poet of love in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Chaucer calls him "Venus clerk" (*Hous of Fame*, 1. 1487). The other love
poets would be Catullus, Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius.

184.20-21 There is no sore, but hath his salve] Tilley S84: There is a salve for every sore. (This example cited.)

184.24-25 Socrates altered his inclination, by the Studie of Phylosophie] Perhaps a reference to the tradition that in his youth Socrates lived unworthily, even licentiously (Diogenes Laertius, II.20, comp.19). Or is Whetstone referring to the story ascribed to Socrates in Plato's Phaedo (96B), that he first studied natural philosophy before giving himself to the study of moral philosophy and the pursuit of virtue? Cf. TT, sig. I4r: "Socrates altered his natural inclination of insolencie by philosophie." See also 146.14.

184.25-26 The Nynivites preserved their Cittie by prayer] Ninevah, a town in ancient Assyria, was to be overthrown in forty days, but its people fasted and prayed until God repented his harsh judgement (Jonah 3).

184.27-28 Virbius dubled his life, by mastering of his disposisession] "Virbius, Twyse a man: which name was geven to Hippolytus, the sonne of Theseus, after that Aesculapius hadde brought him agayne to lyfe" (Cooper). Diana arranged to have him resurrected (Ovid Met. XV.545-46). I am not certain why Whetstone says that Virbius mastered his disposition, unless it is a reference to his being a follower of Diana, goddess of chastity.

184.29-185.1 Floradin . . . Persida . . . Pericles . . .] No source found for this allusion.

185.4 Saturne and Venus] Referring both to the planets, which are not in harmony in astrological terms, and to the deities, who represent Old Age and Love.
Mercurie

Mercurie, the Roman equivalent of Hermes, is associated with oratory and with cunning, especially with skill in the use of words. Cooper: "Mercurius, The sonne of Jupiter by Maia, whome poetes faign to have wynges on his head and feete, to signifie, that talke (whiche is represented by the person of Mercurie) dooeth quickly passe through the ayer. He is feigned to be messenger of the Gods, because that by speeche and woordes all thynges are declared. He was coumpted God of eloquence, merchaundyce, feates of activitie, and thefte also."

setteth an edge of her tongue] Makes her speech keener. (OED, edge, sb. 2.)

A prava muliere] "From a perverse (or wicked) woman."

Iris] Cooper: "The rayne bow." Cf. 10.8 and Note.

soothe his trespass with an honest shoe] Smooth over the injury with the simulation of honesty (vertue, uprightness). "shoe" = show.

Drinke wil make the Dropsie dry] Tilley M211: Like a man in a dropsy, the more he drinks the more he may.

See also 70.30; 94.22-33; 99.11.

the shee Devill weareth the horns] An impossibility. Cf. Tilley D25: The Devil is known by his horns. (Earliest example c. 1592, from Marlowe's Faustus, I.ivA.57: "I'll tell you how you shall know them; all he-devils has horns, and all she-devils has clifts and cloven feet.")

to throwe the house out at the window] To wreak havoc. Tilley H785.
190.3 taketh pepper in the nose] Takes offence, becomes angry.

Tilley P231.

See also 156.14-15.

190.21-22 pleasure is best seasoned with paine] Cf. Tilley P415:
Pleasure is not pleasant unless it cost dear. (Earliest example 1590.)

Tilley P420: There is no pleasure without pain.

190.31 You will kill her with kindnesse] Tilley K51: To kill with kindness.

191.18-22 as Seneca sayeth...] Cf. Primaudaye, The French Academie:
"Plato also writeth, that it is better for a man not to live at all,
then to live wickedly, or in ignorance" (sig. Flr). And Claude Desainliens
(Hollyband), The French School-Master (1573; Menston, Eng.: Scolar Press,
1972): "You know well that it is better to be unborne, then untaught"
(p. 90).

I have not been able to determine the classical source.

191.31-32 things that are dearely bought, are of us intirely belooved] Tilley T201: Things hardly attained are highly deemed. (ODEP cites this example for the proverb "Things that are hard to come by are much set by.") Cf. 152.11-12.

192.7-9 how can the Hen succour her Chickens [...] Francis Meres,
Palladis Tamia (1598): "As a Hen doth gather her chickens under her
winges, doth defend them against the kite . . ." (sig. D2r).

192.24 necessitie breake the boundes of nature] Tilley N76: Necessity
has no law.
192.26 **the custome of Spaine**] No source found.

193.2-6 **as Ovid devineth . . .**] No source found for this quatrain, but the idea is expressed in his *Tristia*, II.207ff.; and III.73-74.

194.5ff. **Laertius lawes . . .**] Diogenes Laertius, 3rd Century A.D., author of a book on the lives and doctrines of the ancient philosophers. No source found for this statement.

195.14s.n. **It is no striving against the streame**] Tilley S927:

It is in vain to strive against the stream.

195.32-33 **the ryver Stix**] The Styx, principal river in Hades. See also 134.7 and Note.

196.2-3 **though errorr carryed you to Hell gates**] Cf. Tilley E179:

To err is human, to repent is divine, to persevere is diabolical.

196.5-6 **things when they are at the worst, begin again to amend**]

Tilley T216: When things are at the worst they will mend. (Whetstone's is the first recorded example.)

196.8 **to deathes doore**] Tilley D162: To be at Death's door.

196.19-20 **the greefe knownen, the remedye is easie**] Tilley D358:

A disease known is half cured. (Earliest example 1614.)

**The. vii. Dayes Exercise**

198.11-13 **Aurora . . . Tithon**] See Note 44.6-7.

198.18 **envying the confusion of night**] Disliking the disorderly commotion of the night. Cf. 168.11.
198.32 Janus, God of Time] "The word properly means a gate or barbican . . . But to enter house or city one must pass through the gate or the door; hence Janus tended to become a god of beginnings . . . the first month of the reformed calendar, Januarius, is his and his festival comes in it" (Oxford Classical Dictionary). See also 200.21.

