

TARLTON'S NEWS OUT OF PURGATORY (1590)

A Modern-spelling Edition, with
Introduction and Commentary

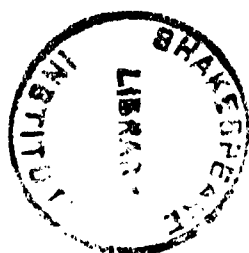
by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Birmingham

Shakespeare Institute

October 1978



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Synopsis

This thesis is a modern-spelling edition of Tarlton's News Out of Purgatory, based on the British Library's copy of the first edition of 1590, with occasional emendations from the second and third editions, and including a full collation of the three early editions. The Introduction offers studies of various aspects of the work, including the bibliographical background of the piece, and descriptions of surviving copies; the life and legend of Richard Tarlton; the background of the genre of 'News from Hell', to which the work belongs, and examination of works in that genre which immediately followed the publication of Tarlton's News Out of Purgatory; and the sources of the pamphlet, and the author's adaptation and development of them. There is a study of the work published in response to Tarlton's News Out of Purgatory in 1590, The Cobler of Caunterburie; an investigation into the question of the identity of the author, including consideration of claims that have been made for various writers, and, finally, a short critical appreciation of the work. There is a full Commentary on the text, including glosses of obscure and archaic words, textual notes, explanations of references in the work, and, as part of the investigation into the authorship, echoes of the works of contemporary writers.

This thesis contains approximately 100,000 words.

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Preface

This thesis offers a modern spelling edition of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, with a collation of the three early editions, and a full Commentary on the text. The Introduction offers studies of particular aspects of the work, and of its literary background.

The text is based on the first edition, with a few emendations from the second edition, and has been modernized in spelling and punctuation. Signature references to the first edition are given in the right hand margin of the text. A collation of the three early editions, noting all differences except those of spelling and capitalization, is provided as an appendix. Any textual points of interest are noted in the Commentary; the publication history of the work is discussed in the Introduction. All quotations from the text given in the Introduction are in old spelling, from the first edition, to accord with other quotations from early texts, which are in old spelling. Both page and signature references are given for quotations from the text.

The Commentary includes notes on the text, such as emendations from the second edition and obvious printing errors. Points of literary interest, such as contradictions, errors in the narrative, explanations of references in the work, and glosses of obscure and archaic words, are noted in it. The Commentary also includes passages from other writers, particularly those who have been suggested as possible authors of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, which echo, or elucidate, the text.

The Introduction describes and discusses the literary background and the question of the identity of the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. It includes sections on Richard Tarlton and his legend; the genre of 'news from Hell', to which the work belongs; a study of the sources of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, and of their adaptation by the author; and a study of the work published in 1590 in response to this, The Cobler of Caunterburie. The question of the identity of the author is considered in relation to the various aspects studied, and the Introduction concludes with an investigation of this problem. Footnotes to the sections of the Introduction follow the relevant section.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie

1st edition 1590 STC 23685

Copy located: British Library (C.40 c.68)

Title page:

[Orn. In centre a winged torso rising out of a heart-shaped object. Two cherubs with rabbits: volutes with foliage] /
 Tarltons newes / out of Purgatorie. / [rule] / Onely such
 a iest as his Iigge, fit for Gen-/ tlemen to laugh at an
houre, &c. / Published by an old Companion of his, /
 Robin Goodfellow. / [Orn. A circular ornament of conventional
 foliage within a triple rule] / AT LONDON, / Printed for
T.G. and T.N. 1590.

No colophon

Collation:

4to: A², B-G⁴, H². 28 leaves. First three leaves of
 each gathering signed (A1 unsigned, B3 omitted).

Pagination:

1-52 (first number printed being '2' on B1^V, preliminary
 matter not numbered). D4^V numbered 22 in error for 24;
 G3^V numbered 32 in error for 46.

Head title:

B1: Tarltons newes / out of Purgatorie.

Contents:

A1: Title; A1^V: Table of Contents; A2: Epistle, 'To the
 Gentlemen Readers, / Health.; B1: text begins;
 B2^V: Tarltons description of / Purgatorie.; H2^V: FIN ..

Running title:

B1^V-H2^V: Tarltons newes / out of Purgatorie.

B2^V: Tarltons description

Catchwords:

B1/B1^V: with] with; B1^V/B2: prin-] principles;

D4^V/E1: gentle-] gentleman; E3/E3^V: Chim-] Chimney;

E4/E4^V: gaano] gamo; F2/F2^V: RON-] RONSARDS; F2^V/F3: With]

with; G3/G3^V: ready] bee ready; H1/H1^V: him] he;

A1^V, A2^V no catchword.

Type faces:

preliminary matter: roman with italic for names etc.

text: black letter with roman and occasionally italic
for names etc.

This edition has been reproduced by University Microfilms in
their English Books 1475-1640 series, reel 1085.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie

2nd edition [c.1600] STC 23685a

Copies located: Huntington Library (ref. 61790)
 Bodleian Library (Malone 152)

Title page:

[Orn. In centre a winged torso rising out of a heart-shaped object. Two cherubs with rabbits: volutes with foliage] /
 TARLTONS / Newes out of Purga- / torie. / Onely such a
 iest as his Iigge, / fit for Gentlemen to laugh at / an
 houre, &c. / Published by an old companion of his, /
 Robin Goodfellow. / [Orn. McKerrow 290] / AT LONDON /
 Printed for Edward / White

No colophon

Collation:

4to: A-G⁴. 28 leaves. First three leaves of each gathering signed (A1 unsigned).

Pagination:

1-52 (first number printed being '2' on A3^V, preliminary matter not numbered). D3^V numbered 28 in error for 26; G3 numbered 59 in error for 49.

Head title:

A3: [row of type ornament] Tarltons Newes out of /
Purgatory.

Contents:

A1: Title (verso blank); A2: Epistle, 'To the Gentlemen Readers, / Health.; A3: text begins; A4^V: Tarltons description of / Purgatory.; G4^V: FINIS.

Running title:

A3^v-G4^v: Tarltons newes / out of Purgatorie.

'Newes': A3^v; A4^v; B3^v; C4^v; D4^v; E4^v; F4^v; G4^v.

'Purgatory': A4; B4; C3; D3; E3; F3; G3.

Catchwords:

A3/A3^v: with] with; A3^v/A4: prin-] principles;

A4^v/B1: plough-] ploughshares; D2^v/D3: a gentle-] a

gentleman; F1^v/F2: glances] glaunces

Type faces:

Epistle: roman with italic for names etc.

text: black letter with roman and occasionally italic
for names etc.

The Huntington copy of this edition has been reproduced by
University Microfilms in their English Books 1475-1640 series,
reel 358.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie

3rd edition 1630 STC 23686

Copies located: British Library (C.40 c.31)
 Bodleian Library, 3 copies, 2 imperfect
 (Douce P692, Tanner 275, imp., Ashm. 1631, imp.)
 Trinity College, Cambridge
 Folger Shakespeare Library, imperfect
 Harvard University Library, imperfect

Title page:

TARLTONS / NEVVES OVT OF / PVRGATORY. / Onely such a Iest
 as his Iigge, fit for / Gentlemen to laugh at an houre,
 &c. / Published by an old Companion of his, / Robin
Goodfellow. / [rule] / [Orn. McKerrow 281] / [rule] /
LONDON, / Printed by George Purslowe, and are to be sold
 by Francis / Groue, on Snow-hill, at the Signe of the
 Wind-mill, / neere vnto S^t. Sepulchres Church. / 1630.

No colophon

Collation:

4to: A², B-G⁴, H². 28 leaves. First three leaves of
 each gathering signed (A1 unsigned, B3 omitted).

Pagination:

1-52 (first number printed being '1' on B1, preliminary
 matter not numbered).

Head title:

B1: [row of type ornament] TARLTONS newes out of /
 PVRGATORY.

Contents:

A1: Title (verso blank); A2: Epistle, 'To the Gentlemen Readers, / Health'; B1: text begins; B2^V: Tarltons description of / Purgatorie; H2^V: FINIS.

Running title:

B1^V-H2^V: Tarltons newes / out of Purgatory.

'Purgatory:': B3; B4; C3; C4; D3; D4; E3; E4; F3; F4; G3; G4.

Catchwords:

A2/A2^V: AE-] AENEIDOS; A2^V/B1: Tarltons.] TARLTONS;

B1^V/B2: prin-] principles; C3/C3^V: pray] pray;

D3/D3^V: our] our; E3/E3^V: Chim-] Chimney; E4/E4^V: gamo]

gamo; F2/F2^V: RON-] RONSARDS; G1^V/G2: beautie.] beautie.;

E4^V/F1: rence] rence; G4^V/H1: at] at.

Type faces:

preliminary matter: roman with italic for names etc.

text: black letter with roman and occasionally italic for names etc.

Entries in the Stationers' Register26 June 1590¹

Thomas Gubbins

Thomas Newman

Allowed vnto them for theire Copie /
 vnder the hande of the Bisshop of
 LONDON, and bothe the Wardens,
TARLTONs newes out of Purgatorye, or
a caskett full of pleasant conceiptes
stuffed with delightfull devises and
quaint myrthe as his humour maye
afoorde to feede gentlemens fancies /

. vj^d

Tarltons Newes Out of PurgatorieModern Editions

James Orchard Halliwell, editor, Tarlton's Jests and News Out of Purgatory: with notes, and Some Account of the Life of Tarlton, printed for the Shakespeare Society (London, 1844). Halliwell's text is based on the second edition.

D.N. Ranson, 'Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1974).

John Feather, editor, The Collected Works of Robert Armin, 2 vols (New York, 1972). The first edition of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is reproduced in facsimile in volume 1.

Bibliographical descriptions of the three original editions have been supplied by Ranson in his thesis, but these include some errors. Feather has provided transcripts of the title pages, again including some errors, but not full descriptions in, 'A Check-List of the Works of Robert Armin', The Library, 5th series, 26 (1971), 165-172.

The tale of the lovers of Pisa is reproduced as a possible source for part of The Merry Wives of Windsor in the following works:

Geoffrey Bullough, Narrative and dramatic sources of Shakespeare, 8 vols (London, 1957-75), ii, 26-34.

J. Payne Collier, editor, Shakespeare's Library: A Collection of the Romances, Novels, Poems, and Histories, used by Shakespeare as the Foundation of his Dramas, 2 vols (London, [1843]), ii, 13-24.

J.O. Halliwell, editor, The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor, printed for the Shakespeare Society (London, 1842), pp.125-35.

William Carew Hazlitt, editor, Shakespeare's Library. A Collection of the Plays, Romances, Novels, Poems, and Histories employed by Shakespeare in the Composition of his Works, 2nd edition, 6 vols (London, 1875), iii, 60-72.

E. Malone, editor, The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, 10 vols (London, 1790), i, pt.2, 309-15.

Bibliographical Background

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie survives in three early editions. It was entered in the Stationers' Register on 26 June 1590 as 'Tarltons newes out of Purgatorye, or a caskett full of pleasant conceiptes stuffed with delightfull devises and quaint myrthe as his humour maye afoorde to feede gentlemens fancies' to Thomas Gubbins and Thomas Newman, and was published by them in 1590.² There is no further mention of the work in the Stationers' Register. A second edition, without date, was published by Edward White, and in 1630 a third edition was printed by George Purslowe and sold by Francis Grove.

Thomas Gubbins was involved in publishing between the years 1587 and 1615, Thomas Newman between 1587 and 1592. There are few records of Newman's output as a publisher, but of the seventeen pieces with which his name is associated nine were produced in partnership with Gubbins. The type of work that they published suggests that both men were interested in pamphlet literature and collections of tales. Their first recorded venture together was the issuing of a translation of Boccaccio's Fiammetta by B. Young (1587). Gubbins's list of publications includes Lodge's Rosalynde (with Busbie in 1590 and 1592, and with Ling in 1596 and 1598); Greenes Farewell to Folly (with Newman in 1591); The Defence of Conny catching (1592) and A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher (1592). Newman published Greene's Ciceronis Amor (with Winington in 1589); Greenes Mourning Garment (1590) and Greenes Vision (1592).

Edward White had a long and successful publishing career. He was involved in all types of literature, from sermons to prognostications, with no indication of a preference for any particular field. He published several pamphlets, including some by Greene and some of Deloney's work, and also issued some ballads, but shows no special interest in pamphlet literature.

Francis Grove worked as a bookseller between 1623 and 1640. The books with which he is associated consist almost entirely of ballads, jest books and pamphlets. George Purslowe was printing between 1614 and 1632, and was one of the five privileged printers allowed to print ballads. An order was made on 19 May 1612 by the Court of the Stationers' Company that 'ffyve printers onley ... shall alwayes, from henceforthe have the sole and onely printinge ... of all ballads whatsoever', the five were named as Edward Alldee, George Elde, William White, Simon Stafford, and Raffe Blore.³ In 1614 Purslowe bought printing equipment from Stafford, and an entry of 14 November records his purchase of the business, and that 'the said Georg Pursloe shalbe one of the five printers of the balletts'.⁴ Purslowe also published a wide variety of other types of literature. The two men often worked together, and the nature of their publications suggests that Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie would have appealed to them in spite of its non-topical subject.

The printers of the first and second editions are not named, but it is possible to identify them by their use of ornaments. The printer of the second edition is the easier to identify. The device on the title page of this edition,

described by McKerrow as, 'Device of a flower vase above which is the sun, and below, the arms of the City of London. Two empty ovals at sides',⁵ belonged to Edward Allde, one of the most prolific printers of his age, and one who often worked for Edward White.

John Feather identifies Allde as the printer of the first edition as well as the second, the device on the title page having been used by him, for instance on the title page of Solimon and Perseda (1599). However this edition was almost certainly printed by Robert Robinson. The head ornament on the title page of the first edition appears identical with that on the title page of the second edition, described by McKerrow as 'In centre a winged torso rising out of a heart-shaped object. Two cherubs with rabbits: volutes with foliage'.⁶ The device in the body of the title page of the first edition is described as 'A circular ornament of conventional foliage within a triple rule', it is often used by Robinson and sometimes by Allde and Bradock.⁷ Both these devices are used by Robert Robinson in 1590 in a work published in response to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, The Cobler of Caunterburie, to which he put his name, the head ornament appearing before the Cobbler's Epistle (sig. Aii), and the fleuron at the end of Robin Goodfellow's Epistle (sig. A4^v). This evidence alone merely suggests that the book could have been printed by either Allde or Robinson, however the opening letter of the texts of both Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie is a large ornamental 'S' (sig. B1 in each text). These appear identical, and that the same block was used to print both can be shown by the

reproduction of a small break in the same place in each, in the middle of the outer lower edge of the square, directly beneath the lower curve of the 'S'. Another letter which appears the same in each text is an ornamental capital 'T' on sig. C3 of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, and on sig. B2 of The Cobler of Caunterburie. It seems certain, therefore, that Robert Robinson was the printer of the first edition.

Robinson printed for Gubbins and Newman fairly frequently, both together and separately. He seems to have been somewhat more closely associated with Newman, with whom he published at least two works, Thomas White's A sermon preached at Paules Crosse, 17 Nov. 1589 (1589) and Everard Digby's E. Digbie his dissuasive from taking away the lyvings and goods of the Church (1590). Some association between the two men may be inferred from their purchasing parts of the estate of Henry Middleton from his widow, Robinson buying the printing material and certain books and letters patent for £200, and Newman buying the shop in St Dunstan's Churchyard and the books in it for £150.⁸

There is no surviving record of any transfer of the printing rights of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie even though it ran to three editions by three different publishers. There are no obvious links between the publishers, such as a sale of a business, from which a transfer of copyright can be inferred. However, slender threads can be traced between the printers which may suggest ways in which copy may have been passed on. One of the strangest events in the bibliographical history of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is the publishing of a third edition in 1630. Forty years had passed since the

first edition was issued, and the work was not one that had run into many editions, which would have suggested lasting popularity. The pamphlet had dated more than those of, for instance, Greene, in that its subject was more topical than those of the more conventional romances, and the recent death of Tarlton must have been important to the original success of the piece. In 1630 a revised version of The Cobler of Caunterburie appeared, re-titled The Tincker of Turvey, but this cannot have prompted a revival of interest in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie as all references to The Cobler of Caunterburie as an invective against it have been removed. The book is also unusual in its being printed in black letter type, which was rarely used by this date, and being set from a copy of the first edition. There is a space of forty years between the first and third editions, and at least thirty between the second and third, so it is unlikely that there were many copies readily available in 1630. It is possible that Purslowe or Grove came upon a copy and decided to publish it, but more likely that one of them possessed a copy or was given a copy, and it is necessary to find out whether this could have been the case.

George Purslowe could have obtained a copy from Allde as the two men clearly knew each other, both being of the five printers of ballads, and some of Allde's blocks passed into Purslowe's possession (Allde died in 1627). As Purslowe's edition is set from the first it is unlikely that he obtained a copy of the second, but it is possible that he was given, or bought, a copy of the first from which Allde had set his edition. A further link between Purslowe and the first edition can be

traced by a different route. In 1597 Richard Bradock married the widow of Robert Robinson, and presumably by doing so took over his business.⁹ He may have had some association with Robinson before this in that he served his apprenticeship with Middleton, whose printing materials Robinson bought.¹⁰ George Purslowe was apprenticed to Richard Bradock in January 1600/01, becoming a freeman on 30 January 1609.¹¹ There is no record of any transfer of copyright or business from Bradock to Purslowe, but Bradock is last heard of in 1615 when Purslowe was becoming active as a master printer. Bradock may also have been more than casually associated with Allde, they sometimes printed different editions of the same work, which in itself means nothing, but at least one work, Greene's Philomela (1592), published by White, is stated in the imprint to be printed by Bradock, and in the colophon by Allde, second and third editions were produced by Purslowe in 1615 and 1631.

The first and third editions of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie both have the date of publication printed on the title page. The second edition is undated, but has always been assumed to be of 1590. There is no evidence to support this date, it originated with Malone's having written it on his copy. Malone knew of the entry in the Stationers' Register, but did not know of the survival of the first edition, and applied the entry to the copy in his possession, the second edition. The revised edition of the Short Title Catalogue published in 1976 challenges this date for the first time, supplying the date [c.1600]. This is based on a statement made by McKerrow that the ornament that appears on the title page was not used by Allde before 1593. McKerrow, however,

records the use of the ornament by Allde in 1592, and it has also been found on a work dated 1591.¹²

The first edition survives in one copy only, which is in the British Library (P4670. C.40 c.68). This was purchased by the Museum on 14 June 1906 from E.D. Thomas of Frefield, Builth, Brecon for the sum of £17. 10s.¹³ It is bound with a copy of Nashe's Pierce Penilesse, which precedes it, and is a clean, unmarked and well-preserved copy.

The second edition survives in two copies, one in the Huntington Library and one in the Bodleian Library. The Huntington copy was bought with the Bridgewater Library in 1917, and could have been in this library since its initial printing.

The Bodleian copy formerly belonged to Malone. It is bound in a volume marked Shaksperiana Vol. IV (Mal. 152), which has Malone's monogram on the spine. It is part of his collection of materials for his edition of Shakespeare. The volume includes several pieces of differing sizes bound together, and is annotated by Malone, whose handwriting is very difficult to read in places. There is a manuscript note in Malone's hand following the fly leaf, saying,

Another edⁿ of Tarletons News out of Purgatorie
printed by Geo. Purslowe 1630/4^o

Tarleton's Tragical Treatises conteyning
sundrie discourses in prose and verse was
entered < > on the Stationers books by Henry
Bynneman in 1577. "A pleasant ditty dialogue
<-wise> betweene Tarltons Ghost & Robin
Goodfellowe" Sold by Henry Carre 1590.

On the back of this inserted leaf is written 'Edmond Malone Esq.'. The note is followed by a leaf from a catalogue bound

in, and then a further note by Malone:

20 Dec 1576 Richd Jones entered in the Stat.^{os}
 Register Tarleton's Toyes
 5 Feb 1577-8 Tarletons Tragicall Treatises
 conteyning sundrie discourses and pretie conceiptes
 both in prose and verse entered by H. Bynneman
 7 Feb 1578-9 Tarletons Devise upon these unlooked
 for great snowe" ent. by Jn Alde
 Tarletons Farewell entered in Sept 1588

On the fly leaf Malone has written a list of the contents of the volume, on which Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is the second item:

2 Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie
 no date but probably
 printed in ——— 1591

After 'in' a date (which looks like 1591) has been scratched out and a line drawn over the mark. There are ten items in the volume, and at the end of the list is written,

On these pieces Shakspeare founded the following plays - As You Like It - [The Mer crossed out] - one incident in the Merry Wives of Windsor - The Winter's Tale - The Taming of the Shrew - King John - 2pts of Henry IV & Henry V - Measure for Measure - Comedy of Errors - King Lear - Romeo and Juliet. E.M.

On the title page of the copy of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie Malone has added '1590' after the word 'White' on the last line. On the verso of the title page he has written,

The following Entry is on the Stationers' Books. 26 Jun. 1590 Thomas Gubbins - Thomas Newman - Allowed unto them for their copie under the hand of the Bishop of London and both the Wardens Tarlton's "Newes out of Purgatorie or a Casket full of pleasaunt conceipts stuffed with delightful devises and quainte myrthe as his humours may afforde to feede gentlemen's fancies"
 This piece was therefore probably published in 1590; and was entered by Gubbins & Newman for Edw. White - In like manner Elizabetha Triumphans was printed in 1588 by Gubbins & Newman and sold by Th. Orwin: E. Malone

So also Ab. Fraunce's Arcadian Rhetorick entered in 1588 by Gubbins & Newman, but Th. Orwin's name only appears in the title page.

Lines 6-8 on sig. A3 ('I thought I sawe ... Clowne, as I began to') are bracketed together and marked with three asterisks. There are some remarks on sig. F3^V, by the title of the tale of the lovers of Pisa, which have been partially obscured by the binder, however, it is not difficult to reconstruct them, the second word only being doubtful, but the meaning is clear even without this,

[Sh]akspeare
 [seem]s to have
 [bor]rowed part
 [of t]he plot of
 [The] Merry
 [Wiv]es of Wind
 [sor] from this_M.

On signatures F4 to G2^V there are some alterations to the punctuation which seem to have been made by Malone. At the end of the last tale there is a line drawn in the margin next to the spine, and 'FINIS' is followed by an asterisk.

Ranson thinks that,

It appears that Malone may have contemplated a modernised text, and was doing some preliminary punctuation. The "proofing" soon runs out on G2v; what plans he may have had were evidently abandoned. (p.23)

This does not explain why the alterations to the punctuation do not appear until late in the text. I think Malone may just have been considering the tale of the two lovers of Pisa, which he reprinted in his edition of Shakespeare.¹⁴

There are three complete copies of the third edition

surviving, and four incomplete ones. The Folger Shakespeare Library owns one copy, which was purchased in 1904 from J. Pearson & Co. of London, as part of a group of items for a lot price. It is incomplete, lacking signatures A1-2^V and H1-2^V. It has no manuscript notes, and the Library know nothing of its former ownership.¹⁵

The Houghton Library at Harvard University owns a copy, which was acquired in 1940.¹⁶ This copy was previously owned by W.A. White, who died in 1928, and appears in the catalogue of his books.¹⁷ Ranson treats this copy as a separate item from the Harvard one. The book was formerly in the possession of William Horatio Crawford, whose plate is on the inside of the front cover. It was sold with the rest of Crawford's library by Sotheby's on 12 March 1891, and was bought by Quaritch, the booksellers, for £1. 8s. It is described in the sale catalogue as,

3885 Tarlton (R) Newes out of Purgatory,
black letter, wanted title and cut in
headlines, with all faults, mor. ex. gt.
edge, 8vo. 18

It is lacking the leaves preceding B1, and H1-H2^V are damaged.

There are three copies of the edition in the Bodleian Library, two of which are imperfect. The worst of all the imperfect copies is [MS] Ashmole 1631, which is bound with a collection of other pamphlets, and was bequeathed to the Bodleian with the rest of Ashmole's library (1692). The copy is very badly stained and torn, some leaves are missing entirely, and parts of others are lacking. The text starts on sig. C2 with '... the succession of the Papacie..', and ends on sig. F4^V with '... goe downe the..'. The figure '111'

has been written at the top of some recto pages, but there are no other manuscript notes.

The other imperfect copy is Tanner 275, which was also bequeathed to the Bodleian (1735). This is bound in a cover labelled 'Miscellaneous Tracts 1630', and is the first item in a collection of pamphlets. Some of the final leaves are missing, so the text ends on sig. G4^V with '...doores but he is ...'. Generally the text is clear and legible, and does not include any manuscript notes. The title page is stained, and by the outside vertical edge of the page there are very faint traces of a signature, which looks like 'Judyth <S>outhfild'.

There are three complete copies of this edition. One was given to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge by James Duport in 1679 (the year of his death). It is bound with fifteen other pieces in a late seventeenth-century binding. There are no manuscript notes in this copy.¹⁹

The British Library holds one copy (C.40 c.31), which is clean and legible. The title page is slightly torn. This was bought by the Museum at the sale of the library of the Rev. Thomas Corser by Sotheby's in February 1871, for the sum of £10.²⁰ This copy is marked throughout with pencil strokes in the margins, possibly with an idea of dividing the piece into smaller paragraphs. At the end of the tale of the botcher of Sudbury (sig. D4^V) the word 'Theme' has been written in the margin in ink. The handwriting is old, probably from the eighteenth-century.

The third complete copy is in the Bodleian (Douce P692), and like their other two was bequeathed to the Library (1834).

It is bound with other items, and a note on the inside of the cover in Douce's writing lists the prices of some of these, though unfortunately not of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. On the fly leaf is the following note in Douce's writing,

In 1589 Thomas Gubbins had licence to print "Tarlton's newes out of Purgatory, or a caskett full of pleasant conceiptes, stuffed with delightfull devises and quaint fancies" In Herbert's typogr. antiq. p.1354 M. Steevens quotes the Stationers books for a licence in 1590 for printing the same work. See his Shakespeare IX. 260.

There are a few notes, also by Douce, in the text. On sig. C3, next to the title of the tale of Friar Onion, is 'Boc. nov. 31'; on E3, by the title of the tale of the Vicar of Bergamo, is 'Boc. nov. 60'; on F3^V, by the title of the tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons, is 'Boc. nov. 66'; and on G1^V, by the title of the tale of the lovers of Pisa, is 'Straparol. IV. 4'. At the end of the volume, on the end-paper, is a pencilled note by Douce,

Boccaccio	in Tarlton	13
		29
		38

Apart from the entry in the Stationers' Register, a comparison of the editions published by Gubbins and Newman and by White shows that that of Gubbins and Newman predates White's. According to McKerrow,

an edition in which the signatures are all of one alphabet, beginning with A and proceeding regularly, is likely to be later than an edition in which the preliminary leaves have a separate signature. 21

White's edition fits this description, the signatures running from A1 to G4^V without break, which suggests that the amount

of the preliminaries was already known, whereas in the first edition the printer left gathering A for any preliminary material, and eventually only used two leaves of it. Again according to McKerrow texts that,

do not agree line for line throughout, but are brought to agreement at the end of each page so that the catchword is the same ... could only be done by a compositor who had a printed page to work from. 22

In White's edition the catchwords are almost always the same as in the 1590 edition, also on certain pages of his edition the spacing of type is noticeably tight (e.g. sig. D4) or loose (e.g. sig. B3), which suggests that the compositor was trying to follow the pages of the earlier edition. White's edition corrects bad mistakes which were made in the other edition, for instance the running title on sig. B2^v which reads 'Tarltons description', an error which clearly arose from the compositor's seeing these words as a section heading a few lines further down in the text, is corrected to 'Tarltons Newes'. White's edition also corrects the error concerning the number of cranes in the tale of the Cook. In the first edition we are told that 'eleaven' cranes remain out of the original 'eight or ten', White's edition corrects this number to 'nine'. These alterations are unlikely to have been made in the 1590 edition if the text were being set from White's as they are so obviously errors.

A comparison of the three editions shows that the third could have been set from the first but not from the second. The error regarding the number of cranes, cited above, shows this, the third edition reads 'eleaven', and it is very

unlikely that a compositor changed 'nine' to the clearly incorrect 'eleaven'. The third edition corrects some errors found in the first, but reproduces most of them, such as omitting the signature 'B3'. It includes many contractions, presumably the result of an attempt to follow the first edition exactly, also the words are set very closely together on some lines. The third edition follows the first more closely than does the second in the text of Ronsard's poem. The second edition incorrectly printed '28' for the page number '26', the first and third editions read '26', likewise the second edition reads '59' where the first and third correctly have '49'. Finally, the third edition shows no sign of having been checked with a manuscript or authorial text, the alterations to it are not substantive ones and could have been made by anyone tidying the text.

Ranson, quoting E.B. Everitt, raises the question of whether the 1590 edition published by Gubbins and Newman was itself preceded by an earlier printed text now lost.²³ Everitt suggests that 'conspicuous extending and crowding of the type at points such as on pages 6 (B3^V), 19 (D2), 30 (E3^V) and 38 (F3^V)' is evidence that the compositor was 'trying hard to follow a previous compositor's alignments, but was occasionally baffled by the differences in the size of the capital letter blocks used initially in his paragraphs' (p.18). The text is as he describes at these points, but it is impossible to say definitely what is the cause of this. There is no evidence of an earlier printed edition.

Another reason for Everitt's rejection of the 1590 edition as the first is that its title is much changed from

that of the entry in the Stationers' Register. The Cobler of Caunterburie comments on the length of the title of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie (sig. Aii^v). Everitt thinks that the reference to a long title is to that in the Stationers' Register, which he thinks must have appeared on an earlier edition, now lost, the title on the surviving edition being too short to warrant the comment. In fact the reference to the title in The Cobler of Caunterburie need not be significant. The author may have had knowledge of the original wording in the Stationers' Register. In any case it was not unusual for works entered in the Register under one title to appear in print under a completely different or partially altered one.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie could have been written at any time between 3 September 1588, the date of Tarlton's death, and 26 June 1590, when it was entered in the Stationers' Register. If we accept the author's dating of events as Whit Monday this period is narrowed to between 19 May 1589 and 26 June 1590, or even to between 7 and 26 June 1590, but it is impossible to suggest a firm date.

This modern spelling edition is based on the first edition with occasional corrections from the second, which are noted in the Commentary. The main differences between the two editions are in spelling and punctuation, the second edition tending to use colons where the first has semi-colons, and in the use of capital letters. The first edition is clearly printed with few significant inaccuracies. Differences among the three texts (excluding spelling and capitalization) are listed in Appendix I.

Footnotes

- 1 E. Arber, editor, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London 1554-1640, 5 vols (London, 1875-77, Birmingham, 1894, reprinted New York, 1950), ii, 553.
- 2 Arber, ii, 553.
- 3 William A. Jackson, editor, Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 to 1640, printed for the Bibliographical Society (London, 1957), pp.53-4.
- 4 Jackson, p.68.
- 5 R.B. McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485-1640, Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monographs no.16 (London, 1913, reprinted 1949), no.290.
- 6 R.B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', The Library, 4th series, 10 (1929), 121-163 (pp.150-51).
- 7 McKerrow, 'Edward Allde', pp.157-58.
- 8 R.B. McKerrow, general editor, A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640 (London, 1910).
- 9 Arber, iii, 702. The date given here is 1592, which is incorrect as the last book entered to Robinson in the Register was on 11 May 1597 (Arber, iii, 84), presumably '2' is a misprint for '7'.
- 10 A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers.
- 11 Arber, ii, 259; iii, 683.
- 12 I am grateful to Miss Katherine Pantzer for this information. The ornament was used by Allde on W. Fisher's Godly Sermon in 1592, and Miss Pantzer mentions its use in 1591.
- 13 I am grateful to the Bibliographical Information Service for the Department of Printed Books at the British Library for this information.
- 14 E. Malone, editor, The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, 10 vols (London, 1790), i, pt.2, 309-15.
- 15 I am grateful to Elizabeth Niemyer, Acquisitions Librarian, for this information.
- 16 I am grateful to Sidney Ives, Acquisitions Bibliographer, for this information. I have also worked with a microfilm of this copy.

- 17 Catalogue of Early English Books, Chiefly of the Elizabethan Period, collected by William Augustus White and catalogued by Henrietta C. Bartlett (New York, 1926).
- 18 Book-Prices Current, [edited by J.H. Slater] (London, 1891), p.254.
- 19 I am grateful to Trevor Kaye, Sub-Librarian, for this information.
- 20 I am grateful to the Bibliographical Information Service for the Department of Printed Books for this information.
- 21 R.B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford, 1927, reprinted 1967), p.190.
- 22 An Introduction to Bibliography, p.187.
- 23 From an unpublished paper by E.B. Everitt delivered to the Modern Language Association of America, December 1956, quoted by Ranson, pp.18-19. Everitt discusses the same idea in his book The Young Shakespeare. Studies in Documentary Evidence, *Anglistica* II (Copenhagen, 1954), p.176.



RICHARD TARLTON
(From Harl. MS 3885, fol. 19)

from: C.R. Baskervill, The Elizabethan Jig
and Related Song Drama

Richard Tarlton

The main problem encountered in a study of the life of Richard Tarlton is that of sifting the very few facts from the wealth of legend that has grown up around him. The task is not made easier by the circumstance that the majority of references to him are posthumous. The earliest known mention of his name is in 1570, when the words 'Qd. Richard Tarlton' appear at the end of a ballad entitled A very lamentable and wofull Discours of the fierce fluds, which lately flowed in Bedford shire in Lincoln shire, and in many other places, with the great losses of sheep and other cattel, the 5 of october 1570.¹ John Alde's colophon dates the piece 1570. The ascription to Tarlton is dubious: it is possible, even at this comparatively early date, that his name was used to promote the sale of the ballad. Tarlton's name appears as author of other ballads in the Stationers' Register on 10 December 1576, 5 February 1577/78, and 7 February 1578/79, but none of these is extant.²

The next mention of Tarlton is the first that indicates his reputation as a player. Gabriel Harvey uses his name disparagingly to convey his anger, or pretended anger, in a letter to Edmund Spenser written in the summer of 1579:

And canst thou tell me nowe, or doist thou
at the last begin to imagin with thy selfe
what a wonderfull and exceeding displeasure
thou and thy prynter have wroughte me, and
howe peremptorily ye have preiudished my good
name for ever in thrustinge me thus on the
stage to make tryall of my extemporall faculty,
and to play Wylsons or Tarletons parte. 3

Contemporary records make it clear that Tarlton was a member of the company of Queen Elizabeth's Men formed in 1583.

He is described as an 'ordenary grome off her majestes chamber' in a record of his graduation as a Master of Fence in 1587,⁴ and also in his will of 1588. The last mention of him with the Company, before his will was made, seems to be in a manuscript dated 30 June 1588, which concerns the non-payment of subsidy by members of the Company.⁵

The only documented contemporary tale of Tarlton which includes any detail of interest concerning the man, is that told by witnesses of a fight in Norwich in 1583, in which some of the Queen's Men, then acting at the Red Lion Inn, were involved. The witnesses' versions do not vary in substance, and events can be reconstructed from any of their accounts, for instance that of Edmunde Brown,

..the gate-keper and hee stryvyng, Tarleton came out of the stayge, and would have thrust hym out at the gate, but in the meane tyme one Bentley, he wich played the Duke, came of the stage, and with his hiltes of his sworde he strooke Wynsdon upon the heade, and offered hym another strype, but Tarleton defended yt, whereupon Wynsdon fled out of the gate. 6

Tarlton died on 3 September 1588, and from the knowledge that he made his will, died, and was buried all in one day Halliwell surmises that he died of the plague (Jests, p.xii). However, there is no evidence of there having been plague, or even of precautionary restraints, in the years 1588-91.⁷ After his death a dispute arose concerning his will, and from documents appertaining to this, and from the will itself, several interesting biographical details may be gleaned.⁸ In his will Tarlton leaves everything to his son Phillip, still a minor, and as guardians of this son and administrators of his property

appoints his own widowed mother Katharine, his friend Robert Adams, and his fellow player William Johnson. Robert Adams took charge of the will, which was proved on 6 September 1588.⁹ On 23 October 1588 Katharine Tarlton filed a bill in Chancery against Robert Adams, in which she accuses him of defrauding her and her grandchild. We learn from this that Phillip was six years old. She claims that Tarlton's estate amounted to £700, which he had been persuaded by Adams to convey to himself in trust for Phillip and Katharine Tarlton, and for the payment of debts and legacies to friends. The will having been drawn up, his friends convinced Tarlton that the document put Adams in a position whereby he could defraud the beneficiaries if he chose to do so. Tarlton sent for Adams and asked him to return the will, which he promised to do, but 'absented himselfe afterwarde from the said Richarde Tarlton and never came after unto the said Richarde Tarlton duringe his lyfe'. Adams's failure to return aroused Tarlton's doubts about his honesty, which, together with his approaching death, prompted him to have his wishes concerning the disposal of his property written down, and to sign the ensuing document, intending it to function as his will. Katharine claims that Adams has used the will in his possession to seize Tarlton's goods for his own use.

Robert Adams's answer, in which he denies the charges, was filed on 31 October 1588, from it we learn that Tarlton died at the house of 'one Em. Ball' in Shoreditch, 'a woman of a very bad reputacion'.

The most interesting of the documents involved in this dispute is a letter written by Tarlton himself, on his death-bed,

to Sir Francis Walsingham, begging him to protect the rights of his mother and son. The wording of this letter suggests that Katharine Tarlton was indeed the injured party in the case, and supports her version of events. Tarlton describes Adams as 'a sly fellow ... being more fuller of law then vertew', which shows a change of heart after writing his will, in which he speaks of 'my very lovinge and trustie frendes Robert Adams ...', and says that Adams, seeing that Tarlton was dying, 'provoked' him to make him [Adams] trustee of his property. He also adds that Adams owes him £60. The most interesting biographical fact that appears in the letter is that Tarlton's son is the godson of Sir Philip Sidney, after whom he is named. The letter is signed in three places by Tarlton, and according to Robert Lemon, editor of the State Papers for the relevant period, 'the last time evidently in the agonies of death'.¹⁰ The letter is endorsed '5 September 1588', which presumably is the date on which it was received by Walsingham, as the registers of St Leonard's Shoreditch indicate that Tarlton was buried on 3 September.

After the death of Tarlton numerous references to him appeared in widely varying types of literature. Many of these are of dubious authority, particularly the later ones, and such information must be treated with caution. Many take the form of laments for his death, or of remarks about his clowning; most seem to be by people who never saw him, and certainly could not have known him.

Two conflicting accounts of Tarlton's early life exist. Thomas Fuller, writing in the second half of the seventeenth-century, claims that he was born in Condover in Shropshire,

and was found keeping swine by a servant of the Earl of Leicester, who was amused by him, and took him to Court where he became Queen Elizabeth's jester.¹¹ On the other hand Robert Wilson, in 1590, says that '.. when he was yoong he was leaning to the trade that my wife useth nowe, and I have used, vide lice shirt, water-bearing'.¹² Either, or even both, of these tales could be true. However, the likelihood of the second being correct must be strengthened by the fact that it was told very shortly after Tarlton's death, while there were still acquaintances who could contradict false tales, and also by the fact that Robert Wilson knew Tarlton well, both of them being with the Queen's Men, and the two frequently being associated as clowns.

The most important work concerning Tarlton is probably Tarlton's Jests, the earliest extant edition of which is 1613, but which was first published earlier. It ran to several editions, appearing as late as 1638. The book is in three parts, Tarlton's Court-Witty Jests, Tarlton's Sound City Jests, and Tarlton's Pretty Countrey Jests, the second of which was entered in the Stationers' Register on 4 August 1600.¹³ The Jests provides some details about Tarlton's life and work as an actor, and gives some indication of his personality and appearance. It must be remembered, however, that the very nature of jest biography renders the genre unreliable as a source of fact, being ephemeral collections of tales which show a tendency to reproduce variations on a small core of basic material, changing only the relevant names and places, for instance, a tale told of Tarlton in Ashmolean MS. 38, 187, is also told of Hobson in Hobsons Jests, 1607. It is indicative

of Tarlton's reputation and popularity that Tarlton's Jests had a longer life than is normal for a jest biography.

According to Tarlton's Jests Tarlton lived at the Saba tavern in Gracious [Gracechurch] Street at one time, and whilst there was appointed scavenger to the ward ('How fiddlers fiddled away Tarlton's apparell', p.15; 'How Tarlton committed a raker's horse to ward', p.21). He owned a tavern in Gracious Street and let it, but there is no indication whether this was the Saba ('How Tarlton made Armin his adopted sonne, to succeed him', p.22). He also seems to have kept an ordinary in Paternoster Row ('How Tarlton jested at his wife', p.21; 'A jest of Tarlton, proving mustard to have wit', p.26). The Jests speak of Tarlton's father living at Ilford ('Tarlton's meeting with his countrey acquaintance at Ilford', p.40), and in the administrative bond given by Robert Adams in the prerogative Court of Canterbury, dated 6 September 1588, he is spoken of as 'late of Ilford, in the countie of Essex ...'.¹⁴ Tarlton's Jests makes it clear that he was a Protestant ('Tarlton's resolution of a question', p.6; 'Howe a poore begger-man over-reached Tarlton by his wit', p.34; 'How Tarlton deceived an inne-holder at Sandwich', p.36), an aspect of his life also suggested by Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

Tarlton's face was such that he only had to appear for his audience to roar with laughter. Doubtless he was adept at pulling faces, but his unfortunate physical appearance must have assisted in this. In 'Tarlton's jest of a red face' (p.12), we are told '.. he said little, but with a squint eye, as custome had made him hare eyed ...'. This is confirmed by Robert Armin, who probably knew Tarlton personally,

The Collier sayd, the squint of Tarletons eie,
Was a sure marke that he should never die. 15

He also had a flat nose, and appears to have been sensitive about this peculiarity. In 'Tarlton's answer in defence of his flat nose' (p.28), the only tale in the collection in which the narrator uses the first person, he is asked how he came by this defect, and we are told he was 'mad at this question, as it was his property sooner to take such a matter ill then well'. It is not clear whether he was always irascible, or only so on this particular topic. Tarlton's explanation of his flat nose is as follows,

Friend or foe, if thou wilt needs know,
Marke me well:
With parting dogs and bears, then, by the ears,
This chance fell:
But what of that?
Though my nose be flat,
My credit to save,
Yet very well, I can by the smell,
Scent an honest man from a knave.

A different explanation, that Tarlton lost his nose as a result of mercury poisoning arising from treatment for syphilis, was offered in the nineteenth-century, without any source or explanation, by George Daniel in a rather coy footnote,

It was the scandal of the time, that Tarlton owed not his nasa[1] peculiarity to the Bruins of Paris-garden, but to another encounter that might have had something to do with making his wife Kate the shrew she was. 16

These reported peculiarities of Tarlton's face are confirmed by the pictures of him.

If Tarlton's Jests can be believed, his wife Kate was a shrew, and almost certainly unfaithful to him. On one occasion, told in 'How Tarlton jested at his wife' (p.21), we are told

that she refused to be associated with him in public. On another, 'How Tarlton gave away his dinner' (p.18), she was 'displeased with him, and thinking to crosse him, she gave away halfe his meat [they were dining at the time] unto a poor begger ...'. She seems to have been unfaithful to him according to a jest entitled 'How Tarlton was deceived by his wife in London' (p.17), in which he asks her to answer a question without lying, and for not lying he will give her a gold crown. The question is 'Am I a cuckold or no, Kate?', to which she does not reply, and thereby wins the crown because silence does not constitute a lie. Elsewhere ('Tarlton's answeere to a boy in a rime', p.19) Tarlton is accused of being a cuckold by a boy,

Woe worth thee Tarlton
That ever thou wast borne;
Thy wife hath made thee cuckold
And thou must weare the horne.

Tarlton caps this verse with another one. William Vaughan cites another incident in which Tarlton again answers the accusation with a verse:

What and if she hath? Am I a whit the worse?
She keeps me like a Gentleman with mony in my Purse.¹⁷

It is doubtful whether these jests are at all reliable, they should probably be treated as a convention similar to the 'mother-in-law' jokes popular today.