198.33-199.4 in the likenes of a Serpent . . .] The ouroboros is traditionally associated with eternity and time, and with Saturn (Cartari, sigs. C3r and D2r); Janus is god of the year and of Time. Thus, Cartari links the two: "The Phenicians, as Marcus Tullius and Macrobius report, understood by Janus, the world: and therefore framed his Image in the forme of a serpent, holding her taile in her mouth, continually turning round and circumfered: as that the world doth nourish and feed it selfe, and the times thereof depending and cohering one of another" (sig. D4v).

199.8 superstitious Ceremonies] See 18.27-30 and Note.

199.19ff. This order the Italians use . . .] "When the civil year was initiated in January of the year 135 B.C., the customs associated with the new year began to be celebrated on this new date. Among these the most common was the exchanging of gifts given as augurs . . . . These gifts originally consisted od dried fruit and honey; later silver coins were given by liegemen to their patrons and by subjects to the emperor. With the onset of Christianity this custom of giving gifts on New Year's Day (or on the Epiphany) still persists" (Enciclopedia Italiana, "Capodanno").

Writers in England took advantage of this custom to present new works to their patrons; for instance, Asham speaks of The Scholemaster as a
"little treatise for a new-year's gift" (p. 15). The Heptameron may have been so intended.

199.30 the Capitole] The Capitoline, one of the Seven Hills of Rome, seat of the Roman government. More specifically, the temple of Jupiter.

199.31 Caesar Augustus] Title given to Roman emperors. Perhaps Whetstone specifically has in mind Augustus Caesar, 63 B.C.-A.D. 14, first Roman emperor.

199.32 so many Countryes, so many customes] Tilley C711: (This example cited.)

200.21 God Janus Feast] Since Janus opened the year and the seasons, his principal festival was New Year's Day. Cf. Guevara, The Diall of Princes, sig. K1r: "Of a solempe feaste the Romaynes celebrated to the God Janus."

See 198.32 and Note.

200.30 Banquetinge House] A separate building for dining, a not uncommon feature of Renaissance palaces.

201.9 Eunuke] See Note 25.4.

201.9 Hymen] God of marriage. See 28.22; 36.1; 201.20.

201.12-29 Even as the Vine . . . the married lyfe] The first two stanzas echo the imagery of Wotton's poem in The Courtlie Controversie, sig. 202r.

201.12 Even as the Vine, that clasps the tender Elme] Tilley V61: The vine embraces the elm.

201.16 Hymens ryghtes] That is, marriage. "ryghtes" = rites.

201.19 barren thought] Those who think of (and choose to live) barren
lives. They breed only the destruction of fame.

201.20 Hymen] God of marriage. See 28.22; 36.1; 201.9.

203.8ff. Upon which incouragement . . .] The following discourse
by Segnior Philoxenus is adapted from both Gruget's Mexia, especially
Chapter XIV, "De la cordiale amitie de mariage, avec aucuns exemples
de l'amour des mariez," and Du Verdier's Mexia, Book IV, Chapter XI. From
Mexia's many examples of fidelity in marriage, Whetstone selects Paulina,
Darius, Admetus, Artemisia, and Tiberius Gracchus. Izard discusses Whet-
stone's use of these sources, pp. 99-103, 265.

203.10-21 this holy Institution of Marriage . . . man, and wife]
A translation of Du Verdier's Mexia, pp. 272-73. Also a paraphrase of
the Book of Common Prayer (1559), sig. 05r.

203.13-14 Increase, multiply, and replenish the earth] Genesis i.28:
"Bring forth the frute and multiplie, and fill the earth."


203.17-18 to encrease and multiply the earth a new] Genesis ix.1.

203.24-25 You shall be two bodies in one flesh, and no more] Genesis
ii.24; and Matthew xix.5-6.

204.6-12 When the stately Dames of Rome . . . Cornelia . . .] Cornelia,
the daughter of Scipio Africanus, was the mother of the Gracchi. "This
woman was of a mervaylous temperaunce. For on a tyme beyng in company
with other ladies of Rome, (beholdynge hir meane apparaile) was demaunded,
if she had no better rayment: She, pointynge to hir two sonnes, whiche
then wente before hir, answered: Lo here is my fresh apparaile, wherein
I delyte" (Cooper). The source of the anecdote is Valerius Maximus IV.1, who refers not to apparel but to beautiful ornaments or jewels.

204.13-19 When certaine... King Darius... Olympia... Alexander] Olympias was the wife of Philip II of Macedon and the mother of Alexander the Great. The story is not in Plutarch's Life of Alexander.


205.31 Propertius] Sextus Propertius, c. 50-c. 16 B.C., Roman poet, one of the literary circle of Maecenas.

205.31-32 Omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in conjuge major] "All love is great, but greater far in open union," Propertius IV.3.49. Quoted in Du Verdier's Mexia.


206.6 Licurgus, the good King of the Lacedemonians] Lycurgus, legendary founder of the Spartan constitution, social institutions, and military system, hence, of the "good order." Plutarch extols his wisdom and justice: "Those which would not marye, he made infamous by lawe. For it was not lawfull for suche to be present, where these open games and pastimes were shewed naked. Furthermore, the officers of the cittie compelled suche as would not marye, even in the hardest time of the winter, to environne the place of these sportes, and to go up and down starcke naked, and to singe a certaine songe made for the purpose against them, which was: that justely were they punished, bicause that lawe they disobeyed. Moreover, when suche
were olde, they had not the honour and reverence done them, which old married men usually received" ("Lycurgus," trans. Sir Thomas North, London, 1579, sig. 3r-v) Cf. Gruget's Mexia, p. 216.

Lacedaemon is the historic name for Sparta, properly for the territory but sometimes also for the city.

206.21 Plato, in his Lawes] Plato Laws IV.721; VI.774. Cf. 36.5; 85.13; 146.14; and 158.34.

206.24-34 The good Emperour, Alexander Severus . . . Mammeas . . . Memmia . . .] Julia Avita Mamæa dominated her son Alexianus, who was subsequently known as Severus Alexander, throughout his reign. Sulpicia Memmia was one of the three wives of Alexander Severus. Izard states that Whetstone is here recalling Sir Thomas Elyot's Image of Governaunce (Izard, p. 101). See Note 46.26.

207.1-5 How wonderfullie, was the Love of Paulina, sage Senecaes Wife . . .] Translated from Gruget's Mexia, p. 221.

Pompeia Paulina was the wife of Seneca the philosopher, Nero's tutor and political advisor. In 65 A.D. Seneca was forced to commit suicide. "She was with her husband at dinner when the centurion came from Nero to tell Seneca that he must die. The philosopher received the intelligence with calmness, embraced his wife, and bade her bear their separation with firmness; but as she begged that she might die with him, he yielded to her entreaties, and they opened their veins together. Nero, however, unwilling to incur a reputation for unnecessary cruelty, commanded her veins to be bound up. Her life was thus spared; and she lived a few years longer" (William Smith, ed. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, London: Walton-Murray, 1869).
207.6-12 **Quintus Curtius**, resiteth, that Kyng Darius . . .] Translated from Gruget's Mexia, p. 221. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* XXX also states that Darius lamented the death of his wife.

207.6 **Quintus Curtius**] Quintus Curtius Rufus, rhetorician and historian, 1st century A.D., published a history of Alexander the Great in Latin in ten books; he is an excellent story-teller. John Brende's version, *The Historie of Quintus Curcius, Conteyning the Actes of the Greate Alexander* (1553), was highly esteemed throughout the sixteenth century.

207.13-19 **King Admetus** . . .] Adapted from Gruget's Mexia, p. 221.

Admetus was thus rewarded by Apollo: "he obteined of the destenies, called Parcae, that whan the daye of the death of Admetus shoulde be wounde uppon their spyndels, if he coulde fynde any other, that would willingly die for hym, he hym selfe should escape death at that tyme. Whan the day was come, that Admetus should finishe his life, all men and women, yea father and mother, refused to die: only Alceste his wyfe, preferred the lyfe of hir husbande before her owne" (Cooper). Cf. Pettie, *A Petite Pallace*, 6, "Alcest and Admetus."

207.20-30 **Tiberius Graccus** . . . in loosing of him] Adapted from Gruget's Mexia, p. 222. The source is Plutarch's *Life of Tiberius Gracchus* I.

Tiberius Gracchus was consul in 163 B.C.

207.30 **the seven wonders of the worlde**] The mausoleum, built of white marble, collapsed before the fifteenth century in an earthquake. The seven wonders are described in Gruget's Mexia, p. 439.

207.31-208.14 **the love whiche Queene Artemisia bare to her Husbande**
Mausolus . . .] Merely mentioned in Gruget's Mexia, p. 222. The classical sources are Valerius Maximus IV.6; and Aulus Gellius X.18.

Artemisia II succeeded her brother and husband Mausolus as ruler of Caria, 353-352 B.C. Cooper: "The name of a noble princesse, wife to Mausolus, kyng of Caria, of a notable chastitie, and excelled so in love toward hir husband, that when he was dead, she caused his herte to bee dried in a vessell of golde into poulder, and by little and little she dranke it up, saiynge: Their two hertes shoulde never departe asonder, and that she thought there mighte bee no woorthy sepulchre made for it, but hir owne bodie. Not withstandyng she made for his bodie such a sepulchre, that for the excellent woorkmanshipe, beautie, and costlinesse, it was taken for one of the mervailes of the worlde: and for the notable fame therof, al sumptuous and great sepulchres, were afterwarde called Mausolaea." Aulus Gellius mentions the literary competition and the names (as in Whetstone) of the famous rhetoricians.

208.10 Theopompus] Theopompus of Chios, born c. 378 B.C., historian, most distinguished pupil of Isocrates.

208.10 Teodectes] Theodectes, c. 375-334 B.C., poet and orator, probably studied under Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle.

208.10 Naucrites] A disciple of Isocrates.

208.11 Isocrates] Isocrates of Apollonia, disciple of the more famous Isocrates of Athens with whom he is often confused. Cooper: "Isocrates, The name of a famous oratour, of woonderfull eloquence: out of whose schoole proceeded the most excellent oratours of Greece."

208.13s.n. Aul. Gel. in lib. de nocti. atti] Aulus Gellius, c. 130-
c. 180 A.D., wrote the *Noctes Atticae* ("Attic Nights") in twenty books. His work is essentially an expanded commonplace book, a collection of anecdotes, quotations, and stories on a variety of topics, written during the winter evenings to entertain and instruct his children. It appears to have been widely read in the Renaissance.

208.18 **Titus and Gisippus** Boccaccio's story of Titus and Gisippus (*Decameron* X.8) was very popular in the Renaissance as an illustration of perfect friendship. Titus pines away nearly unto death for love of his friend's betrothed, Sophronia, until his friend Gisippus, recognizing that Titus's need is greater than his own, gives the girl to him -- for, says Gisippus, he can always find another wife but not another friend. When Gisippus later finds himself in dire straits, he seeks out his now wealthy friend. Mistakenly believing himself to be slighted by Titus, Gisippus in despair confesses to a murder he did not commit. Titus tries to save him by taking the crime upon himself. Finally the true murderer appears and all is well, Gisippus marrying Titus's sister. The tale entered England through Sir Thomas Elyot's version in *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531) II.12, the first known English translation of Boccaccio. Whetstone appropriately cites the tale to show that the friendship of man for man is nobler than the love of man for woman.