In spite of his popularity as a clown, both on and off the stage, Tarlton seems to have been quick to anger, and of uncertain temper. Various of the jests demonstrate his annoyance at being made to look a fool, for instance, 'Tarlton deceived by a country wench' (p.38). It would appear that he

disliked anyone else making jokes at his expense, and insisted on being at the centre of attention through his own comic efforts. In 'Tarlton's greeting with Banks his horse' (p.23), for instance, the horse being told to fetch the fool leads Tarlton to his master, 'Tarlton, with merry words, said nothing, but "God a mercy horse". In the end Tarlton, seeing the people laugh so, was angry inwardly ...'. One of the strangest statements about Tarlton, which seems to support a view of his being short tempered, is that of Sir Roger Williams, which contradicts the impression given by most others, 'Our pleasant Tarleton would counterfeite many artes, but he was no bodie out of his mirths'.¹⁸

Although Tarlton is often spoken of as Queen Elizabeth's jester, he seems to have held no official position at Court, and was certainly not employed as a full time professional jester. His only connection with Queen Elizabeth as an employee was as a member of Queen Elizabeth's Men, and as a groom of the Chamber. He performed at Court on numerous occasions independent of the other players, so presumably he was used in the capacity of a freelance jester.

It is usually seventeenth-century writers who, in discussing Tarlton, suggest that he was employed at the Court, and that he had a power with the Queen that is normally associated with a licensed fool of the calibre of Will Summers. Fuller tells how Tarlton was a great favourite with the Queen, and how

her highest Favorites would, in some cases, go to Tarleton before they would go to the Queen, and he was their Usher to prepare their advantagious access unto Her. In a word, He told the Queen more of her faults than most of her Chaplains, and cured her Melancholy better than all of her Physicians.¹⁹

He is referred to once in the Jests as 'the queenes jester' ('Tarlton's jest of a Bristow man', p.30). Bohun probably describes the situation more accurately than Fuller when discussing how Queen Elizabeth entertained herself:

She would then also admit Tarleton, a famous Comedian, and a pleasant Talker, and other such like men, to divert her with Stories of the Town, and the common Jests, or Accidents; but so, that they kept within the bounds of modesty and chastity. 20

In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie Tarlton's ghost describes himself as 'Dick Tarlton that coulde quaint it in the Court, and clowne it on the stage' (sig. B1^V, p.283). This ability to please all strata of society seems to have been one of his characteristics, often being mentioned. In the ballad 'Regard my sorrows, you lasses that love', which is almost certainly a lament for Tarlton, we find his popularity at Court described:

Commended he was, both of great and smale,
where-soever he did abide,
in courte or in cittie, in countrie or towne -
so well himselfe he could guide.

Tyme caused my willie to come to the courte,
and in favour to be with the Queene:
wher oft he made her grace for to smile
when she full sad was seene.

A groome of her chamber my willie was made
to waight upon her grace,
and well he behaved him selfe therin
when he had obtayned^h place.

Regarded he was of gentlemen all
that in the corte did remaine,
and ladies desired his companie oft
because of his plesant vaine.

Lyke argoes my willie had eyes for to see
least any he might offend:
and though that he iested, his iestes they weare such
as unto reason did tend. 21

In his An Apology for Actors (1612) Thomas Heywood describes Tarlton in comparable terms, 'Heere I must needs remember Tarleton, in his time gracious with the Queene his soveraigne, and in the peoples generall applause' (sig. E2^V).

Tarlton's Jests includes Tarlton's Court-Witty Jests, which consists of tales of Tarlton at Court. His position as a freelance entertainer is confirmed by several mentions of him in this role, for instance, 'How Tarlton flowted a lady in the court' (p.6) set at a banquet in Greenwich, Tarlton being there 'of purpose to jest amongst them'. 'How a parsonage fell in Tarlton's hands' (p.6) tells how the Queen was dining at the Lord Treasurer's, and Tarlton was there 'in his clownes apparell, being all dinner while in the presence with her, to make her merry'. There is no indication that Tarlton resided at Court whilst working there (though there is a reference to his being there all night in 'Tarlton's answer to a courtier', p.10), indeed, rather he seems to have been sent home when his services were no longer required, for instance, we read of 'Tarlton, having bin late at court, and comming homewards thorow Fleetstreet' ('How Tarlton deceived the watch in Fleetstreet', p.5), or, 'Tarlton having plaied before the queene till one a clock at midnight, comming homewards, one of them espied him' ('How Tarlton answered the watchmen, comming from the court', p.10).

Tarlton seems to have had some reputation as a writer of ballads, but our knowledge of his works consists, for the most part, of what the Stationers' Register can tell us. Some of the ascriptions of ballads to him are dubious, and it seems likely that his name was used fraudulently to sell works. The

area of his ballad-writing has been further complicated by John Payne Collier's crediting Tarlton with some of his own fabrications. The ballad that seems to be most significant, though it is no longer extant, is Tarltons Toyes (c.1576).²² This is the one most frequently mentioned by other writers. The author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie refers to his work as 'a toy of Tarltons'. In the Epistle to The Terrors of the Night Nashe talks of 'Martin Momus and splaiefooted Zoylus that in the eight and sixt age of Poetrie and first yere of the reigne of Tarltons toies ...'.²³ 'J.M.' tells us that 'the Clowne, the Sloven, and Tom althummes, are as farre unfit for this profession, as Tarletons toyes for Paules Pulpit'.²⁴

The most important piece that can be credited to Tarlton with any degree of certainty is the play The Seven Deadly Sins, of which only the plat of the second part remains.²⁵ The evidence of Tarlton's authorship comes from Harvey and Nashe, and seems to be reliable in that in the course of their argument neither contests the ascription to Tarlton. Harvey's reference to the work is interesting apart from this question of authorship in that it tells of his acquaintance with Tarlton, and provides another glimpse of the clown's personality. The mention of the play occurs in a charge of plagiarism made against Nashe in Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets,

To the high, and mighty Prince of Darkenesse:
 not Dunsically botched-up, but right-formally
 coveied, according to the stile, and tenour
 of Tarletons president, his famous play of
 the seaven Deadly sinnes: which most-dea[d]ly,
 but most lively playe, I might have seene in
 London: and was verie gently invited thereunto
 at Oxford, by Tarleton himselve, of whome I
 merrily demaunding, which of the seaven, was
 his owne deadlie sinne, he bluntly aunswered
 after this manner; By God, the sinne of other

Gentlemen, Lechery. Oh but that, M. Tarleton, is not your part upon the stage, you are too-blame, that dissemble with the world and have one part for your friends pleasure, an other for your owne. I am somewhat of Doctor Pernes religion, quoth he: and abruptlie tooke his leave. (sig. D4)

Nashe replied in Strange Newes of the Intercepting Certaine Letters,

Hang thee, hang thee, thou common coosener of curteous readers, thou grosse shifter for shitten tapsterly iests, have I imitated Tarltons play of the seaven deadly sinnes in my plot of Pierce Penilesse? whom hast thou not imitated then in the course of thy booke?²⁶

In Strange Newes Nashe asks 'Do I talke of any counterfeit birds, or hearbs, or stones, or rake up any new-found poetry from under the wals of Troy?', which McKerrow takes to be an allusion to a lost work of Tarlton's.²⁷

Fleay suggests that Tarlton was the author of The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, a play in which he acted ('An excellent jest of Tarlton suddenly spoken', p.24), but for which there is no evidence of his authorship.²⁸

Bohun seems to refer to a lost play when describing Tarlton performing before Queen Elizabeth,

Tarleton, who was then the best Comedian in England, had made a pleasant Play, and when it was acting before the Queen, he pointed at Sir Walter Rawleigh, and said, See the Knave commands the Queen; for which he was corrected by a Frown from the Queen; yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much, and too intolerable a power; and going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the over-great Power and Riches of the Earl of Leicester.²⁹

Tarlton seems to have been widely known in the literary circles of his day, but the only record of his association with

the pamphleteers is the use of his name in seemingly familiar terms by Harvey and Nashe in their quarrels. Most of their references arise from Harvey's accusing Nashe of copying Tarlton, a charge which Nashe denies with vigour. Apart from the charge of plagiarism, Harvey applies Tarlton's name to Greene and Nashe by way of an insult, coining a new word in doing so:

.. who in London hath not heard of his
dissolute, and licentious living ... his
vaine glorious and Thrasonically bravinge:
his piperly Extemporizing, and Tarletonizing

and,

.. I report me to the favourablest opinion
of those that know his Prefaces, Rimes, and
the very Timpanye of his Tarltonizing wit,
his Supplication to the Divell. 30

Harvey also links Tarlton's name with Greene's, '.. if the worst of them importe not more publike, or private use, then his gayest-flower, that may thanke Greene, and Tarlton for his Garland'.³¹ Nashe preserves this association,

This I will proudly boast (yet am I nothing a kindred to the three brothers) that the vaine which I have (be it a median vaine, or a madde man) is of my owne begetting, and calls no man father in England but my selfe, neyther Euphues, nor Tarlton, nor Greene.

Not Tarlton nor Greene but have beene contented to let my simple iudgement overrule them in some matters of wit. 32

Greene himself, however, has left no acknowledgement of an association with Tarlton.

John Taylor, the Water Poet, includes Tarlton's name in a list of 'such Authors Alphabetically recited as are simply mentioned in this Worke', but does not make further use of the

name. John Singer and Will Summers also appear in the list, which suggests that the names are relevant as clowns rather than writers.³³ Tarlton's name occurs in some of the literature of the Marprelate Controversy. It is used mainly in the anti-Martinist tracts as an insult to Martin's wit, and the use there need not imply any involvement with the pamphleteers of the Controversy.

The greatness of Tarlton lay in his ability as a player, specifically as a clown. He is almost always referred to as a clown, though he may have played other, serious, parts also. It is possible that he originally played the Vice, and graduated to playing the clown as the one developed from the other. This possibility is supported by a reference to him as 'Vice',

Now Tarleton's dead the Consort lackes a vice:
For knave and foole thou maist beare pricke
and price. 34

It has been suggested that Tarlton was a tragic actor as well. This idea seems to have originated in an epigram by John Stradling,

Quo mortuo, spretae silent Comoediae,
Tragoediaeque turbidae. 35

All other evidence, however, contradicts any idea of Tarlton as a tragic actor, so it is possible that Stradling is to be interpreted as generalizing about the grief felt at Tarlton's death.

Tarlton was one of the founder members of Queen Elizabeth's Men, and there are many tales associating him with the Company.³⁶ The Queen's Men were chosen as a company of

players by Sir Francis Walsingham in March 1583, and Tarlton's name is recorded with those of the others in documents of the same year. The popularity of Tarlton may in fact have increased our knowledge of the Company's activities, as so many tales told of him associate the Company with him, and may otherwise have been lost. Tarlton's Jests says that they played at the Bull in Bishopsgate ('Tarlton's Jest of a pippin', p.13; 'An excellent jest of Tarlton suddenly spoken', p.24); at the Curtain ('How fiddlers fiddled away Tarlton's apparell', p.16); and at the Bell ('Tarlton's greeting with Banks his horse', p.23). When attacking Richard Harvey in Strange Newes Nashe mentions Tarlton playing at the Theatre.³⁷ Tarlton's Jests also tells of the Company playing at Worcester ('Tarlton's jest of a gridiron', p.27); at Bristol ('Tarlton's jest of a Bristow man', p.29; 'How Tarlton deceived a country wench', p.33); and at Salisbury ('How Tarlton made one of his company utterly forswear drunkennesse', p.31). Other cities are mentioned in connection with Tarlton, but the jests do not make clear whether he was on his own there or with the Company.

The most famous tale of Tarlton as an actor must be that told in 'An excellent jest of Tarlton suddenly spoken' (p.24). This tells of a performance of 'a play of Henry the fift', in which Tarlton played the clown, Derick. The judge failed to make his entry on time and so Tarlton stepped into his part, which involved receiving a box on the ear from the 'King'. Tarlton then returned in his own part and discussed this blow with the audience.

The Elizabethan clowns seem consciously to have established individual clowning personalities for themselves by the use of

distinctive dress, and by establishing a particular 'line' of comic activity, both in and out of the theatres. For instance, Kemp's name was associated with jigs, thus he was remembered for his shoes. The surviving accounts of Tarlton as a clown are more extensive than for any other clown of the Elizabethan era.

It seems that the clowns exaggerated certain personal features in order to stress their individuality. We have already established that Tarlton squinted, and probably made use of this squint for comic effect, and that he had a flat nose. Fuller tells us that 'Much of his merriment lay in his very looks',³⁸ and Robert Wilson that, 'the finenes was within, for without he was plaine'.³⁹ This points to a conclusion that Tarlton was unfortunately malformed, but used his deformity to his advantage.

Tarlton is always referred to as being dressed in russet, and until comparatively recently this was thought to be the standard dress for a clown, having developed from the russet worn by the country yokel character from whom the clown grew. However, comparison with the costumes of other clowns, and the way in which Tarlton's dress is referred to as a costume, and specified as russet, suggests that this was not the case. The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie speaks of his appearance 'artificially attyred for a Clowne' (sig. B1^v, p.283). Tarlton's Jests says 'Tarlton was in his clownes apparell' ('How a parsonage fell in Tarlton's hands', p.6). After he had stepped into the part of the judge we are told 'Tarlton in his clownes cloathes comes out'. In Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell Tarlton enters 'apparelled like a Clowne'.⁴⁰

The verses describing him which accompany his portrait picture him thus,

When hee in pleasaunt wise
 The counterfet expreste
 Of clowne, with cote of russet hew
 And sturtups with the reste. 41

Tarlton's preference for russet may have been a relic of his wearing it when it was in general use for clowns. He was an early exponent of the art of clowning, and may well have become accustomed to its use and so retained it. As late as 1587 William Rankins writes of 'theyr clownes cladde as well with country condition, as in ruffe russet ...'.⁴²

It is not difficult to reconstruct Tarlton's costume from the descriptions of him. The author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie gives one of the fullest verbal portraits of him,

I saw one attired in russet with a buttond
 cap on his head, a great bagge by his side,
 and a strong bat in his hand. (sig. B1^v, p.283)

In the Prologue to William Percy's The Cuck-queanes and Cuckolds Errants Tarlton's ghost speaks of having 'My Drum, my cap, my Slop, my shoos'.⁴³ Tarlton is firmly associated with the slop, or baggy trousers, still worn by some contemporary clowns. In The Partiall Law a song is described as being 'as old as the beginning of the world, or Tarlton's Trunk-hose'.⁴⁴ Samuel Rowlands criticizes the fashion of the slop, thinking it only appropriate for a clown:

When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine
 With conceites did good opinions gaine
 Upon the stage, his merry humours shop.
 Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish slop

But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches plaies:
 In every streete where any Gallant goes,
 The swagg'ring Sloppe, is Tarltons clownish hose. 45

Sir Thomas Wright gives a more detailed description along the same lines as this,

some times I have seene Tarleton play the
 Clowne, and use no other breeches than such
 sloppes, or slivings, as now many Gentlemen
 weare, they are almost capable of a bushell
 of wheate, and if they bee of sacke-cloth,
 they woulde serve to carrie mawlt to the Mill. 46

A marginal note in The Abortive of an Idle Houre gives some indication of the style of Tarlton's coat. The note reads 'Tarlton cut off all his skirts because none should sit upon them', and accompanies the epigram In Lizam,

Crosse mee not Liza, ne'ther be so perte
 For if thou do'st, I'le sit upon thy skerte.
 Thou know'st I know thy nimble fingers ioynts,
 Then hold thy tongue, and stand not on thy points. 47

In the jest 'How Tarlton made Armin his adopted sonne, to succeed him' (p.22), Tarlton promises that Armin will 'enjoy my clownes sute after me', which has been interpreted as referring to a clown's costume. It seems likely, however, that this refers to the clown's 'sute of jests', which means his distinctive style of clowning, and possibly his repertoire of jokes.

The surviving pictures of Tarlton confirm the verbal descriptions of his appearance. Portraits appear on the title pages of both the 1613 and 1638 editions of Tarlton's Jests. Another is to be found in MS. Harl., 3885, f.19, drawn in an ornamental capital 'T' by John Scottowe and accompanied by explanatory verses. Halliwell tells of another portrait in the Pepysian library, and reports one mentioned in

Sir William Musgrave's Catalogue (1800), adding that this may be a modern engraving from that in the Pepysian collection. Halliwell also tells of the picture of Tarlton as a drummer at the top of a ballad telling of the haunting of a Wiltshire family by the ghost of a drummer. This is probably the same picture as that used in Tarlton's Jests. There is little variation among the versions of the portrait.⁴⁸

Pictures of Tarlton show him with pipe and drum, instruments which were constantly associated with him. His punishment in Purgatory, we are told, was to

sit and play Jigs all day on my Taber to the ghosts without ceasing, which hath brought me into such use, that I now play far better then when I was alive: for prooffe thou shalt heare a hornepipe: with that putting his pipe to his mouth, the first stroake he struck I started ... (sig. H2^v, p.345)

In The Cuck-queanes and Cuckolds Errants Tarlton's ghost speaks the Prologue, but before speaking we are told he 'played a while lowe on his Tabour'. In The Commendation of Cockes, and Cocke-fighting (1607) George Wilson tells of 'a Cocke called Tarleton (who was so intituled, because he alwayes came to the fight like a Drummer, making a thundering noyse with his winges)' (sig. D4).

Henry Chettle summarizes some of Tarlton's characteristics in a passage strongly reminiscent of the description found in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie:

The next, by his sute of russet, his buttond cap, his taber, his standing on the toe, and other tricks, I knew to be either the body or resemblaunce of Tarlton, who living for his pleasant conceits was of all men liked, and dying, for mirth left not his like.⁴⁹

If the jest 'How Tarlton's dogge lickt up six-pence' (p.42) can be believed, Tarlton had a trained dog whom he used as his partner in clowning. The jest tells that,

Tarlton in his travaile had a dogge of fine qualities; amongst the rest, he would carry sixpence in the end of his tongue, of which he would brag often, and say Never was the like.

I have found no other mention of this animal however.

One of Tarlton's most popular tricks, though one may wonder whether it was popular among his colleagues, was to poke his head round the curtain during the course of a performance. Nashe tells how 'the people began exceedingly to laugh when Tarlton first peept out his head'.⁵⁰ Henry Peacham describes the audience's reaction to Tarlton's appearing thus,

As Tarlton when his head was onely seene,
The Tire-house doore and Tapistrie betweene,
Set all the mulltitude in such a laughter,
They could not hold for scarce an houre after.⁵¹

Sir Richard Baker stresses that Tarlton's appearance provoked instant laughter without him needing to speak, 'I dare affirm he shall never give that contentment to Beholders, as honest Tarlton did, though he said never a word'.⁵² Tarlton's Jests shows how eagerly Tarlton's entry was anticipated, for instance in 'How Tarlton and one in the gallery fell out' (p.14),

It chanced that in the midst of a play,
after long expectation for Tarlton, being
much desired of the people, at length hee
came forth ..

The chief technique of entertaining associated with Tarlton is that of extemporizing on themes given to him from

the audience, indeed, in coining the word 'Tarltonize' Harvey combines it with 'extemporize'. The jests give ample evidence of this practice, for instance,

While the queenes players lay in Worcester city to get money, it was his custome for to sing extempore of theames given him.

('Tarlton's jest of a gridiron', p.27)

and,

I remember I was once at a play in the country, where, as Tarlton's use was, the play being done, every one so pleased to throw up his theame.

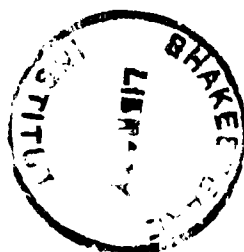
('Tarlton's answer in defence of his flat nose', p.28)

One of the more interesting pieces of evidence of this practice is the jest 'How Tarlton made Armin his adopted sonne, to succeed him' (p.22). This tells how Armin, apprentice to a goldsmith, came to collect a debt owed to his master. The debtor being absent he composed a verse which he wrote on a wainscot. Tarlton came in, saw the verse, and capped it with,

A wagge thou art, none can prevent thee;
And thy desert shall content thee.
Let me divine. As I am,
So in time thou'lt be the same,
My adopted sonne therefore be,
To enjoy my clownes sute after me.

1600 finds Robert Armin acting with the Chamberlain's Men and publishing the themes given to him by his audience, together with his extemporary answers, as Quips upon Questions (however, some of Armin's verses are literary rather than theatrical in origin).

Tarlton's popularity is demonstrated by the wealth of references to him which appeared after his death. These range



from passing remarks to elegies, in both English and Latin, and from anecdotes to historical comparisons. Nostalgic remarks about him are to be found even late in the seventeenth-century. As late as 1798 Ellis tells us that his portrait, with pipe and tabor, served as an inn-sign in Shoreditch.⁵³

Two hundred years earlier, in 1598, R. Haydocke complains that,

.. for Signes at Innes and Ale-houses (the toleration wherof I have ever wondered at) putting no difference betweene the renowned Scepter of K: Henry the 8. and Tarletons pipe.⁵⁴

Immediately following Tarlton's death four ballads, the titles of which allude to his death, appeared in the Stationers' Register, namely,

Tarltons farewell (23 September 1588)

A sorowfull newe sonnette, Intituled Tarltons Recantacon uppon this theame gyven him by a gentleman at the Bel savage without Ludgate (nowe or ells never) beinge the laste theame he sange (2 August 1589)

Tarltons repentance of his farewell to his frendes in his sicknes a little before his deathe (16 October 1589)

A pleasant Dyttye Dialogue wise betwene Tarltons ghost and Robyn Good Fellowe (20 August 1590).⁵⁵

None of these is extant, and it seems unlikely, particularly in view of his apparently sudden death, that Tarlton had any part in any of them. The last is of particular interest in the light of the connection between Tarlton and Robin Goodfellow shown in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie. Its entry in the Stationers' Register is later than that of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, and it may have been influenced by the earlier piece.

The ballad mentioned earlier, 'Regard my sorrows, you lasses that love', which seems to mourn the death of Tarlton as 'Willie', adds weight to the theory that Tarlton is the 'pleasant Willy' of Spenser's The Teares of the Muses. In this 'Willy' is thus described,

All these, and all that els the Comick Stage
 With seasoned wit and goodly pleasance graced;
 By which mans life in his likest image
 Was limned forth, are wholly now defaced;
 And those sweete wits which wont the like to frame,
 Are now despized, and made a laughing game.

And he the man, whom Nature selfe had made
 To mock her selfe, and Truth to imitate,
 With kindly counter under Mimick shade,
 Our pleasant Willy, ah is dead of late:
 With whom all joy and jolly meriment
 Is also deaded, and in dolour drent. 56

There has been much argument about the identity of 'Willy', the four principal names suggested being Shakespeare, Sidney, Lyly and Tarlton. One of the chief arguments in favour of Tarlton is a marginal note, written in an early seventeenth-century hand, found by Halliwell-Phillipps in a copy of the 1611 folio of Spenser, 'Tarlton died an. 1588'. The argument is supported by the existence of the ballad mentioned above, and also by music called 'Tarltons Willy' found in a Cambridge University Library manuscript, Dd. IV. 23, fol.25.⁵⁷ Tarlton has also been identified with Yorick, the dead jester whom Hamlet laments, though this theory is now waning in popularity.

There are remarkably few hostile comments about Tarlton. His name is sometimes included in general attacks upon the Elizabethan theatre, usually by late seventeenth-century writers, otherwise there is really only one abusive account of him, in The First Part of The Return from Parnassus:

Ingenioso: O fustie worlde, were there anie
comendable passage to Styx and Acharon, I
would goe live with Tarleton, and never
more bless this dull age with a good line.
Why, what an unmanerlie microcosme was this
swine faced clowne? But that the Vassall
is not capable of any infamie, I would
bepainte him; but a vene goose quill scornes
such a base subject ... 58

This need not necessarily be interpreted as a personal attack on Tarlton in that The Parnassus Plays attack clowns generally. It is interesting to find a reference to Tarlton being in an underworld.

Twenty-nine years after his death Tarlton received high praise from John Davies of Hereford, a poet with some claim to a knowledge of clowns:

Here within this sullen Earth
Lies Dick Tarlton, Lord of mirth;
Who in his Grave still, laughing gapes
Syth all Clownes since have beene his Apes:
Earst he of Clownes to learne still sought;
But now they learne of him they taught
By Art far past the Principall;
The Counterfet is, so, worth all. 59

The most poignant laments for Tarlton are those of people who are known to have been acquainted with him. Robert Wilson was his colleague and fellow clown, and laments him in his play The Three Lordes and three Ladies of London (1590):

Wit I dwelt with him.

Simplicity Didst thou? now give me thy hand,
I love thee the better.

Wil And I too sometime.

Simplicity you child, did you dwel with
him sometime? wit dwelt with him indeed,
as appeared by his rime, And served him
well, and wil was with him now and then,
but soft, thy name is wealth, I think in
earnest he was litle acquainted with thee

O it was a fine fellow as ere was borne,
 there will never come his like while the
 earth can corne: O passing fine Tarlton
 I would thou hadst lived yet. (sig. C1^v)

There is a note of personal sorrow here which is lacking in the more conventional elegies. One feels that for a moment Wilson himself speaks in the person of Simplicity, and the difference in tone between this passage and the rest of the play is palpable.

Robert Armin published his epitaph for Tarlton twelve years after the clown's death, though this time-lapse does not diminish its sincerity. One of the pieces in Quips upon Questions is a play on the question Wher's Tarleton? In this Armin relates an incident in which a countryman, refusing to believe that Tarlton is dead, is satisfied that he lives by seeing his picture in a play, in fact presumably in The Three Lordes and three Ladies of London in which Tarlton's portrait is used. Armin's style is somewhat tortuous, an inevitable feature of the nature of the book, but his meaning is clear. His memorial for his 'master' shows more thought than those which just lament the passing of Tarlton and extol his skill, such references in fact constitute the 'living Tarlton' the survival of whom Armin discusses:

So with thy selfe it seemes, that knowes he's dead,
 And yet desires to know where Tarleton is:
 I say he lives, yet you say no: your head
 Will never thinke, ne yet beleeeve halfe this.
 Go too, hee's gone, and in his bodyes stead,
 His name will live long after he is dead.

So, with the Collier I must thinke he lives,
 When but his name remaines in memorie:
 What credite can I yeelde to such repreeves,
 When at the most tis but uncertaintie.
 Now am I a foole indeed? so let that passe,
 Before I goe, Ile quit thee with the asse.

What, is his name Letters, and no more?
 Can Letters live, that breathe not, nor have life?
 No, no, his Fame lives, who hath layde in store
 His actes and deedes: therefore conclude this strife,
 Else all that heare us strive and breed this mutenie,
 Will bid us keepe the Collier foole for company.

Well, to resolve this question, yet say I,
 That Tarletons name is heare, though he be gone.
 You say not, Whers his Body that did die?
 But, Where is Tarleton? Whers his name alone?
 His Name is heere: tis true, I credite it.
 His Body's dead, few Clownes will have his wit.
(sigs. D4-E1)

The dreamer narrator of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, who claims to have known him, summarizes the general reaction to Tarlton's death, including his own. His grief sounds genuine, but as the writer may be hiding behind an assumed persona it is impossible to judge whether or not he knew the clown from this reaction to his death:

Sorrowing as most men doe for the death of Richard Tarlton, in that his particular losse was a generall lament to all that coveted, either to satisfie their eies with his Clownish gesture, or their eares with his witty iests. The wonted desire to see plaies left me, in that although I sawe as rare showes, and heard as lofty verse, yet I inioyed not those wonted sports that flowed from him as from a fountain, of pleasing and merry conceits hee had such a prompt witte, that he seemed to have that Salem ingenii, which Tullie so highly commends in his Orator. Well, howsoever either naturall, or artificiall, or both, he was a mad merry companion, desired and loved of all: amongst the rest of whose welwishers my selfe being not the least, after his death I mourned in conceit, and absented my selfe from all plaies, as wanting that merry Roscius of Plaiers, that famozed all Comedies so with his pleasant and extemporall invention. (sig. B1, p.282)

It is difficult to reach through the references to Tarlton to seek his personality. The position of a famous clown is such that he does not move out of his assumed character

when he leaves the stage, and does not shed his everyday life, when he is on stage. This perpetual 'image' serves to mask the character beneath it. Clowns do tend to create long-lasting legends, for instance, a more recent example is that of Jo Grimaldi, but that of Tarlton seems to have remained alive and increasing for longer than is normally the case. The strength of the legend is our only real clue to the personality of the clown, and the clown is inseparable from the man.

Footnotes

- 1 E. Arber, editor, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London 1554-1640, 5 vols (London, 1875-77, Birmingham 1894, reprinted New York, 1950), i, 440.
- 2 Arber, ii, 306; ii, 323; ii, 346.
- 3 Gabriel Harvey, The Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey A.D. 1573-1580, edited by E.J.L. Scott, Camden Society Publications, new series, vol. 33 (London, 1884, reprinted 1965), p.67.
- 4 MS. Sloane, 2530, f.6-7, quoted by Halliwell in Tarlton's Jests and News Out of Purgatory: with Notes, and Some Account of the Life of Tarlton, edited by James Orchard Halliwell, printed for the Shakespeare Society (London, 1844), pp.xi-xii.
Further references to the Jests in the text are to this edition.
- 5 E.K. Chambers, 'Two Early Player-Lists', in The Malone Society Collections, 8 vols (London, 1911), i, parts iv and v, 354-5.
- 6 J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare, Part the First, [no further part published] (London, 1874, reprinted New York, 1973), p.119.
- 7 E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923), iv, 347.
- 8 Preserved in the registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, reproduced by Halliwell in Tarlton's Jests, pp.xiii-xv.
- 9 The following papers are reproduced by Halliwell in Papers respecting Disputes which arose from Incidents at the Death-bed of Richard Tarlton, the Actor, edited by J.O. Halliwell (London, 1866).
- 10 Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, edited by Robert Lemon, vol. ccxv (London, 1865), p.541.
- 11 Thomas Fuller, History of the Worthies of England, 1662, A new edition with a few explanatory notes by J. Nichols, 2 vols (London, 1811), ii, 311.
- 12 R[obert] W[ilson], The pleasant and Stately Morall of the three Lordes and three Ladies of London (London, 1590), sig. C1v.
- 13 Arber, iii, 168.

- 14 Quoted by Halliwell in his Preface to Papers respecting Disputes which arose from Incidents at the Death-bed of Richard Tarlton.
- 15 [Robert Armin], Quips upon Questions (London, 1600), sig. D4v.
- 16 George Daniel, Merrie England in the Olden Time (London, 1842), p.400 n3.
- 17 [William Vaughan], The Golden Fleece, Divided into three Parts (London, 1626), ii, 60.
- 18 Sir Roger Williams, A Briefe discourse of Warre (London, 1590), sig. A4.
- 19 Thomas Fuller, Worthies, ii, 312.
- 20 Edmund Bohun, The Character of Queen Elizabeth (London, 1693), p.352.
- 21 The Shirburn Ballads 1585-1616, edited by Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1907), appendix vii, 351-53, stanzas 3, 8-11. Arber, ii, 501.
- 22 Arber, ii, 306.
- 23 The Works of Thomas Nashe, edited by R.B. McKerrow, second edition, revised by F.P. Wilson, 5 vols (Oxford, 1958), i, 343.
- 24 J[ervis] M[arkham], A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen (London, 1598), sig. B3.
- 25 Reprinted by Halliwell in Tarlton's Jests, p.xxxv.
- 26 Nashe, Works, i, 304.
- 27 Nashe, Works, iv, 189.
- 28 B.C. Fleay, A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642, 2 vols (London, 1891), ii, 259.
- 29 Bohun, The Character of Queen Elizabeth, p.353.
- 30 Gabriel Harvey, Foure letters, and certaine sonnets (London, 1592), sigs. B2 and E2v.
- 31 Harvey, Foure letters, sig. E3.
- 32 Nashe, Works, i, 319.
- 33 John Taylor, the Water Poet, Sir Gregory Nonsense His Newes from no place (London, 1622), sig. A5.
- 34 A Whip for an Ape or Martin displased [later called Rythmes against Martin Marre-Prelate] (London, 1589).

- 35 John Stradling, Epigrammatum Libri Quatuor (London, 1607), sig. A8.
- 36 The Elizabethan Stage, ii, 104-16.
- 37 Nashe, Works, i, 311.
- 38 Thomas Fuller, Worthies, ii, 312.
- 39 R[obert] W[ilson], The Three Lordes and three Ladies of London, sig. C1v.
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News from Hell

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie takes its place as part of a literary genre dealing with visits to another world, and news from another world. Whilst conforming in part to the conventions of the genre, it includes features which seem to be unique. It follows a tradition of vision literature which flourished in England and on the continent during the Middle Ages, and seems to have influenced the rather sudden growth in popularity of news and ghostly visitants from Hell, usually used as a medium for satire, which appeared in the 1590s and developed in the seventeenth-century.

In this chapter I shall discuss several aspects of the genre of otherworldly literature, and try to relate Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie to its background. First a summary of the classical background and the major medieval examples of vision literature is necessary to define the basic characteristics of the form. Where possible I shall indicate features which may have some bearing on Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, such as a stress on Purgatory as opposed to Hell, or details of particular punishments. Next I shall describe briefly the situation in the sixteenth-century, after the decline of the medieval works, including some account of burlesques on the subject. Then I shall consider details of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie itself, relating them to the literary background when possible. Finally, I shall look at the works which came after Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and may have been influenced by it, together with the strain of satirical 'news from Hell' which developed alongside.

Accounts of visits to the underworld appeared early in Western literature. The earliest is perhaps that of Odysseus in Book IV of The Odyssey. In this version of a visit there is no division between the 'good' and the 'bad' in Hades. The Greek does not distinguish between soul and body in the way that later, Christian, writings do, but rather between 'living body' and 'shadow of body'. Teiresias explains that the ghosts have to drink blood to be able to communicate with Odysseus, and Anticleia, his mother, explains that the ghosts are but shades and cannot be touched.

M.A. Dods tells of a lost account of a descent into Hades by Pythagoras, which includes a tantalizing mention of poets in torment, reminding one of the classical poets in Tarlton's Purgatory:

Pythagoras relates how he saw both poets
[Homer and Hesiod] undergoing torment in
Hades for their misrepresentations of the
Olympic character. 1

The story of Er in Book X of Plato's The Republic shows a surprisingly detailed development of the idea of Purgatory in a pre-Christian work. The word 'Hell' (i.e. 'Tartarus') is used for the first time to distinguish a place different from the 'Purgatory' in which the unjust souls fulfil their thousand years purgation. 'Hell' is a place of endless torment set aside for those beyond redemption. After the process of purgation the souls are reincarnated. According to Dods, 'it is the first time in the history of literature that any such legend has been definitely enlisted in the service of righteousness'.²

In Book VI of De Republica Cicero describes the dream of

Scipio Africanus the Younger, Macrobius's commentary on which is one of the most important influences on the dream vision genre. Scipio converses with the original Scipio Africanus (his adoptive grandfather) and with his father, Paulus, and experiences no problems in communicating with these ghosts. He is able to look back upon earth as though in a vision.

The most important visit to Hades in classical literature is that of Aeneas in Aeneid VI. The topography of Virgil's Hades is complex and more detailed than the accounts which precede it. He divides Hades into three main regions, Limbo, Tartarus and the Elysian Fields. Aeneas's guide is the Sibyl of Cumae, who explains to him the spectacles he sees. At the entrance to Hades lurk allegorical figures such as Grief, Anxiety, Fear and Indigence, together with the shadowy likenesses of the various monsters of the classical world. Opinions differ as to whether Virgil meant to depict a single river of death, changing name in different regions, or separate rivers; whatever the case Phlegethon is clearly defined as a separate river of flame surrounding Tartarus.

Limbo is divided into five regions, inhabited by babies, crying for their loss of life; those who were killed by false accusation, presided over by Minos; suicides, who mourn their lost life; those who died for love, who dwell in the vale of mourning, where Aeneas encounters Dido; and heroes who died in war, there being no distinction between good and evil warriors.

No righteous soul may enter Tartarus, but the Sibyl has been shown inside by Hecate, and so is able to describe it to Aeneas, much as Dante's Virgil's previous journey through Inferno enables him to explain it to Dante. Tartarus is

guarded by Tisiphone and ruled over by Rhadamanthus. The Sibyl describes the punishments of the Titans, Salmoneus, Tityos, Ixion, the Lapithae, Pirithous, Theseus and Phlegyas. Aeneas finally achieves the object of his journey and reaches the abode of the blessed, the Elysian Fields. Here he sees the process of metempsychosis as souls are cleansed and sent back into the world. Throughout the journey Aeneas is able to stop and talk with various ghosts whom he knew when alive. In his prayer to be allowed to enter Hades he names mortal predecessors who have done so, Orpheus, Pollux, Theseus and Hercules.

Virgil describes another journey to Hades, that of Orpheus, in his Georgics, Book IV. Also, his Culex, if indeed it is his work, includes a description of Hades by a gnat. The work is mentioned in the Epistle to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

There is a brief account of a visit to Hades by Juno in Book IV of Ovid's Metamorphoses, which enumerates the better known inmates, such as Tantalus, Ixion and Sisyphus.

The vision of Thespesius in Plutarch's The Delays of Divine Vengeance, in his Moralia, includes details which follow the idea of Purgatory closely. In this there is no mention of a Heaven. The souls of the dead look like bubbles, and are spotted and marked by sin. Punishments are presided over by Adrastia and her three subordinates. Lightly spotted souls, those who suffered for their sins whilst alive, go to Poene, or Punishment; the more heavily spotted go to Dike, or Retribution; and the incurable sinners go to the Erinnys and are hurled into the pit. The stains of sin eventually

disappear after the purgation of the souls. It is interesting to see that hypocrites are punished more severely than those who suffered for their sins whilst on earth.

Lucian is probably the most famous exploiter of the genre of the journey to the dead for the purposes of satire and burlesque, his work will be discussed later. There is a classical burlesque of the journey to Hades in Aristophanes's The Frogs, which involves a visit to 'revive' the spirit of Euripides.

It is important to remember that the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is writing about Purgatory, and the practice of redeeming souls by ordering masses for them and by offering prayers, rather than about the torments of Hell. The history of the doctrine of Purgatory is a long and involved one, and requires more space than can be given to it here. Some of the medieval visions specify that the vision is of Purgatory, but most include Hell and Purgatory, the two being scarcely distinguishable in details, but with the major difference that there is no possibility of release from Hell. The most important work on Purgatory with regard to vision literature is the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, in which he adduced visions in support of the doctrine of Purgatory. As far as England is concerned, according to Becker,

In particular, Bede was the first to promulgate a definite doctrine on purgatory on English soil. In short, he was for England much what Gregory the Great had been for continental Europe. 3

Later Becker expands this point,

We have already seen that Bede gave expression to a clearly-defined doctrine of purgatory, as an abode for moderately sinful souls in which they would be cleansed by fire of their evil deeds, preparatory to entering upon eternal bliss; this as distinguished from hell, the abode of the eternally damned. On the continent, Gregory I is generally conceded to have been the first definitely to formulate the doctrine, which, in that peculiar form, is a purely Christian product. 4

The doctrine is based on various scriptural passages, in particular, 2 Maccabees XII. 43-46; Matthew XII. 32; 1 Corinthians, III. 11-15; 1 Corinthians XV. 29; and Psalms XXXVIII. 1 and LXV. 12. It is supported among the Latins by Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose and, most importantly, Augustine; and among the Greeks by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius and Athanasius.

There is little evidence of the doctrine in the work of the early English homilists. According to A.B. van Os,

A distinction between hell and purgatory, in previous non-visionary writings only hinted at (everlasting duration of torments in hell) is for the first time explicitly stated in this work [The Ayenbite of Inwyrt 1340, translated from the original of 1279]. 5

He proceeds to point out that a sharp distinction between the pains of Purgatory and of Hell is made by Richard Rolle in The Pricke of Conscience (1340).

During the Middle Ages European literature teemed with visions, dreams and ghostly visitations. D.D.R. Owen makes the point that,

Hell might almost be said to have been fashioned in the course of the Middle Ages by the hands of the people who claimed to have visited it. 6

After the Middle Ages the subject was approached with mysticism, the stress having shifted from the physical details to the more spiritual aspects of the subject. The fascination and popularity of the matter was diminished by the Renaissance, and the dawn of enlightenment, and also by the spread of the teaching of the Reformation. The medieval movement reached a climax in its traditional form with Dante,

The story of the torments of hell and of purgatory, and of the joys of heaven, found its highest and practically its final literary expression in the Divina Commedia of Dante. 7

Several comprehensive collections of visions existed, proving the popularity of the subject in the Middle Ages. Dods cites Lenglet Dufresnoy's Recueil de Dissertations sur les Apparitions, les Visions et les Songes (4 vols, Avignon, 1751), which refers the reader to no less than four hundred authors who have written about a future state. He also mentions contemporary medieval collections, such as Liber Visionum tum suarum, tum aliorum Othloni Monachi Sanctemmerammensis Ordinis Sancti Benedicti; Jacobus Faber's Liber trium Virorum et trium Spiritualium Virginum (Paris, 1513); and Joannes Herolt's Discipuli Promptuarium Exemplorum.⁸

D.D.R. Owen describes a work which might well have influenced the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie could he have known it. This is Regnauld le Queux's Baratre infernal (Paris B.N., MS. fr.450), a volume of infernal lore compiled in 1480.⁹ The writer knew Dante's work, and may have been inspired by it. His aims are threefold, scholarly, pious and literary. The first book concentrates on non-Christian

testimonies of the nature of Hell and its inhabitants, and is constructed around a free account of Aeneid VI, with a Dantesque architectural plan superimposed. The second book is subdivided internally. It discusses Hell and its inmates as described on the testimony of the scriptures and various Christian writers, still including classical references; and aims to prove the real existence of places by describing visions and descents by humans. Le Queux lists sixty-two authorities and sources, plus fifty Christian writers and ten biblical and apocryphal books.

The vision was a popular topic throughout Europe, but opinions about its importance in England seem to differ. D.D.R. Owen says that,

England was especially rich in this branch of literature; and as well as adaptations of foreign material, a number of native visions were contributed

and,

In the Middle Ages the English, whether of Anglo-Saxon or Norman French stock, showed particular interest in visions of the Otherworld So the legends of Hell that were composed in Latin soon found their way into one or both vernaculars, the native English tongue or the socially more respectable Anglo-Norman. 10

Dods, on the other hand, in commenting on the Vision of Furseus, remarks that,

The extreme simplicity of the tale is remarkable, and seems to argue that Britain was rather behind the Continent in the development of its ideas upon things infernal. 11

Some of the most complex and best known examples of visions are English or Irish in origin, including those of Furseus,

Drythelm, the knight Owain [Saint Patrick's Purgatory], Tundale, the Monk of Eynsham, and Thurcill. The last four in particular were well known on the continent.

It is impossible even to mention all the visions popular in the Middle Ages, let alone describe them. I shall confine discussion to those that are best known and have exerted the greatest influence on other writers, and to those with any special bearing on the subject of Purgatory. First it is necessary to note certain features of the development of vision literature. One important stage is thus described by A.B. van Os,

In the 10th century there is what Charles Labitte calls: 'une halte des legendaires'. There is a general belief in the coming destruction of the world, with the establishment of the millennium In the 11th century, when the fear of the threatening disaster is over, visions appear again The monastic tales prior to that century are poor in material and inartistic in treatment, the scenes trivial and course. Later on, however, fresh tales appear, revealing a more fertile imagination and greater refinement on the part of the authors. 12

In the visions the descriptions of the joys of Heaven became overpowered by those of the torments of Hell until accounts appeared in which there was no mention of Heaven at all. As visions grew in popularity they became more consciously elaborate; by the twelfth-century they have gathered and incorporated the significant details of previous works, and inevitably increased in scope and length. The later medieval visions continue the device used by Virgil of the visionary talking to some dead friend or relative. In the late visions the pains of Hell, originally described as nine or eleven,

become seven, often specifically associated with the seven deadly sins, at the same time, however, there is an increasing carelessness about matching punishments and crimes.