208.18 **Damon and Pithias** Another commonplace example of friendship, this time of classical origin, from Valerius Maximus, IV.7. The story is mentioned in Plutarch, *De Amicorum Multitudine* ("On Having Many Friends"), *Moralia*, 93Aff., in which the friends are Damon and Phintias. Cooper: "Damon and Pythias: Twoo philosophers of Pythagoras his secte, in the
league of frendshyppe beyng eche to other moste faythfull. For when Dionyse the tyranne of Syracuse, had condemned the one of them to death, and he had required certayne dayes respite to goe home and dispose suche thynges as he had: the other became suertie for him on this condition, that if his frende returned not, he would be content to suffer death for him. But when he at the daye appointed according to his promyse did retoune: the tyranne wondryng at their faythfulnesse, pardoned the offender, and requested that he might be received as thirde into their knotte and league of amitie."

209.4-5 the Sunne shineth, both upon the good and bad] Tilley S985: The sun shines upon all alike.

Matthew. v.45: "for he maketh his sunne to arise on the evil and on the good."

209.5-7 Christe him selfe, was (aswell) Maister to a Theefe, as to a true Disciple] Perhaps referring to Christ consoling the thieves on the crosses.

210.15-17 the Rose full blowne . . . the tender Bud] Cf. Tilley R180: The fairest rose at last is withered.

F391: The fairest flowers soonest fade.

211.14 to get abroade] To acquire means (to make a living) outside the home.

211.28-31 as Socrates affirmeth . . .] Translated from Du Verdier's Mexia, p. 275.

211.30 Anaxagoras] Greek philosopher, c. 500-c. 428 B.C., the first to reside in Athens. "A famous philosopher, noble of bloud, but more
noble in vertue and wysdome: whiche abandoning all his possessions,
gave him wholy to the studie of naturall phylosophie" (Cooper).

211.31 Archelaus] "One a philosopher, the disciple of Anaxagoras,
borne at Miletum, maister to Socrates, brought first naturall philosophy
out of Ionia to Athens" (Cooper). 5th century B.C.

213.31 Midas lippes] "Midas, The ryche kynge of Phrygia, who, for his
fryndly intertaynement of the God Bacchus, being willed to wyshe what
he woulde, with promyse presently to obteyne the same, desyred that what
so ever he touched myght forthwith becomme golde. By whiche wyshe graunted,
he tourned castelles and towers into golde. But when he came to eate his
meate, and sawe that it also was made golde, being almost famished, he
besought Bacchus agayne to take from hym the graunt that he hadde geven
hym" (Cooper).

213.32-33 he will be his owne Carver] Tilley C110: To be one's own
carver. "To take or choose for oneself, at one's own discretion."

215.5ff. The woorthy Historie of Phrigius and Pieria . . .] Whetstone
follows the story outlined by Plutarch in his Mulierum Virtutes ("Bravery
of Women") XVI, Moralia 253-54:

Some of the Ionians who came to Miletus, owing to lively
disagreements with the sons of Neileus, went away to Myus and
settled there, suffering many ills at the hands of the
Milesians; for these made war upon them because of their
defection. However, the war was not without truce or inter-
course, but at certain festivals the women commonly went to
Miletus from Myus. There was among the people of Myus a
prominent man named Pythes, who had a wife named Iapygia
and a daughter Pieria. As there was a festival in honour
of Artemis, and a sacrifice, which they call Neleis, he
sent his wife, and daughter, who had asked that they might
participate in the festival. The most influential of
Neileus's sons, Phrygius by name, fell in love with Pieria,
and tried to think what could be done on his part that would be most pleasing to her. And when she said, "If only you could make it possible for me to come here often and many with me," Phrygius was quick to understand that she wanted friendship and peace for the citizens, and stopped the war. There was, consequently, in both cities repute and honour for Pieria, so that the women of Miletus pray even to this day that their husbands may love them as Phrygius loved Pieria. (Loeb translation)

Cf. Lyly, p. 108: "yet some have wished to be embraced as Phrigius embraced Pieria"; also p. 381.

215.11 Miletum in Ionia] Ionia was an ancient district on the west coast of Asia Minor. Miletus was the most important of the twelve Ionian cities.

215.21 Myos] Myus was one of the twelve Ionian cities.

217.16 Oedippus] See Note 32.29.

Cooper: "Finally having knowledge at length that by misfortune he had murdered his father at Phocis, and by inceste had known his owne mother, so sore it greeved him, that in revengement thereof he pulled out his own eyes, and lyved ever after in banyshment, having his daughter Antigone to leade hym, by whom he was often times preserved, when he would have slaine hymselfe" (Cooper — italics mine).

218.3-4 though mylde Venus . . . wrathfull Mars . . .] Venus, the goddess of love. Mars (Ares), the god of battle.

218.15-16 her knownen enemy is not so daungerous, as the fayned friend] Tilley F410: It is better to have an open enemy than a dissembling friend.

Cf. 43.16-17.

218.18 Alexander] Alexander the Great, who conquered Asia Minor, Persia, and Babylonia into India; Phoenicia and Palestine; and Egypt
in Africa. See also 146.12 and 168.29.

218.19 Caesar] Julius Caesar, the great military leader. See also 75.13 and 146.12-13.

218.20 Hanniball] "The sonne of Hamilcar, the moste noble and valiant capitaine of the Carthaginenses, who, makeynge warre with the Romaines XVI. yeres, contended with them in prowesse and policie, wynnyng from them their dominions in Spayne and Italy" (Cooper). See also 146.13.

218.22-23 the life Booke of Fame] Perhaps the living Book of Fame. Or is Whetstone combining the Book of Life (the record of the names of those who shall inherit eternal life) with the Book of Fame?

218.30-31 shame worme the tongue] May shame be a remedy for a blasphemous tongue. (OED, worm, v 3: "to extract the 'worm' from the tongue" -- as a remedy for madness.)