The Vision of Wettin is notable for being particularly anti-clerical in an age which tended to strike at the clergy through the medium of visions.¹³ The vision dates from c.824, and is in two parts, in the second of which an angel appears and leads Wettin to Purgatory. The first section of Purgatory consists of profligate priests and their companions in sin. Wettin next sees a region inhabited by monks, including one imprisoned in a leaden chest as punishment for a money fraud, which he committed in spite of being warned in a vision. On the top of a mountain he sees an abbot who died ten years before; on another part of the mountain he sees a bishop, lately dead, who neglected to pray for the abbot's soul, though asked to do so in a similar vision. He also sees the Roman Emperor Charles the Great.

A Revelation of Purgatory is interesting in that the title specifically refers to Purgatory, not troubling to name the visionary, as is more usual. The vision is found in three fifteenth-century manuscripts, and tells of sights seen by a holy woman on three nights, beginning on St Lawrence's Day 1422.¹⁴

The following visions are probably the best known of the medieval period, and also the most readily available. The Vision of Furseus is about the earliest English vision we possess, dating from c.633.¹⁵ The tale is very simple, and, as van Os points out, 'there is no purgatory, only Heaven and hell',¹⁶ however there are indications of the existence of

purgatorial fire. During the vision devils throw a burning soul at Furseus, which is the soul of a sinner from whom he had received a cloak, thereby being tainted by his sin. He is marked for the rest of his life by the burn that he receives. Van Os claims that this is the first occurrence of some sort of mark being carried as proof of the truth of a vision.¹⁷

The next important vision, described by Bede, is that of Drythelm, which took place in c.696.¹⁸ Becker feels that it may,

be considered the bond which linked perhaps more than any other single work, with the possible exception of St Paul's Vision, the continental stories with those of England. It is, furthermore, particularly interesting, in that it makes specific mention of purgatory as a place of probation, as distinguished from hell, whence there is no release. Nowhere else throughout Anglo-Saxon literature, outside of Bede, is this doctrine advanced. 19

The vision is certainly more advanced than that of Furseus, though not fully developed. Drythelm sees four abodes of the dead, Purgatory, Hell, a state 'just less than perfect', which can be designated Paradise, and Heaven. He is told that the state of punishment that he sees is not Hell, which implies that it is Purgatory, Furseus saw only one place of punishment for all sinners. Drythelm does not categorize the sinners' souls beyond placing them in Purgatory or in Hell. His guide is a 'shining figure', of the type to appear regularly in subsequent visions. The belief that prayer, alms, fasting and masses for the dead undertaken by living persons will deliver souls from Purgatory appears here, and is to recur in almost every later vision.

The Vision of St Paul was perhaps the most influential

single work in the shaping of later visions. It is inspired by 2 Corinthians XII. 1-5, and expanded with material from various early apocalypses, particularly that of St Peter.

According to D.D.R. Owen,

it was responsible more than any other single work for fixing the horrific detail of Hell in the medieval eye.

He also claims that,

Moreover it was above all through the Vision of St Paul that the theme of a mortal being privileged to visit the Christian Underworld and to return with news of what he has seen was popularised in western literature. 20

The work is sometimes known as 'The Eleven Pains of Hell'.

Dante mentions St Paul's Vision in his Inferno.²¹

The original version of the vision is a fourth-century Greek Apocalypse of St Paul, which was translated into Latin early in its life. It still retains classical elements, such as the traditional torment of Tantalus, and the process of metempsychosis. It did not assume the form of a vision until the twelfth-century, according to van Os, though Becker cites it as such in the ninth-century.²² Versions of the vision are to be found in the literature of most European countries; there are six in Middle English, four in verse and two in prose.²³ St Paul visits Hell in the company of St Michael, and views its torments. The torments are typical of those found in most medieval visions, consisting for the most part of exposure to extreme heat or cold, plaguing by reptiles and being tormented by devils. A feature of this vision, which it shares with those of Alberic and the knight Owain, is particular parts of the body being tormented according to the nature of the crime, for

instance, blasphemers are hung up by the tongue. Nearly all the torments are supposed to belong to Purgatory. As usual the physical differences between Hell and Purgatory are not clearly defined. In St Paul's Vision the damned souls call upon Paul and Michael to intercede on their behalf. The saints pray for them, and in answer to their prayer Christ grants that the souls shall rest each week from noon on Saturday to the second hour of Monday.

M.A. Dods claims that the Vision of Alberic is,

a palpable conglomeration of the ideas of its predecessors, something altered here and added there, but it is worth close attention, for the reason that it is, in its Purgatory, more complete than any other vision here recorded. 24

Written in Latin early in the twelfth-century, it is certainly very detailed in its description of Purgatory, which it divides into regions. Alberic is escorted by St Peter and two angels, Emmanuel and Helos. The first region reached contains the souls of infants up to one year old. We are told that 'the pains of Purgatory run parallel with the age of man', and that 'not even an infant of a day dies sinless'. The next region punishes the unchaste and adulterous. Homicides, murderers and tyrants occupy the following area, constantly testified against by their victims. In a vessel of molten metal lie those who connived at, or ignored, the wickedness of priests. The pains of Purgatory are governed by two evil spirits appearing in fiery form like a dog and a lion. The next section holds Hell and the mouth of the infernal pit. There follows an iron bridge crossing a river of pitch which flows from Hell. The bridge narrows towards the middle until the soul crossing falls

into the pitch, where it is purged until it is fit to make the crossing. Alberic is also shown a thorny plain, guarded by a devil riding a dragon, over which souls must pass, their burden of sin lightening as they travel. Eventually all souls (except those in Hell) reach a pleasant plain where they rest till Judgement-day. During his vision Alberic is made to suffer several torments in Purgatory, a feature which frequently recurs in the later visions. In Purgatorio Dante joins the souls in undergoing the punishments assigned for the sins of pride, wrath and lust.

The Vision of Tundale is perhaps the most elaborate vision in Middle English literature. It was written around 1149 by a Friar Marcus at Ratisbon, at the request of the abbess Gisela. It was written in Latin, translated into French, Spanish, Italian, English, German, Swedish, Icelandic, Irish and Dutch, and was printed in 1473.²⁵ There is an English version extant which is written in short couplets.²⁶ It differs from previous visions in describing a wider variety of torments, and providing a richer than usual description of Paradise and Heaven. It includes features which are new to English visions, as well as the traditional ones, for instance, Tundale is the first British visionary to undergo the torments of Purgatory (except for the scorching of Furseus). Tundale often asks his guide, his guardian angel, to explain features and to interpret the scriptures. This gives rise to a homily on Purgatory in the middle of the vision. The narrator not only distinguishes the basic four regions of the dead, but adds regions for the indifferently good, for those 'who have lived honest lives and are saved, but yet have to expiate a want of charity',²⁷ who

suffer hunger and thirst, but will be saved.

The author follows the continental practice of including elements of contemporary history, and consigning souls to either Hell or Paradise by way of political comment, the most vivid example of which is Dante, but there are earlier cases, for instance in the Vision of Charles le Gros. Tundale sees the kings Conchobar, Donatus and Cormachus in the Earthly Paradise.

There are two bridges in the Vision of Tundale, instead of the usual one, possibly as a result of the narrator combining two sources. The first bridge spans a burning valley and is very narrow and long. The only soul to cross it easily is that of a priest; most fall into the fire. This is the torment of the haughty. The second bridge spans a lake of monsters. It is two miles long, only two spans wide, and studded with sharp nails; this is the punishment for thieves. Tundale is compelled to cross the bridge leading a wild cow which he had stolen, but as he had later returned it he does not suffer the punishment to the full. Halfway across they meet a soul carrying a bag of grain, each is reluctant to give way before the other. Eventually Tundale suddenly finds himself on the opposite shore. Periodically the angel deserts Tundale, at which times he is attacked by demons. In the pit of Hell Tundale sees Lucifer tormenting souls whilst he himself is tormented, lying on a gridiron over burning coals.

The Purgatory of St Patrick presents different features and problems from any other medieval visionary literature as it is a place not just a vision. The title is quite often used to refer to the experiences of the knight Owain who visited

the Purgatory, but there were other visitors. The Purgatory was supposedly situated in a cave on an island in Lough Derg, Co. Donegal. Its history and legends are surveyed by Thomas Wright in his book St Patrick's Purgatory.²⁸ Having a geographical location it is the subject of more than one vision and pilgrimage. The legend of the Purgatory is that,

to whiche who somever entred therin / he
shal never have other penaunce ne fele
none other payne. 29

There are several continental versions of visits to St Patrick's Purgatory. The Chronique des quatre premiers Valois tells of a visit made in the first half of the fourteenth-century by a Flemish knight, the Sire de Beaujeu, and narrated by his squire, Heronnet.³⁰ In 1358 there was a romanticized report of his experiences in the Purgatory by Ludovicus de Sur, written in Latin, which was translated into French two years later, and claimed as his own, by Louis de France. Latin and French copies survive, and also a Catalan fragment of the same. According to D.D.R. Owen the most substantial medieval description of a visit to the Purgatory is that of Ramon de Perelhos, who claims to have made the journey in 1398.³¹ In the fourteenth-century an Italian romance was written about the Purgatory, the tale of 'Guerrino detto il Meschino', thought to have been written by Andrea Patria. This was very popular and was frequently reprinted. A French translation appeared in 1490, and went through several editions.³²

There are three important British versions of the legend. The visit of William Staunton was claimed to have been made in 1409, and survives in two fifteenth-century manuscripts.

Thomas Wright gives a detailed description of this tale.³³ The account draws on other Purgatory visions, and is close to a vision in style. He visits the cave, but falls asleep there, so his visit can be said to be a vision in fact. There is a short account of a journey by one Nicholas in The Golden Legend.

The major account of a visit to St Patrick's Purgatory is that of the journey of the knight Owain (sometimes called Oenus), which forms the basis of later versions.³⁴ This account is by the monk Henry of Saltrey, allegedly written at the order of his abbot, and from Owain's own account. It was written sometime after 1155, in Latin. The visit was made in about 1153. The most notable feature is that the knight makes the journey in the flesh, like Aeneas and Orpheus before him, not in spirit, as in the visions of Purgatory. This is presumably because of the physical reality of the cave. The Purgatory contains all the standard features of torments, including some classical elements. A new feature is that the sight and sound of the devils becomes a torment. Several times Owain saves himself, having no guide, by calling on Christ's name. An interesting incident is that the devils show Owain a pit and tell him that it is Hell, and then admit that this is not so. Hell is in fact situated beneath a river. The presence of the mortal body means that Owain has to return by retracing his steps through Purgatory, unthreatened by the devils, rather than by regaining consciousness as the visionaries do.

The next two medieval visions are both consciously literary works, with elaborate plans and fine attention to detail. Both are told in Roger of Wendover's Flores

Historiarum.³⁵ The Vision of Thurcill is told under the year 1206. The visionary is a farmer, to whom St Julian, 'the entertainer', appears at the end of a day, and warns him that that night he is to take him to view Purgatory. That night his spirit travels with St Julian, and arrives in a church, in which are received the souls of all who die. St James meets them, and orders St Julian and St Dominus to show Thurcill the abodes of the dead.

Purgatory consists of torment by heat and cold, and is presided over by St Nicholas. A bridge planted with thorns and stakes leads from Purgatory to the Mount of Joy.

Thurcill and his guides return to the church in which the souls gather, and witness the judgement of the dead. The souls appear either white, or spotted black with sin, or black. The white souls St Michael conducts safely straight to the Mount of Joy. The spotted souls St Peter leads to Purgatory. St Paul and the Devil sit either side a wall, mounted on which is a scale on equal balance. St Paul has two gold weights, the Devil two black ones. The black souls are weighed, if the balance inclines to St Paul he sends the soul to Purgatory, if to the Devil he throws the soul into the pit of Hell, which yawns at his feet.

A devil rides up on a black horse, which we learn is the soul of an English nobleman. The devil recognizes Thurcill, and recounts a tale of having seen him in church when there himself in disguise.

The next section is unique to the Vision of Thurcill. A theatre in Hell is described, which is provided for the amusement of the devils. The actors are the souls of the damned,

who act out their sins and follies, and are then tormented. The devils refuse to allow Thurcill to enter, but he is smuggled in by his two guides. The performers are a proud man, a hypocritical priest, a soldier who spent his time in rapine and slaughter, a false lawyer, who had recently died and is recognized by Thurcill, an adulterous man and woman, slanderers, thieves, incendiaries and dishonest tradesmen. A brief description of the four courts of Hell is then given, and Thurcill and his companions pass on to the Mount of Joy and the abodes of the blessed.

The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham (sometimes called Evesham) is reported by Roger of Wendover under the year 1196. His version is an abridged one however, a much fuller account was printed by William of Machlinia in London in about 1482.³⁶ No English manuscript survives, but there are several Latin ones. It was made into a French poem, and retranslated into Latin before 1400. The author was Adam, sub-prior of Eynsham.

The work has several features which mark it as different from its contemporaries. Firstly, the structure of the other-world has been carefully planned. It is conceived as a circle on a flat plain, Heaven is at the centre, the circumference represents the moment of death. There are three circles of Purgatory, and three regions of 'Paradise' are implied, the soul moves inwards across these circles towards Heaven, as though along a radius. In most depictions of the otherworld Hell is situated in the centre of the Earth, and Heaven in the outermost of the heavenly spheres. In most visions the subject is taken to the otherworld against his will, or at least unexpectedly; the monk in this vision, during an illness,

has prepared himself to be worthy of the honour of such a visit. He has prayed to his patron, St Nicholas, who is his guide, and it is announced to him when the time has come. The region has no Hell, and the torments seen in Purgatory are not dwelt upon, rather the writer hurries on to the scenes of Paradise and Heaven. The monk suffers no torments during his visit.

The first region of punishment is a marshy plain of hard mud, on which sinners are grouped into the category of their sin. The worst sinners meet a horrible death here without proceeding further, this being the nearest that the vision approaches to a Hell. This is the least painful division of Purgatory. It is interesting to see here that the fewer advantages a soul had on earth, the more lenient is its punishment. The second region of Purgatory is a valley of fire and ice in which souls are exposed to the extremes of heat and cold. The third and harshest region is a deep-lying plain which is dark and laden with foul vapours, and inhabited by serpentine monsters.

The most interesting aspect of this vision, particularly when considering it in relation to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, is that more than half of the chapters are interviews with individuals. Most of these are clerics, though there are a few laymen amongst them, for example, a king of England, a goldsmith, a poor man's wife, and some knights. Most of the individuals are not named, but it is reasonable to suppose that the monks at Eynsham, where the vision was narrated, would recognize them; some, such as an Archbishop of Canterbury, are more easily traceable than others.

The medieval visions culminated in Dante's Divina Commedia, which needs no description. The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie mentions Dante, which could be taken to indicate that Divina Commedia is his source for Purgatory, however this cannot be so if one remembers the structure of Purgatorio. Tarlton tells of,

a third place that all our great grandmothers
have talkt of, that Dant hath so learnedly
writ of, and that is Purgatorie. (sig. B2, p.285)

In this he appears to be referring to Purgatorio rather than to Divina Commedia as a whole. Dante's Purgatory, however, is set on a mountain, not in a pit as is Tarlton's. Dante took the Purgatorial details from earlier visions and transferred them to his Inferno, and stressed the spiritual rather than the physical aspects of Purgatory. Dante's also differs from other visions in that in the others no visionary is ever taken into the pit of Hell, which is usually only seen in passing. It would appear that if the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie based his work upon Dante's at all it was on Inferno rather than on Purgatorio. If he were not familiar with the Divina Commedia it is possible that he applied the details of Inferno to Purgatorio without being aware of the difference.

The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie did not take any one of these visions as his source. However, the form and structure that he chose have been influenced by their traditions. It is difficult to tell exactly which accounts he could have known. The visions recounted by Bede (Furseus and Drythelm) were available in a translation by T. Stapleton

published in 1565.³⁷ The Vision of Tundale was printed in 1473. As mentioned above, The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham [sic] was printed in about 1482. The alternative version of it, that of Roger of Wendover, was also available, together with the Vision of Thurcill, in Archbishop Parker's 1571 edition of Matthew Paris's Chronicle.³⁸ It is impossible to ascertain whether he could have known the other visions. We cannot tell from the number of manuscripts now extant what may have been available in 1590, nor who may have had access to material. We can see from surviving versions of these accounts how very popular they once were, however, and, whether or not the author had read them, it is likely that he would have heard accounts, and been familiar with the tradition they represent. Dante's Divina Commedia was certainly available, though not in an English version.

The vision genre was essentially a medieval form which died with the fifteenth-century. A small number of variations on the form did appear in the sixteenth-century, which would have been more readily available to the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. In 1483 Caxton printed a work 'intytled the pylgremage of the sowle' translated by Lydgate from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville. This is in five books, the first tells of the inquest on the soul after death, the second and third tell of its journey through Hell and Purgatory, and the fourth and fifth of its journey to Heaven. It is interesting to see in this that although the soul is

condemned to Purgatory, its guardian angel accompanies it there and guides it.

In 1526 William Bonde's The Pylgrimage of Perfection appeared. This speaks of different Hells, though in fact the separate places turn out to be traditional divisions, or 'compartments' of Hell. The lowest region is one unvisited by Christ in the harrowing of Hell, the next is Purgatory, which has the same fires as the lower section, but here an end to the torment is in sight, then comes the Limbo of unbaptized infants, and finally the Limbo of the patriarchs.

The Reformation in the sixteenth-century brought a questioning attitude to the subject of Purgatory which was not found among the medieval laity, conditioned by fear to accept the doctrine. A dispute on the subject appeared in print in the 1530s. In 1530 John Rastell defended the Catholic view in A new boke of Purgatory, whiche is a dyaloge betwene Comynge & Gyngemyn. John Frith replied to him with A disputacion of purgatorye devided into thre bokes,³⁹ and, An other boke against Rastel in about 1533, and was so convincing that Rastell turned Protestant.

In 1550 Robert Wyer printed a pamphlet the title of which explains its content,

Here begynneth a lytell boke, that speketh of Purgatorye: & what Purgatorye is & in what place and of the paynes that be therin and whiche soules do abyde therin tyll they be purged of synne and whiche abyde not there. And for what synes a soule goth to hell & of the helpe that soules i purgatorye may have of theyr frends that be on fyre: & what pardon ancyseth to manes soule.

The work explains the geographical situation of Purgatory in

terms that echo the teaching of the medieval clergy. The writer explains that Purgatory is under the earth. He then elaborates on the structure of 'the pit'; Hell is at the bottom, then comes the Limbo of unbaptized infants, then Purgatory, and at the top is the Limbo of the patriarchs. He next says that there is confusion about this arrangement, which is understandable in the light of the vague delineations offered by medieval writers:

And of all these foure / men maye one hell make
 And everyche of them / for hell maye be take
 And therefore holy churche / that for soules prayth
 Calleth purgatorye hell / and thus therof sayth.
(sig. Aii)

There follows an explanation of the differences between Hell and Purgatory, then the writer proceeds to mention aspects of spiritual suffering, constituting atonement and penance on earth:

Yet telleth these clerkes / more openly
 That two purgatoryes / there be namely
 One is comon / for to tell
 That is within erth / above hell
 And the other / is specyally through grace
 That is here in erth / in dyverse place
 For some ben not / in comon stede pyght
 But they ben punysshed here / by daye or nyght
 In many dyverse sedes / within in theyr ghost
(sig. Aiii^v)

The most interesting aspect of the work in relation to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is its specifications about suffering in Purgatory. Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has seven distinct tales, and the number seven is specified here,

In purgatorye / as the boke wytnesse beryth
 Ben dyverse paynes / that the soule deryth
 Many mo certes / than I can
 But I fynde therof / wryten seven
 That maye be called / paynes full well
 And to you of them / I wyll tell somedell
(sig. Aiii^v).

There is no indication of the punishments being designed to fit the sin. The number seven is obviously significant in visions of Hell, mainly on account of the seven deadly sins, as mentioned above. Becker points out that,

Seven seems to have been a favorite, and in many cases an indefinite number. In Paul especially everything is reckoned by sevens: seven pains, seven flames, pit with seven seals, sinful soul driven by seven devils (compare with later seven deadly sins, seven cardinal virtues). 40

A work which the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie might well have known, which touches upon the subject of Purgatory, is Le Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers, which was translated into English as The Kalendar and Compost of Shepherds in 1506,⁴¹ twelve further editions appeared before 1590. The work includes several features of interest to the lore of Hell, for instance, chapter iv, 'The Tree of Vices'; chapter ix; 'The Song of Death to all Christian People'; chapter x, 'The Ten Commandments of the Devil'; chapter xxxvi, 'The saying of a dead man'; and chapter xxxvii, 'A Diversion Theological on Deliverance of the Souls in Purgatory'. The most interesting chapter, however, is the fifth, 'The Pains of Hell as recounted by Lazarus after that he was risen'. This is an account of the punishment of the seven deadly sins. This vision is said to be the one that establishes the seven deadly sins as the basis for categorizing sins and punishments in Hell, though they had appeared intermittently in visions for a long time.

At least two ballads appeared on the subject of news from Hell, neither of which I have been able to see. Between

22 July 1561 and 24 July 1562 the ballad 'newes out of heaven and hell' was entered to John Tysdayle.⁴² Between 22 July 1565 and 22 July 1566 'Newes come from hell of love, unto userers' by 'J.E.' was entered to William Coplande.⁴³

One of the most important works of the sixteenth-century is undoubtedly The Mirror for Magistrates, which combines the literary genres of tragedy and vision lore. In her edition of the work Lily B. Campbell describes it thus,

The vision of the fallen princes that appeared to Boccaccio "as hym thought in his inwarde syght," was given much more elaborate treatment by Baldwin, who made of the prefaces and prose links of the Mirror a connected narrative which rationalized the appearance of the ghosts and, at the same time, offered an excellent vehicle for critical comment by the assembled group of writers who were the dramatis personae of the prose sections. Into this prose narrative are fitted the poetic tragedies which it was the primary objective of the Mirror to relate. But, curiously, some of the tragedies so set in the prose narrative are in themselves representatives of vision literature. 44

There are three pieces which are good examples of visions in the work. The first is the tale of James IV of Scotland, which was added to the 1587 edition. This does not develop as a vision, but opens in the traditional way. At the beginning of the poem it is the author who speaks, rather than the ghost, and tells of seeing James in a dream:

As I lay musing, my selfe alone,
 In minde not stable, but wavering here & there,
Morpheus my frend espyed mee anone,
 And as hee was wont, whistered in mine eare.
 Shortly convyede I was, I wist not where:
 Mine eyes were closed fast, I could not see.
 I hearde a man crying sore, trembling for feare:
Miserere mei Deus et salva mee. 45

The tale of Richard, Duke of York, is a variation on the

normal style of the Mirror. Baldwin himself tells how he fell asleep during a discussion about the work:

Whyle he was devisyng thereon, and every man seking farder notes, I looked on the Cronicles, and fynding styl fyelde upon fyelde, & manye noble men slayne, I purposed to have overpassed all, for I was so wearye that I waxed drowsye, and began in dede to slumber: but my imaginacion styll prosecutyng this tragicall matter, brought me suche a fantasy. me thought there stode before us, a tall mans body full of fresshe woundes, but lackyng a head, holdyng by the hande a goodlye childe, whose brest was so wounded that his hearte myght be seen, his lovely face and eyes disfigured with dropping teares, his heare through horroure standyng upryght, his mercy cravyng handes all to bemangled, & all his body embrued with his own bloud. And whan through the gastfulnes of this pyteous spectacle, I waxed afearde, and turned awaye my face, me thought there came a shrekynge voyce out of the weasande pipe of the headles bodye, saying as foloweth. 46

The similarities of the narrator falling asleep, seeing a ghostly figure in his sleep, and being frightened by it with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie are immediately noticeable.

The third example is the most interesting, that is Sackville's Induction to the tragedy of the Duke of Buckingham, which was added to the 1563 edition, and is the finest piece in the Mirror. This is an example of the descent into Hell, which is relevant in a discussion involving Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. It is derived from the accounts of such descents by Dante and Virgil, and as such does not comply with the overall structure of the Mirror.

Sackville begins by describing a wintery night scene. He muses on the fall of the mighty, and wishes he could describe their troubles in order to warn others. He meets 'Sorrow', who leads him to Hell to see the mighty who have fallen, the

way to which lies through a dark wood. He is frightened by the journey, but she reassures him. He describes the entrance to Hell, and the aspect of Avernus. Inside the porch of Hell they meet the allegorical figures of Remorse, Dread, Revenge, Misery, 'Greedy care', 'Heavy Sleep', Old Age, Malady, Famine, Death and War.

Sackville and Sorrow move on towards Acheron, where they see Charon, who ferries them across. The boat strains under the unaccustomed weight of a mortal, as does Phlegyas's under Dante's weight in Inferno.⁴⁷ Reaching the opposite shore they encounter Cerberus. The brief description of their arrival in the main body of Hell is taken from Virgil; Sackville describes the laments of babies and of unwed maids, of the innocent unjustly slain, and of those who died for love. Sorrow points out the multitude of great men here who have been brought down by Fortune, among whom is Henry, Duke of Buckingham, who tells his tale in the manner of the other tales in the Mirror. Unlike the others the tale is not just a monologue from the ghost, but the voice of the narrator intrudes from time to time with descriptive passages.

The interest of the piece does not end with Sackville's work. The reaction to his contribution which follows in the prose passage is worthy of consideration in its own right, as it expresses an opinion on the definition of Hell and Purgatory, and a Protestant comment on the subject:

The tragedy excelleth: the invencion also of the induction, and the discriptions are notable. But where as he faineth to talke with the princes in hel, that I am sure will be mislyked, because it is moste certayne, that some of their soules be in heaven. And

although he herein do follow allowed Poetes, in theyr discription of Hel, yet it savoreth so much of Purgatory, whiche the papistes have digged thereout, that the ignorant maye therby be deceyved. Not a whit I warrant you (quoth I) For he meaneth not by his Hell the place eyther of damned soules, or of such as lye for their fees, but rather the Grave, wherin the dead bodies of al sortes of people do rest till tyme of the resurrection. And in this sence is Hel taken often in the scriptures, & in the writynges of learned christians. And so (as he himselfe hath tolde me) he meaneth, and so would have it taken. Tush (quoth an other) what stande we here upon? it is a Poesie and no divinitye, and it is lawfull for poetes to fayne what they lyst, so it be appertinent to the matter: And therefore let it passe even in such sort as you have read it. 48

The Scottish poet Sir David Lyndsay has left an account of a visit to the otherworld in The Dreame of Schir David Lyndesay. In his vision he meets a lady called Dame Remembrance, who leads him to Hell,

Doun throw the Eird, in myddis of the center,
Or ever I wyste, in to the lawest Hell. 49

In Hell he sees popes, kings, conquerors, cardinals and archbishops, prelates, priors, abbots, friars, and various other churchmen. There follows an attack on the clergy as Remembrance explains why they are there. Among others he sees Simon Magus, Caiphaz and Judas. Lyndsay claims not to be able to ennumerate the torments of the secular princes, but points out that, as with the princes Tarlton sees, 'Thare blude royall maid them no supportyng'.⁵⁰ Among the secular nobility he names Nero, Herod and Pontius Pilate. He lists their sins, and also lists the faults of the noble ladies next described. Then he tells that he saw many thousand 'commoun pepill'. He mentions torments of the usual kind without dwelling on the

subject.

Lyndsay and Remembrance proceed to a region just above Hell, which Remembrance says is Purgatory. After that they rise to a third region, the Limbo of unbaptized infants, and from there to the Limbo of the patriarchs, which now stands empty. After leaving the 'underworld' they rise through earth, water and air, and through the nine spheres of Heaven.

The Dreame was written around 1528. The work would have been available to the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie as The warkis of the famous and vorthie knicht Schir David Lyndesay. Newly correctit and augmentit was published in 1568 in Edinburgh, and five more editions appeared before 1590.

In 1574 Richard Robinson produced a fascinating work called The Rewarde of Wickednesse, which the title page describes as 'A dreame most pitiful, and to be dreaded'. Addressing the reader, the author says that he is in the service of the Earl of Shrewsbury. He tells us that he wrote this piece whilst on duty as part of the watch over Mary Queen of Scots, and gives the date as 19 May 1574. He never pretends that the vision is true, but from the beginning, whilst explaining the circumstances of its composition, makes clear that it is fiction; 'faining that in my sleepe Morpheus tooke me to Plutos Kingdome in a Dreame'. He foretells that various types of character will be angry with him. He looks forward to the rage of the time-honoured quarreller Zoilus, and also of another, whose carping character the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie was to come to know:

Another sorte there is, whiche I namde not yet: As the Cobler, and Zoilus: Whose nature is to plaie hissing Hidras parte, rejecting

the vertuous labours of painefull personnes,
 Lying Idle them selves like Buzzing Drones,
 devouring up the sweete travaile of the busie
 Bees, (but for these I passe not). (sig. A3)

There follows an address from the author to his book, and then, more unusually, a reply from the book to the author. The whole work is written in a mixture of verse and prose.

The Prologue sets the scene as winter, and, more specifically, as one of tale-telling:

When men delight to keepe the fire side,
 And winter tales incline their eares to heare.
 When mery mates be met, that will abide,
 Eache filles his pot of Nutbrowne Ale or Bere,
 As is the trade of Ale knightes every where.
 (sig. B1^v)

After an evening spent drinking the narrator goes to bed feeling 'merry' and forgetful of his cares. Morpheus appears to him, and announces that he is going to conduct him to Pluto's kingdom. Robinson is afraid, but Morpheus reassures him. Their way is barred by Cerberus, but Morpheus sends for Mercury's rod to charm the dog, and they pass him safely. They go into the second ward, which is guarded by Wrath and Envy. They then pass through into the third ward, the one inhabited by Pluto himself. The tale now begins in earnest:

For one among manie we hearde raile and rave
 With a wofull voice me thought it saide this,
 Come see alas the rewarde of wickednesse ...

But what I sawe in this my drowsie dreame;
 And who they were, as now to minde I call,
 Why and wherefore to you I shall proclaime,
 That thus they lost the joyes supernall,
 And have possest the wofull place infernall
 Lende me your eares for now my tale beginnes,
 How wicked wightes rewarded be for sinnes.
 (sig. B4^v)

The author and Morpheus see various characters, and

hear their laments and tales, the punishments are described, and snatches of conversation between Morpheus and Robinson are recorded. After the appearance and tale of each character follows the book's verdict on that character. Some of the protagonists are ones that can be met regularly in scenes of Hell, others are very unexpected, and it is interesting to see that some of them are also to be found in Tarlton's Purgatory.

The first character we meet is Helen of Troy. She is followed by Pope Alexander VI. It is not unusual to find popes in Hell, in particular the notorious Rodrigo Borgia; Tarlton sees a Pope Alexander in Purgatory, but does not say which one. After leaving Alexander the author meets Tarquin, and then Medea, both unusual, though fitting, figures. The familiar figure of Tantalus appears next, but here he is tormented for his oppression of the poor rather than for the murder of Pelops. After Tantalus comes the little known ambitious counsellor Vetronius Turinus, one of Alexander the Great's favourites. Instead of one of the Julio-Claudian emperors, such as Nero, we see the later licentious emperor Heliogabalus [Elagabalus]. He is succeeded by the two judges who slandered Susanna. They in turn are followed by another character who appears in Tarltons Neues Out of Purgatorie, Pope Joan.

The tale now becomes more complex. Robinson talks of news passing between Pluto and the pope. He tells of a direct passage between Rome and Hell, and details the laments of souls betrayed by putting their faith in the relics and idols of the Roman Catholic Church. He sees Bonner in Hell, and

mentions what could be Bartlet Green:

One Barthlet wee may ban throughout this whole vale:
 And so may the Pope with Candle, Booke and Bell,
 In the Papall pedigrew, hee tels such a tale,
 That all Romish Roges may rore to heare tell,
 That Christians had knowledge of the trumprye they sell.
 For he tippes up the sacke, and all poureth out,
 From the first to the last, he rappes the whole route.
(sig. N3)

Although it is not unusual to find attacks on Bonner in anti-Catholic works, he does not often appear with Bartlet Green.⁵¹

A section on the torment of Tyranny follows, which is rather nebulous in subject matter. Robinson tells how a ladder was constructed from Hell to Heaven, but it broke and became too short, thereafter there was no way out of Hell. He then returns to his earlier subjects and tells of the lament of one Rosamund, who murdered her husband Albonius. The opening of this section, 'When from this Pope ...' (sig. 02^V), suggests that it was designed to follow the section on Pope Joan, and has become misplaced, perhaps during printing.

The final section in Hell is very elaborate, and somewhat unexpected in content. It is announced that Bonner is expected, and great preparations are made for his arrival. All the denizens of Hell, including its rulers and hierarchy, go to meet him. Morpheus and Robinson slip out and climb on a rock to watch his arrival. Robinson hides because Bonner knows him, which suggests that his bitterness against the bishop may have arisen from some encounter with him in his professional capacity.

The account of the rewards of wickedness ends here, but not the book. Morpheus and the author travel from Pluto's kingdom to Helicon, because Morpheus has promised to tell the Muses about Hades. This section includes a further short attack

on Bonner. The Muses tell the author to write about his experiences. He sees poets revered on Helicon. Finally, the author returns to his sleep.

It is interesting to see that Richard Robinson refers to himself as 'Robin' (sig. Q2), is described as being 'sprung of Robin's blood' (sig. Q1), and referred to as 'Robin' by Richard Smith in the preliminary material. The use of the name here shows that 'Robin' was not used just as a diminutive of a Christian name.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie with its mild, slightly ridiculous punishments is partly a burlesque on the physical details of Purgatory, as well as an attack on the doctrines concerning it. It was written at a time when Protestantism had established a point of view which rejected the belief in Purgatory and its tenets, and, under such circumstances, a parody is not unexpected. Parodies of Purgatory and Hell existed long before belief in the same waned, however, Wright explains,

Among the gay and witty writers of the fabliaux and romans, who kept up a constant fire at the vices of the clergy and the absurdity of some of their doctrines, the details of the purgatory visions could not fail to afford a frequent subject for pleasantry and burlesque. This burlesque was also sometimes unintentional. 52

To illustrate how early burlesques appeared Wright cites an eleventh-century one, which includes a visit to Heaven, where St Peter is head cook and John the Baptist is butler.⁵³

Gentle burlesque appeared in the works of early Greek writers. Aristophanes' The Frogs, with its mock journey to Hades, has already been mentioned. Plato's 'vision of Er',

described above, includes strongly comic features in the scene of the reincarnation of spirits for instance. There is a serious element in this. We are told that it is a strange, pitiful and ridiculous scene as the 'free choice' is in fact governed by the souls' previous existences. There are sad touches, such as Orpheus choosing the life of a swan because he refused to be born of a woman because of his hatred for them. On the other hand there is something comical about Odysseus's soul making its choice, having drawn the last lot,

from memory of its former toils having flung away ambition, went about for a long time in quest of the life of an ordinary citizen who minded his own business, and with difficulty found it lying in some corner disregarded by the others, and upon seeing it said that it would have done the same had it drawn the first lot, and chose it gladly. 54

There is also a touch of comedy in seeing a soul repeat the mistakes made in its life, when these are not tragic mistakes, for instance the soul of Atlanta,

caught sight of the great honours attached to an athlete's life and could not pass them by but snatched at them. 55 .

One of the most popular fabliaux is the thirteenth-century tale of Saint Pierre et le jongleur. The jongleur is a dissipated character who, when he dies, is snatched up eagerly by a demon who has been searching for prey for some time. On reaching Hell the soul of the jongleur is given the task of stoking the fires beneath a cauldron. One day Lucifer and his minions leave Hell to go in search of souls, the jongleur remaining in sole charge. Whilst they are away St Peter appears and persuades the jongleur to play dice. Having no money the

jongleur stakes the damned souls left in his charge, all of whom St Peter eventually wins and carries away with him. Lucifer returns to find Hell empty. He thrashes the demon who brought the minstrel there, and threatens any who should ever bring such another to Hell. He throws out the jongleur who is taken in by St Peter.

D.D.R. Owen claims that this tale echoes the legend of the harrowing of Hell. In both a divine figure descends to release damned souls, and there are even verbal parallels between this and biblical sources, for instance, St Peter promises the souls that,

Se ge puis, ainz la nuiz serie,
Seroiz toz en ma compaignie; 56

which recalls Christ's promise to the good thief (Luke XXIII. 43).

Wright cites another fabliau, la Court de Paradis, in which Christ decides to hold a full court on All Saints' Day.⁵⁷ There is a lengthy account of St Simon and St Jude summoning all to attend. When they are all gathered the souls in Purgatory hear their singing, and pray for deliverance from their torment. St Peter hears their prayer, and he and the ladies among the saints also pray for their deliverance, which Christ grants. St Michael releases them and they enter Paradise. The manuscript even includes the musical notation of the Te Deum sung by the angels.

Owen tells the romance of La Mule sans frein by Paien de Maisieres as a burlesque. This seems primarily a parody of the Grail Quest, which incidentally passes through Hell. Kay and Gauvain ride on the mule, in turn, in quest of its

bridle. They enter a deep dark valley, which has all the attributes of the medieval Hell, reptilian beasts, extreme cold, stench and winds. The valley leads to a plain of flowers with a clear fountain, identifiable with the Earthly Paradise. After this there seems to be some confusion over location as they proceed to a black river spanned by a very narrow iron bridge. Kay gives up at this point, but Gauvain crosses the bridge and completes his quest.⁵⁸

There is even a touch of savage comedy in Dante's Inferno, in the canti involving the demons who torment barrators in the fifth of the Malbowges.⁵⁹

The most famous parody of all is probably that of The Land of Cokaygne, found in most Western literatures, but as it deals exclusively with Paradise no place can be found for it in a discussion of Hell.

The medieval visions of Hell, serious or otherwise, were Christian in background. During the Renaissance, as the influence of classical literature and ideas increased, the literature of Hell became affected by the general trend of ideas. The most important classical writer of satiric visions of the dead was the second-century Greek writer Lucian. His shades retain their human characteristics, some their sharp common sense, others their happy profligacy, for instance in True Story the ghost of Helen of Troy has succumbed to another rape. In the same work the ghost of Homer appears, talking of his shortcomings, and those of his critics. In The Dialogues of the Dead, the ghosts of Hannibal, Alexander and Scipio quarrel over their respective prowess as generals. Lucian levels all types of character so that all are equal in the otherworld.

Some of Lucian's work was translated into Latin by Sir Thomas More at the beginning of the sixteenth-century, and therefore was available.⁶⁰

The most important follower of Lucian in the sixteenth-century was Rabelais. In Pantagruel (Book II, chapter 30) Epistemon is found decapitated, but is 'repaired' and resuscitated by Panurge.⁶¹ Once revived he describes his experiences whilst dead. He tells how the dead are not treated as severely as is supposed, all that happens is that their state and condition of living are changed. He provides a long list of the occupations of the famous dead, for instance Xerxes is a crier of mustard, Romulus is a salter, and a patcher of pattens, and Bonifave VIII is a scummer of pots. Similarly in Lucian's Menippus Philip of Macedon is seen mending shoes. Epistemon continues to describe characters he has seen in Hell, and how he ate and drank with Epictetus. He describes the details of trade and bartering between the occupants he has already named, and finally he talks of the fate of usurers.

A reading of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie in conjunction with the examples of vision literature discussed above will show that it retains many traditional features, and in form at least follows the genre. The medieval visions establish details of geography, and of punishments. The sixteenth-century examples show a growing tendency to parody the form, and to reject the doctrines of Purgatory. The differences between Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and its predecessors are as interesting as the similarities, which

are mainly points in the structure of the work.

The crossroads at which the soul finds itself after death, according to Tarlton, recalls the biblical image of the way to Heaven,

Enter in at the strayte gate. For wyde is the gate, and brode is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in therat.

Because strayte is the gate, and narowe is the way, which leadeth unto lyfe, and fewe there be that fynde it. (Matthew VII. 13-14)

The third way leading to Purgatory is new. In earlier works (with the exception of the Divina Commedia) Purgatory is normally situated either above or next to Hell.

The first punishment the soul meets, that of the bridge 'framed all of Needle points and over that must you passe bare footed' (sig. B2^v, p.286) is found in almost all earlier visions, though in slightly different forms.⁶² In medieval visions the bridge is very narrow and difficult to cross, and the soul falls from it either into a lake of fire or pitch, or some similar horror, or directly into the pit of Hell. Here there is no sense of the bridge being a trial, merely that the needle points lacerate the victim by way of punishment. I have not found another instance of a bridge made of needle points, though the bridges in the visions of Tundale and Thurcill are spiked.

The 'faire medow' that is 'all overgrowne with Ave maries and creedes' (sig. B2^v, p.286) is rather oddly placed here. Usually the Earthly Paradise is a fair field of some kind, but it is only reached after the pains of Purgatory have been endured, certainly not at such an early stage as this

(however, compare La Mule sans frein). The idea of embodying prayers as objects is rather strange, though in medieval writings ideals are sometimes personified as allegorical figures.

The 'field of hot burning ploughshares' (sig. B2^V, p.286) is typical of the punishments encountered in medieval Hells. In St Patrick's Purgatory, for instance, there is a field in which souls are nailed down by burning nails (and in the Latin version of the legend there are four similar fields of punishment).

The entrance to Purgatory seems to be a mixture of medieval and classical versions. As mentioned above, Purgatory is rarely so carefully separated from Hell, one may read of the 'mouth of Hell' but Purgatory seems not to warrant such distinction. The stress placed on 'Purgatorie gate' here recalls Dante's magnificent gate of Hell in Inferno.⁶³ The payment of an 'entering penny' echoes the classical myth of souls paying Charon to ferry them across the Styx into the main part of Hades. Whipping was a fairly common punishment of course, both for the living and the dead.

Tarlton's Purgatory descends like a pit, as he mentions passing downwards through the chambers of popes, kings, clergymen and laity, after this he seems to remain more or less on a level and progress onwards rather than downwards. Medieval versions of Purgatory tend to consist of a series of chambers and places of punishment on a level, though that 'level' includes mountains, valleys, plains and pits. Hell is almost always seen as a pit. In Inferno Dante enters the pit and describes its descending stages, and it is possible that the

author had this in mind, particularly as he mentions Dante. Also Dante does not re-ascend out of the pit, but passes through the centre of the earth to Purgatory, likewise Tarlton does not re-ascend, except as a ghost to talk to 'Robin Goodfellow'. Other medieval visionaries never enter the pit of Hell.

The practice of placing certain categories of sinner together is a usual one, either classifying them by type of sin, or by their worldly occupations, such as clergymen, or kings, or adulterers, or usurers. In the vision of Wettin the clergy are classified and punished according to their precise calling, for instance priests and monks are treated separately. The presbyter Bernold first enters a chamber in which there are forty-one bishops, some of whom he recognizes.⁶⁴

In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie there is some effort made to make the punishment fit the sin. This does not just apply to the seven principal tales, but to others as well. Such care was taken in early medieval visions, but this had diminished by the twelfth-century. The three cuckolds in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie are not tormented because of their suffering whilst alive:

they have plast him there without any punishment, because it was penance enough to have his conscience prickt with a restles sting of baudry (sig. D3, p.306)

therefore is he placst here without any torture: for that it is plague enough for him that hee had a whore to his wife (sig. D3^v, p.307)

therefore is he placst heere without punishment in Purgatorie, because there can be no greater torment then to bee plagued with the restlesse sting of Jealousie. (sig. D4, p.308)

This leniency recalls a similar situation in the Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham,

For Y sawe them that were clerkys / Monkys /
Noonys / laymen and lay wemen so mekyl the
lesse ordende and put to peynys howe mekyl
the lesse they had before of worldely dygnyte
and prosperyte. 65

This comparison, however, does not take into account the irony of the cuckolds' lack of torment, and the reason for it, being prominently displayed and thus a form of suffering in itself.

The women hung up by their tongues for scolding recalls a regular medieval torment of the visions. In the medieval works however this particular punishment is assigned for blasphemy and backbiting rather than for scolding, though here that cause fits the tone of the work and leads into the following tale. Suspension by parts of the body, according to the sin being punished, is a regular feature of visions, particularly prominent in those of St Paul, Alberic and Owain.

The hard-hearted virgins who are punished in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie for hating men and preserving their virginity, are a fairly regular feature of medieval visions. In the vision of St Barontus there are women punished 'who had relied solely on their virginity for merit, and had not added thereto good works'.⁶⁶ In the version of the vision of St Paul found in The Lambeth Homilies, In Diebus Dominicis, is the following account,

Hereafter saw St Paul that three devils
led a maiden very remorselessly. She had
been a maiden in the other life that kept
her body in all purity, but would never
do any other good thing. Willing alms she
never gave, but she was proud, and moody,
and a liar, and she was deceitful, wrathful
and envious, and therefore she was subjected
to torment. 67

It was considered wrong to preserve virginity for its own sake, neither dedicating it to God by entering a convent (in a Catholic state), nor bearing children. The virgins in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie seem bitter characters, we are told that they hated men. It is difficult to decide why the author changes his 'company of beautifull women of all ages' to 'in all there were not above three of them', perhaps it is meant as a comment on how few women remained virgins.

We are told that the gentlewoman of Lyons had her head shaved because the beauty of her hair was responsible for ensnaring young men. Long hair is traditionally associated with alluring feminine beauty. There are accounts of the hair of adultresses being shaved off in the sixteenth-century, for instance in Painter's The Palace of Pleasure, sig. lllli^v. One of the reasons for removing long hair was to prevent the adultress hiding her face, and therefore her shame, behind it. In the Apocalypse of Peter adultresses were hung by their hair over boiling mire.

The two lovers of Pisa are punished together, and this is in accordance with a tradition found in almost all visions, that adulterers are punished with their partners in sin. The whipping with nettles seems to have been some sort of special punishment in the sixteenth-century associated with 'the servants of Venus', and referred to by Greene in his romances, and by Lodge in Rosalynde. It can be inferred that Mutio is also being punished for his excessive jealousy here by being forced to watch the lovers together.

The device of placing poets of fine reputation in a place of punishment could date back to classical times.

Usually poets are found in the abode of the blessed, which may have caused some confusion at some time being situated near the place of torment. Lucian shows Homer in the underworld, and the lost account by Pythagoras is thought to depict Homer and Hesiod tormented for their writings. In Pantagruel Epistemon sees François Villon in Hell. He also sees Caillet and Triboulet, fools to Louis XII, which shows that Tarlton was not the first entertainer to appear in an otherworld scene. The most intriguing aspect of the poets met in Tarlton's Purgatory is that they are placed there by way of punishment, unlike the poets Dante sees in Limbo, who exist there without pain.

The idea of stories told in Purgatory or Hell occurs in embryonic form in earlier visions. In the later medieval visions it became the practice for the visionary to have a conversation with some friend or relative in torment. In the Vision of Tundale the continental device of introducing incidents or people from contemporary history is used, Tundale holding conversations with Conchobar and Donatus, and with Cormachus. In the Vision of Thurcill the infernal theatre and its acts present a subject comparable with a tale, but not classifiable as such as the souls merely act out their sins. There may be some similarity between the cicerones of Thurcill's vision and Tarlton's Newes Out of Purgatorie as St Julian is described as 'the entertainer', which was Tarlton's profession. The Monk of Eynsham holds conversations with some of the souls he sees, but none of these amounts to a fully developed tale. Dante also talks to many characters in both Inferno and Purgatorio, but usually they reminisce, and the ghosts warn or prophesy

rather than tell tales.

The sixteenth-century produced items closer to tales, for instance the histories told by the ghosts of Richard, Duke of York, and Buckingham in The Mirror for Magistrates. The Rewarde of Wickednesse is the closest to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie in design, in that the tales are told as the author approaches various figures. The tales are told by the ghosts themselves, but amount to laments and warnings rather than structured tales.

The differences between Tarlton's Purgatory and earlier ones are immediately striking. All the more grisly torments, involving fire, monsters, rivers of pitch or slime, and physical racking of the ghosts' 'bodies' have disappeared. We are told that there are 'all manner of people of all trades, sciences, and occupations, assigned to such sundry torments, as mans eye would almost surfet with the varietie of objects' (sigs. D2-D2^V, p.304), yet rather than being fettered to their punishments the ghosts seem quite free to move around, and to explain things to Tarlton. They seem not to be bound in specific areas for the most part, though presumably kept in their particular chambers, for when the three degrees of cuckolds are described we learn that 'which soever of the Ghosts passed by gave them a knee with a reverence' (sig. D2^V, p.305).

The devils which proliferate in early visions are noticeably absent here, nor is there any mention of angels. We see only Purgatory of course, there is no indication of the existence of Hell, Heaven, or Paradise, after the initial account of the crossroads. There is nothing to tell us who or what governs this region. The concept of Purgatory is a

Christian one, but other than the comments on the punishments described there is no indication of that here. Tarlton contradicts himself when speaking of his own punishment; he says that he 'must to the judge' but then adds 'they knew I was a boone companion' (sig. H2^V, p.345). The 'judge' suggests the figure of God sitting in judgement, but the plural pronoun rather recalls the panel of judges sometimes found in the classical underworld, though it also echoes the judgement by St Paul and the Devil in Thurcill's vision.

In passing through the chamber of kings, princes and 'men of name' without comment 'for that I might slander their royall titles' (sig. C2^V, p.295), Tarlton omits an opportunity for political satire which few of his predecessors would have resisted. Dante is probably the most notable for including political characters in his vision, but others did so before him, for instance Wettin sees Charles the Great in torment,⁶⁸ Bernold sees Charles the Bald,⁶⁹ and the Emperor Charles III sees various bishops, members of his family, and his father, Lewis.⁷⁰ The narrator of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie deliberately avoids any such subject. He does not omit personal attack completely, however, but names some unpopular figures in the description of the place 'like the shape of Tiborne threesquare' (sig. D2^V, p.304). The author names candidates for this torment, choosing ones whose unpopularity could be relied upon.

His first choice is a very puzzling one. In Protestant England a pope would be thought a suitable candidate for punishment, but there is no reason why this pope should not be placed with all the others in the first chamber. There were

nine popes called Boniface before 1590, but there is no indication as to which one this is. It is tempting to think that it could be Boniface VIII, chosen under the influence of Dante, whose great enemy he was. The use of the future tense is strange here, it is applicable to the discussion of the place, which is to be occupied in the future, but the use here refers to the pope's career, 'which should be Pope, and should prove a great persecutor' (sig. D2^V, p.305), suggesting that the character has not even been elected pope yet. There is a faint echo, but no more, of the use of the future by the ghost of Nicholas III in Inferno,

Ed el gridò: "Se' tu già costì ritto,
se' tu già costì ritto, Bonifazio?
Di parecchi anni mi menti lo scritto.

(He cried aloud: "Already standing there?
Art standing there already, Boniface?
Why then, the writ has lied by many a year.) 71

Bonner is a more likely candidate for torment here. Hatred of him was widespread, and he had already appeared in one vision of Hell (The Rewarde of Wickednesse). It is rather odd that the reason for his being placed here is 'for breeching of Bartlet Greene' (sig. D2^V, p.305), as this is a comparatively minor incident in the catalogue of Bonner's persecution of Protestants. Here it is made clear that Bonner is already dead (he died in 1569), and for him to be placed here would involve his being removed from his position among the prelates. Whether this is in Heaven, Hell or Purgatory is not revealed.

The most popular candidate is Bull the hangman, who was still alive in 1593 as he is mentioned by Gabriel Harvey in that year. The date of his death is not known.⁷² A hangman,

by virtue of his profession, is likely to be an unpopular figure. The incident related of his being whipped in London, of which I can find no mention elsewhere, may be taken to suggest that he was exceptionally unpopular, perhaps on account of cruelty over and above that required by his job.

The duration of time in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is interesting. Most visions last for several days, the Divina Commedia for a week, but this lasts for the duration of a play. The narrator falls asleep as the crowd is going to the Theatre, and the noise of its leaving wakes him, a period of about three hours. The tales told in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie could even be compared with scenes of a play. The vision is set at a significant time of year, Whitsuntide being a national holiday, but avoids the religious and symbolic significance of Easter, which Dante uses, probably because it would be inappropriate for this lighthearted presentation.

One of the most unusual features of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is the choice of guide. Usually the central character of any vision is the visionary, and the guide is merely a source of explanation and protection. Dante's Inferno and Purgatorio are exceptions to this as the development of Virgil as a character, and of the relationship between him and Dante, invests him with equal importance. In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie the central figure is both the guide and the one guided. Tarlton tells the narrator what he has seen and heard, and by so teaching him guides him in a figurative sense, but his tale is of his own journey through Purgatory, and of what he learned from various sources, not from any one person. The form that the 'news' takes affects the

characteristics of its guide. Tarlton's name would have helped to promote the work, Tarlton however was dead, so a medium through which he could tell the tales had to be found. The genre of the dream vision enables the fantastic and unlikely to be told as these are acceptable as components of a dream. Whilst the form of the vision of a living man was credible in the Middle Ages, it would probably not be treated seriously by the Elizabethans, whereas a dream can always be regarded seriously. Some sort of relationship between the narrator and the ghost is necessary to make the subject of the dream likely; here the narrator's mind is occupied by thoughts of Tarlton, whom he admired and loved. Dante is guided by a great poet whose work he reveres, Robin Goodfellow describes himself as an 'old companion' of Tarlton's, and it is possible that this indicates that he is a follower of his as a comedian.

It is clear throughout Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie that the author is attacking the doctrine of Purgatory. This is not unexpected or unusual in the age in which it was written, but the indirect method in which the attack is made is of interest. The work ostensibly sets out to expound the doctrine, and to confirm the existence of Purgatory, and does so in a way calculated to arouse anger in the reader on account of the injustice of the system.

Some of the criticisms are specifically of the doctrine of Purgatory, including the sale of indulgences, others are of the Roman Catholic Church in more general terms. There is no attempt to call forth pity for the three clergymen tormented in Purgatory, Pope Boniface IV, Friar Onion and the Vicar of

Bergamo. Their punishments in no way seem unjust or undeserved, unlike some of the others, indeed, the punishments assigned to Friar Onion and the Vicar of Bergamo are absurdly light considering they are both guilty of blasphemous fraud.

Two of the tales comment on practices of the Roman Catholic Church, that of the Vicar of Bergamo on the belief in relics, and that of the Painter of Doncaster on the veneration of statues and idols. The descriptions of the occupants of the hall of popes gives some idea of the wrongs practised by the profligate papacy. The popes named all existed, but are not necessarily associated with the sins credited to them here, this being a comment on the institution rather than on individuals. The author opens by listing their sins as twisting the interpretation of the scriptures, ambition, covetousness, gluttony, extortion, simony, wrath, pride, envy and sloth. He points out that the Church chooses to regard lechery as a venial sin rather than a deadly sin, and to purge it by doing penance to the ridiculous figure of Pasquil. He includes a mildly sarcastic comment on the behaviour of the clergy in the tale of Pope Boniface in telling of Montecelso living at Astasio's wife's house, and 'where such blessed men lie, there can be no lecherie' (sig. B3^v, p.288), which implies the opposite. The reader is also informed, without comment, that a convent of nuns wanted a man to live with them. Also without comment we are told that at the death of Pius both nuns and courtesans lamented, the two professions are juxtaposed in the list, which could be taken to indicate that both were equally devoted to him. We hear of two popes establishing religious festivals on their own authority, and, in the second case, for a ridiculous

reason, neither accusation has any historical authority. Then we are shown two popes criticized for neglecting the spiritual life for the military one. The author returns to the subject of lechery finally by showing that of all the popes only one was free of that sin, and that was only because he had not had the opportunity to commit it.

The Vicar of Bergamo is an example of a corrupt clergyman. He practises deceit through blasphemy in the bulk of his tale, which alone is sufficient to condemn him. He is also an example of a lazy and ignorant pastor, more concerned with his own pleasure and convenience than with the welfare of his congregation. His vengeance on the alewife shows an unChristian spirit, as does the theft of the puddings, an action only redeemable because we are not told whether he intends to return them, though it seems highly unlikely. The subject matter of the bulk of the tale is a comment on the belief in the power of relics and exploitation of this.

In the tale of the Painter of Doncaster the author becomes passionately anti-Papist. He uses strong terms to describe the situation during Edward VI's reign,

all his reliques were abolished, and his
idols puld downe, and the Church as neere
as they could, cleansed from the dregs of
such an Antichrist (sig. F1^v, p.322)

Later he continues in such a vein that identification of Queen Mary with the Antichrist could be inferred:

But when for the sinnes of this land, and
wickednesse of the people, the Lord tooke
away their good king, and deprived them of
the sweete Manna of the Gospell, and sent
them againe Antichrist with all his
traditions, Queene Marie lawfull successor

in the kingdome; made proclamation, that
all those roodes which were puld downe,
should be set up againe in every Church.

(sig. F1^v, p.322)

The ghost of Tarlton protests the existence of Purgatory to the narrator, and in doing so explains its doctrines, this explanation being the basis for references in the rest of the work:

yes my good brother, there is Quoddam tertium
a third place that all our great grandmothers
have talkt of, that Dant hath so learnedly
writ of, and that is Purgatorie. What syr
are we wiser then all our forefathers? and
they not onely feared that place in life, but
found it after their death: or els was there
much land and annuall pensions given in vaine
to morrowmasse priests for dirges, trentals
and such like decretals of devotion, whereby
the soules in Purgatorie were the sooner
advanced into the quiet estate of heaven.

(sig. B2, p.285)

He speaks as though convincing a doubting Protestant, 'as soone as I heare the principles of your religion, I can say, oh there is a Calvinist' (sig. B2, p.284), yet Tarlton himself was a Protestant, if the Jests are to be believed. He speaks so strongly in defence of Purgatory, that he in fact 'protests too much' and casts doubt on what he is proclaiming.

Having protested the existence of the place in the introduction he begins his first tale, and almost immediately strengthens doubts by reducing Purgatory to rather ridiculous, if amusing, physical terms, rather than the spiritual ones of the doctrine. He describes the popes in the first chamber, and says that they are all there, 'except the first thirty after Christ, and they went presentlie to heaven: and the reason was, because Purgatorie was then but a building, and not fully finished' (sig. B3, p.287).

The author mentions the practice of granting indulgences without comment, though his feelings on the subject are apparent: for instance he stresses that kings and princes were not spared on account of their wealth or position, and adds, 'unlesse they died highly in the popes favour; and perhaps there was some indulgence to mittigate their punishment' (sig. C2^v, p.295).

The most subtle comment on indulgences, and on the whole doctrine of Purgatory, shows in the way the author has modified his sources. In the tale of the Cook, Stephano has been made a much more appealing character than Boccaccio's Chichibio, on whom he is based. At the 'happy ending' of the tale we are told,

Now Syr, although this fault was forgiven:
yet because hee died not in favour with the
Priest of the Parish, hee was appointed for
stealing the Cranes leg to stand in
Purgatorie with a legge in his mouth for a
certaine season. (sig. E2^v, p.315)

Having been pleased by the character of the Cook, and amused by the tale, the reader is likely to feel strongly about the injustice of this punishment, and therefore react, indirectly, to the whole idea of punishment in Purgatory when it can be distributed in such an unprincipled manner. The tale of the Painter of Doncaster has the same effect. The situation at the end of the tale has been satisfactorily resolved, but we are told that,

their Vickar so delt with bell, booke, and
candle against the poore painter for making
the ill favoured roode, that he sits in
purgatorie beaten with a Belroape. (sig. F2, p.324)

The tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons is the only one of those with an identifiable source in which the source has been altered to make the character less appealing, and more blameworthy. In this version she deliberately keeps two lovers at the same time, whereas in the sources she cannot control the circumstance. In this tale the opposite effect of that relating to the Cook and the Painter has been achieved. The character has been made less pleasant, she deserves her punishment, but this is light,

shee shoulde have beene grievously tormented: but that shee bestowed an annuity for three yeares pension upon a morrow masse priest, who so laboured it with dirges, trentals and masses Ad requiem, that shee had no other punishment but this, that hir beautifull haire wherein shee so much delighted, and whose tramels was a traine to intrappe young gentlemen, that nowe was clipt off bare to the skull. (sig. F3^v, p.327)

Her case is not improved by the fact that she bought the prayers said for her, they had not been volunteered by her friends or relatives.

The author speaks out against Roman Catholicism in the tale of the Painter of Doncaster, and his criticism of various practices of the Church is explicit in other tales, but none of the open criticism is as effective as his manipulating of his readers' response to the tales through the careful editing of the sources. This manipulation, together with his implied criticism in Tarlton's emphatic protestation in the introduction, condemns the doctrines of Purgatory, and establishes the work as an anti-Papist tract, as well as an entertaining pamphlet.

Visions of Heaven and Hell as a genre died with the fifteenth-century. Hell made a reappearance in literature at the end of the sixteenth-century, however, as a vehicle for satire, and flourished as a literary form alongside the popular rogue pamphlets. A convention of news or letters from Hell sprang up and proliferated during the seventeenth-century.⁷³ Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is the first of these works, though for the most part it is not satirical itself, and its influence seems to have been more on the device of a tale from the otherworld than on the satirical element in such works. Some of these pieces are naturally closer to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie than others, and it seems likely that the ones closest to it in date have been most influenced by it, though the further influence of a second edition appearing close to the turn of the century cannot be ruled out. The most important work in the satirical field is Nashe's Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell (1592), which, as the title suggests, involves news sent to Hell rather than received from it. The work is referred to by many in the same genre which follow it. During the last decade of the sixteenth-century the genre of literature from Hell still seems divided between works written as satire, which spring from Nashe's example, and works which just use the device of Hell and ghostly visitations as an introduction, which follow the style of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie more closely.

In 1592 Henry Chettle published Kind-harts Dreame, a work best known for its Epistle, which explains the circumstances surrounding the publication of Greenes Groats-worth of Witte and vindicates Nashe. The work has

something from both the style of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and Pierce Penillesse, as the full title shows,

Kind-harts Dreame conteining five apparitions
with their invectives against abuses rainging.
Delivered by severall ghosts unto him to be
publisht after Piers Penillesse post had
refused the carriage.

The work tells how Kind-hart, a tooth-drawer, falls asleep in a tavern 'not far from Finsburie'. Five apparitions, whom he describes in detail, appear to him; they are the ghosts of Anthony Now Now, generally identified as Anthony Munday, Richard Tarlton, William Cuckoe, Maister Doctor Burcot, and Robert Greene. The knight of the post who carried Pierce Penillesse's supplication to Lucifer also appears; he refuses to carry their bills, so they gather round Kind-hart and charge him to wake and publish their work, they then disappear. He wakes and finds the five papers in his hand.

The papers consist of five invectives. The first is that of Anthony Now Now against pirate ballad-mongers selling scurrilous songs, he advises that they be forcibly stopped. Next Doctor Burcot attacks quack doctors and negligent apothecaries. Kind-hart adds his own comments on quack tooth-drawers. Robert Greene addresses himself to Pierce Penillesse. He defends the sincerity of his repentance. The style is fiery and liberally scattered with vituperations. Chettle has imitated Greene's habit of sprinkling his work with Latin quips and tags. Kind-hart says that he would have taken Greene's message to be addressed to him if it had not been marked otherwise. Tarlton speaks against unruly crowds at plays, and makes some general remarks about plays and actors. The piece includes several references to his costume and characteristic tricks. Kind-hart

takes up a point of Tarlton's and complains of high and unjust rents. The final paper is that of William Cuckoe, who opens crying 'Roome for a craftie knave', and sets out to expose knavish trickery and deceit. His paper is very much in the style of the Conny-Catching pamphlets of Greene. Kind-hart then summarizes the papers, and states his intentions towards them.

Greene's paper is perhaps the most interesting in presentation, being vaguer in tone than the others, and not levelled against any identifiable abuse, Kind-hart's comment on it is equally abstruse,

With Robin Greene it passes Kindharts capacity to deale; for as I knowe not the reason of his unrest: so will I not intermeddle in the cause: but as soone as I can convey his letter, where it should be delivered. (sig. G4^v)

Kind-hart concludes by adding another tale of trickery to those told by William Cuckoe.

Kind-harts Dreame combines characteristics of both Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and Pierce Penillesse. The introduction of the invectives and the references to Pierce Penillesse and the knight of the post recall Nashe, but the use of the dream echoes Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The appearance of Tarlton's ghost four years after his death may owe something to the earlier pamphlet, though his name was still to be met frequently, and his popularity had diminished very little. Greene had only been dead for three months, and this is the first of several appearances of his ghost.

In the same year as Kind-harts Dreame Greenes Vision

was published, which is significant because of its connection with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, which will be discussed later. In 1590 The Cobler of Caunterburie was published in answer to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, and sometime between 1590 and 1592 Greene wrote his Vision in response to this. In it he protests against suggestions that he wrote The Cobler of Caunterburie, and then moves into the genre of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. He falls asleep, and sees the ghosts of two literary figures approach him, Chaucer and Gower:

Being in this deepe meditation, lying
contemplating upon my bed, I fell a sleepe,
where I had not lyne long in a slumber, but
that me thought I was in a faire medowe,
sitting under an Oake, viewing the beautie
of the sunne which then shewed himselfe in
his pride: as thus I sat gasing on so
gorgeous an object, I spied comming downe
the Meade, two ancient men ... (sig. B4^v)

The two poets both tell tales, and in the discussion that follows Solomon appears and speaks, after which the author wakes,

And this he spake with such a maiestie,
that the terrour of his countenance
afrighted me, and I started and awoake,
and found my selfe in a dreame. (sig. H3^v)

In the following year, 1593, two works appeared dealing more fully with the subjects of Hell and spirits. The first of these is Tell-trothes new-yeares gift beeing Robin Good-fellowes newes. With his owne invective against jelosy.⁷⁴ In this Tell-troth tells how he met Robin Goodfellow, 'a boone companion', on the road to Islington. Robin had just returned from Hell, and explains that he managed to get there because he can become invisible. He declines to describe the places of punishment, because,

To tell what I there saw, were no newes:
 because it hath beene tolde by so many,
 whereof soome of them have not reported
 amisse. (sig. A2^v)

Instead he tells of attending a meeting at which the speaker describes how jealousy above all other vices sends great numbers to Hell, and then produces a list of the causes and means of jealousy, which Robin relates. There follows an account of the eight causes of jealousy, the eight kinds of jealousy, and eight ways to increase jealousy, some of the points being illustrated by tales. Robin concludes with his 'Invective against Jelosy'. Tell-troth adds an epilogue 'To the Gentlewomen and others of England'. There is a brief mention of Pierce Penillesse as the arrival of his supplication is described. It is interesting to find Robin Goodfellow's name associated with information about the otherworld again.

The other work that appeared in 1593 is of more interest, that is Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell. Prohibited the first for writing of Bookes, and banished out of the last for displaying of Conny-catchers, by B.R. (probably Barnaby Rich). This is Greene's second appearance as a ghost. The author tells how he was walking between 'Pancredge Church & Pye-corner' after sunset when he saw the ghost. He could not avoid it, and remembered the belief that a ghost must be addressed first before it can speak, so he spoke to it. The ghost reveals itself as Greene, and requires the author to see his papers, which it gives to him, to the press, and then vanishes. The author hurries home to read the papers.

Greene says that he is publishing his tale to entertain his readers. He refers the reader to various authorities on

the after-life if they doubt what he says. He then tells how his soul wandered after death until he came to a hill, on which he met Cloth Breeches and Velvet Breeches and joined company with them. This is a reference to Greene's work A Quip for an Upstart Courtier (1592), in which these two characters appear, and which has a dream framework. Greene refers to his published works frequently throughout Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell. The three characters reach the gates of Heaven, where a crowd waits until St Peter has time to interview them. Cloth Breeches is allowed entry, Greene is refused because in writing the Conny-Catching pamphlets he neglected to reveal the tricks of the nobility, clergy and professional classes. Velvet Breeches is refused because he is condemned by a tale of his treachery told by a mercer from Cheapside.

Velvet Breeches and Greene set off for Purgatory, together with a Yorkshire brick-layer, Ruffling Richard, who has just refused to enter Heaven because his wife is there. Whilst they walk he tells the tale of his marriage. They meet another man looking for Purgatory, who carries a candle which he refuses to leave. A discussion follows about the value of relics and belief in the intercession of saints. The four of them next meet a living woman who had been carrying the latest fashions to the ladies in Hell, but had been frightened into turning back by a monster. She joins their company and they all face the monster, who, as it turns out, was a miller on earth, and tells his tale. He also tells them, in what is probably the finest passage in the work, that Purgatory does not exist:

The persons that were the first founders
of the place, were not perfectly sighted,
but like as the Owle which cannot abide

the light of the Sunne, flyeth evermore in
 ye night, so those men, not able to endure
 that excellent brightnesse which is the
 onely true light to every perfect understanding,
 framing all theyr platformes in obscuritie
 and darknesse, amongst other idle inventions,
 woulde needes take upon them the building of
 Purgatorie. The place where they had seated
 it, was so obscured with such fogges and
 filthy mystes, that no man that had the
 perfect use of hys wittes, was ever able to
 find the situation. The foundation wheron
 it was layd, was lyes and foolish fantasies,
 the rest of the upper buildings, was dreames
 and doting devises. All the whole edifice,
 was of such lyght and rotten stuffe, that
 after they had beene two or three hundred
 yeeres patching & peeing it together, a
 poore silly Swaine naked and thred bare,
 called Trueth, blowing against the building
 but with a little blast of breath, the gale
 was of such force against it, that the whole
 matter & substance, together with the Founders,
 Patrons, Proctors, Protectors & Defenders,
 were al blown immediatly into Hell: so that
 who soever he be that seeketh for Purgatory,
 there hee shall be sure to finde it: and for
 these thirty yeeres that I have wandred in
 these places, there never came any to enquire
 after it but madde men and fooles. 75

The travellers next meet a procession coming from Hell
 to meet the pope's legate. Entering Hell they see various
 allegorical figures, and come upon Hildebrand saying mass, his
 job as the founder of the doctrine of transubstantiation. A
 council meeting follows in which the legate explains that the
 pope, as Antichrist, has failed in his endeavours against
 France, England and Ireland, and requires advice. As soon as
 he has finished speaking, the ghost of Tarlton enters singing
 an old song, which,

brought the whole company into such a
 vehement laughter, that not able agayne
 to make them keepe silence, for that
 present tyme they were faine to breake
 uppe. (sig. H1^v)

The ghost of one Commens sees Velvet Breeches and the two fight. They are parted and taken before Lucifer, so is Greene because he is a stranger. Commens explains his grievance, and the ghosts begin to take sides. The conny-catchers take the side of Velvet Breeches, and then see Greene. They all threaten him because of his exposure of their tricks, therefore Lucifer has him thrown out of Hell. Turned away from both Heaven and Hell and condemned to wander, he plans to do much mischief, and indeed evil, and sometimes to 'bee Robin Goodfellow'. He concludes by warning his readers to beware of his ghost.

This is one of the better works following the example of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The device of a popular figure recounting its after-life adventures, therefore using the name in the title to promote the work, was likely to sell well. It is interesting to see Tarlton's ghost appearing yet again, albeit briefly. Also Greene's threat to become a 'Robin Goodfellow', listing some of the traditional tricks of a puck, is a new way of introducing this character.

Nothing of great interest appeared in 1594. Robert Wilson, whose relationship with Tarlton is discussed elsewhere, published his play The Coblers Prophecie (if indeed it is his), which includes a short scene with Charon (sigs. C3^V-D1), written in the style of a Lucianic dialogue.

1594 also saw the appearance of John Dickenson's Arisbas, Euphues amidst his slumbers: Or Cupids Journey to Hell. 'Cupid's Journey to Hell' is an inset tale (sigs. D3-D4^V), that has little to do with Hell. It tells how Cupid visited Hell and whilst there fell asleep, dropping his bow and quiver.

Proserpine came in, saw them, and, blaming them for her being trapped in Hell, took them to give to someone else, thinking them not safe to be left in the custody of a child. Then Plutus, the god of coin, stumbled in and was persuaded to take them. Cupid woke, missed them, and fled Hell. A long allegorical digression explains why Plutus stumbled in at that moment. Plutus uses the arrows to wound, but their heads are now of lead merely garnished with gold, so the affection caused by them is merely mercenary.

In 1595 little was published on the theme of Hell. There was a ballad entered in the Stationers' Register on 30 January 1594/95 called, 'the first parte of the Divelles holdinge of a parliament in hell for the provydinge of statutes against pride', but this has not survived.⁷⁶ There was also a work called Orpheus his iourney to hell and his music to the ghosts by R.B. (probably Richard Barnfield), which retells the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice in verse.

In 1596 Luke Hutton's pamphlet The Blacke Dogge of Newgate was entered in the Stationers' Register.⁷⁷ This begins in verse, telling how the author lies in bed feeling depressed. He dreams that he sees Hell and its devils, and when threatened by them an angelic voice encourages him. He wakes and sees Minerva, who bids him write down what he will see for the sake of Father Time, who grieves to see the havoc of the black dogs, hell hounds, who walk in the shape of men. Hutton then sees a broom man who transforms into a Cerberus-like dog who attacks him and carries him away to 'Pluto's cell'.

In the rest of the poem the author describes his sufferings in prison, which he speaks of in terms of Hell.

At times his allegory becomes very obscure. At the end Time appears to him, and, hearing his account, says that he must reveal the identity of the black dog. The verses are a shadow of the truth, but he must turn to prose in order to warn men of this dog that is in the shape and nature of a man yet destroying men. The author wakes and sets himself to describing the practices of the 'black dog'. The remainder of the pamphlet is a prose dialogue in the style of the Conny-Catching literature.

In 1597 a very brief sequel to Rabelais's view of Hell appeared in Bishop Joseph Hall's Virgidemiarum, Book III, satire vi.

In 1598 John Dickenson published Greene in Concept. New raised from his grave to write the Tragique Historie of faire Valeria of London, which is perhaps the last of the works that can be thought of as direct descendants of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. Addressing the reader the author tells how late one night he was reading Lucan's Timon when he suddenly fell asleep. He saw in front of him a man 'in death's livery' writing quickly. He was much surprised, particularly as he had just been reading an author who scoffs at the idea of apparitions. When he regained his courage he asked who the man was, and why he had come. The figure describes himself as one who employed his pen 'in the advancement of vanitie, and afterward in the discovering of villanie', from which, he claims, Dickenson should be able to guess his identity. He regards his early works as wasteful and wrong, but somewhat redeemed by his later efforts. The author moves to embrace him, and is astonished to find the figure at the other end of

the room suddenly. The figure is amused, asking, 'Hast thou tost over so many Authors, & knowest not yet that ghostes are shadowes?' (sig. A3).

He proceeds to tell how all the famous cynics of former times greet newcomers to the underworld, and inquire about their state in life. They taunt those who had wealth and ease, and comfort those who had stress and care. None thanks them for their comfort, but all rail against death and wish to live again, even those who had lived to old age, with all its infirmities, or who were suffering physical disease and pain. Greene's ghost marvels at what makes men dote on life.

Whilst in Hell he saw a woman's ghost walking unprotesting among the laments of others. He recognized her, and knew that when he died she had been living prosperously in London. He asked why she was so patient. She explained that her state had changed to one of 'want and woe', and told him her story. He agreed that she would be mad to lament as death had relieved her from distress. He wished to live again, if only for two days, so that he could write her tale as a warning to others. He beseeched Mercury to allow his ghost to revisit earth to find someone to write the tale on his behalf. Mercury agreed, but allowed him only an hour. He then tells the tale to Dickenson, and requests that it be made known that the work comes from him. Dickenson protests that he is not capable of the task, his style is different and he is not worthy of the job. Also he fears,

none will beleeve this, but rather deem it a blinde devise of mine to begge a title for my booke, & to picke up some crummes of credit from anothers table. Some againe will charge me that I have stolne this concept out of Lucian. (sig. A4)

He suggests that others would be better known to Greene, and far more able. The ghost says that this is nonsense, and demands that he perform the task, so he finally agrees. The author wants to ask a question, presumably about the nature of Hell, but the ghost forestalls him because he is not allowed to reveal information, he then vanishes. The author is left wishing to ask many questions, which he lists. He hits the table with his hand and wakes. The text of the tale follows.

At the turn of the century the tales which spring from the example of Pierce Penilesse have become dominant. In 1604 The Blacke Booke was produced by T.M. [Thomas Middleton]. In this the Devil visits London in disguise, in order to requite the author of Pierce Penilesse's supplication. The work is of more interest as a satire on contemporary London, described in the terms of Hell, than as an heir of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

A work published in about 1605 makes a return to the style of the early 1590s, that is Ratseis Ghost. Or the second part of his madde pranckes and robberies. The introduction in fact bears a strong resemblance to that of Kind-harts Dreame. In this the narrator is drunk and sleepy. He is in a strange place, and asks for a place where he can sleep, promising payment. At first this is denied him, which makes him melancholy. He tries to keep awake, and eventually pays for a bed where he can lie down. When he is asleep he sees three apparitions,

the first looking verie ghastly in despaire
like Iudas, with a halter about his necke:
the second following him as fearful, crying
revenge for betraying him: the third wringing
his hands and weeping for his sore spent life.

They appeared unto me in their severall shapes and semblances, as (me thought) they had been then living, but that I knew the contrarie. (sigs. A2^v-A3)

They are followed by John Fitz-John, a knight of the post both before and after death, whom they beg to take their letters, which expose their tricks, and will warn others, after which their souls will be able to rest quietly. He refuses, then they turn to the narrator,

With that, after a small pawse, in a round ring they compassed my bed, and thrusting their severall papers into my hands, me thought they all at once spoke unto me, and charged me to awake, and to publish the contents of what was delivered in writing. (sig. A3)

The remainder of the book, as the title suggests, describes a number of treacherous tricks, linked together to form a jest biography.

As news from Hell became a medium for satire, so ghosts of famous characters became used for political ends, as well as to promote sales. The ghost of Jack Straw is used as a suitable prologue to the tale of the life and death of John Leyden, told by his ghost in Samuel Rowlands's Hell's Broke Loose in 1605. In this the narrator stresses the physical horrors of the ghost's appearance, rather than the sensations with which he views it, to such an extent that it seems slightly ridiculous,

Skin torne, Flesh wounded, ugly to behold:
A totterd Body peece-meale pull'd in sunder:
Harken (quoth hee) to that which shall be told,
And looke not thus amaz'd with feare and wonder:
Though I am all bestabbed, slash'd, and torne,
I am not Caesar, him, an's ghost I scorne. (sig. B1)

1606 saw two replies to Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse's* supplication. The first of these is an indifferent work by an anonymous author, The Returne of the Knight of the Poste from Hell, with the Divels aunswere to the Supplication of Pierce Penilesse, with some Relation of the last Treasons. In the Epistle the writer recalls Nashe's work, and claims to have been his friend. He tells how Nashe planned to write a reply, and discussed its form and content, but died before he could write the work. The author, therefore, although unworthy of the task, has undertaken to complete the intention. He tells how he returned to London from the country on the day after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. At St Paul's he met the knight of the post, who is carrying an answer from the Devil to Pierce Penilesse, which he gives to the author to read. The rest of the work consists of this answer.

The other reply is Dekker's Newes from Hell, which must be the last of the works on Hell in which the influence of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie can even be sought. The work combines elements of the style and form of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie with the subject matter, albeit much adapted, of Pierce Penilesse, and can be considered a masterpiece in the early stages of the Hell literature which had begun to flourish. In the Epistle Dekker refers to another who has preceded him with this reply, presumably meaning The Returne of the Knight of the Poste, in which the Devil discusses the various points raised by Pierce under the headings of various sins. Dekker concentrates on the journey of the narrator to Hell, allowing the answer to occupy a comparatively small space. The work is lighthearted in tone, but with a serious intent

beneath the merriment, similar in presentation to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

Newes from Hell opens with a description of Hell, which is very far away, and yet easy to reach. All trades and professions can be found there, except poets, for fear of libel, though there are some poor poets, such as ballad makers, and many players. Many people can take the traveller there easily, but none can tell him where it is. The narrator calls upon Orpheus, who accomplished the journey safely, for assistance.

The knight of the post sets out in earnest to collect companions en route to Hell. He starts out at Billingsgate to collect souls from

that goodly fishpond the Thames, as he passed over it, in Gravesend barge: that was the water coach he would ride in, there he knew he should meete with some voluntaries that would venture along with him. (sig. C3)

He travels through Holland, France, Spain and Venice seeking companions.

Arriving at the shore of Acheron the knight of the post describes Charon's boat, and gives some examples of the disparity between the passengers, such as Will Sommers and Richard III, and aldermen and cobblers. Having described the characters waiting on the shore, he proceeds to talk about the boat and about Charon himself. Charon complains that his passengers used to be those who had fallen in battle, whereas now they are more likely to have died through being poisoned by their wives, or from similar ignoble causes.

The knight crosses Acheron and continues with his journey.

He sees souls dragged to trial at the quarter sessions in Hell. There follows an allegorical account of the scene, the prisoners are 'soules, that have committed Treason against their Creation' (sig. E4^V), the jury is made up of their sins, the witness is Conscience.

The supplication is eventually given to the Devil, and his reaction and answer are described. The knight sets out on his return journey, and meets the soul of a usurer, newly arrived in Hell, who requires a guide. The knight refuses to be his guide, but answers some of his questions, including ones about the geography and significance of the rivers of Hell. He finally escapes from the usurer and returns to Acheron, where Mercury and Charon are arguing about Charon's debts. There follows a dialogue in the Lucianic style, in which the debts are itemized and the knight arbitrates between the two. He asks after Pierce Penilesse and is told that he could not afford the fare across Acheron, and so went the long way round to 'Elizium'. The knight sets out to find him there, and as he leaves a party of dead arrive, led by William Eps, whose story is told by one of his troop.

The knight of the post cannot enter the Elysian Fields, so he calls Pierce Penilesse to him, delivers the Devil's answer, and, glancing at the Elysian Fields which are forbidden to him, rides away.

At the end we learn that the whole tale of the journey is a dream, though there has been no indication of this at the beginning. The end of the pamphlet is the author's awakening,

upon which, lest my intranced soule lie too long, and forget herselfe, let me heere (like one started out of a golden dreame) be so delighted with these treasures, which I found in my sleepe ... (sig. H4^v)

In 1607 the work was reissued in an expanded version as A Knights Conjuring. This has a longer introductory section than Newes from Hell. It is divided into eleven chapters, each headed by a verse stanza summarizing its contents. The passage in praise of Thomas Nashe in Newes from Hell (sigs. C2-C2^v) is omitted. At the end, after the departure of the knight of the post, the authorial voice takes over and guides the reader through the realm of Elysium. This description culminates in the Grove of Bay trees, in which the poets dwell. Here we see the shades of Marlowe, Greene, Peele and the recently dead Nashe. Whilst the scene is being described the ghost of Chettle arrives, and the others rise to greet him, which wakes the author, this version also being a dream,

all rose up, and fell presentlie on their knees, to drinck a health to all the Lovers of Hellicon: in dooing which, they made such a mad noyse, that all this Coniuring which is past, (beeing but a dreame,) I suddenlie started up, and am now awake. (sig. L1^v)

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie forms a small part of a large literary genre, and it is important to consider it within the context of that genre. It is only one work of very many that deal with the subject of news from, or journeys to, Hell, or an indefinite otherworld, and study of some of the other works helps to show the scope of the field in which the author was writing. The piece appeared at the end of a century in which people had come to reject some of the doctrines

of the Roman Catholic Church, and therefore writers felt free to use the style of earlier works in the genre lightheartedly, and at the beginning of an era in which much use was made of the genre as a medium for satire. It marks a turning point between the old attention to horrific detail, and didactic purpose, and the new use of comedy and satire, and being a pivot it successfully combines the two without producing detail too ridiculous to be acceptable, or unpleasantly acidic satire.

Footnotes

- 1 Marcus Dods, Forerunners of Dante: an account of some of the more important visions of the unseen world, from the earliest times (Edinburgh, 1903), p.34.
- 2 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.41.
- 3 Ernest J. Becker, A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with Special Reference to the Middle-English Versions (Baltimore, 1899), p.50.
- 4 Becker, Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, pp.69-70.
- 5 Arnold Barel van Os, Religious Visions: The development of the eschatological elements in mediaeval English religious literature (Amsterdam, 1932), p.148.
- 6 D.D.R. Owen, The Vision of Hell: Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature (Edinburgh, 1970), p.ix.
- 7 Becker, Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, p.5.
- 8 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, pp.172; 192; 195; 250.
- 9 Owen, The Vision of Hell, pp.253-259; 292-302.
- 10 Owen, The Vision of Hell, pp.14; 51.
- 11 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.182.
- 12 Os, Religious Visions, p.37.
- 13 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, pp.195-199.
- 14 Frances A. Foster, 'Legends of the After-Life', in 'Saints' Legends' by Charlotte D'Evelyn and Frances A. Foster, in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, by Members of the Middle English Group of the Modern Language Association of America, editors J. Burke Severs and A.E. Hartung (New Haven, 1967-), ii, 452-457; 645-649.
- 15 Foster, 'Legends of the After-Life', pp.456; 648.
- 16 Os, Religious Visions, p.28.
- 17 Os, Religious Visions, p.28.
- 18 Bede, Historia Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum, Book V, chapter 12.
- 19 Becker, Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, p.52.

- 20 Owen, The Vision of Hell, pp.3-5; 94.
- 21 L'Inferno, Canto II, lines 28-30.
- 22 Becker, Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, p.30.
- 23 Foster, 'Legends of the After-Life', pp.452-453; 645-646.
- 24 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.219.
- 25 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.228. Dods is the only authority to mention this printed version.
- 26 Foster, 'Legends of the After-Life', pp.455; 648.
- 27 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.239.
- 28 Thomas Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory; an essay on the legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages (London, 1844).
- 29 Jacobus de Varagine, The legende named in Latyn Legenda aurea that is to say in Englisshe The golden legende, translated by Caxton (Westminster, 1493), fol.cviii.
- 30 Owen, The Vision of Hell, p.217.
- 31 Owen, The Vision of Hell, p.219.
- 32 Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp.137-138.
- 33 Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp.140-151.
- 34 Foster, 'Legends of the After-Life', pp.453-455; 646-648.
- 35 Roger de Wendover, Flores Historiarum (1189-1235), revised by Matthew Paris and incorporated into his Chronica Majora.
- 36 E. Arber, editor, The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham 1196 (London, 1869).
- 37 The History of the Church of Englande. Compiled by Venerable Bede, Englishman, translated out of Latin in to English by Thomas Stapleton Student in Divinitie (Antwerp, 1565).
- 38 Matthaei Paris, monachi Albanensis, Angli, historia maior, edited by Abp. M. Parker (London, 1571).
- 39 The three books answer a work by Bishop Fisher, the title of which is unknown, Thomas More's Supplycacion of Soulys in Purgatory [1529], and Rastell's Boke of Purgatory.
- 40 Becker, Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, p.79.
- 41 The first edition of a translation appeared in 1503, but was in a broad Scottish dialect unintelligible to English readers. A fresh translation was commissioned by Richard Pynson, and published by him in 1506.

- 42 E. Arber, editor, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London 1554-1640, 5 vols (London, 1875-77, Birmingham, 1894, reprinted New York, 1950), i, 181.
- 43 Arber, i, 296.
- 44 Lily B. Campbell, editor, The Mirror for Magistrates (Cambridge, 1938), p.56.
- 45 The Mirror for Magistrates, p.483.
- 46 The Mirror for Magistrates, p.181.
- 47 L'Inferno, Canto VIII, lines 26-30.
- 48 The Mirror for Magistrates, p.346.
- 49 The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Arms. A new edition carefully revised [by D. Laing], 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1871), i, 9.
- 50 Lyndsay, i, 12.
- 51 The only other example of their names appearing linked that I have found is A commemoration of dirige of bastarde Edmonde Boner, alias Savage, usurped Bisshoppe of London, compiled by Lemeke Avale (London, 1569), sig. B2v.
- 52 Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, p.47.
- 53 Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp.183-185.
- 54 The Works of Plato (Loeb Classical Library), 12 vols (London, 1914-35, reprinted 1919-66), ii, The Republic, translated by Paul Shorey, p.515.
- 55 Plato, ii, 515.
- 56 Owen, The Vision of Hell, p.208.
- 57 Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp.49-52.
- 58 Owen, The Vision of Hell, pp.205-06.
- 59 L'Inferno, Canti XXI-XXIII.
- 60 The Complete Works of St Thomas More (New Haven, 1963-), iii, pt. 1, edited by C.R. Thompson (1974).
- 61 François Rabelais, Gargantua and Pantagruel, 2 vols (Everyman's Library. Romance. 826-827) (London, 1929, reprinted 1954).
- 62 The bridge first appears in the Vision of the Monk of Wenlock. Details of its occurrences thereafter are summarized in H.R. Patch, The Other World according to Descriptions in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p.129.