219.1-2 Justice, Pietie, Temperaunce, Concorde and Love] These are the virtues celebrated in the first five books of Spenser's Faerie Queene.

224.16 Juno] In her role as goddess of married love, as opposed to Diana as goddess of chastity. For a discussion of the types of love represented by Diana, Venus, and Juno, see Notes 28.19-20 and 33.28.

224.21 tooke in worth] Took at its proper value. (OED, worth, sb\(^1\).)

225.28 Jupiters wrath] Simply, the wrath of God.

226.15 white Turtles] Turtle-doves, symbol of constant love and conjugal happiness. See 31.12-13 and 73.17.

227.18-33 a bye Mountain ... Africa] Cf. Wotton, Courtlie Controversie, sig. 2A\(^3\): "they entred into a domesticall deserte, so well
and naturally wrought, that Nature confessed hir cunning vanquished by mans industrye: For the snailes, lizardes, molles, frogs, grashoppers, shells, flints with all earthly and water beastes, fishes, and foules were presented so lively amidde the mossy rockes, and all kindes of plantes, trees, and hearbes, as a man woulde not onely have thought to bee in a wildernesse of Arabia, and neare some river of Afrika ... ." But Wotton's "deserte" is a setting for Bacchus.

227.19 Forestery] Wotton, Courtlie Controversie, sig. 2A': "forrestrie." For the English signification, "a vast extent of trees," the OED cites no example before 1823; but Wotton is translating directly from the French.


227.26 beasts of honor] Animals used in heraldry to represent certain virtues. In his discussion of heraldic animals, including the lion, leopard, hart, unicorn, bull, boar, ram, and horse, Gerard Legh in The Accedens of Armory refers to "any beast of more honor" (sig. G3r).

227.34 by a still motion] By a silent or secret process of movement.

228.6 Diana attired all in whyte] White as the colour of chastity, of purity. See also 28.19.

228.7 the nyne Muses] Cooper: "The Muses: whiche were maydens, whome poentes feynged to bee the daughters of Jupiter and Memorie, and that they weare ladyes and governours of poetrie and Musyke. They were in numbre nyne, or after some but three. Some call them gevers of eloquence, and dooe name them goddesses." The usual list includes Calliope (heroic epic), Clio (history), Euterpe (flute music), Terpsichore (lyric poetry or dance), Erato (lyric poetry or hymns), Melpomene (tragedy), Thalia
(comedy), Polyhymnia (mimic art), and Urania (astronomy).

228.11 the Hyen] See 36.30 and Note.

228.12-15 the ful power of vertue . . . both kindes] Cf. 142.26ff.

228.16 Monster Envy] See Note 3.10.

228.20 the golden age] In classical mythology and literature, the Golden Age was the period when Saturn or Cronus ruled the world, the earliest age of man. It was a time of innocent happiness, of peace, love, and harmony. Men lived close to nature without agriculture or industry, without strife, and without civilization. Many of the deities then lived on earth. The Golden Age was followed by a Silver Age, a Bronze Age, and the present Iron Age. See Hesiod, Works and Days, 109ff.; Ovid Met. XV.99ff.; and Guevara, The Diall of Princes, I.31.

228.23 Parnassus] Mount Parnassus in Greece, sacred haunt of the Muses.

229.10 more warie then Argus] See Note 104.5s.n.

229.11 the Tormenters of Hell] Pluto and Proserpine, rulers of the underworld.

229.12 Inachus Oten Pipe] Inachus was a river-god, the father of Io. (In Cooper, he is the first king of the Argives.) But when Argus was set by Juno to guard Io, he was overcome with the pipes of Mercury (Hermes), not of Inachus. In Golding's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses,
Mercury uses an "oten Reede" to pipe Argus to sleep.

229.13 Orpheus passionate Musick] See 114.8, 151.7, and Notes.

229.19 Non vi, sed virtute] "Not by might, but by virtue." Whetstone adopted this as his motto on the title page of A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties (1584) in the form, "Virtute, Non Vi."

The title of a poem in Kendall's Flowers of Epigrammes, to which Whetstone contributed a commendatory verse, is "By Vertue Not Vigour" (sig. M4'). Cf. EM, sig.¶3' : "the saying of morall Diogenes, Vertue onely conquereth Envy"; and M4'.

229.20 with a Myrrour] Parallels include EM, sigs. ¶2V; M6V; and Dier, sig. B4V.

In EM, Queen Elizabeth is the conqueror of envy. See also 16.34.

229.29 As Phallaris, dyd to Perillus] Phalaris, tyrant of Acragos, 6th century B.C., noted for his cruelty. Cooper: "Phalaris, A cruell tyranne of Agrigentine, who mervaylously delighted in the devise of new and straunge punishementes. Wherefore one Perillus a cunnynge woorkeman, thynkynge to have great thankes and a large rewarde, invented a bull of brasse, into the which if one weare put, and a fyre made underneath, the voyce of his crying should be like the belowyng of a bull. The tyranne in steede of rewarde, to trie this newe devise, first burned in it Perillus himselfe, and after hym many other." The story is told in Gruget's Mexia, p. 140; Guevara's The Diall of Princes, I.46; and Painter, II.10. Among the classical sources are Ovid, Ars Amatoria I.653-54; Tristia III.39-54; and Pliny XXXIV.19.

229.30 die with the weapon, thou preparst for other] Cf. Tilley
W204: To beat one at his own weapon. (Earliest example cited 1591.)

See also 48.23, and 173.13s.n.

229.32 [the Nymphé Chlora] Cooper: Chloris, "Also the goddess of flowers, otherwise called Flora." Whetstone conflates the two names.