- 63 L'Inferno, Canto III, lines 1-21.
- 64 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, pp.205-208.
- 65 The Revelation to the Monk of Evesham, p.38.
- 66 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.187.
- 67 Os, Religious Visions, p.138.
- 68 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.198.
- 69 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, p.206.
- 70 Dods, Forerunners of Dante, pp.208-211.
- 71 Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, translated, with a commentary, by Charles S. Singleton, [Part 1] Inferno, 2 vols (London, 1971), i, 196, Canto XIX, 52-54.
- 72 Gabriel Harvey, Pierces Supererogation (London, 1593), sig. K2.
- 73 Benjamin Boyce, 'News from Hell', P M L A, 58 (1943), 402-437.
- 74 Frederick J. Furnivall, editor, Tell-Trothes New-Yeaeres Gift [and four other works], for The New Shakspeare Society, Series VI, no. 2 (London, 1876).
Furnivall misdates Tell-Trothes New-Yeaeres Gift 1591 in his table of contents.
- 75 B[arnabe] R[ich], Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell, in Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell by B.R., 1593 and Greenes funeralls by R[ichard] B[arnfield], 1594.
Reprinted from the original editions with notes etc. by R.B. McKerrow (London, 1911, reprinted Stratford-upon-Avon, 1922), pp.52-53.
- 76 Arber, ii, 670.
- 77 Arber, iii, 56.

Sources

An examination of the sources of the tales told in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie reveals the skill with which the author manipulated his material in order to influence his reader's response to characters, in particular the response to a character's justified or undeserved punishment in Purgatory. A knowledge of the tales which constitute his sources shows which elements he chose to use, and which he rejected, and also his careful development of the features he selected, thus demonstrating his ability as a story-teller. Knowing the backgrounds from which the source tales have been culled, usually collections of Italian novelle, helps the reader to appreciate the way in which they have been adapted to fit the particular setting of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

The sources he chose may throw some light on the problem of the identity of the author. The selection of texts, and the languages in which they were available, may give some indication of the literary interests of the writer, and of his familiarity with languages other than English. A close examination of the tales alongside their sources should reveal which version of the original was used, if more than one was available, and perhaps show his proficiency in the language in question. Ranson has named the sources of some of the tales in his commentary on the text, but provides no detailed discussion of them, and only mentions any problems of translation in the context of Greene's knowledge.

Four of the tales, those of Friar Onion, the Cook, the Vicar of Bergamo, and the Gentlewoman of Lyons, are based on

tales from Boccaccio's Il Decamerone, of which there was no English version in 1590. Thirty-three tales from the Decameron had been translated into English before 1590, the bulk of them by William Painter, who included sixteen in The Palace of Pleasure (1566 and 1567). The rest are isolated examples. None of the four tales used in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie had been translated previously as far as is known.

England was the last major European country to acquire a version of the Decameron in its own language, however, the work was available to the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie in several other languages. The first translation was that of Laurent de Premierfait in France, which, having no knowledge of Italian, he took from a Latin version prepared for him by Antonio d'Arezzo. His text was printed, albeit in a mutilated version, by Antoine Vérard in 1485, and ran to eight editions by 1541. In 1545 a far more accurate translation by Antoine le Maçon appeared, of which there were several editions before 1590. In Spain the Decameron was translated into Catalan in 1429, and was printed in Seville in 1496. In Germany a version by 'Arigo' was printed at Ulm in about 1473, and at Augsburg in 1490, later editions followed. In Holland a translation of fifty of the tales, based on le Maçon's version, by Dirck Cornhert was produced in 1564, the remaining fifty were published in a translation by Gerrit Hendricx van Breugel in 1605. The history of the work in Italy is more complex because of its condemnation by the Catholic Church. In January 1559 it was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books by Pope Paul IV.¹ An expurgated version was issued at Florence in 1573, however, with the sanction of

the Church. Boccaccio was popular in Italy, and because of this several expurgated versions appeared, the best known being that of Lionardo Salviati, first published in 1582. Salviati altered the text by removing sections which were detrimental to ecclesiastics, and by changing such characters to lay persons, or by portraying them as imposters rather than as true clerics. Often he left Boccaccio's words in the text, and in the margin added the orthodox views of unorthodox features. He sometimes turned references to objects associated with Christianity to pagan ones, for instance, in IV, ii Friar Alberto does not impersonate Gabriel but Cupid, and in VI, x the feather is not that of Gabriel but of the phoenix, and the coal is not associated with St Lawrence but with the phoenix.

The Decameron was not unknown in England; Humphrey of Gloucester possessed a copy of Premierfait's version, and Chaucer used three tales, without acknowledging his source.² It is now thought, however, that it was not nearly as popular as Franco Sacchetti's remark in Proemio del Trecento Novelle, 'che insino in Francia e in Inghilterra l'hanno ridotto alla loro lingua', implies.³ It seems likely that Sacchetti spoke merely by hearsay, without real knowledge.⁴ In 1550 William Thomas published his Principal rules of the Italian Grammer, which included 'a Dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarcha, and Dante'. Further editions appeared in 1562 and 1567. On 13 September 1587 an edition of Il decamerone di Boccacio, in Italian, was licensed to John Wolfe, but there is no evidence that this was ever printed.⁵ In 1620 the first complete English translation of the Decameron appeared, printed by Isaac Jaggard, by an unknown translator

and based on Salviati's version, though also influenced by le Maçon's text.

The four tales from the Decameron in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie seem not to have been derived from another English source, and it must be decided from which version they were translated. The details in the tales show that they did not come from an expurgated Italian version, such as that of Salviati, but are more likely to have been translated from an unexpurgated Italian version or from that of le Maçon. Le Maçon followed the original closely, and in translation it is difficult to distinguish between the two. Le Maçon occasionally tried to clarify the original by replacing pronouns with nouns, and added proper names when there was likelihood of confusion. Sometimes he did misinterpret the original, even in the tales relevant to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, but in details which have not been translated into the English anyway, and so give no indication of which text the author was following.

The author never loses his anti-papist tone. He adapts the sources to fit his design, but rarely in order to screen the various ecclesiastics, rather to lessen the blame attached to other characters.

The tale of Friar Onion is taken from the Decameron day IV, tale ii. The most immediately striking alterations to the original are those of setting and name. Boccaccio's tale is set in Venice, which becomes an important factor in the plot, the tale in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is set in Florence. In the original the friar is called 'Alberto', the name 'Onion', in Italian 'Cipolla', is that of the character in day VI, tale x from whom the Vicar of Bergamo is developed. The lady's

name, Lisetta, remains the same. The protagonists in Boccaccio's tale are portrayed more blackly than in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The tale opens with an account of the background of the friar, a complete villain, rather than with that of the lady. A major alteration to the reader's reaction to Lisetta is made by her being a widow, not a wife whose husband is absent, as she is in the original. The lady is vain and proud in both versions, but in Boccaccio's the emphasis on her vanity is excessive, killing any grains of humanity that could be found in her. In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie we are told of her vanity, and reminded of it by references and incidents throughout the text, in the Decameron she condemns herself in a speech in reply to the friar when asked if she has a lover, thinking herself above consorting with a mere mortal.

The mechanism of the plot has been changed in the English version. Friar Alberto's setting up of his scheme is more complex. Instead of mentioning his dream comparatively casually to Lisetta he visits her at her home with a tale of how the angel berated him for scolding her for her vanity, and asks forgiveness. The mounting tension of Friar Onion's teasing Lisetta's curiosity by refusing to tell her of the angel's request has been added by the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. Boccaccio passes over this point lightly, placing more stress on the physical encounter between the friar and the angel. It is interesting to see how closely the language of the English tale reflects that of Boccaccio as the friar tells Lisetta how lucky she is:

as you are the fairest, so you would thinke
your selfe the happiest of all weomen that

are alive. (sig. C3, p.297)

and,

di che voi, più che altra donna che viva,
tener vi potete beata. 6

The author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie omits Lisetta's blasphemous condition that Gabriel must not desert her for the Virgin Mary, this being too strong for the tone of his tale, anti-clerical though that is. Lisetta's reaction to the friar's 'dream' is even more vain and foolish in the Italian version than in the tale of Friar Onion.

In Boccaccio's tale the friar takes a trusted companion with him on his exploits, whereas Friar Onion operates strictly alone. Alberto uses the house of a 'lady friend' to prepare himself rather than that of 'an old pander that dwelt opposite to the house', which makes clear that this is not his first amorous venture. Boccaccio supplies many physical details of the amorous encounters between the couple, both in the narrative and in Lisetta's conversations with the friar and with her neighbour. He also gives details of the 'life in Paradise' which the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie omits, either because they are superfluous or to lessen the censure of his characters.

In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie the news of Lisetta's extraordinary liaison distresses her friends and family on account of her folly, in the Decameron it is her husband's brothers who hear it, and act against the aduress on his behalf. The aim of Lisetta's friends, however, is much the same as that of her brothers-in-law:

but they would take the Angell Gabriell
and clip his winges from flying. (sig. D1, p.301)

and,

si posero in cuore di trovare questo agnolo,
e di sapere se egli sapesse volare. 7

In the original the friar hears rumours about the 'angel Gabriel', but is unable to act upon his knowledge before the brothers arrive to wreak their vengeance. The change of the setting of the tale in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is here significant in that in Boccaccio's version the friar leaps from the bedroom window into the Grand Canal, whereas in Florence, in the absence of a canal, he lands in a lane. In the Decameron we are told no details of the yarn the friar spins to the man into whose house he runs; in the tale of Friar Onion his having landed in the lane and bruised himself adds the appearance of truth to his tale of having fallen among thieves. In each tale the fact that the 'angel' left without his wings is stressed.

The English writer has removed a rather unpleasant trait from Boccaccio's rescuer of the friar who demands fifty ducats for his assistance, rather than being offered forty ducats by the friar. The necessity for concealment and the 'honest man's' plan are basically the same in each tale. The friar's disguise is the same in all but that he is covered in honey, not in honey and barm, the significance of which is unknown. The setting being Venice Friar Alberto is chained in St Mark's Square. The proclamation in the tale of Friar Onion, that,

who so would see the Angell Gabriell, should
presently come to the market place, and
behold him there in that amorous dignitie

that he did usually visit the Dames of
Florence, (sig. D2, p.303)

echoes the man's cry when he unmaskes the friar in Boccaccio's
tale,

io voglio che voi veggiate l'agnolo
Gabriello, il quale di cielo in terra
discende la notte a consolare le donne
viniziane. 8

The reaction of the other friars has been slightly
altered in the tale of Friar Onion, in which they leave the
spectacle for shame and free him later, in the Decameron
they free him when they see him. In each version he is
imprisoned by the friars for his behaviour.

This is the first full English translation of day IV,
tale ii, however, it had twice appeared in English literature
before 1590. Greene mentions it in The Spanish Masquerado
(1589), showing that he knew the tale, but gives no detailed
description of it:

Of this generation Iohn Boccace in his
Decameron telleth manye pretty tales: of
their Lechrye, as when faire Albert under
the shape of the Angell Gabriell, lay with
Dame Lezetta. (sig. C4)

A much changed version of Boccaccio's tale is used by
George Whetstone in his An Heptameron of Civill Discourses of
1582. 'The adventure of Fryer Inganno' (sig. Miv^V) is told by
Mounsier Bergetto on the fourth day. This tale is in fact a
developed version of a combination of the Decameron day IV,
tale ii, and day VIII, tale iv. Friar Inganno is of the
Franciscan order, as is Friar Alberto, and it is St Francis
whom he impersonates. The woman who is his victim is not vain,

as is Lisetta, but humble, and he does not win her by flattery, but appeals to the reverence with which the ignorant regarded his holy office, and to her naivety. We are told 'the poore woman, as apparant as this trecherie was, had not the power to mistrust' (sig. Ni^V). In her innocence she asks the priest to have the bells rung in honour of St Francis's visit, and he at once suspects the truth of the matter. Another woman is substituted for the intended victim (from day VIII, tale iv), and the priest and parishioners appear on the scene before he has touched the woman. They decide to return St Francis to his tomb as it is so long since he was in the world that he has forgotten the way back to Heaven. They strip him and bind him like a corpse, and lay him in nettles. The next day he is scourged, anointed with honey, and set in the sun, where he is plagued by hornets, wasps and flies. In the afternoon he is carried to St Francis's tomb, accompanied by a torchlit procession, where the other friars intervene to save him from being buried alive. This tale is a general attack on friars, unlike both the Decameron and Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. We are told that Inganno learned to be more careful, but 'was nothings the honestest. For amonge men of his Habit, remayneth an opynion, that the faultes, whiche the Worlde seeeth not, GOD punnisheth not' (sig. Nii). This version differs greatly from Boccaccio's tale, and though the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie may well have known it, there is no evidence that he made use of it.

The tale of the Cook has been adapted from Decameron day VI, tale iv. The author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has made several factual changes to the original which have

affected details of the plot, and has altered the tone of the whole tale. Boccaccio sets his tale in Florence and his cook is a Venetian, in the English tale the setting is changed to Venice. The cook's name has been altered from Chichibio to Stephano, and he has become very 'English' in character. The biggest difference between the two versions, and that which most affects the tone of the whole, is the character of the master.

The master's name has been altered from Currado Gianfigliuzzi to Bartolo, which is significant in that it recalls Bartolus of Sasso-Ferrato, a lawyer whose name became a noun, Bartolist (= 'one skilled in law'), and whose commentaries on the Corpus Juris Civilis gave rise to the proverb 'Il sait son Bartole comme un cordelier son Dormi'. In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie we are told that,

There dwelled in Venice a Gentleman called Signor Bartolo, who being one of the Consiliatorie, and greatlie experienced in the civill law, was much frequented of sundry sutors. (sig. D4^v, p.311)

The reference to his being 'one of the Consiliatorie' suggests that some connection with the lawyer Bartolus may be intended. The master in Boccaccio's tale, on the other hand, is described thus,

Currado Gianfigliuzzi, sì come ciascuna di voi et udito e veduto potete avere, sempre della nostra città è stato nobile cittadino, liberale e magnifico, e vita cavalleresca tenendo, continuamente in cani et in uccelli s'è dilettrato, le sue opere maggiori al presente lasciando stare. 9

The steadier character of the master raises the tone of the tale. For instance, in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie he

wishes to see that justice is done towards Stephano, and is willing to pay a price if he is proved wrong. In the Decameron, on the other hand, his actions are motivated purely by anger, and there the sporting bet is not offered to Chichibio but just a threat, and the witness of the guests is lacking. In the Decameron Currado shoots the crane himself, but by removing the sports-loving aspect of the character the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has made this unlikely, and so the cranes (here ten not one) become a gift. The impetuous Currado orders the crane to be cooked the day he shoots it, but Bartolo plans a banquet being 'desirous to make his neighbours partakers of his dainties' (sig. E1, p.311).

Stephano is given a depth of character in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie that is not found in the original, and such English attributes as being 'chief gallant of all the parish for dancing of a Lincolneshire hornpipe in the Churchyard on sondaies' (sig. E1, p.311) are necessarily missing from the Italian. The relationship between the cook and the girl is raised above that in the Decameron in the English tale. In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie the relationship is of long-standing, and the girl is pregnant, whereas in Boccaccio's tale it is more casual. In the original she appears by chance, not specifically to see the cook, and demands the crane's leg because she wants it, not because pregnancy makes her long for it. Chichibio gives her the leg rather than anger her and risk her rejecting him, whereas Stephano does so 'for love hee bare hir, and for dread of discredite that might ensue if for want of hir longing shee shoulde fall to travell' (sig. E1^V, p.312).

The passage describing the cook's girl may indicate which

text the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie used. He describes Stephano's skill at 'courting of a Country wench' (sig. E1, p.311), but the specific girl is 'one in the towne' (sig. E1, p.311); the Italian describes her as 'una feminetta della contrada (= country), la qual Brunetta'; le Maçon, on the other hand, describes her as 'une femmelette du quartier (= town) qui s'appelloit Brunette'.¹⁰

The English writer has added much detail concerning the serving of the meal and the discovery that the crane's leg is missing. The 'sporting' element of Bartolo's bet with the cook, and the guests' willingness to attend as witnesses is not found in Boccaccio's tale, instead the cook is threatened, and the master's anger remains unabated the next day. The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, in rounding the character of his cook, adds pathos to his tale by describing Stephano's plight:

The Cooke, who provided al his trinckets
in a readines, to trudge away with bag and
baggage the next morning: for he knewe his
matter was nought; thus with a heavy hart
he passed away the night, and in the morning
fell in a slumber. (sig. E2, p.314)

This cameo of pathos stresses Stephano's realization of what he is risking in giving the leg to his girl, and trying to bluff his way out of the situation, and also wins sympathy for him which strengthens the reader's reaction to his unjust plight in Purgatory.

When Bartolo wakes Stephano the next day we are told that he 'bad him rise, that they might end the quarrell' (sig. E2, p.314), whereas Boccaccio tells us that,

come il giorno apparve, Currado, a cui non
era per lo dormire l'ira cessata tutto ancor
gonfiato si levò, e comandò che i cavalli
gli fosser menati, 11

which further demonstrates the differences between the characters of the two men. We are told in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie that Stephano 'gave his maister and the rest the Bon Joure' (sig. E2, p.314), which may indicate influence of le Maçon's text, though there is no similar passage in the original, or may merely have been used as a fashionable expression.

The change in the number of cranes affects the plot in that in the Decameron Currado and Chichibio have to rise to the river to see other cranes, whereas in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie those remaining after the slaughter of one (i.e. nine) are kept in a yard so it is not necessary to travel to see them. The change may be because canals rather than a river are associated with Venice, and the location is stressed early in the tale as Venetians regard cranes as a great delicacy. Also, presumably, the practical problems of transporting a number of witnesses as well as the two central characters may have influenced the writer. The ending of the tale is substantially the same in both versions. A noticeable feature of the English is that Bartolo uses the hunting cry 'So ho' as opposed to just a shout in the French and Italian.

The English writer, by adding depth to his characters and adapting the plot at several points, has made his tale more appealing than that of Boccaccio, thus rousing his reader's sympathy for the cook in Purgatory, and so emphasizing his anti-papist bias.

The tale of the Vicar of Bergamo is a combination of the Decameron day VI, tale x, and a jest from the collection A C Mery Talys. A C Mery Talys was published by John Rastell, the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas More, in 1525/26, and is one of the earliest surviving collections of jests in English. It can even claim to be the earliest surviving collection of English jests as it is relatively untouched by alien influences, whereas the only earlier one is that included by Caxton in Fables of Aesop in 1484, and the jests in that are translations from the Latin of Alphonsus and Poggio.

A C Mery Talys includes a tale of 'the frere that stole the podynge', which the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has adapted. The tale of the Vicar differs from the jest in that the original involves a visiting friar, rather than a local vicar, who breakfasts secretly in the same inn in which he finds the others breakfasting. He only steals one pudding, not a dozen as in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. No mention is made of the theft of the pudding until it falls out of the friar's sleeve during his sermon. The biggest difference between the jest and the tale is that in the jest the hostess does not appear, so her character and the quarrel with the vicar are not portrayed as they are in the tale. The tale of the Vicar of Bergamo is almost certainly developed from this particular jest, rather than an earlier or a lost one, in that the vicar's description of 'a bloudie breakefast, a blacke breakefast, yea neighbours the Devils breakefast' (sig. E3^v, p.317) echoes the 'devyls blacke brekefast' talked of in the jest.¹²

Day VI, tale x is one of the most strongly anti-clerical

tales in the Decameron, and Boccaccio was formally censured by the Council of Trent for writing it.¹³ The central character in the original tale has the name, Cipolla, which the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has transferred to the friar in his version of day IV, tale ii, i.e. Friar Onion. The location of the tale has been moved from Certaldo, an area famous for its fine onions according to Boccaccio, to Bergamo, which may have been chosen because Harlequin is strongly associated with it. Cipolla is a friar of the order of St Anthony, and is visiting the place, not a vicar in permanent residence there. The personality of the protagonist in each tale is the same however, the friar being 'il miglior brigante del mondo: et oltre a questo, niuna scienza avendo, si ottimo parlatore e pronto era', as is the vicar.¹⁴

The tale is set on the occasion of Cipolla's annual visit to Certaldo to collect alms and tithes for his order. He announces that he will show Gabriel's feather, we do not see any episode of his purchasing it. The trick of exchanging the coals for the feather is carried out by two of the friar's 'boon companions', and is merely a trick for fun, having no revenge motive as it has in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The friar is staying at an inn, being a traveller, and a vestige of this seems to have remained in the English tale when we hear of 'the house where the Vickar lay' (sig. E4, p.319), which suggests temporary accomodation. A long section describing the friar's servant, his appearance, nature and habits, follows in Boccaccio's tale at this point, which is omitted in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The friar's feather is in fact the tail feather of a parrot, and the Italian includes a

passage about how Italians, particularly those from rural areas, did not know of such things.

Once Cipolla has found the exchange he bluffs his way out of the situation in a manner similar to that used by the vicar. He tells a long story of his journey to fetch 'the privileges of the Porcellana', which includes many references to nonsensical place names, and fantastic details of people and places he has seen, and is typical of the traditional 'traveller's tale'. Finally he tells how he reached the Holy Land and met the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who showed him his collection of relics. There follows a list of relics not unlike that given by the vicar, though his list precedes the discovery of the exchange, whereas Cipolla's is part of his device to escape an unpleasant situation. The vicar's list, however, includes acknowledged saints and the relics traditionally associated with them, whereas Cipolla's consists of ridiculous items such as the finger of the Holy Ghost, the forelock of the Seraph that appeared to St Francis, a cherub's fingernail, rays of the star that appeared to the Magi, a phial of St Michael's sweat when he fought Lucifer, and others of similar type. Friar Cipolla claims to have been given various relics by the Patriarch, including one of the holes from the Cross, a phial containing sound from the bells of Solomon's temple, one of St Gherardo da Villamagna's sandals, a feather of the Angel Gabriel and some of the coals over which St Lawrence was roasted. His explanation about the changing of the caskets is the same as that offered by the vicar, including the idea that it was due to divine intervention. The vicar marks the people with the coals, but the tale differs from its source

in that the mark is ostensibly a protection against witchcraft, whereas in the Decameron it is a nonsensical assurance that for a year the person marked will not touch fire without being burned. The tale of the vicar does not follow the source's closing details in which the two jokers tell the friar of their trick, and Boccaccio says that the friar made use of the feather the following year.

The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has lessened the degree of sin associated with the friar in his tale by combining the jest and the tale from the Decameron. The use of the jest provides the vicar with a motive for his deception other than the pure greed of Cipolla. The purchase of the single feather for the purpose is less reprehensible than Cipolla's claim to possess a number of such relics. Less blame can be attached to the vicar's listing of relics, all the saints mentioned being in the Church's calendar, whereas Cipolla's list of relics is ridiculous, satirizing the stress placed by the Church upon such objects.

In The Spanish Masquerado Greene mentions the tale of Cipolla as told by Boccaccio, but gives the barest of outlines of it, too brief to warrant the description of 'translation':

a Monke preaching to the People, having founde a verye riche Feather of some strange Foule, intended to make his Parishioners beleeve, it was a plume of the Angell Gabriell: Certaine good Companions, his Familiars noting his knaverye, secretlye stole out off his Caskette the Feather, and put in coales. Well, Mas Monke come once into his Pulpitte, after a long Exordium tolde to the People what a pretious Relique he had, one of the feathers of the Angell Gabriell, but putting his hand into his Casket, and finding nothing but coales, straight found the knot in the rush, and

saide hee had taken the wrong Casket, but yet brought them a Relique no lesse pretious, which was the coales that Saint Laurence was roasted on: so that making crosses with them upon their Garmentes hee departed with Monkish credite. (sig. C4)

The tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons is derived from the Decameron day VII, tale vi, and follows the Italian (or French) text closely, which is odd in that English versions of the same basic tale were readily available. The writer's use of the tale is also interesting in that it is the only instance of his blackening the protagonist's character rather than lessening the degree of the sin presented in the source, which accords with the critical tone with which the light punishment of the woman in Purgatory is described.

The tale was available in several collections of jests in the sixteenth-century. It appears in Poggio's Facetiae as 'Callida consilia Florentinae foeminae in facinore deprehense' (CCLXVII), in which it is told of an inn-keeper's wife in Florence.¹⁵ The two lovers arrive one after the other, and the woman quarrels with the later one, who insists that he remain with her although she is refusing to allow him into the house. Whilst they are quarrelling the husband arrives and asks what is happening. The woman says that the lover was pursuing another man whom she has hidden. The deluded husband makes peace between the two men and gives them a drink. This version does not include the detail of her giving a sword to one of the lovers to add weight to her tale. A free translation of this tale appeared in Tales and Quick Answers in 1536, a collection which was reprinted in 1567 with twenty-six new jests as Mery Tales, Witty Questions and Quick Answers.¹⁶

Another form of the tale appeared in Alphonsus's Disciplina clericalis, and was included by Caxton in Fables of Aesop in 1484 in the section of 'The Fables of Alfonse' as 'The x fable is of the husbond and of the moder & of hys wyf'.¹⁷

In this the husband goes away, leaving his wife at her mother's. During his absence the wife takes a lover. The husband returns unexpectedly, and the mother sends out the lover with a sword in his hand. She then tells the husband that three men had been chasing him but had now gone away.

In the tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has followed the text of the Decameron more closely than he has in the other tales based upon it, even reflecting Boccaccio's phrasing in places. The setting has been changed from Florence to Lyons, the lady's name has been altered from Isabella to Maria, that of the first lover from Leonetto to Pier, possibly in accordance with the French setting, and the second lover's name remains basically the same, though it could be argued that Lamberto is closer to the French 'Lambertin' than to the Italian 'Lambertuccio', it remains Italianate in form, and keeps the Italian title 'Signor', despite the French setting.

The biggest difference between the tale and its source is that in the tale Maria chooses Lamberto as her second lover because she is not satisfied with just Pier, in the Decameron she dislikes Lambertuccio intensely but submits to him because of his threats to ruin her. The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie seems to have chosen to draw Maria in a worse light than Boccaccio does Isabella in that in her profligacy she chooses to have two lovers, and, as part of his anti-papist

scheme, is lightly punished because she paid for masses for her soul. The plot of the tale remains the same in both versions: the husband is absent for a few days, leaving his wife at a country villa. She sends for the first lover, whilst he is there the second lover appears unlooked for, the maid warns the lady, who hides the first lover and receives the second. The second lover has left his horse tethered in the courtyard, whilst he is with the lady the maid calls out that the husband has returned. The second lover cannot be hidden because his horse has been seen, therefore the lady sends him out brandishing his sword in anger, and tells her husband that he was chasing a young man whom she has hidden. The tale differs from the source in that in Boccaccio's version Leonetto tells the husband that Lambertuccio must have mistaken him for someone else, and Leonetto, on Isabella's instructions, arranges matters with Lambertuccio so that the husband never discovers the truth.

The Decameron was not the only collection of Italian novelle used as a source by the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The final tale told by Tarlton, that of the two lovers of Pisa, is derived from two Italian tales, day IV, tale iv of Straparola's Le Piacevoli Notti,¹⁸ and day I, tale ii of Ser Giovanni's Il Pecorone.¹⁹ Ranson names only Straparola as the source.

Ser Giovanni is identified only as Fiorentino. His collection of tales, called Il Pecorone ('The Dunce') was probably begun in 1378. The framework of the collection tells of a young Florentine, Aurette, in love with a nun in a convent at Forli. He joins the same order to be near her, and as chaplain sees her daily, they agree that at these

meetings each shall tell a tale. The work is divided into twenty-five days, each day consisting of two tales, making fifty tales in all. The work was published in Milan in 1558, and was not published in any language other than Italian before 1590, not appearing in full in English until 1897,²⁰ which means that the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie almost certainly read it in Italian.

Giovan Francesco Straparola was born in Carravaggio but lived and wrote in Venice. The framework of his tales is the story of a princess and her father living in reduced circumstances, who, with a party of friends, entertain themselves during the summer evenings by telling stories. There are seventy-four tales in all. Straparola was perhaps more gifted as a collector of tales than as an original author. He is most important as the source of many French fairy tales. Le Tredici Piacevoli Notti was published in two parts in Venice, the first part in 1550 and the second in 1554. Later it ran to four complete editions. It was published in Paris in a French translation by Jean Louveau and Pierre de Larivey in 1560, 1573 and 1585, there were also several later editions. The French translation follows the Italian closely, and, as is the case of the Decameron, the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie could have used either the French or the Italian text.

The tale of the Lovers of Pisa intertwines the two Italian tales with considerable skill, and also develops original details of character and plot. As in some of the other tales in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie the characters in the English tale have less blame centred on them than do

those of the sources.

The background of the arranged marriage and the frustration and jealousy involved therein occurs only in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. Ser Giovanni's tale is set in Bologna. The situation involves two students, one of whom finishes his studies before the other and remains in Bologna with his friend, to occupy his time he decides to study the art of love. Bucciuolo, the student, plans to fall in love without having any particular lady in mind, rather than falling in love in spite of himself. He asks his former tutor to help him to learn about love, and is advised to choose a lady who appeals to him in the Church of the Frati Minori. He is attracted by a lady, and engages the services of a pedlar woman to act as go-between. The lady, Giovanna, rejects the initial advances of the pedlar, but it is a token refusal, and she later sends her maid to invite Bucciuolo to visit her. The student reports this to his tutor, who for the first time begins to wonder whether the lady could be his wife, as indeed she is. This is the first indication of the situation, the reader is not aware of the truth from the beginning as in the tale of the Lovers of Pisa. At this point in the story Ser Giovanni explains that the tutor is already jealous of his wife because he is forced to sleep away from home during the winter in order to take early classes.

The master follows Bucciuolo to the house, rather than unexpectedly 'returning home' as Mutio does. The student wears a mail shirt and carries a sword and knife, the master returns to the college to arm himself. He knocks at his door, and Giovanna hides Bucciuolo under a pile of damp laundry; after

searching the house the master leaves. One of the most important differences between the tale in Il Pecorone and that in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is that in the Italian the affair is consummated and Bucciuolo spends the night with Giovanna. The mounting frustration as the lovers are constantly thwarted is found only in the English tale.

The next night Bucciuolo visits Giovanna again, having reported the previous night's escapade to his tutor, who once again follows him to the house. When her husband knocks at the door Giovanna opens it and pulls him inside whilst pushing her lover out at the same time. She proclaims her husband to be mad. Her brothers come and search the house, and finding no one there cudgel the husband and chain him up as a madman. The news of his madness spreads through the city, and reaches Bucciuolo. He goes to visit his tutor, and realizes the truth of the matter. The master tells him to leave the city, which he does. This version is the only one of the three in which the lover and the husband confront each other both being aware of the situation and admitting it to each other.

The tale of Prince Nerino of Portugal, from Le Tredici Piacevoli Notti night IV, tale iv, is the source to which the tale of the Lovers of Pisa owes most. The setting of the tale is Padua, the lover is Nerino. The background is different from those of the other two tales. Prince Nerino of Portugal sees no woman but his mother and his nurse until he is eighteen, when he is sent to Padua to study. He discusses women with a friend who is a physician, Raimondo Brunelle Fisico. The tale differs from the English version in that both the men are young, the husband is not an old and jealous man as is Mutio.

Nerino, in his ignorance, sets his mother above all other women; to convince him of his error in so doing Raimondo arranges for him to see his own wife, Genobbia, without admitting that she is his wife. He sends her to church, without telling her why, and arranges for Nerino to see her there. Nerino is immediately attracted by the lady and asks Raimondo who she is. He will not say, but allows Nerino to see her again in the church. Without the further co-operation of Raimondo, Nerino waits for Genobbia outside the church and accompanies her home. Having discovered where she lives he cultivates an old woman who lives opposite, and watches Genobbia from her house for several days. Nerino takes the initiative in the affair more than either Bucciuolo or Lionello, being without instructions from a mentor.

He writes letters to Genobbia and throws them into her house, but she burns them, until one day she reads one out of curiosity and becomes interested. The English version moves close to Straparola's here in that it develops the evil nature of the husband, which is not as apparent in Il Pecorone. Straparola mentions his character but does not dwell upon it as the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie tends to: 'stette al quanto sopra di se ma poi considerando alla mala vita che'l marito suo le dava fece buon animo'.²¹ She decides to encourage Nerino.

Whilst Nerino and Genobbia are together Raimondo returns home, so Genobbia hides her lover on the bed with the curtains drawn around him. Raimondo is not suspicious at this stage, and soon leaves again. The next day Nerino meets Raimondo and makes a point of telling him of his conquest. Raimondo

says nothing of the situation, but merely asks whether Nerino intends to visit her again. The second time Raimondo surprises the lovers together Genobbia hides Nerino in a chest in front of which she places some clothes. The husband pretends to be searching for something and looks everywhere, but without finding Nerino. Later Nerino again tells Raimondo what has happened. At this point the Italian tale includes an important detail omitted in the English version, it describes a ring which Nerino gives to Genobbia, the same ring which will later save the situation when placed in his drink. The third incident of the lady's hiding her lover is the closest to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. Genobbia is prepared for trouble this time, and hides Nerino in a coffer in her room. Raimondo comes and searches the house 'like a madman' (as is Mutio on the second occasion), and, unable to find Nerino, sets fire to the house. Genobbia has the coffer moved from her room because it contains the papers relevant to her fortune, not her husband's papers, and has it put in the old woman's house opposite. The neighbours extinguish the fire before the house is destroyed.

The next day, once again, Nerino tells Raimondo of his adventure. Raimondo says nothing, but invites him to dine with him the next day, and to the same meal he invites his relations and those of his wife. He keeps his wife out of sight, plies Nerino with drink, and asks him to tell the guests a story. Nerino tells the tale of his misadventures. A servant tells Genobbia what a fine tale she is missing, and that she should conceal herself where she can hear. She does so, and realizes what is happening. She sends her ring to

Nerino in a glass of wine, the truth dawns on him, and he finishes his tale by saying it was a dream. A few days later Nerino meets Raimondo but does not admit that he knows that Genobbia is his wife. He says that his father, the king of Portugal, wishes him to return home, and that he will depart shortly. He leaves Padua taking Genobbia with him. When Raimondo finds her gone he dies of despair within a few days.

There are significant differences between the two source stories, and on several points the tale of the Lovers of Pisa differs from both of them. The situation of the arranged marriage is unique to the English tale, as is the old husband, though Mutio is like Raimondo in character, and the tutor in Il Pecorone is jealous. In each of the Italian tales the situation is artificially contrived, and does not arise from a spontaneous affection as in the tale of the two Lovers of Pisa; and in each case the husband initially plays an active part in contriving the situation. In Il Pecorone the circumstances of the husband having brought about his being cuckolded is not revealed until the middle of the tale. In Straparola's tale the husband initiates the affair but plays no further part in promoting it, and the lover takes the initiative without further instruction. In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie the situation of the husband advising the lover, and in so doing testing his wife, is clear from the beginning.

The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has taken the pupil/teacher relationship between Mutio and Lionello from Il Pecorone, but the three occasions of hiding the lover, the events surrounding the last of these, the feast with the lover's tale and the lady saving the situation with her ring all come

from Straparola. The ensuing death of the husband also comes from Straparola, but there it is from despair at the departure of his wife, not from implied shame at his folly and jealousy as in the English. In Il Pecorone the husband and lover recognize each other and the position in which they are placed with regard to each other. In Le Piacevoli Notti, as in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, there is no admission of recognition between them. Lionello's explanation that his tale was to demonstrate the jealousy of Mutio is far more plausible than Nerino's dream, which must leave the husband sure of the truth of the situation. Margaret shows more ingenuity in her choice of hiding places than either Giovanna or Genobbia, although her character has been developed from that of the latter. A detail that seems to have been taken from Il Pecorone is the description of Mutio as he 'stabd every fetherbed through' (sig. G4^V, p.340), which echoes 'mise la spada per lo saccone tutto forandolo'.²²

As mentioned above the use of three hiding places, and the details of the third of these have been taken from Le Piacevoli Notti. The first two places used in the English tale are more ingenious than either of the Italian tales. The idea of using a tub of feathers may have come from the second part of the fabliau 'De la Dame qui attrapa un pretre, un prevot, et un forestier', in which a tub of feathers is used as a hiding place for a lover.²³ With reference to the second place T.W. Baldwin commented 'Sounds like hiding a priest!',²⁴ which indeed it does. The necessity for hiding a priest would have been far more familiar in Protestant England than it could have been in a Catholic country like Italy, therefore

this natural choice of constructed hiding place would probably not even have been known to either of the Italian writers.

As in the other tales the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has lessened the censure of the central characters in his version of the tale. The love between Margaret and Lionello is not consummated, so the sin of adultery is avoided, and this situation enlivens the tale by sharpening the battle between Mutio and the lovers. Margaret has some justification for her behaviour in that Mutio is such an unpleasant character and she is married to him against her will, which we are not told is the case with either of the other two. Margaret falls in love with Lionello by chance rather than deliberately looking for a lover as Maria does in the tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons. There is no abduction in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, indeed there is an implication that the lovers respect Mutio whilst he is alive, and only come together after his death.

Another aspect found only in the English version is the pathos of Mutio's impotent anger and jealousy. In the sources the husband is purely a figure of fun, the comic cuckold, and does not inspire sympathy such as that aroused by such passages as,

Then hee left the old man, who was almost
mad for feare his wife any way should play
false: he saw by experience, brave men came
to besiege the castle, and seeing it was in
a womans custodie and had so weake a governor
as himselfe, he doubted it would in time be
delivered up, which feare made him almost
frantike: yet he drivde of the time in great
torment, til he might heare from his rival
(sig. G3, p.336)

or,

How deepe this stroake into Mutios heart,
let them imagine that can conjecture what
jelousie is. (sig. G3^V, p.337)

The untitled tale of the Botcher's wife of Sudbury is based on a jest in Poggio's Facetiae. This is a collection made by Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) who was secretary to eight successive popes and the discoverer of some of the finest of classical manuscripts. The Facetiae was compiled around the middle of the fifteenth-century and printed in 1477, not being completed until Poggio was over seventy. He made the collection to relax his mind, and to develop a good Latin vernacular prose style. The setting is the society of apostolic secretaries at the Roman curia, among whom Poggio spent most of his life. They met in their 'Bugiale' ('factory of lies') to hear the news and converse. Poggio tells us that,

There nobody was spared, and whatever met
with our disapprobation was freely censured;
often the Pope himself was the first theme
of our criticism, and many people attended
our gatherings for fear of being ridiculed
in their absence. 25

The Facetiae recalls for Poggio the dead days with his companions: 'tum temporem, tum hominum culpa, omnisque jocandi confabulandique consuetudo sublata' (1451).²⁶ The Facetiae was placed on the Index by the Council of Trent. The work was known in manuscript throughout Italy, France, Spain, Germany and England, and was a source for many later jest collections.

The Botcher's wife of Sudbury is taken from the jest 'De muliere obstinata quae virum pediculosum vocavit' (LIX), or, 'Of a Woman who insisted on calling her Husband Lousy'. It tells of a shrewish wife who, in an argument, calls her

husband 'lousy'. The husband ties a rope around her and lowers her into the well, as in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. When she is under the water, and unable to speak, she raises her hands and puts her thumb-nails together and makes 'the gesture of killing a louse, for the women are used to kill these insects in this manner with their nails'.²⁷ The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has kept this defiant gesture in his version, but without making the significance of it clear. The word 'prickelowse' reflects 'louse', but in the English tale refers to the botcher's profession of tailor, the sense of killing lice is lost with the change of word. The Latin for louse, 'pedicularis', has no connection with 'prickelowse'.

T.F. Crane reproduces a similar tale, without naming his source, in which the husband is a tailor.²⁸ Finding some things broken in the house the husband asks what has happened, the wife replies that she broke them with scissors, he does not believe her. They argue, and eventually he lowers her into the well. When she is under water and no longer able to speak, 'she stuck her hand up out of the water, and with her fingers began to make signs as if she were cutting with the scissors' (page 286). The husband pulls her out of the well and stops arguing.

There is no clear source for the tale of Boniface IV. No element of the tale reflects any known fact about that pope. The tale includes popular folk elements, such as a poor and humble man being disguised as a rich or famous one, and winning a contest of wits, and the use of seemingly insoluble riddles to gain some prize. Both these devices occur in many folk

tales and ballads; the best known version of their use in English is probably the ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury (or the older version called King John and the Bishop). In this a poor man disguises himself as the Abbot to answer questions posed by King John.²⁹ This type of tale occurs in all literatures and legends. Three riddles are usually set, occasionally four, which require a sharp wit to see the 'catch' in them to be able to answer them. The same questions frequently recur in different versions of the situation, one of the most popular, and most typical, being that asked by King John, 'What am I thinking?', to which the answer is that he is thinking that he is talking to the Abbot whereas in fact he is not. The three riddles set by Pope Pius are uncommon ones which I have not found used elsewhere. The first and third in particular are closely linked to the ecclesiastical setting of the tale, and therefore were probably invented by the writer. The second is used as a description of women by Greene in Alcida (sig. E1).

The reference early in the tale to the nuns of Santa Maria wanting Miles to be employed as their factotum (sig. B3^V, p.288) may recall the Decameron day III, tale i, in which Masetto, pretending to be dumb, is employed as gardener at a convent. The situation of the humble man attending a synod disguised may have been suggested by Il Pecorone day VI, tale i, in which Messer Alano, having lived in a monastery disguised as a servant, attends a consistory hidden under the abbot's cope.

The framework in which the tales are told has vestiges of several literary sources. The dream vision genre was a popular medieval form, its most famous exponent being Chaucer.

In this case the dream does not have allegorical or prophetic significance as have most medieval examples. The dream is a useful medium in that it allows the narrator to pass through, or by-pass, barriers which would be insurmountable to the physical being. Also the context of a dream helps the reader or listener to suspend disbelief and accept that which would arouse scorn if presented as reality.

The writer mentions Dante's writing about Purgatory (sig. B2, p.285), but differs from him in that Tarlton's description of Purgatory does not include a mountain. This view of Purgatory in fact reflects the pit of Dante's Inferno as Tarlton speaks of passing through four descending chambers. This pit, however, does not culminate in a central point, as Dante's does at Lucifer, but either becomes level in the fourth chamber, or even begins to rise. The work also shares with Inferno and Purgatorio the narrative device of a living man being conducted through the realm of shades by the ghost of one whom he reveres.

The English writer's adaptation of his foreign sources shows a skill and sensitivity which supersedes that needed for unadorned translation. He has emphasized or suppressed narrative strands of his sources in order to manipulate his reader's response, and where necessary has added original material to his text in order to reinforce the meaning he intends the tale to convey. He has developed characters so that his reader may sympathize with them, and so react to the injustice of some of the punishments meted out. He has supplied features which enliven his tales, such as the hostess in the tale of the Vicar of Bergamo, and has developed undertones of

pathos or comedy which are missing in his less subtle source tales. It is clear that the author had a thorough understanding of the languages with which he worked, but his development of the tales he uses from these languages must earn him praise as a creator not just as a translator.

Footnotes

- 1 H.G. Wright, 'The First English Translation of the "Decameron" (1620)', Studies on English Language and Literature 13 (Upsala, 1953), p.10.
- 2 Day VIII, tale i; day X, tale v; day X, tale x.
- 3 Edward Hutton, editor, The Decameron, The Tudor Translations 41-44, 4 vols (London, 1909), i, cxxi-ii.
- 4 Willard Farnham, 'England's Discovery of the "Decameron"', P M L A, 39 (1924), pp.123-39.
- 5 E. Arber, editor, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London 1554-1640, 5 vols (London, 1875-77, Birmingham 1894, reprinted New York, 1950), ii, 475.
- 6 Il Decameron di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, 4 vols (Firenze, 1825), ii, 159.
- 7 Il Decameron, ii, 163.
- 8 Il Decameron, ii, 166.
- 9 Il Decameron, iii, 16.
 "As all of you will have heard and seen for yourselves, Currado Gianfigliuzzi has always played a notable part in the affairs of our city. Generous and hospitable, he lived the life of a true gentleman, and, to say nothing for the moment of his more important activities, he took a constant delight in hunting and hawking."
The Decameron, translated by G.H. McWilliam (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.491.
- 10 Le Decameron de Messire Jehan Bocace Florentin, Nouvellement Traduict d'Italien en Francoys par Maistre Anthoine le Macon conseiller du Roy & tresorier de lextraordinaire de ses guerres (Paris, 1545), sig. Biii.
- 11 Il Decameron, iii, 18.
 "as soon as it was light, Currado, whom a night's sleep had done nothing to pacify, leapt out of bed, still seething with anger, and ordered his horses to be saddled."
The Decameron, p.492.
- 12 'A C Mery Talys', in Shakespeare Jest-Books, edited by W. Carew Hazlitt, 3 vols (London, 1864), i, 97-98, no.lxviii.
- 13 John Dunlop, The History of Fiction (London, 1845), p.228, and,
A.C. Lee, The Decameron; its sources and analogues (London, 1909), p.181.

- 14 Il Decameron, iii, 36.

"he was the most sociable fellow in the world. He was quite illiterate, but he was such a lively and excellent speaker"

The Decameron, p.506.

- 15 Poggio Bracciolini, Opera Omnia, 4 vols (Basel, 1538, reprinted Torino, 1964), i, 489.
- 16 'Mery Tales, Witty Questions and Quick Answers', in Shakespeare Jest-Books, i, 67-8, no.li.
- 17 Caxton's Aesop, edited by R.T. Lenaghan (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), pp.207-8.
- 18 Giovan Francesco Straparola, Le tredici piacevoli notti (Venice, 1550-54).
- 19 Il Pecorone di Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, nel quale si contengono cinquanta Novelle Antiche, belle d'invenzione e di stile (Milan, 1558).
- 20 W.G. Waters, The Pecorone of Ser Giovanni (London, 1897).
- 21 W. Carew Hazlitt, editor, Shakespeare's Library, 6 vols (London, 1875), iii, 49:
 "But considering with herself the evil life which her husband led her, she took courage .." (p.57).
- 22 Shakespeare's Library, iii, 21:
 "put his sword into the matress, piercing it in all directions" (p.30).
- 23 The Decameron; its sources and analogues, p.261.
- 24 T.W. Baldwin, On the Literary Genetics of Shakspere's Plays 1592-1594 (Urbana, 1959), p.458n.
- 25 Conclusion to the Facetiae, i, 491:
 "Ibi parcebatur nemini in laccessendo ea quae non probabantur a nobis, ab ipso persaepe Pontifice initium reprehensionis sumpto. Quo fiebat ut plures ed convenirent, veriti ne ab eis ordiremur."
 Translated by F.P. Wilson, Shakespearian and Other Studies by F.P. Wilson, edited by Helen Gardner (Oxford, 1969), p.287.
- 26 John Wardroper, Jest upon Jest (London, 1970), p.3:
 "whether the times are to blame, or men themselves, those merry confabulations have gone out of use".
- 27 Edward Storer, The Facetiae of Poggio and Other Medieval Story-Tellers (London, [c.1920]), p.87, no.LXI.

- 28 Thomas Frederick Crane, Italian Popular Tales (London, 1885).
- 29 Francis James Child, editor, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 5 vols (New York, 1882-98, reprinted 1957), i, 403-4, no.45.

The Cobler of Caunterburie

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie was answered in the year of its publication by The Cobler of Caunterburie, or, to give it its full title,

The Cobler of Caunterburie, Or An Invective
against Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie.
A merrier Iest then a Clownes Iigge, and
fitter for Gentlemens humors. Published
with the cost of a dickar of Cowe hides.

It too was printed by Robert Robinson, who this time puts his name on the title page, but the publisher is unknown, and there is no entry in the Stationers' Register.¹ The work was subsequently entered in the Register on 12 June 1600 to Jonn Newbery 'provided that yt be not printed without bringinge better Auctoritie',² but no edition has survived from this date. It is possible that this edition was planned to coincide with the second edition of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, the date of which is unknown. The next edition of The Cobler of Caunterburie was eventually published in 1608 by Newbery's stepson, Nathaniel Butter, who produced a further edition in 1614, and also published an adaptation, The Tincker of Turvey, in 1630.

There is one significant difference between the first and second editions. In answer to Tarlton's account of the three orders of cuckolds, the work includes a list of the eight orders, which are, Machomite, Hereticke, Lunaticke, Innocent, Incontinent, By consent, By Act of Parliament, and Quem facit Ecclesia (sig. C3^v). In the 1608 edition Innocent is changed to Patient, and Quem facit Ecclesia becomes Innocent.

The reason for this change is not known.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie have certain features in common, most notably that they both consist of a framework in which are told several tales, based on the novelle of Italian framework collections. One of the points levelled against Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie in the opening section of The Cobler of Caunterburie is that its tales are stolen from Boccaccio's Decameron. Having made this criticism the author proceeds to use exactly the same kind of sources. Both are derived from Chaucerian forms, though in the case of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie the link is rather a tenuous one through the genre of the dream vision. The Cobler of Caunterburie is much more closely linked with Chaucer through the parallel with The Canterbury Tales, which the Cobbler himself points out, both in his Epistle to the reader, and in the introduction to the tales,

my booke, wherein are contained the tales
that were tolde in the Barge betweene
Billingsgate and Gravesend: Imitating herein
old father Chaucer, who with the like
Methode set out his Caunterbury tales: but
as there must be admitted no compare between
a cup of Darby ale, and a dish of durty
water: So syr Ieffrey Chaucer is so hie
above my reach (sig. A3)

and,

Well quoth the Cobler, nowe that wee are
going to Graves-end, and so I thinke most
of us to Canterbury, let us tell some tales
to passe away the time till wee come off
the water, and we will call them Caunterburie
tales. (sig. B1^V)

Critical opinion of the comparative merits of the two pamphlets varies. E.B. Everitt, believing it to be by Greene,

has a very low opinion of The Cobler of Caunterburie:

The fiction of The Cobler is inferior literature of a 'pot-boiling' character; Greene tried half-heartedly to disown it. It is a foolish, ineffective attempt on the author's part to out-do with sheer energy the deft weaving of informal essay narrative, Italian intrigue stories, and anti-Catholic bias that his more gifted predecessor had achieved so adroitly. The author had taken up the cudgels indiscreetly in a contest where academic proficiency was no qualification; he sparred robustly, but he was defeated indubitably. 3

He later decides to,

deny confidently that the author of the Cobler could have written with the quiet geniality of Tarleton's Robin Goodfellow. (page 35)

One can only assume that the extremity of Everitt's views is influenced by his conviction that Shakespeare wrote Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

Halliwell comments on the Cobbler's Epistle,

Notwithstanding this egotistical opinion, the "News out of Purgatory" is altogether a far more amusing work, and better written than the "Cobler of Canterburie." 4

Presumably he is somewhat prejudiced by his involvement with his edition of the earlier work. In contrast to these views Margaret Schlauch has claimed that,

The liveliest, most animated framing tale for 16th-century novelle is unquestionably that provided for The Cobler of Canterburie, a minor anonymous masterpiece of the period. 5

The Cobler of Caunterburie includes fewer stylistic faults than Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, for instance, it does not suffer from inconsistencies in the plot. There

is less recourse to proverbs and euphuism, the prose flows smoothly, and the over-all tone is more polished and mature. The Cobler of Caunterburie is not marked by the anti-Catholicism which is never far from the mind of the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, though it does include anti-clerical tales. Rather than mocking papist beliefs, this writer tends to burlesque the more formal prose romances of the age, with their excesses of gallantry, and courtly mode of writing, particularly in the Gentleman's tale. Apart from his expressed intention of answering Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, the writer is not governed or restricted by contemporary events.

The comparisons with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie fade as the work progresses, and its aim to be an invective tends to disappear as the writer becomes involved in it as a work in its own right. One comparison is deliberately made by the Smith early on, however: the list of the eight orders of cuckolds drawn up in answer to Tarlton's three orders of cuckolds. This does not involve the mottoes and emblems and their interpretation, nor the stories behind them, as found in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The episode plays little part in the narrative plan of the work as a whole, being inserted between the tales of the Cobbler and the Smith.

One point which seems to be intended to draw the texts together is the insertion in the preliminary matter of an Epistle by Robin Goodfellow, supposedly the publisher of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, which Ranson believes to have been written by the author of the earlier work and placed in The Cobler of Caunterburie by courtesy of its author.

However, the Robin Goodfellow of this Epistle is very different from the publisher of the other text, and in view of the care with which the rest of the work is written, it seems unlikely that this is an error. The Robin Goodfellow of the Epistle is the puck or sprite that Tarlton associates with Hob Thrust as a pleasant goblin, who helps around the house if well treated, and has the traditional attributes of a puck. Assuming that Robin Goodfellow the publisher is also the narrator of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie (which is not necessarily the case), he is very human and no spirit. If, on the other hand, the Robin Goodfellow of the title page is the puck calling himself an 'old companion' of Tarlton, his personality is in keeping here.

One of the few ill-defined aspects of The Cobler of Caunterburie, which to some extent it shares with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, is the identity of the narrator. The Cobbler organizes the telling of tales in the barge, and plays the equivalent of Harry Baily. He writes the opening Epistle to the readers, and at the end it is he who proposes to write down the tales and to publish them:

I can quoth the Cobler remember them all,
 & very neere verbatim collect & gather them
 together: which by the grace of God gentlemen,
 I meane to doe, and then to set them out in
 a pamphlet under mine owne name, as an
 invective against Tarltons newes out of
Purgatorie: and then if you please to send to
 the Printer, I wil leave a token, that every
 one of you that tolde a tale, shall have a
 Boke for his labour. In the meane time till
 I have perfected it, Ile laye my Coblers
 stoole aside, and my selfe become an Author.
 (sig. K4^v)

There is another, unidentified, narrator, however, who opens

the work by telling of his arrival at the barge, of the passenger reading Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and the reactions to it, and of the Cobbler's suggestion. In the body of the work the Cobbler is treated as one of the characters, being described in verse as they are, and spoken of in the third person, although he plays a prominent part throughout, being outspoken by nature. The narrator is completely self-effacing, the one point of interest in his character is his reason for choosing to travel by barge,

I was resolved to goe downe in a tilt boate;
yet seeing what a crue of madde companions went
in the barge, and perceiving by the winde there
was no feare of raine, I stept into the barge
and tooke up my seate amongst the thickest.
(sig. B1)

His interest in the motley collection of passengers hints that the narrator has the instinct of a story-teller looking for material.

The writer follows his self-imposed model of Chaucer closely. The choice of setting for The Cobler of Caunterburie is as skillful as Chaucer's choice of a pilgrimage for The Canterbury Tales, both situations being ones where all levels of society may meet on equal terms. The Thames was the chief thoroughfare of sixteenth-century London, and the Billingsgate-Gravesend barge one of the principal methods of transport, frequently mentioned in literature of the period. Dekker gives some idea of the range of its users by comparing it with Charon's boat,

It is for al the world, like Graves-end Barge: and the passengers priviledged alike, for ther's no regard of age, of sex, of beauty, of riches, of valor, of learning, of greatnes, or of birth: He that comes in first, sits no better then the last. 6

Like Chaucer's pilgrims the occupants of the boat are thrown together for the duration of a journey, with the time of the journey to be filled. The analogy of The Canterbury Tales is maintained throughout by the choice of characters telling the tales. The first pair, the Cobbler and the Smith, recall Chaucer's Miller and Reeve in that there is ill feeling between them caused by their each telling a bawdy tale against a member of the other's profession. The Gentleman and the Scholar are not clearly identifiable among Chaucer's pilgrims, though the Gentleman's tale recalls the Reeve's in that it involves Cambridge students, and speaks of a trip to Trumpington. The Old Woman, though less vivid a character, reminds us of the Wife of Bath, particularly as both of them tell what would seem to be an uncharacteristic choice of tale. The last character, the Summoner, an unusual figure to meet in Elizabethan literature, not only recalls Chaucer's Summoner, but deliberately reminds us of the similarity,

Gentlemen seeing at the motion of the Cobler,
we have imitated our old Father Chaucer, having
in our little Barge, as he had in his travell
sundry tales, and amongst the rest, the old
wives tale, that you shall not want the merriest
knave of all the Somners, you shall heare what
I can say. (sig. K1^V)

Another device the writer uses to emphasize the similarity with The Canterbury Tales is that of providing a brief verse description in supposedly Chaucerian style of each character just before he or she tells the tale, recalling the descriptions of Chaucer's Prologue.

The title of the work has been chosen with care. Apart from the obvious association with Chaucer's work, the term

'Canterbury tale' has an independent meaning as either a long tedious tale or a 'tall story', referring originally to the tales told by pilgrims to Canterbury, but not the specific examples told by Chaucer. The figure of the shoemaker is traditionally associated with story-telling, usually talking as he works. The late sixteenth-century saw a rise in the popularity of the figure of the cobbler which is difficult to explain. Victor Bourgy lists some of his appearances in plays of the time, and has the following to say on the progress of the figure in the theatre,

S'il ne saurait être question évidemment de la poursuivre ici, il convient de noter en revanche que la fréquence accrue de ce type littéraire se double du développement de l'élément pittoresque dont est fait son rôle, car le cordonnier nous sera volontiers présenté au travail: Seul peut-être le charbonnier connut au théâtre une fortune quelque peu comparable, encore que ses apparitions soient nettement moins nombreuses. C'est ici à nouveau un type populaire, venu tard à la scène, mais qui paraît avoir été immédiatement apprécié en raison de son pittoresque, lui aussi, car il semble bien avoir eu traditionnellement le visage et les mains noircis. 7

The title of The Cobler of Caunterburie, then, combines a traditional tale-teller with a place associated with the telling of tales. The two had been linked before by Greene in Menaphon,

Whosoever Samela descanted of that love, tolde you a Canterbury tale; some propheticall full mouth that as he were a Coblers eldest sonne, would by the laste tell where anothers shooe wrings. (sig. F2^v)

This is often thought to be a reference to Marlowe, who was the son of a shoemaker from Canterbury.⁸ Greene's reference

could indeed be to Marlowe, and there is great temptation to suppose that The Cobler of Caunterburie could also refer to him, but no shred of evidence supports this. The Cobbler himself reinforces the link with Canterbury by setting his tale there.

As mentioned above, The Cobler of Caunterburie takes Italian novelle as the sources for most of its tales, despite having criticized Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie for so doing. This work differs from the earlier one, however, in that it alters the setting of four of the tales to English towns, whereas in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie only the tales of the Painter of Doncaster and the Botcher's wife of Sudbury are set in England, though many English features creep into all the tales. The tales in The Cobler of Caunterburie are generally more bawdy than those in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, five of the six dealing with adultery. The first and last are anti-clerical in a general sense, telling of the lechery of monks, but there is none of the attack on Catholic beliefs and doctrine found in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The last tale deals with Purgatory, but as a plot device, not as a doctrine.

The Cobbler tells the first tale, which is set in Canterbury, and centres on a community of Augustinian friars. Weight is added to the tale by there having been an eminent Abbey of St Augustine adjoining Canterbury Cathedral until 1538, when it was dissolved. I have found no source for this tale, which includes several basic elements found in many novelle. The Cobbler tells how the prior of the convent lusts for the wife of a smith, and in order to gain access to

her makes her husband farrier to the convent. He suggests that she be employed as laundress, but her husband refuses, telling a fable of a sheep which persistently strayed to a priory until it was completely plucked of its wool by the friars, and finally eaten. On asking for its return the owner was given just the horns. The smith obviously sees himself as the owner. He eventually agrees to his wife taking the job, provided the washing is delivered to her and she does not have to go near the priory. An arrangement is made whereby the laundry is brought to the smithy, and collected again, by the scullion of the priory, whom the unsuspecting smith sends in to deliver it to his wife, who is still in bed when he arrives. After the first visit, during which the scullion had told the woman of the prior's plan, the prior himself comes disguised as the scullion.

One day the prior is ill, so the scullion himself comes, and the woman, not realizing, entertains him in her bed as usual. Learning of this the prior beats the scullion, who seeks revenge by telling the smith of the arrangement. The next time the prior comes the smith catches him in bed with his wife, and puts him in a sack, which he then puts in the street outside his door, and makes his wife beat it with a flail. When she is too sparing he thrashes her with a carter's whip. A crowd gathers, including the abbot of the convent. The scullion, meanwhile, dresses up as the prior and comes to the scene. The smith, knowing his true identity, points him out to the abbot, and his wife, thinking that she has been deceived and that the sack contains the scullion, whips it furiously.

Eventually the prior is released, and the scullion/prior suggests that he be put in the pillory, and beaten by the smith's wife, with the smith in turn whipping her, and the reason for the punishment written overhead. The smith objects because he will become a laughing stock as a cuckold. The true identity of the culprit is established, and he is expelled from the priory. The scullion, who had once been a scholar, is made prior in his place.

After his tale has ended the Cobbler points out that despite his revenge the smith was still a cuckold. The Smith in the barge takes offence because 'he was of the same fraternitie', fraternity meaning that he was both a smith and a cuckold. He defends cuckolds,

Why Cobler quoth hee, dost thou hold the smith in such derision because hee was a Cuckold? I tell thee Cobler, Kinges have wore hornes: and tis a fault that Fortune excepteth from none: yea, the olde writers have had it in such questions, that they have set downe divers degrees of Cuckoldes.

(sigs. C3-C3^v)

The Gentleman reminds them that Tarlton told of three orders of cuckolds, to which the Smith replies that 'Tarlton was a foole or hee that writ the booke', and lists the eight orders of cuckolds. Like Chaucer's Reeve the Smith now retaliates with a tale at the expense of one of the Cobbler's profession.

The Smith's tale is based on more than one source, the different plot elements having different origins. The setting of the tale has been changed to an English one, Rumney Marsh, and the cobbler is built into an English country character. reminiscent of others found in literature of the period.

The first part of the tale, concerning the jealous

possessiveness of the cobbler, and the liaison arranged by the smith, was available to the author in at least two English versions in 1590. In The deceyte of women to the instruction and ensample of all men, yonge and olde [1560], it is number 20, 'A new deceyte doone of late of a Jalowsy man that wolde not very well trust hys wyfe' (sigs. Jii^V-Ki), which is almost certainly a translation of number 37 of Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, attributed to Antoine de la Sale. In The Mirrour of Mirth and Pleasant Conceits (1583 and 1592), translated by 'T.D.' from Les contes ou les nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis of Bonaventure des Périers,⁹ it is number 9 in the 1592 edition,¹⁰ 'Of a yong man of Paris newly married, and howe that Beaufort founde a craftie meanes to take his pleasure of his wife, not withstanding the diligent and careful watch and keeping of dame Parnet' (sigs. D4^V-E4). The Smith's tale has most in common with this latter version.

In The deceyte of women the couple are already married at the opening of the tale, the wife is chaperoned by an old woman, who never develops as a character, the lover is unidentified, and woos her through 'chance encounters' in the street, in which she is hampered by the presence of the old woman. The lady meets with the 'accident' to her dress when on her way to mass. The end of the tale is completely different from the other versions, fitting the didactic tone of the rest of the work. The husband realizes that he has been deceived,

And therefore he fel in gret melancholy and
 dyed in short tyme after, for because that
 he was so falselye deceyved and by such
 subtyll meanes. And therefore every man take
 heede to his wyfe and beware of deceyftulnes.
 (sig. Ki)

Like the cobbler the husband in The Mirrour of Mirth version of the tale is reluctant to marry for fear of being cuckolded. He thinks he knows all the tricks of women, and when he does marry he has his old nurse act as the constant companion of his wife, the cobbler uses his old mother. As with the cobbler the lover is a friend of the husband. The person who assists with the 'accident' this time is a (male) friend of the lady's husband, whose house she feels she can wait in because of this relationship. The professions of smith and cobbler are new in the Smith's tale, as is the fact that they are neighbours. The characters are much more strongly developed than in the earlier versions, so that the situation of the lady arouses the reader's sympathy, and the smith appears as an admirable alternative to the cobbler.

The Smith's tale is developed further than this incident of the contrived meeting by the inclusion of a second plot device to balance this beginning. The smith and the lady plot further against the cobbler in order to make the situation between them more permanent. In bed one night she tells her husband that the smith has courted her, and given her money to sleep with him, although she refused. She has taken the money and suggested that he visits her the following day, when her husband and mother-in-law will be out. She tells her husband to pretend to go out, but really to stay in and eavesdrop, and when he hears her consent, to rush in and seize the smith, thus they will lose a false friend, and keep his money. Everything goes according to plan, the smith and the lady accomplish their lovemaking whilst ostensibly arguing about it, with the cobbler and his mother listening,

then the lady consents. The cobbler is prevented from rushing in by his mother, and so overhears the smith rebuke the lady, and say that he came to test her fidelity. The cobbler is delighted to hear this, meets the smith and thanks him, revealing that his wife had told him all, and is therefore innocent, and rejoicing that he knows that he can entrust his wife to the care of his friend in future.

This section follows the plot outlines of Decameron VII, vii, which was closely copied by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino as Il Pecorone III, ii. It is not clear exactly what the source is, but the bones of the tale are typical of the style of many novelle. The two halves of this tale are skillfully knitted so that they combine smoothly. The details of the plots are not interwoven as they are in the tale of the Lovers of Pisa in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, because that is not necessary here with their being arranged as chronological episodes.

This tale angers the Cobbler, who quarrels with the Smith, but is pacified by the other passengers. A Gentleman offers to tell the next tale, and his is followed by that of a Scholar, but I leave discussion of these until later.

The fifth tale is that of an Old Woman, who weeps sentimentally at the Scholar's tale, and then proceeds to tell a broad fabliau. Her tale is based on two from the Decameron, day VII, tales i and viii. Like the Smith's tale it is divided into two parts, each with a separate source, rather than being an intricate combination of two tales. The first part, based on Decameron VII, i, tells how a lady receives her lover, Peter, when her husband, Mizaldo, is absent, indicating when he is

away by means of an ass's head on a pole, which she points either towards the house or the town, whichever is appropriate. One night the head is turned by boys throwing stones at it, so Peter comes that night unaware that her husband is at home. His arrival wakes Mizaldo and his wife, and to warn Peter she tells her husband that he is an evil spirit which must be exorcized by a charm that she has been taught. In reciting the 'charm' at the door she warns Peter of her husband's presence.

In the Decameron the character of the husband is far more fully drawn. We are told how religious he is, and how he venerates a company of friars, who in fact mock his stupidity and credulity. Boccaccio gives two versions of the tale. The first adds complicated details of how a meal, prepared for the lady and her lover, is left in the orchard, and how she tells him of this in her 'charm'. In this version the husband comes home unexpectedly, rather than the signal being interfered with. In The Cowler of Caunterburie the signal is an ass's head, with the implication that the ass symbolizes Mizaldo; in the original it is an ass's skull. In the Decameron she tells her husband it is a werewolf that haunts them, rather than a 'foul spirit'. Boccaccio makes much of the lady's fear that her lover will suspect her fidelity to him if she does not respond to his knocking. In his version the husband is inclined not to react because he feels safe, having blessed the bed with prayers taught him by the friars, so the lady has to invent the device of the charm in order to provide an excuse to go down and warn her lover.

The second version of the tale in the Decameron tells how

the lady had set the skull to indicate that her husband was at home, but a passing farm hand twirled it with his stick so that it pointed in the wrong direction. There is no mention of the prepared supper here, so the wording of the 'charm' is necessarily different.

The Cofler of Caunterburie now extends this tale by telling that this accidental turning of the head happened once or twice, so the lady and Peter devised a new signal. The tale now follows the Decameron day VII, tale viii. In his version Boccaccio makes much of the fact that the husband, Arriguccio Berlinghieri, has foolishly married above his station, into the aristocracy. In The Cofler of Caunterburie the characters necessarily remain the same as in the first part of the tale.

The new signal devised by the lady consists of a piece of string tied to her big toe and leading to the door. The lover pulls this, and if she can receive him she ties it fast, if her husband is at home she releases it. This is a reversal of the signal in the Decameron, where the string leads to the window, and the lady releases it if her lover can stay, and pulls it in if not. In both versions she sometimes goes down to her lover if her husband is present but safely asleep. One night her husband finds the string and guesses its purpose. He attaches the string to his own toe and waits. In The Cofler of Caunterburie when it is pulled he pulls back, thus giving the 'all clear'; in the Decameron he ties it loosely so that it falls off when pulled, also signalling 'all clear'. The husband goes down to catch the lover, who, in the Decameron hears him coming, and in The Cofler of Caunterburie catches sight of him. In the Decameron they fight, but Arriguccio runs

away for fear of being recognized.

Meanwhile the lady wakes, realizes what has happened, and persuades her maid to take her place in bed, promising her a reward, in The Cowler of Caunterburie specifically a 'new gown and petticoat', if she endures whatever might happen. The husband returns, upbraiding his wife, thrashes her and cuts her hair. He then leaves to complain to his wife's family. The lady tends to her maid, and changes the sheets on the bed, in the Old Woman's tale because they are bloodstained, in the Decameron to make it look as though no one had slept there. The husband rouses his wife's family to complain of her infidelity. In the Decameron he shows them her cut hair. They accompany him to his house and find the lady, unmarked and with her hair intact, who accuses him of lechery and drunkenness, and says that he has not been home that night. The husband is thoroughly perplexed, but is forced by the circumstantial evidence to accept the situation. In the Decameron at this point much stress is placed on the lady's forgiving her husband, and on the class difference between them. In both versions peace is made between the couple, and the lady continues to see her lover.

Margaret Schlauch stresses the conscious irony of much of The Cowler of Caunterburie in its mockery of courtly writing, and chooses the particular example of this tale to demonstrate her point,

the Old Wife, of all unlikely people, delivers herself of an absurd Lylyan simile fitted out with both interlinked and linear alliteration: "And as the beastes most greedily gaze at the Panther's skin, and the birds at the Peacocks plumes: so every fair feminine face is an adamant to draw the object of mens eyes" (I3^r).
(page 162)

The last tale, the Summoner's, is taken from Decameron day III, tale viii, though its basic theme of a man being made to think he is dead can be found in many jest books and collections of tales. The setting of the tale has been changed from Tuscany to Wickham. In each version the abbot has a weakness for women, which in the Decameron is not generally known, and in The Cofler of Caunterburie is suspected by everyone, in both he is protected by his saintly reputation. In both versions the husband is excessively jealous. In the Summoner's tale the abbot meets the farmer's wife in the fields, in the Decameron she goes to be confessed by him, in both she tells him of the problem of her husband's jealousy. The abbot promises to cure her husband if she will be his paramour. In the Decameron he is much more mysterious about what his 'reward' will be, and the wife in the Summoner's tale is far more easily persuaded than the one in the Italian tale. In The Cofler of Caunterburie the wife plays an active role in that she sends her husband to see the abbot, in the Decameron he goes of his own accord.

The presentation of the monk who assists the abbot varies in the two versions, we are told more details about him in the Italian tale. The English version speaks of the farmer having children, whereas in the Italian he has just one child who appears briefly in the tale. In each version the farmer is drugged and pronounced to be dead, in the Decameron we are told the background of the drug. The man is buried in the abbey, and in the Decameron it is stressed that he is buried in his own clothes. At night the body is moved into the vault, and in the Summoner's tale is left naked, in Boccaccio's tale

he is dressed in a habit. The Cofler of Caunterburie then tells how the aforementioned monk waits for him 'dressed as a spirit', and tells him that he is in Purgatory as a punishment for his jealousy, and must stay there for three score years and ten. In the Decameron the abbot and monks visit the lady after the burial, and she agrees to receive the abbot that night, tempted by the sight of his ring. For his nocturnal visits the abbot dresses in her 'dead' husband's clothes, so that anyone seeing him will think it is a ghost, legends arise from such sightings. In the Decameron the scene then moves, for the first time, to the husband in 'Purgatory', where he is told the details of his sin and punishment. In both versions he is told that he is fed by the offerings given by his wife. Boccaccio tells us that this state of affairs lasts for ten months.

In both tales the lady eventually becomes pregnant, so her husband has to be 'revived'. In the Decameron the abbot disguises his voice as 'the voice of God', and announces to the farmer that it is decreed that he will return to life, and tells him that his wife will have a son, who is to be called Benedict. In The Cofler of Caunterburie the farmer is told that his wife's prayers and offerings have remitted his punishment, there is no pronouncement by a 'voice of God'. He swears that he will stop being jealous, and warn others against it, if restored. There is no mention of the expected baby. In both tales he is drugged and returned to the tomb, where he revives, to the amazement and wonder of all. In both versions great acclaim comes to the abbot and abbey on account of this 'miracle'. The husband hereafter preaches against

jealousy, and the wife continues to consort with the abbot. Boccaccio adds that she gives birth to a son, who is duly called Benedetto. The choice of this tale could be thought to add to the gibes at Purgatory made by Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. Margaret Schlauch notes that the Summoner's tale is often verbally close to its source.

The Scholar's tale is the only one of the six told that involves no element of adultery. It is a romance of the type popular in England at the end of the sixteenth-century. Margaret Schlauch thinks that,

Least interesting is the Scholar's romantic novella of two Sicilian lovers and their tribulations, following the pattern of Decameron V, 6 (which in turn reveals a general likeness to medieval romances of the type of Floris and Blanchefleur). (pages 158-9)

I think that in fact it is better than the average sixteenth-century romance, certainly for the modern reader it is more acceptable than most medieval examples.

The tale is taken from the Decameron day V, tale vi, which has been considerably changed by the author. The setting of Boccaccio's tale is Ischia, the girl's name is Restituta, and her lover is Gianni, who lives on the nearby island of Procida. Restituta is abducted by a party of young Sicilians, who decide to give her to King Frederick of Sicily. The king is unwell, and so lodges Restituta in a villa, La Cuba, until he is better and able to enjoy her. Gianni sets out to look for his love, and eventually discovers where she is kept. They see each other, and at night he climbs into her room, where they sleep together. That night the king decides to visit

Restituta, and, finding the lovers together, feels it would be cowardly to kill them as they lie asleep, but leaves orders that they should be bound, naked as they are, and tied to the stake in the main square until the hour of tierce, then burned.

A crowd gathers to see them, including Ruggieri de Loria, the Admiral of the Fleet, who recognizes Gianni and talks to him. Gianni begs one favour, that they be bound facing each other. Ruggieri stops the proceedings and goes to the king. He tells Frederick that Gianni is the son of Landolfo of Procida, blood-brother of Messer Gianni of Procida, who made him king. Restituta is the daughter of Marin Bolgaro, without whom the king would lose Ischia. He explains that the couple meant no disrespect to the king, but had long been in love with each other. The king releases them, marries them, and sends them home laden with gifts. They return to great rejoicing.

The first notable change in The Cobler of Caunterburie is the setting, which is now Sicily. The tale opens by telling that the king of Tunis regained his lost kingdom with the help of two Sicilian noblemen from Palermo, Iacomin Pierro and Alexander Bartolo. The reason for the change of setting can be explained thus,

English readers, unfamiliar with the islands off the Italian coast, might be confused by the political relations of Ischia, Procida and Sicily. To an Italian audience these affairs might be the very stuff of drama, but to an English audience they might convey little beyond names. 11

The names have been changed of course, and it is interesting to see the name Bartolo, already familiar from Tarltons Newes

Out of Purgatorie, appearing here. Boccaccio saves the information about the relationship between the king and the two noblemen for his denouement. Pierro, we are told, had a son, Iacomin, and Bartolo a daughter, Katherine. These two grew up together, here living on the same island, fell in love, and wanted to marry. The author then introduces a completely new element in the form of a feud between the two families, which prevents the lovers meeting. They communicate through a crevice in the wall between their two houses, which is another new element, presumably derived from the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe in Ovid's Metamorphoses (IV, 83-9). The lovers decide to leave Sicily for Spain, where they have friends, and so set out in a boat provided by Iacomin. The lovers' boat is attacked by pirates, there is a fierce fight in which Iacomin is wounded, and Katherine is taken by the pirates whilst he is powerless to defend her. Hurrell accounts for the introduction of the pirates,

Now throughout the period under review, as we have noted above, the pirates of the Barbary coast were a very real menace. It was obviously far more effective, then, from the point of view of dramatic situation, to have the hero and heroine carried off by Tunisian pirates rather than by a somewhat vague party of young men from Sicily. (pages 288-9)

In the Decameron the young Sicilians cannot decide which of them shall have Restituta, so settle the problem by giving her to the king, who had a weakness for beautiful women. In The Cobler of Caunterburie the pirate captain offers Katherine to the king as the price of a pardon for his piracy. The identity of the king has been changed, partly because the

lovers have set out from Sicily in the first place, and partly for reasons which Hurrell explains,

The substitution of the Tunisian King for Boccaccio's King Frederick of Sicily is also an improvement for English readers. While Italians might know that Frederick was sufficiently immoral as a King to keep a concubine, for English readers such sexual habits would be more readily associated with a Mohammedan ruler, conjuring up in their minds visions of Eastern voluptuousness. (page 289)

In Boccaccio's tale the king spares Restituta for the time being because he is unwell, we are not told of her reaction. In The Cowler of Caunterburie the king spares Katherine because of her extreme grief for Iacomin, whom she believes to be dead, which increases the reader's sympathy for her, and shows the king in a more favourable light.

The recognition scene between the two lovers is more dramatically dealt with in the Scholar's tale. In the Decameron Gianni discovers that Restituta has been given to the king, and despairs of recovering her, then one day he sees and speaks with her. In The Cowler of Caunterburie Katherine believes Iacomin is dead, and he, unable to learn anything of her whereabouts, only catches sight of her as he is about to leave Tunis to search elsewhere.

The motivation of Katherine in deciding to give her virginity to Iacomin is finer in the Scholar's tale than is Restituta's in the Decameron. Both are prompted by their situation of awaiting the king's desire, but Restituta is also hoping to persuade Gianni to help her to escape:

Feeling that her honour was by now as good as lost, the girl, who in the past had treated him rather cruelly in her determination to

preserve it, had made up her mind to gratify his every desire, for she could think of no man who had a greater right to possess her, and moreover she was hopeful of persuading him to effect her release ... Before they did anything else, the girl apprised him fully of her intentions, imploring him with all her heart to release her from captivity and take her away. 12

Katherine is motivated only by her love,

Therefore quoth she, since wee are man and wife, as wee have lived together, so let us dye together, and enioye thou the chastitie of that body, whose soule hath beene ever thine in all amitie. (sigs. H4-H4^V)

The reference to their being man and wife is presumably to their original intention to marry in Spain.

The tale returns to its source with the arrival of the king, his finding them together, and his reaction. The detail of their being bound naked is omitted in The Cobler of Caunterburie, together with its consequence of the crowd gathering to admire their bodies. The arrival of the Admiral, his recognition of Iacomin, including the plea to be bound face to face, prevention of the burning and warning to the king all follow the source closely. The couple are married in Tunis and sent home to Sicily, where the rejoicing at their survival reconciles the feud between the two families.

This tale has the least appeal for a modern reader, but nevertheless I think it is more acceptable than most of its genre, and an improvement on the source tale. The central characters are sympathetic, and the piece is not artificially padded by decorative rhetoric and lengthy discourses of slight relevance to the whole. It is most effective when read in context, as its sentimentality contrasts sharply with the

cynicism of the Gentleman's tale, which precedes it.

The Gentleman's tale is probably the most interesting of the six. It forms a sort of centre, falling third as it does, and is by far the longest tale, disproportionately so. The opening part of the tale is loosely based on the first half of Decameron VIII, vii, but moves away from the source fairly quickly. Boccaccio's tale is thought to be autobiographical, though there is no evidence that it is.¹³ The tale was available in English to the author of the Gentleman's tale as number xxxi of Painter's The Palace of Pleasure, which follows the original closely.

The setting has been moved from Florence to Cambridge. In both tales the lover is a student, who is naive in matters of love, having spent most of his time studying. In the Italian tale the lady is a widow, Elena, who refuses to remarry but has taken a lover. In The Cobler of Caunterburie she is a country girl, Marian, who is betrothed, and is married in the course of the tale. In each version the scholar falls in love with the lady in question at first sight, and in each she mocks him whilst pretending to encourage him. Rowland, the Cambridge scholar, first sees Marian in an inn at Cherryhinton. He approaches her and she encourages him, then, highly amused, runs home to tell her fiancé about the encounter. Rowland writes her a love letter, including a poem, couched in courtly terms, which he sends via the hostess of the inn where they met in Cherryhinton. In Boccaccio's tale the lady's maid is much involved as a go-between and confidante, in the English tale the hostess acts as go-between, but does not become involved in the rest of the tale. Having shown Rowland's

letter to her fiance and friends, Marian replies to it with one written in a consciously bucolic style. In all her encounters with Rowland she tries to play the part of an innocent, ignorant country girl. At this stage of the tale the scholar seems very foolish and gullible.

On meeting Rowland in Cambridge Marian tells him not to send any more letters, nor to come to Cherryhinton unless she sends for him. Nearly a year passes, then around Christmas she and her fiancé and friends decide to amuse themselves at Rowland's expense, so she sends for him. He comes eagerly, and she hides him first in an old barn, and then in a back courtyard near her room, until her father has gone to bed. It is a bitterly cold night. She comes down and explains through the door that her brothers are still up so Rowland will have to wait. At one o'clock in the morning they all come down to hide and laugh while she tells him that her brothers have still not gone to bed. She returns at three o'clock with the same excuse, and refuses to let him shelter inside because the door makes a loud noise when opened, the excuse used by Elena in the Decameron. At each delay Rowland prepares himself to wait stoically. The company in the house grow tired and go to bed. The narrator tells us that,

Marian, as far as I can coniecture though
it were somewhat before the marriage, that
night made triall of hir new betrothed
husband (sig. F4^V)

which seems an odd detail to present as conjecture rather than fact. At six o'clock Marian comes down to Rowland, who is almost senseless from the cold, and, feigning sorrow, sends him home.

In Boccaccio's version the lady engineers the situation in order to prove to her lover that she does not care for the scholar, rather than just for amusement. In that tale she sends her maid to tell him that her brother has arrived, and later in the night makes the same excuse herself, with her lover eavesdropping, refusing to let him in because of the noisy door. In the morning the maid releases him. It is difficult to see why the author of The Cofler of Caunterburie chose to insert more encounters, at the risk of losing the attention of his audience as the incidents became repetitive. He may have intended to emphasize the horror of the situation and the heartlessness of Marian. The big difference between the two tales at this point, which is where they diverge, is that in Boccaccio's the lover realizes that he has been duped and is furiously angry, plotting revenge, whereas Rowland does not realize. The source tale moves on here to tell of the revenge, which consists of exposing Elena naked to the blazing sun for a day. In the Decameron the deed and the revenge are nicely balanced in length, and the punishment is aptly suited to the crime. The Gentleman's tale not only expands the deed of leaving the scholar to freeze, but in the next section adds to the misdeeds perpetrated against him.

Marian is to be married the following Advent, therefore, because it is Advent, the banns are not called, so presumably Rowland hears nothing about it. She remembers Rowland and decides to derive further amusement at his expense. She sends for him, and receives him at one o'clock in the morning. They sit and talk whilst the maid lays the table. Then the maid says that Marian's father is coming down. Marian hides

Rowland in a trunk, which she locks, and then goes to bed. On hearing talk of her wedding-day Rowland at last becomes suspicious. He is forced to remain in the trunk throughout the festivities. Eventually he hears her tell the tale of her mockery of him, and then she lets him out of the trunk, before the assembled guests. He leaves the scene with dignity, warning them that, 'this is but a comedie, but looke for a tragedie when soever it falles' (sig. G2).

Rowland, having learned the extent of his folly, grows in sense, and in popularity with both scholars and townspeople. Marian, now married, comes to Cambridge every week, and eventually falls in love with a scholar, Awdrey, who is willing to respond to her. Awdrey becomes friendly with her husband in order to have easier access to Marian. They arrange that she will spend the night in Cambridge, ostensibly with a kinswoman. Awdrey is a close friend of Rowland, and tells him of the plan. Rowland laughs, and tells the tale of his experiences with Marian to Awdrey, who offers to help him avenge himself. They go to Trumpington, where they meet 'one of the Proctors' who agrees to help with their plan.

On the Saturday, which is market day, Awdrey and Marian meet and spend the day at the tavern. Meanwhile, Rowland sends a letter to Marian's husband in Awdrey's name, saying that his wife is not well and so will spend the night at her kinswoman's, and asking him to come next morning, with her father and friends, to see Rowland taken in bed with a pretty wench. The husband is jealous of Awdrey's familiarity with Marian, but hides his jealousy and arranges with the others to go the next morning.

The scene in which Marian is duped by the age-old bed-trick is one of passionless bitterness:

and againe to Marian, who after supper sat up late, but Awdrey fild hir full of Wine till shee was almost droncke, that shee was verie heavie, and desired to goe to bed, which she did, and was no sooner laid but she fell a sleepe, and Awdrey slipping out, put out the candle and sent in Rowland, and had him now goe to his mistres: hee went into the chamber and lockt the dore, and maister Audrey stole out of the howse and went to his chamber, leaving Rowland with his paramour, where I thinke more for envie of the man then for love of the woman perhaps hee dubde him one of Paris priesthood, howsoever it was she descried not how it was, but both fell a sleepe. (sig. G4)

It is very unusual for the male partner to be the one substituted in the bed-trick, but it happens twice in The Cobler of Caunterburie, here and in the Cobbler's tale. The more jovial tone of the first occurrence serves to emphasize the coldness here. The calculated design of this sexual encounter, unalleviated by love, or even lust, emphasizes the depth to which Rowland has been wounded, particularly when contrasted with his earlier devotion.

The next day Marian's husband, father and friends come to Cambridge, and meet Awdrey and the Proctor, with a group of others. They rouse the 'host' of the house where Marian and Rowland are staying, and discover the 'lovers' in bed together, with Marian hidden by the sheet. The Proctor is preparing to leave when Awdrey prompts Marian's husband to inquire who Rowland's companion is. The scholars all laugh and cry 'cuckoo' when Marian is discovered. Rowland reminds them of the tricks played on him. The husband is prepared to kill Marian, but is prevented, and eventually persuaded that the whole trick has

been worked by magic.

Rowland is a fellow of Peter's Hostel (Peterhouse), and the number of general references to Cambridge and the university suggests that the writer knew the town. He mentions Saturday as market day more than once, and references to places suggest that he was familiar with the geography of the town. He is acquainted with details of university dress and customs, for instance, 'hee off with his corner Cappe (for hee was a Batcheler in Artes)' (sig. E3); 'shee spied syr Rowland come flinging downe the Market hill, in his wide sleeved Gowne, and his corner Cap' (sig. F2^V); and, '[he sat] from eight a clocke till eleaven, and then hearing the Hostell Bell ring to dinner...' (sig. F3).

All the sources of the tales were available in French or English translations (for details of the Decameron see Sources), so there was no need for the author to have read his sources in Italian. It is not possible to tell what versions he did read. He is a skillfull adaptor, choosing chiefly the plot elements from his sources, and developing his characters independently. He omits the superfluous elements in his sources, particularly Boccaccio's satirical passages. Like the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie he usually subdues the tone of Boccaccio, and omits the harsher aspects of his characters, except in the case of the Gentleman's tale. He is not governed by any prevailing theme, such as an attack on the doctrine of Catholicism, as the author of the earlier work tends to be. Generally his method of handling his source material is similar to that of the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. When he combines two tales he does so

neatly and unobtrusively. There is no example of two tales being interwoven in the way that the sources of the tale of the Lovers of Pisa are, so no comparison of technique in this field can be attempted.