229.33ff. a Shield . . .] Whetstone has taken the description of this shield from Gerard Legh's The Accedens of Armory:

The first whereof is a looking glasse of Cristall, in a fielde of greene, which signifieth prudence . . .
The second is a paire of ballaunce of Silver, in a fielde bleue, which signifieth, Justice . . .
The third, is a piller of Porphiere, in a golden field, which signifieth Fortitude . . .
The fowerth is a Jugge and cuppe of Ruby rock, in a field silver, which signifieth temperance . . .

(sigs. A6r-A7r)

Thus, the shield given to Aurelia symbolizes the four cardinal virtues and differs from Legh's shield only in a detail of the fourth quarter.

Legh's shield is pictured on the title page of The Accedens of Armory, a book which discusses heraldry in dialogue form, which is dedicated "To the honorable assembly of gentlemen in the Innes of Court and Chauncery," and which ends with a description of the speaker's reception at the Inns of Court, where he enjoys the generous hospitality of "Pala-philos." Whetstone's use of this device at such a prominent point in the book suggests a significance which I have not yet defined, but it surely argues a close connection between Whetstone and the Inns of Court.

In Primaudaye, The French Academie, the cardinal or civil virtues make possible "the excellent order of all humane things" and protect society from disorder and confusion (sig. C5V).

230.6-7 a Garland of Roses, parted, perpale, ARGENT, and GULES] The
garland is described in heraldic terms. "Parted" = party, parti-coloured. "Party per pale" = having two different qualities, hence, half-and-half. "Argent" = silver or white. "Gules" = red. Thus, the garland is composed of mixed red and white roses.

230.13 The Silver Pen, and Verses] In Grange, The Golden Aphroditis, Sir N.O seeks out the Muses in the Arbor of Amitie to solicit a gift for the nymph A.O.; Melpomene dips a silver pencil in a well and writes verses on the cover of a goblet which she presents to him (sig. L4r).

See also 11.16 and Note.

230.14 URANIE] See 10.2 and Note.


230.17-18 the Cock was ready to sing his midnight song] The tradition that the cock crows at midnight at Christmas does not seem relevant here, for it is said to crow on Christmas Eve, not on New Year's night. The clue to interpretation of this line is provided by Thomas Tusser's Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie (1580):

Experience teacheth, as true as a clock:
  how winter might passeth, by marking the cock.

Cock croweth at midnight, times few above six,
  with pause to his neighbour, to answere betwix.
At three a clock thicker, and then as ye knowe:
  like all in to Mattens, neere daie they doo crowe.

(sig. S2r)
Glossary

The following list includes (1) words which predate the earliest example in the OED for the sense in which they are used in the Heptameron, and (2) obsolete words which may be obscure or confusing to a reader who is not an Elizabethan specialist. No attempt has been made to gloss all obsolete words, only those whose meanings are not immediately apparent from their context. OED predatings are marked by an asterisk, the date of the OED example being cited at the end of each entry.

The words are spelled as they appear in the Heptameron; variants such as those caused by interchangeable "i" and "y" or "c" and "s" have been grouped under the spelling which occurs first in the text. If a word is used in a particular sense more than three times in the Heptameron, only the first example is cited, followed by "etc." When a word is used in both current and obsolete senses, only examples of the latter are cited. The comment "(see note)" indicates that the word is discussed in the explanatory notes. Nouns are normally listed in the singular, and verbs in the infinitive form.

The authority for all definitions is the Oxford English Dictionary.