The six tales tend to fall into pairs. The first two are associated by their professional jealousy, and by their echo of the Miller and the Reeve in The Canterbury Tales. The last two, the Old Woman and the Summoner are linked, as the Summoner says, by their association with Chaucer's characters. The middle pair are more difficult to place. The Scholar's tale is linked with the Old Woman's by the extreme contrast that they offer, hers being almost a broad burlesque of his romantic love story. The Gentleman is rather an 'odd man out' in this as in much else. His tale can be linked with that of the Scholar in that he tells a tale about scholars which contrasts sharply with the one told by the Scholar, the romanticism of which could be said to illustrate the idealism from which Rowland suffers as a result of too much studying. The Summoner's tale can also be linked with the Cobbler's, thus forming a kind of circular structure, as he points out,

to keepe decorum, as the Cobler began with
the tale of a Prior, I will end with one of
an Abbot. (sig. K1^v)

The fact that has focused most attention on The Cobler of Caunterburie is Greene's statement in his Vision that it had been attributed to him, and his repudiating it in the same work. Greenes Vision, which is described on the title page as 'written at the instant of his death', was published posthumously, with a preliminary Epistle by the publisher,

Thomas Newman. Presumably it appeared late in 1592, as Greene only died on 3 September 1592. The date of composition is less easily established. The references to The Cobler of Caunterburie with which the work opens, show that it was written after the publication of that work, late in 1590 or in 1591.¹⁴ It seems likely that it was written fairly soon after the appearance of The Cobler of Caunterburie, whilst the topic was fresh in Greene's mind. In the pamphlet he apparently refers to two other works, which may help to date this one:

I must end my Nunquam sera est, and for that
I crave pardon.... looke as speedily as the
presse wil serve for my mourning garment. (sig. H1^v)

Greenes Mourning Garment was entered in the Stationers' Register to John Wolfe on 2 November 1590.¹⁵ Greenes Never Too Late is of uncertain date, but is generally ascribed to 1590. The two parts of Never Too Late were published together in 1590.

Greenes Vision opens with Greene's reaction to The Cobler of Caunterburie,

After I was burdened with the penning of
the Cobler of Canterbury, I waxed passing
melancholy, as grieving that either I shold
be wrong with envy, or wronged with
suspition. (sig. B1)

He then describes his depression on thinking that his reputation for writing light literature is such that even this, which he clearly thinks unworthy of him, can be attributed to him. At last he falls asleep, and the opening of his dream recalls that of the narrator of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie,

presumably deliberately. Two old men appear to him, who turn out to be Gower and Chaucer. They ask why the dreamer is melancholy, and he tells them:

But now of late there came foorth a booke called the Cobler of Canterburie, a merrie worke, and made by some madde fellow, conteining plesant tales, a litle tainted with scurilitie, such reverend Chawcer as your selfe set foorth in your iourney to Canterbury. At this booke the graver and greater sorte repine, as thinking it not so pleasant to some, as preiudiciall to many, crossing it with such bitter invectives, that they condemne the Author almost for an Atheist. Now learned Lawreat, heere lyes the touch of my passions: they father the booke uppon me, whereas it is Incerti authoris, and suspitiouslye slaunder me with many harde reproches, for penning that which never came within the compasse of my Quill. Their allegation is, because it is pleasant, and therefore mine: because it is full of wanton conceits, and therefore mine: in some places say they the stile bewraies him, thus upon supposed premisses they conclude peremptorie, & though some men of accoumt may be drawne by reason from that suppose, yet that Ignobile Vulgus, whose mouthes will not be stopt with a Bakers batch, will still crie, it was none but his. (sigs. C2-C2^V)

They discuss the merits of light literature. Chaucer argues that it is best to tell a tale that will appeal to the reader, and be entertaining, and through it to teach a moral:

Tushe, quoth Chaucer, it behooves a Scholler to fit his Pen to the time and persons, and to enter with a deepe insight into the humours of men, and win them by such writings as best wil content their fancies. (sig. D1^V)

He tells a tale to illustrate his point. His tale is set in Grandchester, near Cambridge, and involves a wheelwright, Tomkins, and his marriage to a dairymaid, Kate. Tomkins becomes jealous of Kate's trips into Cambridge to sell cream,

worrying that she may be seduced by scholars. Kate does have a lover among the scholars, to whom she appeals to get rid of her husband's jealousy. When Tomkins next goes to Cambridge he is met by a scholar who, pretending not to know him, tells him of Kate's supposed wantonness, and offers to show him proof next time Kate comes to Cambridge. The next time she goes there he pretends to be ill, and stays in bed until she has left, then he goes by a different route. He meets the scholar, who,

brought him secretly to a Chamber windowe,
 where looking in, he might see his wife
 sitting upon a Schollers lap eating of a
 pound of Cherries. (sig. D4)

After this he is given drugged wine, and carried home unconscious. Kate explains the situation to her mother, and the two of them watch by his bedside. When he wakes he is furiously angry with his wife, who pretends that he is raving. Eventually they persuade him that he has been very ill in bed all day, and that his visit to Cambridge is an hallucination. He cannot remember his journey home, which disposes him to believe them. He asks his wife's forgiveness for having suspected her, and vows not to be jealous in future.

Gower condemns this tale as,

two scurrulous, and not worthie to trouble
 my grave eare: such fantasticall toyes be in
 the Cobler of Canterbury, and that bred the
 booke such discredit: call you this a method
 to put downe any particular vice, or rather
 a meanes generally to set up vanitie? (sig. E1)

He counters Chaucer's tale with one of his own, which is much longer, but with less action, and a tendency to lapse into

long discursive passages. The tale is set in Antwerp, and tells of Alexander Vandermast and his marriage to Theodora. He becomes intensely jealous of her, without cause, until his jealousy drives him to the point of madness. He is cured by an old magician who turns him into a young man so that he can test his wife's fidelity by attempting to seduce her. When she rejects him he is convinced of her innocence.

There is further discussion about which method of teaching a moral is better. Greene decides to reject Chaucer's example,

For now I perceive Father Chawcer, that I followed too long your pleasant vaine, in penning such Amourous workes, and that ye fame that I sought after by such travail, was nothing but smoke I will begin from hence forth to hate all such follies, and to write of matters of some import. (sigs. H1-H1^V)

He chooses to follow Gower's teaching,

Thus father Gower, thy counsaile hath made me a convert & a penitent deeply sorrowfull for the follies of my penne, but promising heere that no idle fancies shall grow any more from my conceit, hoping you will take my hand for a pawne of the faith of my promise, I rest yours in all humble duty. (sig. H1^V)

This choice having been made, another figure appears on the scene, who is revealed as Solomon. He tells the poet that the only worthy thing is 'wisdom', and advises him to 'abiure all other studies, seeing Omnia sub coelo vanitas, and onely give thy selfe to Theologie' (sig. H3), preaching 'divinitie' is the true wisdom. As his speech ends the dreamer wakes, and resolves to follow the counsel he has received in his vision.

Most critics take Greenes Vision totally seriously at its face value as a repentance pamphlet, thus missing the

ironies and subtleties with which Greene has endowed it. Everitt is one of the few who notice these, without, however, fully appreciating their skill or significance,

The Vision includes the same farcical octosyllabic verses as constitute most of the character description in the Cobler, and two stories, one by 'Chaucer' being the same poor quality of intrigue story as the seven in the Cobler, and the other by 'Gower' something less than entertaining. The essence of the Vision is of one flavour with the Cobler: even to the invocation of Chaucer in each. Greene's partial evasiveness is not to be taken seriously; I doubt if he hoped or intended it to be so regarded, else why the "such fond pamphlets"? This very Vision is his only known work in the same category it professes to regret and atone for. (pages 35-36).

In his attack, as Everitt says, Greene imitates The Cobler of Caunterburie closely. The fact that the Vision is so untypical of Greene's usual style (as critics are fond of pointing out) adds weight to his denial of the authorship. As mentioned above, the Vision must have been written between June 1590 and September 1592, which is the period in which Greene wrote his repentance pamphlets, among which this is usually included. It is not really like any of the other repentance pamphlets. Greene uses his old form of framework tales, and a genre which he uses twice elsewhere, in Orpharion and in A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, that of the dream vision.

The two inset tales are unlike any others by Greene. Gower's, with its long passages of reflection and discourse, seems almost a parody of earlier tales in Greene's romances. Chaucer's tale is even more glaringly untypical of Greene, but recalls aspects of the Gentleman's tale clearly. The

situation and setting are similar, a town near Cambridge, and a husband jealous of his wife's relationship with scholars. There are certain verbal passages which echo the tale of Marian and Rowland, and some which recall both The Cobler of Caunterburie and Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, for instance the reference to 'eating a pound of cherries', and the descriptions of Tomkins, the cobbler in the Smith's tale, and Stephano. Above all both invoke Chaucer as a teller of tales. Chaucer's tale is a bawdy fabliau of the type which Greene, as he protests, did not write, even in his Conny-Catching pamphlets. His verse descriptions of the characters as they appear are obviously intended to recall those of The Cobler of Caunterburie. Finally, critics choose to believe Greene's repentance here, without noting the irony of the extremes to which he carries it by introducing Solomon's admonition, or the fact that he is here writing the type of tale which his pamphlet purports to deplore.

Greene's rejection of the authorship of The Cobler of Caunterburie is often taken as evidence that he did write it, Everitt and Ranson both think so. As with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie there is no evidence as to who wrote it. It can be argued, as Ranson does, that both texts are by the same author, the 'attack' being a publicity device. There is nothing against this theory, but the two texts do not seem to me to be by the same author. As mentioned above, The Cobler of Caunterburie is altogether a more polished piece of writing. It shares some stylistic features with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, but also with many other similar works of that period.¹⁶ One notable feature is that it includes a number of

Latin tags and phrases, such as Greene was fond of, as does Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, but none occur after the end of the Gentleman's tale. This sudden cessation could suggest that the writer had deliberately used them because they were a feature of somebody else's style, and then forgotten to continue to do so as he became thoroughly involved in the work. Another point of interest, which may support this, is that the first part of the text, as far as the end of the Gentleman's tale, includes far more echoes of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie than does the remaining part of the work.

The Cobler of Caunterburie gives no impression of having been written in a hurry as a spontaneous response to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. Whoever wrote it knew the title of the earlier work in the form in which it appears in the Stationers' Register, as his title page, and his reference to its long title ('the Title conteines more then the whole Pamphlet' sig. Aii^v) show, which suggests that he knew the book before it appeared in print - or that he had access to the Stationers' Register. His references to the work suggest that he knew it well, and his initial criticism of it, that he had also known Tarlton well, though of course many people had. He realized where the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie had looked for his source material, without being told in that work.

There are virtually no clues to the identity of the author in the work itself. It could be argued that the knowledge of Cambridge shown in the Gentleman's tale indicates a Cambridge graduate; on the other hand, the tale could be interpreted as showing anti-Cambridge feeling, implying an

Oxford graduate, or a non-university man. Most of the tales are set in the south of England, which could mean that the author came from that part of the country, or at least knew it well.

One or two factors can be cited that could rule out Greene as author. In the Gentleman's tale Rowland refers to Chryseis in his verses to Marian. Greene never uses this version of the name, only Cressid, Cressida or Crecida. All Greene's references to her are to the post-classical story, using her as an example of inconstancy, whereas Rowland refers to her as an example of a beautiful woman, and in association with Homer.

In his closing remarks the Cobbler says,

I hope you shall find me so sufficient in
mine english, that if I should study, you
wold report, I might for my vaine, match
Lilly, Greene, or any other in excellence
of prose. (sig. K4^v) 17

It does not seem probable that Greene would have said this about himself, though no doubt it can be argued that he may have been deliberately misleading the reader. Also, in his Epistle to the reader the Cobbler tells us,

Gentlemen, thinke that I was borne when the
Popes butterflies were abroad, and it may
be, some Friar was my father, and the rather
I gesse it, for that nature hath wrought that
upon my crowne, that he had on his by Art:
for before I was twenty, I had a bald pate.
(sig. Aii^v)

If this is a true description it disqualifies Greene, who, according to Chettle, was,

a man of indifferent yeares, of face amible,
of body well proportioned, his attire after

the habite of a schollerlike Gentleman, onely
his haire was somewhat long. 18

Gabriel Harvey, who had never seen him, also speaks of Greene's 'fond disguisinge of a Master of Arte with ruffianly haire'.¹⁹ The relevance of this information depends of course on Greene being identified with the Cobbler, as mentioned above, there seems to have been a separate narrator.

Harvey provides further evidence that could be taken to rule out Greene. In his comments on The Canterbury Tales he quotes The Cobler of Caunterburie alongside the appropriate tales by Chaucer.²⁰ He obviously knew the work reasonably well, and it seems unlikely that he would have approved of it to the extent of quoting it if he had heard rumours that it was by Greene. However, the edition Harvey used was that of 1608, as his reference to the eight cuckolds shows, so he may not have met the work until then. He was almost certainly not in London from 1590 until after Greene was dead. He would probably have been there when the Vision was published, but is not likely to have read it feeling as he did about Greene. It is an interesting light on his character that he should read, and presumably enjoy, such a piece of fiction, and consider it seriously enough to try to match the tales to Chaucer's.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie may have had considerable influence on the genre of 'news from the underworld', but the structure of The Cobler of Caunterburie was copied by at least two other authors. In Foole upon Foole (1600) Robert Armin presents six fools, loosely paired (A flat foole, A fatt foole, A leane foole, A cleane foole, A merry foole, A verry foole), each introduced by a verse description. He reissued

this as A Nest of Ninnies in 1608, the year of the second edition of The Cobler of Caunterburie, with four of the six verse descriptions revised, and with a new framework into which the fools are introduced as allegorical figures as well as characters.

In 1620 the form was more closely copied in Westward for Smelts by 'Kind Kit of Kingston'. This consists of six tales told by fishwives on a similar barge trip, from Queenhithe to Kingston, 'Kind Kit' is the boatman. The characters are introduced by the same kind of Chaucerian verse descriptions, and similar clashes occur between some of them.²¹

In 1600 the Scholar's tale of the Sicilian lovers was expanded into a full length prose romance, Loves load-starre, by Robert Kittowe. The tale has been much elaborated by the addition of extra incidents, such as an attack by Cupid on the lovers when they are children, and the prophecy of an oracle. The use of names and incidents shows that The Cobler of Caunterburie rather than Decameron V, vi is the source.

In 1630, the year of the third edition of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, The Cobler of Caunterburie was republished in an adapted form as The Tincker of Turvey. In this the tales of the Old Woman and the Summoner have been replaced by tales told by the Tinker and a Seaman, and the Epistle and introduction have been rewritten. The Tinker has replaced the Cobbler as the central character. The Tinker's tale is told first, then follow the first four of the original work, told in their original order, and to conclude there is the Seaman's tale, which, unexpectedly, is a tragedy.

Footnotes

- 1 Ranson claims that Robinson himself was the publisher (p.28).
- 2 E. Arber, editor, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London 1554-1640, 5 vols (London, 1875-77, Birmingham, 1894, reprinted New York, 1950), iii, 163.
- 3 E.B. Everitt, The Young Shakespeare. Studies in Documentary Evidence, *Anglistica II* (Copenhagen, 1954), pp.33-34.
- 4 J.O. Halliwell, editor, Tarlton's Jests and News out of Purgatory: with Notes and Some Account of the Life of Tarlton, printed for the Shakespeare Society (London, 1844), p.108.
- 5 Margaret Schlauch, Antecedents of the English Novel 1400-1600 (from Chaucer to Deloney) (Warszawa and London, 1963), p.157. Further references to this work are given in the text.
- 6 Thomas Dekker, Newes from Hell (London, 1606), sigs. D4^V-E1.
- 7 Victor Bourgy, Le Bouffon sur la Scène Anglaise au XVI^e Siècle (c.1495-1594) (Paris, 1969), pp.54-55.
- 8 Fernando Ferrara, L'Opera Narrativa di Robert Greene (Napoli, 1960), p.363.
- 9 'T.D.' is thought to be Thomas Deloney. See: J. Woodrow Hassell, Jr., 'An Elizabethan Translation of the Tales of Des Periers: The Mirrour of Mirth, 1583 and 1592', Studies in Philology, 52 (1955), 172-185.
- 10 The work was available in 1590 in the 1583 edition, but I have only been able to see the 1592 edition, in which the order of some of the tales has been altered.
- 11 J.D. Hurrell, 'Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Prose Fiction (1558-1603)' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1954), p.288. Further references to this work are given in the text.
- 12 Giovanni Boccaccio, The Decameron, translated with an introduction by G.H. McWilliam (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.445.
- 13 A.C. Lee, The Decameron; its sources and analogues (London, 1909), p.258.
- 14 The earliest record of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is the entry in the Stationers' Register on 26 June 1590, it is likely that this entry was made before the book

actually appeared, and The Cobler of Caunterburie must have been published some time after the earlier text or its attack would be pointless, which brings the date to late 1590-1591. Greenes Vision obviously was written sometime between this date and September 1592.

- 15 Arber, ii, 567.
- 16 René Pruvost, Robert Greene et ses Romans (1558-1592) (Paris, 1938), pp.374-75.
- 17 All other quotations from The Cobler of Caunterburie are from the first edition. However, the last leaf of the only available copy of that edition is damaged, so this quotation is from the 1608 edition.
- 18 Henry Chettle, Kind-harts dreame (London, 1592), sig. B3.
- 19 Gabriel Harvey, Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets (London, 1592), sig. B1v.
- 20 G.C. Moore Smith, editor, Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), pp.227-28.
- 21 For further discussion and examples see The Cobbler of Canterbury. Frederic Ouvry's edition of 1862. With a new introduction by H. Neville Davies (Cambridge, 1976), pp.31-55.

The Question of Authorship

A major point of interest of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie must be the question of who wrote it. The name of the author is stubbornly elusive, chiefly because there are so few clues to his identity. The pseudonym under which it is presented is not an open secret, as are some of the period, nor has it survived on other works, so far as is known, which might have helped solve the problem. The only contemporary work which mentions it is The Cobler of Caunterburie, which only complicates the problem, its own origins being equally obscure.

The only clues to the identity of the author lie in the text itself, and these are sparse and unreliable. The author writes under the pseudonym of 'Robin Goodfellow', which may give some indication of his real name. He claims to be an 'old companion' of Tarlton on the title page, and is addressed as 'old acquaintance' by the ghost. In his Epistle to the readers the author claims that this is his first time in print. If the author translated his sources himself, he had a good knowledge of Italian and French. He seems to have been an educated man, his knowledge of Italian novelle is fairly wide, his references to Dante and to classical authors are apt, and, in the case of Ovid (Caetera quis nescit, sig. C4), for instance, subtle. Finally, the writer is almost certainly a Protestant, not only because of the tone of the work, but also because Tarlton's ghost preaches to him as such.

'Robin' by itself could provide a clue to the name of the author. However, 'Robin Goodfellow' destroys its significance

by the association with a puck. The use of 'Robin Goodfellow' for the author could merely mean that he had the characteristics of a mischievous sprite, or liked to think that he had. Alternatively the reference to 'Robin Goodfellow' could apply to Tarlton, implying that the puck was an 'old companion' of his because of the clown's sense of humour.

The sources of the tales used in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie suggest that the author must have had some knowledge of French and Italian in order to translate them. The changes made to the source tales imply an appreciation of their subtleties in the original languages, and also constant reference to the texts, which suggests that the author was able to organize his own material. The combination of the two sources in the last tale shows a very thorough knowledge of the originals. The language of the tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons is in places a direct translation of Boccaccio's, rather than a summary or paraphrase. Although all this suggests that the author was able to make constant reference to his texts in their original language, it is possible that he was supplied with a close literal translation by someone else.

The claim to be an 'old companion' of Tarlton's could be an allusion to the sprite Robin Goodfellow, as mentioned above. It could also be an attempt to gain publicity and popularity by using the clown's name. In 1590, however, there would still have been many of Tarlton's genuine 'old companions' alive who may have objected to this claim if it were false. No comment on the claim has survived except the remarks of The Cobler of Caunterburie, whose hostility could imply that it is false. It is worth noting that the narrator, in describing his visit

to the Theatre, speaks as an habitual spectator not as an actor, thereby implying that he was not a professional colleague of Tarlton's.

The statement that this is the author's first time in print may be a ruse to win the toleration of his readers. I think, however, that the piece shows signs of being an early work, though of course it is impossible to tell whether it is a first publication without knowing the identity of the author. The subject matter is original in that the tales had not been translated into English before, but the language is heavily indebted to proverbial material, and to the 'common stock' of images and clichés. The style retains traces of euphuism, an obvious medium for an inexperienced writer to adopt, particularly as it had been used so successfully by pamphleteers such as Greene. There are one or two basic errors in the text that could be a result of inexperience, or merely of carelessness. For instance, two tales of popes are promised, but only that of Boniface IV is told. It can also be argued that if the writer were someone who had already published, and whose name was known, he would have put his own name to the work rather than depend on Tarlton's to sell it. There seems to be no reason for the writer to suppress his identity, the work could not be thought offensive on political grounds, and his anti-Catholicism is not excessively strong, and anyway would be thoroughly acceptable in Protestant England.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie could be one of the many anti-Catholic works which appeared after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, though it would be unusual in not mentioning Spain. To say that the writer was Protestant does

not indicate much in 1590 when that was what most Englishmen claimed to be. In this case the views of the writer are stressed by the ghost's calling him a Calvinist. There seems to be a genuine disgust in his descriptions of papal indulgences. The way in which he has altered his sources to show the clergy and practices of the Roman Catholic Church in the worst possible light could be taken to demonstrate the strength of his feelings on the subject.

Apart from these five characteristics the only possible indication of the author's identity may be a similarity between the style of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and that of a known author, but at best this sort of identification is uncertain, depending on personal judgement. One cannot rule out the possibility of the influence of an established writer on the technique of a beginner, or the satirical imitation of an author's style.

I

The most detailed of the claims about the authorship of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is that put forward on behalf of Robert Greene. The bulk of Ranson's thesis is an attempt to substantiate this claim. In pleading his case, however, Ranson tends to lose sight of some aspects of the points he makes, and to discuss only those which are favourable to his argument. In his eagerness to press the claim he overlooks contrary evidence, and misinterprets certain points. He sometimes falls into the trap of treating what was originally intended as hypothetical suggestion as proven fact, and then

discusses further evidence in that light. He has also omitted some details which could support his case. He believes that internal references suggest that Greene is the author.

As the only fully discussed claim for Greene as author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie Ranson's arguments, which are very complicated, must be examined. He starts by producing his evidence that Greene was known as 'Robin Goodfellow', and knew Tarlton well.¹ He next turns to the history of the publication of the text. The publishers of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, Gubbins and Newman, were also responsible, jointly or individually, for the publication of several of Greene's works. He draws attention to the number of books printed by Robert Robinson for Gubbins and/or Newman.²

Ranson compares the publication history of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie with that of A Disputation betweene a hee conny-catcher and a shee conny-catcher (1592) and The Defence of Conny catching (1592). According to him The Cobler of Caunterburie was written ostensibly to attack Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, but in fact was designed to promote it. The Defence of Conny catching, written under the pseudonym of Cuthbert Cony-Catcher, purports to attack the Conny-Catching pamphlets in general, not just A Disputation as Ranson suggests, but is generally thought to have been written by Greene to promote them. Ranson feels that Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie and A Disputation and The Defence of Conny catching show use of this same publicity device, thereby inferring that all four works are by the same author. He recalls the link that is formed between the first two texts by Robin Goodfellow's

Epistle being included in The Cobler of Caunterburie, and suggests that this device may have been designed to lay the foundations for a series. He claims that both texts were successful by sixteenth-century standards, and that two editions of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie in one year was better than average, which is misleading as the 1590 date given to the second edition is now disputed. Ranson ends his discussion of the publication details by saying that even if Greene did not write The Cobler of Caunterburie, he must at least have written Robin Goodfellow's Epistle, which was then inserted in the preliminary matter by courtesy of the author.

Ranson is convinced that Greene wrote The Cobler of Caunterburie. He reproduces the passages on the subject from Greenes Vision, and points out, rightly, that in this answer to the charge of authorship Greene raises more questions than he resolves. He claims that Greene made a habit of attacking himself as a form of self-advertisement, which I have not found to be the case, and that the attack on The Cobler of Caunterburie made in Greenes Vision would conform to this practice.

Ranson decides that the style of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is characteristic of Greene. He discusses the tales from the Decameron told in The Spanish Masquerado, and contends that very few English writers were using the Decameron as a source at this time, naming only Whetstone, Warner and Greene. He neglects to mention the comparatively extensive use of it by earlier writers such as Painter and Turberville. He dismisses Warner as a candidate, Whetstone was dead in 1590, and Turberville's name is now mentioned only to be dismissed as belonging to an earlier age. This leaves Greene

as the only author working with the Decameron in 1590, and ignores the availability of earlier translations such as Painter's The Palace of Pleasure (1566-67).

Ranson thinks that Ronsard's song in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is 'clearly modelled' on Menaphon's song, and discusses the relationship between the two, and the third which is associated with them, Montanus's sonnet from Lodge's Rosalynde. He dismisses Lodge's version as irrelevant because Rosalynde was entered in the Stationers' Register later than Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, though in the same year.³ He allows that Greene and the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie (if they are not the same person) may have taken the idea from the French independently. This implies that there is a source for this poem in Ronsard's work; I have not been able to find one. Ranson proceeds to explain that Lodge was the most prolific translator of Ronsard at that time, and that Lodge and Greene worked together on A Looking Glasse for London and England, therefore Ronsard would be available to Greene through Lodge's interest. The remark about Ronsard's style being uncommon may be a private joke, which it may be no matter who the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is. In his eagerness to emphasize the similarity to Menaphon's song Ranson misses a far stronger resemblance to another song by Greene, 'Eurymachus fancie in the prime of his affection' from Francescos Fortunes (see Appendix II).

Ranson next turns to a work of Greene's which is contemporary with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, namely Greenes Mourning Garment, entered in the Stationers' Register to John Wolfe on 2 November 1590.⁴ The conclusion to this

echoes the Epistle of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, Ranson reproduces the relevant sections of both:

it is the first fruites of my new labours,
and the last farewell to my fond desires.
I know Momus will looke at it narrowly, and
say there is too little cloth, Zoilus with
his squint eyes will finde fault with the
shape, so shall I be bitten both for matter
and method. Well, I care not though they be
crabbed, if I finde other Gentlemen courteous..
.. Because that Gentlemen have past over my
workes with silence, and have rid mee without
a spurre, I have (like blinde Bayard) plodded
forward, and set forth many Pamphlets full of
much love and little Scholarisme (sigs. K3-K3^V)

for never before being in print I start at
the sight of the Presse ... yet I have heard
others whose bookes have past your view,
account you so favorable, curteous and affable
... which if I finde as they have done, though
I bee blinde Bayard, yet I will in the thickest
of the mire plunge up to the Saddle for your
sakes ... thinke all savory, and so please
without being satirically peremptory: for Momus
will have a mouth full of invectives, and
Zoilus should not be Zoilus if hee were not
squint eide. (sigs. A2-A2^V, p.280)

There are undoubtedly many similarities of phrase and sentiment between the two passages, but there are numerous echoes of Greene in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, which alone are not enough to show that the authors are the same. Ranson thinks that the critic feared by both Greene and the pseudonymous author in these two passages is Gabriel Harvey. He makes the somewhat irrelevant point that as there are at least thirty-six prose works credited to Greene, two more can be added to the canon without straining credulity. He mentions, quite rightly, that any comparisons between Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and Greene's known works would be pointless if Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie were very different in tone from what Greene

was writing around 1590.

Ranson emphasizes the nebulous qualities of what we call 'style', and that ultimately comparison of two styles must be a matter of personal judgement. He does not enumerate any points of comparison between Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and Greene's style; instead he lists five characteristics most notable in Greene's early works and those of around 1590. The significance of Ranson's conviction that Greene wrote The Cobler of Caunterburie is now revealed. The same characteristics that he links with Greene are associated with The Cobler of Caunterburie by Margaret Schlauch:

linguistic traits characteristic of the jest books: idiomatic inversion sometimes accompanied by present tense ("away goes her mother in law," D3v; "up hee got, and on with the Sculls apparrell," C1v); conversational adverbs of transition ("Well, home he went to his chamber," B2v; "Well, within two dayes after came the Prior againe," B4v); an occasional pleonastic pronoun ("The Cobler he marked all very diligently," H1v and "The Cobler he commended all," K4v); and homely proverbial sayings ("the blind eats many a flie, and much water runnes by the mill that the miller wots not on," B4v). 5

She also notes the sprightly choice of verbs. Ranson says, and I agree, that these features recur throughout Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.⁶

Ranson concludes by returning to his theory that the same author wrote both Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie, and stressing the points that he has already made. Finally, he considers what evidence there is that Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie might not be by Greene, and decides that there is none.

In the introduction to this chapter I mentioned that

five features may be associated with the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. A consideration of the applicability of these to Greene may now be helpful.

Greene is the only one of the possible authors of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie whose initials are those of Robin Goodfellow. He was known as Robin, and refers to himself as such in The Repentance of Robert Greene (1592):

and saith, Robin Greene thou art damnd (sig. B3)

who for that trade growne so ordinary
about London as Robin Greene. (sig. C1^V)

William Bubb addresses him as 'freend Robin' (sig. G4^V) in a letter to the author printed in Perimedes the Blacke-Smith (1588), and Chettle refers to him as 'Robin Greene' in Kind-harts dreame (sig. G4^V). Heywood discusses the diminution of Greene's name, admittedly long after his death, in Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels (1635):

Greene, who had in both Academies ta'ne
Degree of Master, yet could never gaine
To be call'd more than Robin: who had he
Profest ought save the Muse, Serv'd, and been Free
After a seven yeares Prentiseship; might have
(With credit too) gone Robert to his grave.
(sig. S1^V)

In his edition of Greene's plays and poems Churton Collins refers to Greene being known as 'Goodfellow',⁷ and Pruvost mentions the same point,⁸ citing a passage from Nashe's Strange Newes:

A good fellow hee was, and would have
drunke with thee for more angels then the
Lord thou libeldst on gave thee in Christs
Colledge. 9

The author of Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell

(probably Barnabe Rich), which appeared the year after Greene's death, seems to associate him with Robin Goodfellow, and uses the rare description of the puck as 'spirit of the buttery' found in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, The Cobler of Caunterburie and in Nashe's The Terrors of the Night. The ghost of Greene, refused entry to both Heaven and Hell, decides that,

I will bee the maddest Gobline, that ever used to walke in the Mooneshine. For I will sometimes bee a spirite of the Buttery, and I will so intoxicate their heades, that doo frequent the places of my haunt, that at night they shall not be able to find the way to their beds, tyll they have taken their first sleepe on the flore.

Sometimes I will bee Robin Goodfellowe, and will meete with a wanton wench in a darke corner.. 10

Ranson cites none of this, but quotes Gabriel Harvey's Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets (1592) as evidence that Greene was known as 'Robin Goodfellow'. In this Harvey includes a sonnet by Christopher Bird which concludes with the lines,

Now good Robin-good-fellow, and gentle Greenesleeves
Give him leave to be quiet, that none aggreeves. (sig. A2^v)

Ranson seems to think that 'Greenesleeves' refers to Greene, and the juxtaposing of 'Robin-good-fellow' indicates that they are the same person. He supports his case by quoting Sonnet XVIII from the same work, Iohn Harveys Welcome to Robert Greene, which concludes,

And for my Brothers, never vex thy selfe:
They are not to disease a buried Elfe. (sig. I4)

He takes the 'Elfe' to refer to Robin Goodfellow/Greene.

Ranson does not appear to have realised, however, that this sonnet is almost certainly the work of Gabriel not John Harvey,

as John had died in July 1592, and the work was not written until after Greene's death in September; also the piece is written as from one ghost greeting another.

It is possible that Greene could be called an 'old companion' of Tarlton's. Ranson states that Greene, Tarlton and Nashe were members of the same theatrical-literary group, of which there is no evidence. Nashe cannot really be included with the other two as he did not arrive in London until shortly before Tarlton's death. However, it is Nashe who links the names of the other two:

Not Tarlton nor Greene but have beene contented to let my simple iudgement overrule them in some matters of wit.

A perse a is improved nothing since,
excepting his old Flores Poetarum and
Tarletons surmounting rethorique, with
a little euphuisme and Greenesse inough.

Wherein have I borrowed from Greene or Tarlton, that I should thanke them for all I have? Is my stile like Greenes, or my ieasts like Tarltons? Do I talke of any counterfeit birds, or hearbs, or stones, or rake up any new-found poetry from under the wals of Troy? ... the vaine which I have ... is of my owne begetting, and cals no man father in England but my selfe, neyther Euphues, nor Tarlton, nor Greene. 11

In linking the names, though, Nashe is not referring to the two as friends or companions, but merely replying to Gabriel Harvey's accusation that he has imitated the particular skills of Greene and Tarlton:

that maye thanke Greene, & Tarlton for his Garland

His gayest floorishes, are but Gascoignes weedes, or Tarletons trickes, or Greenes crankes, or Marlowes bravados

Parson Darcyes knaveries, Tarletons trickes,
Eldertons Ballats, Greenes Pamflets, Euphues
Similes. 12

None of these references suggests that Greene was close enough to Tarlton to be called his 'companion', or, indeed, even 'old acquaintance', as the ghost addresses the dreamer.

Harvey does appear to link Greene and Tarlton once, indeed, he even seems to associate Greene with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie,

I was suddainely certified, that the king
of the paper stage (so the Gentleman tearmed
Greene) had played his last part, & was gone
to Tarleton: whereof I protest, I was nothing
glad, as was expected, but unfainedly sorry. 13

This seems to be a euphemistic way of saying that Greene had gone to Hell or Purgatory.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie was certainly not Greene's first published work, which is thought to have been Mamillia I, entered in the Stationers' Register on 3 October 1580.¹⁴ Ranson justifies the claim by saying that it was Greene's first time in print as Robin Goodfellow, implying that Robin represents the reformed character that Greene aimed to become in the last two years of his life.

Greene uses Italian and French phrases fairly frequently, and published two works he had translated from these languages, The Royal Exchange (1590) and The Debate Betweene Follie and Love (c.1584). In The Repentance of Robert Greene he talks of his travels, 'who drew mee to travell into Italy, and Spaine' (sig. C1^V) and of 'being new come from Italy' (sig. C2^V). He seems to have been familiar with the works of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio. He describes two tales from Boccaccio's

Decameron, IV, ii and VI, x, in The Spanish Masquerado, which are the sources of the tales of Friar Onion and of the Vicar of Bergamo. However, his accounts of the tales are not translations, and may be a result of his having been told, rather than having read, the tales.

The writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie appears to have been a staunch Protestant. In Greenes Groats-worth of Witte Greene confesses to having been an atheist, 'Greene, who hath said with thee (like the foole in his heart) There is no God' (sig. E4^V). He shows a revival of religious feeling, or at least of religious fear, in his repentance pamphlets. He may have been one of the writers of anti-Marprelate tracts. Nashe seems to say that he was,

Hence Greene, beeing chiefe agent for the companie (for hee writ more than foure other, how well I will not say: but Sat cito, si sat bene) tooke occasion to canvaze him a little. 15

There is nothing else to suggest that he was involved with this group. He only really expresses anti-Catholic views in The Spanish Masquerado (1589), and that is primarily anti-Spanish, Catholicism being inextricably associated with Spain.

As well as applying the five supposed features of the pseudonymous author to Greene, it is necessary to examine the case more closely than Ranson does. A factor that must never be forgotten when discussing Greene's style, is that both Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie were written during a period of change in Greene's working life. The works known to be closest to them in date are Menaphon (S.R. 23 August 1589); Greenes Never Too Late (1590);

Francescos Fortunes (1590); Greenes Vision (1590-92); Orpharion (S.R. 9 January 1590); and Greenes Mourning Garment (S.R. 2 November 1590). I omit The Royal Exchange (S.R. 15 April 1590) as, being a translation, it cannot be considered completely typical of Greene's style. By 1590 Greene's writing in his romances had developed away from the rather naive euphuism of his early works. He was already talking about repentance and planning to change his writing style, and to reject what he considered to be frivolous. The next works to appear before the public were the Conny-Catching pamphlets, in 1591, which are vastly different in tone, style and subject matter from the works that preceded them. In 1590, then, Greene was undergoing, or claiming to undergo, a change, in the light of which anything written in that year cannot be dismissed as 'untypical' as what constituted 'typical' cannot be defined.

The style of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is closer to that generally associated with Greene than it is to any of the writers whose claims I shall discuss. The general characteristics of Greene's style in his romances are summarized by René Pruvost in his discussion of Greene's possible authorship of The Cobler of Caunterburie:

Il y a là, en effet, bien des choses qui rappellent sa manière. L'Épître aux lecteurs commence par une allusion à Apelle et à son jeune domestique qui se rencontre fréquemment sous sa plume, et pour excuser les défauts que l'on pourra découvrir à son ouvrage l'auteur adopte le même ton mi-plaisant, et sous un dehors d'humilité mi-suffisant, que Greene en pareille circonstance. Il est plus important encore que des vers soient mêlés à la prose et que, lorsque le sujet est la cour faite à une jeune belle par quelque galant, elle arrive à sa conclusion par des étapes

semblables à celles que les héros de Greene parcourent dans leurs recherches amoureuses, et serve de prétexte à l'introduction dans le récit d'un grand nombre de lettres, monologues et discours. Dans le détail du style enfin on trouve ici, comme dans Greene, des chapelets d'allusions pseudo-savantes, d'aphorismes, de propositions parallèles ou antithétiques, dans lesquels viennent s'insérer à l'occasion quelques mots de latin. Il n'est pas jusqu'à certains des clichés favoris de Greene qui ne se rencontrent sous la plume de cet auteur.

(page 374)

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie both show some characteristics of Greene's known works. Both include much of the alliteration of which Greene was particularly fond in his early works, and never entirely abandoned. Both include some of his favourite proverbs and proverbial sayings; Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has the greater number of these, but even so not as many as Greene tends to use. Many of Greene's favourite euphuistic pairs of words are missing from both these texts, combinations such as, Venus / Vesta; beware / bewail; and inward / outward. One of his most-used pairs, nature / nurture, occurs once in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, as opposed to six times in, for instance, Mamillia II. Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie does not include any of the love letters that Greene was so fond of inserting in his romances, The Cobler of Caunterburie includes an exchange of letters between Marian and Rowland in the Gentleman's tale.

Nashe, who is perhaps our best, if a somewhat prejudiced, authority on Greene, informs us that,

that word Aphorismes Greenes Exequutors may claime from him; for while hee liv'd he had no goods nor chattles in commoner use than it. 16

Greene uses 'aphorisme(s)' at least thirty-five times in his works, which is not remarkably frequent for such a prolific writer. However, even if Nashe exaggerates his use of the word, it certainly seems to have been a favourite expression. The word occurs twice in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, in the introductory section, 'a profound and certain Aphorisme' (sig. B2, p.284) and 'to set Dick Tarlton Non plus with your Aphorismes' (sig. B2, p.284). The use of the word at all may be evidence of Greene's hand, or the infrequency of its occurrence may indicate the opposite. Despite the inconclusive evidence, the appearance is worth mentioning as it is a feature of style attributed to Greene by a contemporary, and as such a potential clue to his involvement.

Greene shows great liking for the device of the framework narrative, as used in both Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie. Three of his prose works, 'Orpharion, A Quip for an Upstart Courtier and Greenes Vision, take the form of a 'dream vision' as used in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie; A Maidens Dreame is a slightly different version of the genre.

One of the most characteristic features of Greene's work is his persistent use of Latin words and phrases, and of classical allusions. Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie have less of these than works of similar style written around the same period. Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has seven Latin phrases, The Cobler of Caunterburie nine. Greene's works supposedly written around 1590, for the most part, have more, the works following have less, but these are the Conny-Catching pamphlets, which are

written in a much less florid style anyway. Some early works have very few. Neither Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie nor The Cobler of Caunterburie has the number of Latin words scattered throughout the text that one expects to find in Greene's works.

All the classical poets that Tarlton sees in Purgatory are mentioned by Greene, but his attitude to Ennius is slightly different from that of 'Robin Goodfellow'. In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie he is referred to as 'olde Ennius' and heads the list of poets as one revered. In Greene's acknowledged works he is always mentioned as an example of an inferior poet.

Greene frequently refers to Pygmalion, Apelles and Diogenes, none of whom appear in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, and the last two occur once only in The Cobler of Caunterburie. He often speaks of the Sirens and Circe, using their names as generic terms for temptresses. Occasionally he links their names with Ulysses, but gives little detail of the tales of The Odyssey. Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie mentions Ulysses, Circe and the Sirens in combination once (sig. C1, p.292), and The Cobler of Caunterburie not at all.

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie both refer to cuckolds fairly frequently, and include an item specifically on them, the two 'orders of cuckolds'. Greene often speaks of the condition of cuckoldry, and of sprouting, or being given, horns, but only uses the actual word once (The Carde of Fancie, sig. Nii^V), and is generally rather vague on the subject.

One characteristic of Greene's work which is found in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is his habit of using longish

passages in more than one work. Passages from Greene's known works can be paralleled with passages in this unacknowledged text, for instance Pius's second question in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie (sig. B4, p.289) echoes Alcida (sig. E1), and Pier's wooing of Maria in the tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons (sig. F1, pp.328-29) echoes passages from Never Too Late (sigs. H3 and H4).

Greene does not seem to have liked pseudonyms, and his popularity suggests that to use one would have been a disadvantage as his own name sold well. He usually displayed his name on the title page of his work, together with his degree, at the beginning and end of the dedicatory Epistle, at the end of the Epistle to the readers, and sometimes at the end of the work as a form of colophon. No less than nine works included his name as part of the title. In the Conny-Catching pamphlets he substituted his initials for his name, as the nature of the work demanded. Only two pieces appeared without his name or initials, Orlando Furioso, where the omission could be the result of a pirated edition, and The Defence of Conny catching, which appeared under the pseudonym of Cuthbert Cony-Catcher. The authorship of this last piece has been questioned, but now it is generally assumed to be by Greene, possibly written to promote the other Conny-Catching pamphlets. If Greene were the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie he would be lying when he claims that this is his first time in print, which would be out of character as, on the whole, Greene tells the truth, with a little exaggeration, in his Epistles. It would be an acceptable statement, however, if applied to a persona he had assumed just to write this text.

Greene cannot be proved to fit any of the five features associated with the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. He was certainly known as 'Robin', and his initials, together with the posthumous references at the end of Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell, make a good case for him being known as 'Robin Goodfellow'. He was probably acquainted with Tarlton, but we have no real evidence of this. He was certainly educated, and never tired of using his 'M.A. from Cambridge'. He translated from French and Italian, and knew the Decameron. He was certainly not an inexperienced writer publishing for the first time. His religious beliefs are uncertain, even in the fervour of his repentance his concern seems to have been chiefly with himself and his salvation rather than with support for Protestantism.

Greene's chief complaint about the ascribing of The Cobler of Caunterburie to him is that he should be associated with such licentious tales that he considers untypical of him. He seems to have been sincere in his complaint, none of his acknowledged tales are bawdy, except Chaucer's tale in his Vision, which is a special case. The licentious flavour of most of the tales in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Cobler of Caunterburie is completely out of keeping with Greene's style in his acknowledged works.

If we believe the author's claim that this is his first time in print, it seems likely that he would model his work on Greene's to some extent, consciously or subconsciously, Greene being one of the most prolific, and most successful, writers of prose fiction in 1590. The genre did not expand fully until later in the decade, so there was a limited number

of examples to follow in 1590. Pruvost summarizes the weaknesses of ascribing The Cobler of Caunterburie to Greene merely on points of style, his arguments apply equally to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie:

La portée de ces ressemblances est considérablement diminuée, toutefois, par le fait que le Cobler n'est pas seul à les présenter. Elles se rencontrent aussi, par exemple, dans ces Tarltons newes out of purgatorie contre lesquelles, à ce que nous dit son titre, le Cobler était une "invective". A moins de vouloir attribuer à Greene tous les ouvrages contemporains dans lesquels ses manières habituels se trouvent reproduits, on ne peut guère tirer argument de cette parenté des styles. (page 375)

If stylistic grounds are used to ascribe the work to Greene, it can as easily be ascribed to a disciple of his on the same grounds. There is no other evidence strong enough to make the attribution a certainty.