*abased 74.13, 106.28 lowered (1652)
*abilityties 58.1 faculties, talents (1587)
   able 158.32 wealthy
*a bylling 188.9 caressing
   abylytie 85.19 etc. wealth, means
*accomodated 17.31, 96.33 equipped, furnished (1597)
   acquire 152.34 to require
*acquired 55.15 gained, obtained by one's own efforts (1606)
*Acteon 144.31 to cuckold (1615)
*addopted 21.3 christened, named anew (1601)
   adventure 15.17 etc. chance occurrence, fortune
advertisement 58.13 warning
*affect 29.5 etc. to prefer, to be fond of, to love (1593)
affected 153.17, 184.7, 219.22 those in love
*affectedlye 32.28 with fondness; 92.11 sincerely (1596)
affectionated 154.14, 205.8s.n. affectionate
affie 22.12, 62.11, 75.24 to trust, confide
agreeable 204.30 agreeing together
Alcaron 46.14 the Koran
Almain 19.10 a German
Almayne 70.18, 227.18, 230.10 a kind of dance
amiable 54.10 worthy to be loved
amisse 149.26 mischief
*Anotomy, Annotomie 105.10, 106.22 skeleton, mummy (1589)
annoy 119.31, 120.5 annoyance, discomfort
appalled 91.26 made pale
*apparaunce 133.6 display, show (1591)
arrivelyng 15.22 bringing
*Arte, names of 174.19 words of art, technical terms (1628)
*as slant 227.24 across in a slanting direction (1602)
aspeckt 185.4 relative positions of heavenly bodies
*assemblies 117.9 social gatherings (1590)
astonied 133.7 amazed, astonished
attach 72.4 to seize, lay hold of
Audit Bagges 97.19 money bags
awaie with 87.3 tolerate, put up with
*awkeward 83.4 unfavourable (1587)
*Bachelor 185.14 a novice (1604)
Balme 221.28 to anoint
*bane 165.34 to harm, hurt (1601)
bare 139.18, 227.4, 227.5 worthless
base, bace 158.20s.n. etc. low in social scale
bended 69.1 striped or banded
best 90.8, etc. most superior in rank or station
bewray 53.15 etc. to reveal, expose; to betray
blinde 217.27 misleading
*bloome 197.5 to bring into bloom (1592)
*Bollytyne 14.24 bolletine, bulletin (1645)
*brave mynded 1.11, 171.22 of excellent mind (1617)
*broade waking 198.19 fully awake (1583)
Bullice 53.8 bullace, a wild plum
Burgoys 151.31 Burgeyse, a female citizen
*call 90.20 a decoy-bird (1595)
*callumner 217.17 calumniator (1614)
camelion 227.25 camelopard or giraffe
canker 53.7 an inferior kind of rose
canvass 42.34 to beat
capitall 136.4 deadly, mortal
carraine 87.6 carrion
cates 15.11 bought delicacies
Cattel 227.29 worthless creatures
*Champion 38.4 champaign, a plain (1589)
*charged 147.19, 220.33 burdened, laden (1583); sore charged 53.24
	hard pressed
check, v. 140.29 to rebuke
check, n. 51.20 false swoop (in hawking) (see note)
chirurgeon 80.24 a surgeon
choller 48.25 bile, one of the four humours, supposed to cause anger
choller adust 99.20 black bile, supposed to cause melancholy
chopped 195.31 snapped up
Christall 146.27 of the cyrstalline heaven (in the Ptolemaic system)
cicuta 113.2 poison extracted from the hemlock
citterne 76.18 cithern
*circumstaunce 111.4, 128.9 circumlocution (1597) (see note)
civill 1.2 etc. refined, well-bred; social (see note); 19.3 seemly,
decent; *31.19 non-ecclesiastical (1592)
*clapping 225.2 striking hands in token of a bargain (1599)
*clarkely 177.22 clerkly, skilfully (1594)
clawing 47.22 flattering, fawning
cloying 48.21 impeding, obstructing; overloading with food
cognizance 116.19 knowledge, understanding
*Comedians 163.23 etc. comic actors (1601)
comfortable 130.20 reassuring; 133.16 comforting
*command 28.5 to hold in check (1586)
common 93.29 to converse, talk
*compasse 154.5 to embrace (1590)
Completion 99.19, etc. collection of humours, temperament, constitution
conceite 185.32 judgement; readly in conceyt 59.12 quick in thought
(see note)
*conseight 111.28 self-conceit (1605); 111.16 idea, thought
*conclude 27.18 to result in (1639); 157.6 to close with
conditions 22.2 etc. personal qualities, manners
confounde 201.18 to destroy
*conjure downe 121.17 to subdue (by magic), with a baudy innuendo
Conscience 17.11 inmost thought; 93.24 a matter of conscience
*Consorit 68.30 company of musicians (1587)
*construction 126.14 interpretation (1586)
*contentment 223.27 delight (1586)
contrary 184.20 to do what is contrary to
controlment 68.3 restraint
*conveiances 18.3 ingenious devices (1596)
convenient 16.16 appropriate, suitable
*coosen 97.30 to cozen, deceive (1583)
corsive 41.17 a caustic remedy; 178.23 something that consumes
*counsellinge, counsayling 36.3, 207.18 that counsels (1628)
counterbuff 82.26 s.n. blow in contrary direction
course 60.28 to worry, persecute
Courted 1.4, 4.17 courtier-like (see note)
Coyfe 98.27 coif, head-covering
Crannelle 14.2 cranny
*crased 107.21, 133.14 damaged, ruined (1590)
*cross, v. 75.10 to contradict (1589)
*crosse, n. 142.21 a crossing (1599)
*crosse, a. 174.12 contrarious (1588)
*cunning 45.1 etc. skilful, in bad sense (1590); 228.34 full of knowledge
   cunningest 52.31 most learned
   curbed 146.5 bent, bowed
   curiousness 18.8 beauty, elaborateness
   custom 56.32 to accustom

Dame 30.28, 124.19, 204.6 superior of a nunnery
   dammage 42.4 misfortune
   daunger, v. 216.33 to expose to danger
   daunger, n. 97.28 power; 137.23, 209.15 harm
   daungerous 27.11 etc. harmful
   dead 179.1 flavourless
   defende 86.17 to ward off
   defray 98.4 to cover the expenses of
*delicate 200.30 graceful, elegant (1583)
   denized 4.4 made a citizen
   deserve 148.10 requite
   determination 133.9, 138.30 intention decided on
   device 10.3, 163.29 dramatic representation; 23.16 witty expression;
   68.19 design
   devine 193.2 to explain
   devise 68.20 etc. to converse, talk
   devotion 84.19 disposal; alms
*devotionate 224.15 full of devotion (1864)
   dignities 145.30s.n. faculties (see note)
   discomforted 230.9 discomfitted
*disgrace 8.22 etc. disparagement, reproach (1586) (see note)
   dishearited 87.22 disinherited
   dishonest, v. 130.4 to defile
   dishonest, a. 52.20, 52.23, 121.12 dishonourable, unchaste
   dishonesty 86.32, 88.18 unchastity
   dispatch 15.19 dismissal
   dispence 94.31 expenditure
   dispoil 17.29 to undress
   distemperature, distenprature 114.20 etc. disordered condition of the
   humours, ailm
*Divines 142.29 non-Christian writers on theology (1587)
   documente 7.15 instruction, warning
   domestical 227.29 cultivated
*Domesticke 109.23 tame (1620)
   droyle 148.30, 159.11 drudge
   drye 71.27 barren; 229.4 not drawing blood, severe

Eav't 109.11 eft
   engrave 59.6, 207.33 to entomb
   easye conceited 150.30 of small intelligence
*egall, v. 146.32 to equal (1591)
   egall, a. 149.8, 187.32 equal, equally reciprocated
Element 40.19, 40.22 the sky
emprise 30.19 renown, glory; 139.23, 225.18 value
encounter 224.21 to address each other;*221.15 to go to meet (1603)
entertaine 7.26 etc. to receive; to take into one's service; to greet,
to deal with; to treat; *to keep occupied; *to while away (time)
entrayles 192.21 bowels; children
envie 215.25 etc. hostile feeling, ill-will, malice
envying 198.18 disliking (see note)
*Equipage 44.30 apparel (1645); 225.15 state of being equipped (1600)
erect 203.10 to found
*errant 58.29 deviating from the correct standard (1609)
exercise 4.22 etc. customary occupation; 10.9 action of drilling troops;
23.2 an academic disputation
exhibition 85.3 maintenance, support
exordium 145.18s.n. the beginning of a discourse
*expect 21.16, 43.23 to anticipate (1601)
*expose 96.31 to offer publicly, put up for sale (1610)
*Exstasie 103.10 ecstasy, trance (1598)
*eye 191.29 to keep in view (1590)
factions 133.28 actions, doings
faine, fayne 43.16 etc. to feign, to represent in fiction
familiar 16.14 affable, courteous
fantasie 52.30, 61.2 to take a fancy
Father in law 191.8, 191.26, 192.16 stepfather
*favor 198.28 token of affection (1588)
fearefull 34.7 timid
Fee 177.20 a prize
fianced 93.19 affianced
*Fillet 132.19 thread (1590)
Firmament 146.28 the eighth heaven, or the sphere of the fixed stars,
in the Ptolemaic system
*flashe 100.20 a sprinkling (1615)
flat 56.25 absolute
*flatterie 185.6 deception (1600)
fléate 73.4 to float, sail
*florish 52.30 rhetorical ornament (1603); 158.15 ostentatious embellishment (1588)
*folowynge 210.2 succeeding, resulting
foode 55.25 feud
*Forestry 227.19 trees (1712) (see note)
forme 61.1 beauty
forstoode 184.22 opposed, withstood
fowlded 6.11 folded, rolled up
frantick 89.27 extremely foolish
friende 104.32, 105.21 lover
furnish 163.20 to fill, occupy
gage 212.21 to engage, to put up as security
Geate 15.5 jet, black marble
*generall 109.21 all collectively (1591)
gettings 94.34 gains, earnings
Ghostly Father 136.11 father confessor
give 55.5 to gyve, to fetter
*governe 186.24 predominate (1596)
government 1.8 etc. behaviour, conduct (see note); *104.22 management
Grace 10.27 good fortune; 11.1 the one to be favoured (see note); 
68.1 pleasantness of flavour; 68.5 efficacy
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LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

The following list does not include works of general reference or works used only in compiling the Explanatory Notes. Reel numbers are given for texts consulted in the University Microfilms series of STC books (Ann Arbor, Mich.).

The list is divided into two sections: Primary Texts, including Whetstone's works, and Secondary Sources.

Primary Texts

Whetstone's Works

The Censure of a Loyall Subject. Richard Jones, 1587. STC 25334. (Reel 371)

The English Myrror. J. Windet for G. Seton, 1586. STC 25336. (Reel 553)

The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier. Richard Jones, 1585. STC 25339. (Reel 401) -- Another edition, Leyden, 1586. STC 25340. (Reel 371)

A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties. Richard Jones, 1584. Contains An Addition: Or Touchstone for the Time. STC 25341. (Reel 1047) -- Re-issued in 1586 as The Enemie to Unthryftinesse. STC 25341.5 (Reel 1262)

A Mirror of Treue Honnour and Christian Nobilitie, Exposing the Life, Death, and Vertues of Frauncis Earle of Bedford. Richard Jones, 1585. STC 25342. (Reel 401)

A Remembrance of the Life, Death, and Vertues, of Thomas Late Erle of Sussex. John Wolfe and Richard Jones, 1583. STC 25344. (Reel 401)

A Remembrance of the Precious Vertues of the Right Honourable and Reverend Judge, Sir James Dier. John Charlewood, 1582. STC 25345. (Reel 371)

A Remembraunce, of the Woorthie Life of Sir Nicholas Bacon. (J. Kingston) for Myles Jennyngs, 1579. STC 25343. (Reel 553)

The Right Excellent and Famous Historye, of Promos and Cassandra. (John Charlewood for) Richard Jones, 1578. STC 25347. (Reel 553)

The Rocke of Regard. (H. Middleton) for Robert Waley, 1576. STC 25348. (Reel 553)

Sir Phillip Sidney, His Honorable Life, His Valiant Death, and True Vertues. (T. Orwin) for Thomas Cadman, 1587. STC 25349. (Reel 371)

Other Works


Greene, Robert. *Alcida: Greenes Metamorphosis* [1588]. London, 1617. STC 12216. (Reel 1173)

----------. *Greenes Farewell to Folly*. London, 1591. STC 12241. (Reel 344)

----------. *Greenes Groats-worth of Witte*. London, 1592. STC 12245. (Reel 838)

----------. *Greenes Mourning Garment*. London, 1590. STC 12251. (Reel 1101)


Perimedes the Blacke-smith. London, 1588. STC 12295. (Reel 344)

The Repentance of Robert Greene. London, 1592. STC 12306. (Reel 568)


Harvey, Gabriel. Pierces Supererogation, or a New Prayse of the Old Asse. London, 1593. STC 12903. (Reel 345)


Kendall, Timothy. Flowers of Epigrammes. London, 1577. STC 14927. (Reel 251)


Munday, Anthony. The English Romayne Lyfe. London, 1582. STC 18272. (Reel 426)


A True Description and Direction of What is Most Worthy to be Seen in All Italy (c. 1600). *Harleian Miscellany*. 1810; rpt. New York: AMS, 1965. V, 1-41.


**Secondary Sources**

Allen, Don Cameron, ed. *Francis Meres's Treatise "Poetrie."* Univ. of Ill. Studies in Language and Literature, 16 (Sept.-Dec. 1933), 345-500.


Parks, George B. "The Decline and Fall of the English Renaissance Admiration of Italy." Huntington Library Quarterly, 21 (1967-68), 341-57.


Ryan, Lawrence V. "Book Four of Castiglione's Courtier: Climax or Afterthought?" *Studies in the Renaissance,* 19 (1972), 156-79.