II

In his B.Litt. dissertation in 1935 J.G. Tilney-Bassett discussed the possibility of Robert Armin's having written Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, but did not publish his opinion.¹⁷ In 1971 John Feather suggested that the work was by Armin, and said that he believed this was 'the first time that the book has been ascribed to Armin'.¹⁸ Feather supports his attribution by saying that it was known that Armin was Tarlton's pupil, that Robin was one of Armin's nicknames, though he adds that Robin Goodfellow was a fairly common name for a clown, and that, like the unknown author, Armin had never been

in print before. Having described Armin as an inexperienced writer he weakens the point by implying that he was a well-known figure using a 'thinly disguised pseudonym which those in literary and theatrical circles in London could penetrate with ease'.¹⁹ In 1972 Feather restated his case, but with more caution, avoiding exaggeration and the use of hypotheses as facts.²⁰ He cites as evidence that it was likely to be Armin's first time in print; that Armin and Tarlton knew each other, 'probably very well'; that Robin was one of Armin's nicknames; the religious views accord with his; the source of Armin's The Italian Taylor and his Boy is the same as that of the tale of the Lovers of Pisa; and the style is similar to that of Armin's acknowledged prose works.

In 1975 Feather's original article was answered by H.F. Lippincott, who supports the ascription of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie to Armin, though with reservation:

No hard evidence associates Armin with the work, but there are a number of parallels in thought, syntax, and diction between Tarltons newes and Armin's later work, especially A nest of ninnies.²¹

He then lists some parallels between the two works, and concludes by saying that, although 'in the absence of evidence to the contrary, Feather's attribution is plausible', it cannot be regarded as certain.

In 1977 D.J. Lake queried the way in which Feather makes positive ascriptions of anonymous works in his introductions in The Collected Works of Robert Armin.²² He feels that Feather has insufficient evidence for his attributions, and that,

positive statements unsupported by substantial evidence are simply an imposition upon the unscholarly. (page 117)

Without positively refuting the right of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie to be included in the canon of Armin's works, he wishes that Feather had modified his assertion, and indicates the weaknesses of the claim:

But the evidence for Armin's authorship of Tarlton's News out of Purgatory (1590) is much more dubious: the author, according to the title-page, was "Robin Goodfellow", an "old Companion" of Tarlton's. The nickname "Robin" will fit Armin, but "old Companion" will not: at the time, Armin seems to have been not more than twenty-three years old, and could not have known Tarlton very long. Mr. Feather cites some points of internal evidence for Armin, but they are such as are likely to fit a great many other people, including perhaps some genuine old companions of the dead comedian. (page 117)

J.G. Tilney-Bassett's thesis is probably the most thorough study of Armin's work available, but since it was written new material has come to light, such as Armin's will, which was published by Leslie Hotson in 1952.²³ In his thesis Tilney-Bassett considers the possibility that Armin wrote Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, and dismisses it as unlikely:

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, 1590, was also 'Published by an old companion of his, Robin Goodfellow.' In the Address 'To the Gentlemen Readers,' the author begs for consideration as 'never before beeing in print I start at the sight of the Presse.' In point of time, if this is to be taken literally and not as an unfair appeal to the reader's better nature, this could have been Armin's first work, though it seems very unlikely as he writes a Preface to A Brief Resolution, 1590, and it is improbable that his recommendation of such a work would be sought, if he were not already a well known writer. The knowledge of Virgil and Lucan

displayed in this address and the disparagement of Tarlton's little Latin suggests an educated author: Armin's scholarship does not appear to have been very extensive. The idea that the work could be Armin's would be dismissed at once from our minds were it not for three things. One 'Robin Goodfellow' is a possible pseudonym for Robert Armin; two, the author clearly knew Tarlton well, and so did Armin; three, when in the course of the narrative Tarlton is supposed to relate some tales about those in Purgatory with him, one of the tales chosen is that of the two lovers of Pisa, taken from Le Tradeci piacevoli Notti [sic] of Straparola, and we know that Armin in 1609 translated one of Straparola's tales from the Italian under the title of The Italian Taylor and his Boy. But a knowledge of Italian in 1609 does not necessarily imply a knowledge of Italian sufficient to translate Straparola and Boccaccio in 1590, when Armin was only about twenty years old. There is in fact just sufficient here to titillate the imagination, but the evidence is quite inadequate to support a claim for Armin's authorship. (page 95)

This outlines the barest essentials of the case, but a closer consideration of the text might produce evidence to reinforce the claim.

Certain aspects of Armin's life and work correspond with the factors which may be associated with the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The diminutive of Robert was Robin, and we know that this was sometimes used of Armin, if not by him. In The Scourge of Folly (1611) John Davies of Hereford dedicates a poem 'To honest-gamesome Robin Armin' (sig. Q2^V), and in the course of the poem addresses him as 'honest Robin'. In his original article Feather says that '"Robin Goodfellow" was a fairly common name for a clown', and in The Collected Works of Robert Armin repeats that 'Robin was a generic name for clowns'. In 1590 the clown was a very young figure, Tarlton being one of the earliest. Robin Goodfellow had

clownish attributes, and was a popular folk figure who, like Till Eulenspiegel, featured in many anecdotes, and in jest books (though the earliest surviving is dated 1628). The name usually used as a generic term for clowns is 'Andrew' or 'merry Andrew', supposedly from Andrew Borde. The name Robin is not recorded as used by any acknowledged clown. Feather may be thinking of the occurrences of the name in parts associated with Armin, such as the clown in Wilkins's The Miseries of Inforst Mariage, but in these cases the name is linked with the actor rather than the character. If, in spite of the evidence, the name is to be associated with clowns, it may be argued that the name on the title page of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie refers either to Armin by his true name or to his role as a comic actor.

Armin has a good claim to be called an 'old companion' of Tarlton. They are both comic actors, and share the ability to reply swiftly to remarks tossed to them from the audience, described in Tarlton's Jests and in Armin's Quips upon Questions. The two actors are more closely linked, however, by a tale told in Tarlton's Jests:

How Tarlton made Armin his adopted sonne, to
succeed him

Tarlton keeping a taverne in Gracious street, hee let it to another, who was indebted to Armin's master, a goldsmith in Lombard street, yet he himselfe had a chamber in the same house. And this Armin, being then a wag, came often thither to demand his master's money, which he sometimes had, and sometimes had not. In the end the man growing poore, told the boy hee had no money for his master, and hee must beare with him. The man's name being Charles, Armin made this verse, writing it with chalke on a wainescot:-

O world, why wilt thou lye?
 Is this Charles the great! that I deny
 Indeed Charles the great before,
 But now Charles the lesse, being poore.

Tarlton comming into the roome, reading it, and partly acquainted with the boyes humour, comming often thither for his master's money, tooke a piece of chalk, and wrote this ryme by it:-

A wagge thou art, none can prevent thee;
 And thy desert shall content thee.
 Let me divine. As I am,
 So in time thou'lt be the same,
 My adopted sonne therefore be,
 To enjoy my clownes sute after me.

And see how it fell out. The boy reading this, so loved Tarlton after, that regarding him with more respect, hee used to his playes, and fell in a league with his humour: and private practise brought him to present playing, and at this houre performes the same, where at the Globe on the Banks side men may see him. 24

This story suggests a close bond between the two, perhaps culminating in Tarlton taking Armin as his apprentice.

However, the idea of such a professional association does not accord with the known facts of Armin's life.

In 1581 Armin was apprenticed for eleven years to John Lonyson, a goldsmith and Master Worker of the Royal Mint, who died in 1582.²⁵ In 1582 he was apprenticed to John Kettlewood for nine years.²⁶ Since Kettlewood lived in the parish of St Mary Woolnoth, at least until 1583, and thereafter in the parish of St Mary Woolchurch Haw, he probably worked in Lombard Street, a location closely associated with goldsmiths, and may well be the actual goldsmith referred to in the jest.²⁷

It has been assumed that there could have been no professional connection between Armin and Tarlton, because Armin must have completed his apprenticeship to have become 'ffree of the Gouldsmithes',²⁸ and therefore would not have

been available to work with Tarlton before the death of the clown. However, the fact that Armin was indentured to two goldsmiths is unusual, normally his apprenticeship would have been transferred to Lonyson's successor. He did not claim his freedom until January 1603/4,²⁹ which makes it difficult to determine which years his apprenticeship may have occupied, so the possibility of his having worked with Tarlton cannot be dismissed.

'To enjoy my clownes sute after me' could refer to Armin being a successor to Tarlton because he had a similar natural talent, and could inherit his 'sute of jests'. Although he may not have been trained by the older clown there is nothing to suggest that he was not greatly influenced by him, and possibly given a little coaching by him. The question 'Whers Tarlton?' in Quips upon Questions (sigs. D4-E1) suggests that Armin and Tarlton were associated in the minds of audiences several years after the clown's death.

It has been suggested that Tarlton's Jests was compiled by Armin. There is no edition extant earlier than 1613, but the second part, Tarlton's Sound City Jests, was licensed on 4 August 1600.³⁰ The reference to Armin acting at the Globe may be a late addition, or may imply that the jest is of recent composition, as the Globe was not built until 1599.

In 1590 Armin was young enough for it to be possible for Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie to be his first work. However, although no known work of his previous to 1590 survives, there is evidence that he was already established as a writer. He would have been able to combine writing with his work as a goldsmith. In 1590 Armin wrote a Preface to A

Briefe Resolution of a Right Religion by C.S. [Christopher Shute]. If he had not made a name for himself by then, his recommendation of the work would have been of little value. Nashe, writing in 1592, associates Armin with writers of note:

We are to vexe you mightely for plucking Elderton out of the ashes of his Ale, and not letting him inioy his nappie muse of ballad making to himselfe, but now, when he is as dead as dead beere, you must bee finding fault with the brewing of his meeters.

Hough Thomas Delone, Phillip Stubs, Robert Armin, &c. Your father Elderton is abus'd. 31

Gabriel Harvey replied in the following year:

He disdaineth Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, ... But may not Thomas Delone, Philip Stubs, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons, more disdainfully disdaine him; bicause he is so much vayner, so little learnede, so nothing eleganter, then they; and they so much honeste, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, then he? 32

The date of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, then, means it could have been Armin's first published work, but contemporary references suggest otherwise.

Armin's extant works show him to have been well educated and fairly widely read. He did not attend a university, but presumably could have gained much of his knowledge as part of his training as a goldsmith. His work shares a source with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, Straparola's Le Tredici Piacevoli Notti, the fourth tale of the fourth night of which is the source of the tale of the Lovers of Pisa, and the fifth tale of the eighth night is the source of Armin's The Italian Taylor and his Boy. This was published in 1609, and is the

only work of Armin's that was entered in the Stationers' Register.³³ Feather proposes that it was written in the 1590s, when translations of *novelle* were popular, but not published until 1609.³⁴ Armin may have been short of money in 1609 because the theatres were closed until December. Straparola's work was available in both Italian and French versions, but Armin says that he took it from the Italian and there is no reason to doubt him. His adaptation of the source will be discussed later.

Finally, Armin seems to have been an earnest Protestant. His only extant writing on religion, the Preface to A Briefe Resolution of a Right Religion, shows him holding moderate views, and steering an even course between the extremist sects of Papists and Martinists.

Whilst one can compare Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie with Armin's known works, and look for any similarities of style, there is a problem in that there is a space of ten years between it and Armin's earliest surviving publications, time in which the writer's style may have developed beyond recognition.

Armin has a great liking for proverbs, aphorisms, and moral reflections, often presented in rhyming couplets. He seems proud of his learning, likes to use Latin tags (not always accurately), and makes frequent reference to the commoner classical tales; particularly in his earlier works. The verbal similarities between Armin's works and Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie often consist of popular maxims and proverbs. Some development of style can be seen in Armin's surviving works. In his later pieces he tends to devise his

own metaphors and imagery rather than resort to proverbial wisdom. In Quips upon Questions (1600) and Foole upon Foole (1600) his dedicatory Epistles are cryptic in tone and rather whimsical in their choice of dedicatee, namely Sir Timothie Trunchion alias Bastinado, and the Printer and Binder. The Epistles in his later works are more conventional, although references in them have been obscured by time. In the earlier works the author seems to be hiding behind a persona all the time, even in the preliminary matter: this is not as noticeable in the later works. In a similar manner the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie hides behind the persona of Robin Goodfellow.

As mentioned above, Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie does share some verbal similarities with Armin's works. Lippincott lists those with parallels in A Nest of Ninnies (1608)

In the dedicatory epistles in both works there are references to sticking in the mud or bogs (Newes, A2; Nest, A2v), to marring eyesight by looking into open light or a millstone (A2;A2), and to censure (A2v;A2v). Each work seems to quibble on summer and the name of Will Sommer, Henry VIII's fool (B1; A2 [Foole upon foole, 1600]). The witty circumlocution 'best joint', i.e., neck, is the same trope as 'best dish', i.e., Jack Oates (D1;B3). There are parallel references to a 'clown' or countryman in russet coat and buttoned cap (B1v;F1v), to Robin Goodfellow figures overturning the milkmaids' cream bowls (B1v;D3), to the marring or spoiling of 'niceness' or 'nicetie' (C3;F1), to the yearning of pregnant women for special food (E1;B4), and to a cook with his 'trinkets' (E2;B3v). The following words or idioms are duplicated: whirlwinde (B2;G4), thought ... long (C4v;C4v), surfet [with variety] (D2v; A3, D1v, and E1), common sort / better sort (D3v;F1v), gads (D4;A3), away he flings (G4v; A3), hurly burly (H1;D2v). (page 332)

The 'whirlwinde' reference is in fact part of a proverb in

Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie (Tilley, D228). In a footnote Lippincott adds four proverbs found in both texts: 'Ne sutor ultra crepidam' (Newes, B3^V; Nest, G4); 'Lincolnshire hornepipe' (E1;B1[Bagpipe]); 'with a flea in his eare' (D2 and G4;D4); and 'crie quittance' (G4;B4). He ends his comparison by saying,

For what it is worth, my general impression, after a very detailed study of A nest of ninnies, is to support Feather's assertion that the 'style' of Tarltons newes is similar to that of the later works, although Armin's mature prose (e.g. in the moral links added to Nest) is considerably more aureate than the prose in Tarltons newes. (pages 332-33)

There is little else of Armin's prose work remaining to make further comparisons possible. Foole upon Foole is incorporated in A Nest of Ninnies, and other than that only Epistles survive in prose. His other writings may show resemblances to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, but the difference in medium makes these less apparent.

Feather describes Armin's style and that of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie as,

designed for smooth-flowing direct narrative; a little influenced by sixteenth-century rhetoric, but in general very 'modern; ... It is a style quite unlike the then fashionable convolutions of euphuism. 35

Finally, a small point of interest is that both Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Italian Taylor and his Boy are dream visions, though in the latter the reader is not told this until the end:

Thus as I slept, a voyce did call,
And wakt me from my Dreame:
Upright I set me in my bed,

And being awake, did know
 All these were phansies in my head,
 And it was nothing so. (sigs. H2-H2^V)

The source of The Italian Taylor and his Boy is Giovanni Francesco Straparola's Le Tredici Piacevoli Notti, night VIII, tale v. Armin has altered the tale considerably; the original is in prose whereas he writes in verse, and at least 1000 of the 1575 lines of the poem either consist of completely original material, or elaborate greatly on the source material. A brief comparison of the two versions will give some indication of the extent of his adaptation.

In both tales the boy spies on his master's necromantic practices. In the original this causes him to neglect his work and so be dismissed, in Armin's version he maintains the standard of his work. In the Italian version of the arrangements for the sale of the horse it is the bridle that must not be sold, and the father is persuaded to part with it by the offer of a large sum of money. In Armin's tale it is the saddle that is important, but its significance is not explained to the father; the magician obtains the saddle by mounting the horse before the father can remove it. Various details of the transaction have also been changed. Armin's alterations have removed the elements of greed and treachery from the character of the father.

The tailor's son and daughter replace two daughters in the original. The incident of the horse being taken to the water is much expanded by Armin. In the English tale there is a description of how the magician, disguised as a fish, searches for the boy/fish. The episode of the maid gathering pebbles

is expanded in the English, and the point at which the fish changes into a ring has been altered from before he enters the basket to just after. In Armin's tale the maid tells her mistress of the fight between the fishes that she has seen, then the Princess puts on the ring and immediately hears of her father's illness, whereas in Straparola's tale the news comes later. The interlude in bed between the Princess and the boy is very much longer in the English than in the Italian, and much less stress is placed upon the importance of preserving the Princess's chastity. During the night the tailor, posing as a doctor, arrives, and claims that he can cure the king. Armin has the Princess wish to see the 'doctor' out of gratitude, Straparola, on the other hand, has the king send for her. The incident of the reward of the 'doctor' has been improved by Armin; in his version the 'doctor' sees the ring on the Princess's finger and asks for it, in Straparola's he knows of its existence and asks for it in advance as a condition for curing the king, who questions his daughter about her possession of it. In Armin's tale the Princess throws down the ring when she is alone, and the boy appears at once and questions her about her grief. In Straparola's version the ring hears her weeping and feels her tears, then the boy materializes to comfort her, knowing what has happened; Armin's boy is insentient whilst he is a ring. Practically all the details of the Princess relinquishing the ring, the various transformations of the boy, and the tale of the boy being the son of an exiled duke are new in the English tale.

A comparison of the way in which Armin has altered his source material, to influence reaction to a character, or to

add colour to an episode, with the manipulating of source material by the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie shows a similarity in method of adaptation and development. Armin's skill as a story-teller resembles that of the unknown narrator.

The opening lines of The Prologue to the Storie of The Italian Taylor and his Boy shows a liking for name-dropping in Armin, which is similar to that of Robin Goodfellow, and perhaps an indication of his pride in his education,

Ovid and Virgill for the Pen,
 And Homer for his Verse:
Plautus, Horace; worthy men,
 Left lines for Schooles to perse. (sig. B1)

In his introduction to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie John Feather supports his argument in favour of Armin as author with the following point,

Secondly, there is a reference to 'naturall and artificiall' focls (B1). This is a little unusual in a book dated 1590, for Tarlton himself was a clown rather than an actor, and the highly sophisticated use of fools in serious drama was only just beginning to develop. It is very likely that a younger comic actor like Armin took an interest in this development from the beginning of his career; certainly it is his central preoccupation in Fool upon fool and A nest of ninnies, and it also appears in his Two maids of More-clacke and Quips upon questions. 36

The word 'fool' does not appear in the text, but the categories of 'natural' and 'artificial' appear twice,

Well, howsoever, either naturall or artificiall, or both, he was a mad merry companion (sig. B1, p.282)

so artificially attyred for a Clowne (sig. B1^v, p.283).

'Natural' and 'artificial' are terms applied to the two basic types of fool, the idiot, and the sane man counterfeiting idiocy. Armin was thoroughly familiar with the lore of the fool, and fully appreciated the difference between the two categories, defining them carefully in Foole upon Foole:

Naturall fooles are prone to selfe conseit,
 Fooles artificiall, with their wits lay waite
 To make themselves fooles, likeing the disguisies,
 To feede their owne mindes and the gazers eyes.
(sig. B2)

The terms 'natural' and 'artificial' apply only to fools, never to clowns, therefore their appearance here is strange as Tarlton was unquestionably a clown not a fool. The misuse of the definitions is emphasized by the phrase 'or both' because under no circumstances can they combine. It is impossible that Armin could have made this mistake in 1600, perhaps he might have done so in 1590.

The clown figure arose from that of the loutish rustic or clod, who was used as a figure of fun on the stage. Gradually the word came to indicate a type of comic role in a play. In the 1590s the word 'clown' was still somewhat imprecise, for instance, Greene always used it in its original sense for a rustic character, at the same time it was used of Tarlton as an actor. It is possible that an actor or writer with an analytical interest in fools, such as Armin, might have tried to impose definitive terms on the clown similar to those used of fools. The clown, however, is too transitory a creature to be firmly classified, and so these terms could not remain generally associated with him. The fool has many facets, but in him the two basic categories remain unchanged.

The phrase 'artificially attyred for a Clowne' might be an early reference to the 'acting' nature of the clown in plays. If so it is the earliest of such allusions, the example usually cited being 1600,³⁷ though I have found one from 1593: 'The Legat had no sooner made an end of these latter words, but in comes Dick Tarlton, apparrelled like a Clowne'.³⁸ The detailed description of Tarlton's costume suggests that it was an artificial garb assumed by a comic actor wishing to portray a clown, just as an actor playing a fool would presumably wear motley. If this is so, 'artificial' could refer to an actor counterfeiting comical rusticity on the stage, and 'natural' to the genuine country lout as opposed to the actor. However, the two still cannot combine in the context of the clown figure. They might meet in relation to Tarlton if we take them to refer to his playing the clown in plays and also retaining the character as an extempore entertainer off the stage, thus interpreting 'artificial' as 'on the stage' or 'in a play', and 'natural' as 'off the stage' or 'in real life'.

Armin, like Greene, fulfils some, but not all, of the attributes of the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. He was known as Robin, he could be called an 'old companion' of Tarlton, he was reasonably well educated, and he was a Protestant. The piece may have been his first published work, but probably was not. The style of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is similar to that of Armin's works, but it does not include echoes of them as it does of Greene's. He not only translated Italian, but translated a work used by the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, and adapted it in a manner similar to that author's. Finally, the introductory

passages of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie indicate an interest in fools and clowns, which Armin certainly had. The evidence available, however, is insufficient for the work to be ascribed to Armin with any certainty.

III

Another writer who has been named as a possible author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is Thomas Nashe, though I have not been able to trace the origin of this attribution. In the entry under 'Tarlton' in DNB Edward Irving Carlyle speaks of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, saying that, 'Tom Nash has been claimed as the author, but the point cannot be determined'. A.H. Bullen refers to the author as 'possibly Thomas Nashe'.³⁹ Paget Toynbee, in his collection of references to Dante, treats the work as being by Nashe, but starts the entry by saying that '[it] has been attributed to Thomas Nashe, but it was probably not written by him'.⁴⁰ Finally, R.B. McKerrow includes it in his list of 'doubtful works' attributed to Nashe, saying,

I have seen several references to this work as possibly by Thomas Nashe, but have been unable to trace the attribution to its source As I cannot learn what are the grounds of the attribution, I can of course give no opinion upon it. So far as I am aware there is no evidence in its favour. 41

There is indeed little evidence to support the suggestion that Nashe is the author. He fulfils only one of the five conditions that I have associated with Robin Goodfellow, namely that he was a staunch Protestant.

This was not Nashe's first time in print. His earliest acknowledged work, The Anatomie of Absurditie, was entered in the Stationers' Register on 19 September 1588,⁴² but he first published under the auspices of Robert Greene by writing a Preface to Greene's Menaphon (entered in the Stationers' Register 23 August 1589).⁴³ At the end of this Preface Nashe looks forward to the forthcoming publication of The Anatomie of Absurditie.

Nashe could hardly be called an 'old companion' of Tarlton's, though he seems to imply a close relationship,

Not Tarlton nor Greene but have beene contented to let my simple iudgement overrule them in some matters of wit. 44

Nashe went to London in the summer or autumn of 1588,⁴⁵ but Tarlton died on 3 September 1588 so the two men would hardly have had time to become closely acquainted. It is possible that they met in Cambridge, Queen Elizabeth's Men played there on 9 July 1583, whilst Nashe was at St John's College.⁴⁶

A statement by Gabriel Harvey has led critics to believe that Nashe knew, and was influenced by, the works of Aretino and Rabelais,

When the sweet Youth haunted Aretine, and Rabelays, the two monstrous wittes of their languages, who so shaken with the furious feavers of the One; or so attainted with the French Pockes of the other? 47

McKerrow points out, however, that there is no instance of Nashe imitating either of these authors, or borrowing from them. He goes on to doubt that Nashe knew any modern European languages:

Nor does there appear to be any indication of an acquaintance with modern foreign languages. The use in conversation of scraps of French, Italian, or Spanish was a common affectation of the time, and every one who frequented the society of men of fashion would know the ordinary forms of salutation in the chief languages of Europe, together probably with a few exclamations and oaths. Of more knowledge than this I can find no satisfactory evidence, and I cannot help thinking that if Nashe had had any acquaintance with languages he would have been careful to apprise us of the fact. 48

There is nothing to suggest that Nashe was known as 'Robin Goodfellow'. He does seem to have been interested in Robin Goodfellow, however, and alludes to him fairly frequently, particularly in The Terrors of the Night, for instance,

In the time of infidelitie, when spirits were so familiar with men that they cald them Dii Penates, their houshold Gods or their Lares, they never sacrificed unto them till Sunne-setting. The Robbin-good-fellowes, Elfes, Fairies, Hobgoblins of our latter age, which idolatrous former daies and the fantastick world of Greece ycleaped Fawnes, Satyres, Dryades, and Hamadryades, did most of their merry pranks in the Night. Then ground they malt, and had hempen shirts for their labours, daunst in rounds in greene meadowes, pincht maids in their sleep that swept not their houses cleane, and led poore Travellers out of their way notoriously. 49

Finally, Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has none of the characteristics of the self-conscious artistry and peculiarly brittle brilliance of Nashe's style. However, there can be no doubt that Nashe could, and did, disguise his style when he wished. He tells us that,

I have written in all sorts of humors privately, I am perswaded, more than any yoong man of my age in England. 50

His extant acknowledged works do not fulfil this claim, so we

must infer that Nashe also produced anonymous or pseudonymous works, or worked as a ghost-writer. He virtually admits to being a ghost-writer in Have With You to Saffron-Walden when Importuno says,

[I] will engage my oath for him (if need be) that the most of this time they thinke him hovering over the neast, he hath sat hatching of nothing but toies for private Gentlemen. 51

Later Nashe, speaking in his own person, confirms this explanation of how he has spent his time:

As newfangled and idle, and prostituting my pen like a Curtizan, is the next Item that you taxe me with; well it may and it may not bee so, for neither will I deny it nor will I grant it; onely thus farre Ile goe with you, that twice or thrise in a month, when res est angusta domi, the bottome of my purse is turnd downeward, & my conduit of incke will no longer flowe for want of reparations, I am faine to let my Plow stand still in the midst of a furrow, and follow some of these newfangled Galiardos and Senior Fantasticos, to whose amorous Villanellas and Quipassas I prostitute my pen in hope of gaine; but otherwise there is no newfangledenes in mee but povertie, which alone maketh mee so unconstant to my determined studies. 52

Also in The Three Parnassus Plays Ingenioso, who is usually taken to represent Nashe, becomes a ghost-writer.⁵³ This occupation indicates that Nashe was able to imitate the styles of other authors, and to suppress his own, but does not explain why he should write under the name of Robin Goodfellow unless it was for his own entertainment, or as part of some hoax. If Nashe had written Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie outside his own person, the details of it being his first time in print, his being an 'old companion' of Tarlton's, and the name 'Robin Goodfellow' become irrelevant as clues to the

identity of the author since they are invented aspects of the persona he had adopted. However, the notion that Nashe may have written the piece in a disguised style and under a persona, with no apparent reason for hiding his true identity, is too speculative to be considered seriously as a reason for supporting the ascription of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie to him.

IV

In 1954 E.B. Everitt published The Young Shakespeare,⁵⁴ in which he credits Shakespeare with the authorship of The Famous Victories of Henry V, The Chronicle History of King Leir, Edmund Ironside, an early version of Pericles, The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England, an early version of Titus Andronicus, the Ur-Hamlet, The Taming of a Shrew, The Contention, The True Tragedy of Richard III, Edward III, 'Addition D' of Sir Thomas More, part of The Second Maiden's Tragedy, a letter written to Alleyn in 1587, and Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. His search for details of Shakespeare's early life has led him to conclude that,

on leaving Stratford he became a law clerk, in which occupation he practised the craft of penmanship; and becoming thereafter interested in literature and the drama, he taught himself French and Italian and began in about 1587 to write plays. Until 1589 he was associated with the Queen's Men, whom he left to join Pembroke's, and in 1592 he began his long association with Strange's. 55

Everitt calls his first section 'The Battle of the Prefaces', in it he discusses what he claims to be references

to dramatists described as noverints in prose pamphlets of the 1590s. He starts by naming twelve pamphlets to which he intends to refer. He then cites Dekker's A Knights Coniuring (1607) as evidence of the close association of Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Nashe and Chettle. In the pamphlet Dekker shows the first four, now living in Elysium, rise to greet Chettle 'because hee was of olde acquaintance' (sig. L1^V). Everitt then describes Chettle's part in the literary skirmishes of the early 1590s; how he published Greenes Groats-worth of Witte, and then apologized for the offence it caused, and how he denied Gabriel Harvey's claim that he had been abused by Nashe. He thinks that Chettle's Epistle in his Kind-harts dreame includes an attempt to quell a literary argument. The opening of the Epistle, according to Everitt, offers authors of the past as good examples to be followed by current writers:

It hath beene a custome Gentlemen (in my mind commendable) among former Authors (whose workes are no lesse beautified with eloquente phrase, than garnished with excellent example) to begin an exordium to the Readers of their time, much more convenient I take it, should the writers in these daies (wherein that gravitie of enditing by the elder excercised, is not observ'd, nor that modest decorum kept, which they continued) submit their labours to the favourable censures of their learned overseers. For seeing nothing can be said, that hath not been before said, the singularitie of some mens conceits, (otherwayes excellent well deserving) are no more to be soothed, than the peremptorie posies of two very sufficient Translators commended. (sig. A3)

He makes much of there being two groups of authors mentioned, the first of whom have abandoned 'gravity of enditing' and 'modest decorum', and pride themselves on the 'singularity of their conceits'; and the second, 'the two Translators', who

perhaps take pride in their 'peremptory posies'; neither group can be 'soothed'. Everitt concludes that,

the construction of the two clauses, and the juxtaposition of the two classes of writers, suggests that Chettle had in mind some antagonism or rivalry that was being aired in print in a manner that he decried as lacking in the decorum incumbent upon authors. The combination of "peremptory posies" of the "two very sufficient translators" and the complacency in "singularity of some men's conceits" is our only definite clue in this preface to the opposing participants in this literary war. (page 18)

He then surmises that these references are a fitting preliminary to the apology to Shakespeare that follows in the Epistle. He concludes his discussion of Chettle's Epistle by saying that Nashe paraphrased, and defied, it in the Epistle to The Terrors of the Night.

Everitt opens his second chapter by speaking of the close friendship between Nashe and Greene, which is 'confirmed by many records' (page 19), he does not allow the possibility that they may not have been close friends.⁵⁶ He then turns to Greene's open letter to his 'Quondam acquaintance' in his Groats-worth of Witte, which includes advice to his friends, and his famous attack on actors. Everitt identifies the five writers addressed by Greene as Marlowe, Nashe,⁵⁷ Peele, and possibly Lyly and Lodge, and emphasizes the division Greene makes between them and the 'Puppets', or actors. He intimates that Kyd, who is conspicuously absent from the group of playwrights, may be included among the players. He then returns to consideration of the relationship between Greene and Nashe, and decides that Nashe's 'affiliations and interests seem to run parallel to Greene's' (page 23). He feels obliged

to examine any works in which they collaborated, which leads him to Greene's Menaphon, to which Nashe contributed a Preface 'To the Gentlemen Students of Both Universities'.

Everitt reproduces sections of Nashe's Preface, including the attacks on the literary pretensions of 'everie moechanicall mate' and on the 'deepe read Grammarians'. He enumerates twenty-one points in the passage which includes the famous Hamlet allusion,⁵⁸ and hereafter uses them as the basis of his argument. He gives his interpretation of each of the points. Kyd is generally thought to be one of the persons to whom this passage refers, and it is on the strength of this supposition that he is claimed to have been the author of the Ur-Hamlet. Kyd fits eight of Everitt's twenty-one points. The factor that particularly interests Everitt in this attack is that Nashe speaks in the plural throughout, which must be deliberate because 'Nashe was often incoherent, but he never fumbled' (page 30).

In his Preface to Menaphon Nashe speaks of writers who 'leave the trade of Noverint, whereto they were borne', Everitt now turns to Nashe's second attack on noverints, which is in Pierce Penillesse, in a reference to a 'scurvy plodder at Noverint' (i, 240). At this point Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie appears a possible link with the 'Iygs of newsmongers' mentioned by Nashe in the same passage, the subtitle of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie being 'onelye such a jest as his jigge...'. Everitt further associates the two works through the device they share of communication with the underworld. He links the 'scurvy plodder at Noverint' with the 'triviall translators' of the Preface to Menaphon, and points

out that Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie is chiefly translated from Italian.

Everitt then turns to the dedicatory Epistle to The Terrors of the Night, where we once again meet 'some unskilfull pen-man or Noverint-maker', who is blamed for 'stealing' other men's work by copying, in other words, making a profit at his trade. He moves on to consider the following passage from the Epistle to the reader in the same work,

Martin Momus and splaiefooted Zoylus, that
in the eight and sixt age of Poetrie and
first yere of the reigne of Tarltons toies,
kept a foule stir in Poules Church-yard,
are now revived againe. 59

Attention is drawn to Momus and Zoilus being combined both here and in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The association between the two texts made by this reference is reinforced for Everitt by the mention of Tarlton himself, and by the use of 'toies' here and 'a toy of Tarltons' and 'crepundia' (sigs. A2 and A2^V, p.280) in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. 'The eight and sixt age of Poetrie' is explained as fourteen-syllable lines, or paired lines of eight and six syllables. Nashe's Preface criticizes excessive use of Seneca's drama as a source, rhymed fourteeners had been used for translating Seneca.

As he nears the crux of his thesis Everitt's arguments become progressively more difficult to follow. He now wants to find a common author for Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, the manuscript play Edmund Ironside and The Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England, believing that Nashe knew that they were by the same author. He claims that Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie and The Troublesome Raigne are both 'anti-Romanist

propaganda of the strongest sort' (page 33), and credits The Troublesome Raigne with internal evidence of an author 'with an amateur bias to law phraseology' (page 33) - such as a noverint might have. Finally, he decides that the Italian translations in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie are 'running paraphrases in the fashion Nashe tried to ridicule (in the "trivial translators") in the forward to Menaphon' (page 33).

At this stage Everitt summarizes his findings:

Nashe, Greene, Peele, and Marlowe have emerged in our previous inquiries as a loose sort of league against common rivals who appear to be less educated, but successful dramatists nevertheless. If the author of Tarleton's News out of Purgatory had any thing in common with the noverint of Nashe and Johannes factotum of Greene, we should find, somehow, criticism bobbing up among these other men too. (page 33)

To find what he wants he turns to The Cobler of Caunterburie, which he considers to be very inferior to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. He interprets the opening passage of Robin Goodfellow's Epistle as a clue to the author he is seeking:

Then gentlemen, the Ploughswaine medled with his Teame: the Gentleman with his Hound & his Hawke: the Artificer with his labour: & the Scholler with his booke: every degree contented him within his limits. But now the world is growne to that passe, that Pierce Plowman will prie into lawe, naie into Divinitie, and his duncerie must needs be doctrine: tush, what of higher powers? what of Universities? the text to put downe them, Babes & Sucklings, and no more. (sig. A4)

Everitt takes this to mean that Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie was written,

by one who ignored or defied his superiors, "higher powers" and universities, was a kind of Pierce Plowman, has pried into law, and now will essay divinity too. (page 34)

He notes that this combination of characteristics is similar to that in Nashe's references in the Preface to Menaphon.

Everitt mentions Greene's disavowal of The Cobler of Caunterburie in his Vision, and refuses to believe him,

In the light of the evidence it affords, it is hard to see how the notion has become fixed that Greene disavowed the authorship of the Cobler; he merely tries to evade responsibility by a screen of verbiage. (page 35)

The situation as Everitt sees it then, is that Nashe and the author of The Cobler of Caunterburie, who he identifies as Greene, are in opposition to the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. As Lodge's Rosalynde was also published in 1590, and as he was in a similar situation to Greene and Nashe as a university man, Everitt expects to find some allusion to the controversy in it. It may surprise Lodge's readers to learn that,

the first glance at the preface of Rosalind shows us that it is almost solely concerned with the affair of the Cobler versus Tarleton's News. (page 37)

Lodge, Everitt speculates, had cause to be annoyed with the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie because Ronsard's song is almost certainly a parody of his style.

Finally Everitt concludes that the author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie was,

a rival of the University wits, was a man of little education, and had some association with the law, probably as a noverint, for he was charged with spurning the universities. In the News he did 'thrust Elysium into Purgatory'; and his horizon was indisputably Virgil's hexameter. He certainly knew some Italian, and probably read some French, from the reference to Ronsard. (page 41) 60

The author of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie therefore fulfils eleven, twelve or thirteen of the twenty-one points singled out by Everitt from Nashe's Preface. He eventually concludes that all the points can apply to Shakespeare, and starts referring to the passage in question as 'Nashe's satire of Shakespeare' (page 177). The application of some of the points depends upon the assumption that Shakespeare wrote Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. The identity of the author is 'proved' by Everitt's deciding that he is the man who wrote The Troublesome Raigne and Edmund Ironside, as mentioned above. He finds his 'proof' that Shakespeare wrote these through an extremely complicated discussion of handwriting styles.

Everitt's offerings for the increase of the canon of Shakespeare's works are, at best, eccentric, and based upon dangerously flimsy evidence. There is nothing to associate Shakespeare with Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, except the slim possibility that the tale of the Lovers of Pisa was a source for The Merry Wives of Windsor. It is not even known whether Shakespeare had arrived in London by 1590. He may have seen Tarlton act with Queen Elizabeth's Men in Stratford, but can hardly have been his 'old companion'. If the piece were by Shakespeare it probably would have to be his first published work, but there is nothing to suggest that Shakespeare ever wrote prose pamphlets, and nothing in the style and subject matter of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie to associate it with him.

These are the only four authors to whom Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has been ascribed, so far as I have found. None of the four is obviously its author. Greene and Armin have the better claims, but neither case is particularly strong.

The five characteristics that I have associated with the author are of dubious value as evidence, though better than no clue at all. Although they help to narrow the field of possible authors, examination of their weaknesses shows that all could be false or misleading. I think that the only aspect of the writer that he could not mask is his relative inexperience, and even the details which suggest this could have been 'planted' by a clever ghost-writer. The significance of the name 'Robin Goodfellow' is the feature most easily discounted, followed by that of the writer being Protestant, which could apply to the majority of Elizabethan authors. That he was an 'old companion' of Tarlton's cannot be decided, nor can the relative importance of the writer's knowledge of languages. The evidence of similarities of style must always be inconclusive as style can be disguised or copied, or influenced by a model, and it must always be remembered that the sixteenth-century was an age in which plagiarism was acceptable.

The conclusion drawn after studying these points is that the author need not be qualified by the need to comply with them. It seems likely that Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie was an early work, so perhaps the writer was a young man, though old enough at least to have seen Tarlton act. It is likely that the writer wrote other prose works, having chosen prose

as his medium for this, and been successful with it.

Other names can be suggested as author, but none has a convincing claim. Lodge deserves consideration as an important pamphleteer of the 1590s. He was by no means an inexperienced writer in 1590, however, having published three pieces by then. The principal objection to Lodge as author though, is that he became a Roman Catholic in about 1596, and almost certainly was leaning to Catholicism in 1590, so it is unlikely that he would have written an anti-Catholic pamphlet even then. Another pamphleteer of some importance in the period is Thomas Deloney. Deloney did not start writing pamphlets until about 1597, and his surviving prose works are very different in tone from Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie. In 1590 he had already been a ballader of some note for several years. He is thought to be the 'T.D.' who translated Bonaventure des Périer's Les contes et les nouvelles récréations et joyeux devis into English as The mirrour of Mirth and pleasant Conceits in 1583, thus showing a fluent knowledge of French. He seems to have been well acquainted with jest book material. Henry Chettle wrote some prose pamphlets, though he was predominantly a dramatist. His Kind-harts dreame includes the appearance of Tarlton's ghost, but his portrait of the ghost owes so much to the figure in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie that it seems unlikely that he was responsible for both.

A writer who fits the description of the title page of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie well is Robert Wilson. His name could be Robin, and he was certainly an 'old companion' of Tarlton's, being a fellow comedian with Queen Elizabeth's Men, and his name is frequently associated with Tarlton's.

Wilson had written at least two plays before 1590, however, and the style of these is heavily allegorical, similar to that of the medieval miracle plays, quite unlike that of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

Dekker and Middleton belong to the next generation of pamphleteers. Both would be young in 1590, and the first evidence of their writing appears late in the 1590s. Both started writing prose pamphlets in 1603-4, presumably because the theatres were closed by plague for a year then. It is unlikely that either knew Tarlton, though they would have known people, such as Chettle and possibly Nashe, who knew him well. If either had written Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie it would almost certainly have been his first published work.

The possibility remains that the piece was written by someone adopting a persona to disguise his true identity, in which case he has succeeded. It is also possible that the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie never published, or even wrote, another piece, and that therefore his name has been lost to us. Finally, one obvious possibility has never been remarked, namely that 'Robin Goodfellow' could be identified as the printer of the piece, Robert Robinson, both of whose names can be shortened to 'Robin', and who has a better claim than anyone, except perhaps Gubbins and Newman, to be called the publisher of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

Footnotes

- 1 Ranson says that the scribe describes himself as Tarlton's 'olde acquaintance', which is how the ghost addresses him, but omits to mention that the title page describes him as 'old companion', which is important as 'companion' implies a closer relationship than 'acquaintance'.
- 2 Ranson claims that Robert Robinson was the publisher as well as printer of The Cobler of Caunterburie, but in fact the identity of the publisher is not known.
- 3 6 October 1590. E. Arber, editor, A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London 1554-1640, 5 vols (London, 1875-77, Birmingham, 1894, reprinted New York, 1950), ii, 564.
- 4 Arber, ii, 567. Ranson says that it was entered on 5 November 1590, but no books were entered on that day.
- 5 Margaret Schlauch, Antecedents of the English Novel 1400-1600 (from Chaucer to Deloney) (Warszawa and London, 1963), p.161.
- 6 He speaks of the work having six, rather than seven, tales.
- 7 The Plays and Poems of Robert Greene, edited with introduction and notes by J. Churton Collins, 2 vols (Oxford, 1905), i, 26.
- 8 René Pruvost, Robert Greene et ses Romans (1558-1592) (Paris, 1938), p.374. Further references to this work are given in the text.
- 9 The Works of Thomas Nashe, edited by R.B. McKerrow, second edition, revised by F.P. Wilson, 5 vols (London, 1958), i, 287.
- 10 B[arnabe] R[ich], Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell, in Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell by B.R., 1593 and Greenes funeralls by R[ichard] B[arnfield], 1594. Reprinted from the original editions with notes etc. by R.B. McKerrow (London, 1911, reprinted Stratford-upon-Avon, 1922), p.61.
- 11 Nashe, Works, i, 319; i, 313; i, 318-9.
- 12 Gabriel Harvey, Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets (London, 1592), sig. E3.
Pierces Supererogation (London, 1593), sigs. H4^v and S1^v.
- 13 Foure Letters, sig. B2.
- 14 Arber, ii, 378.

- 15 Nashe, Works, i, 271.
- 16 Nashe, Works, iii, 44.
- 17 J.G. Tilney-Bassett, 'Robert Armin ?1570-1615' (unpublished B.Litt. dissertation, Keble College, Oxford, 1935).
- 18 John Feather, 'A Check-List of the Works of Robert Armin', The Library, 5th series, 26 (1971), 165-172 (p.168).
- 19 The Library, 5th series, 26 (1971), p.169.
- 20 The Collected Works of Robert Armin, with introductions by John P. Feather, 2 vols (New York and London, 1972).
- 21 H.F. Lippincott, 'Bibliographical Problems in the Works of Robert Armin', The Library, 5th series, 30 (1975), 330-33 (p.332). Further references to this work are given in the text.
- H.F. Lippincott is the editor of A Shakespeare Jestbook, Robert Armin's Foole upon Foole (1600): A Critical, Old-spelling Edition (Salzburg, 1973).
- 22 D.J. Lake, 'The Canon of Robert Armin's Works: Some Difficulties', Notes and Queries, new series, 24 (1977), 117-120. Further references to this work are given in the text.
- 23 Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare's Motley (London, 1952), p.108.
- 24 J.O. Halliwell, editor, Tarlton's Jests and News Out of Purgatory: with Notes, and Some Account of the Life of Tarlton, printed for the Shakespeare Society (London, 1844), pp.22-23.
- 25 Emma Marshall Denkinger, 'Actors' Names in the Registers of St, Bodolph Aldgate', P M L A, 41 (1926), 91-109 (p.96). Miss Denkinger quotes the following entry from the Apprentice Books of the Goldsmiths' Company:

Robt Armyn

Memorandum that I Robart Armyn ye sunne of Ihon Armyn of Norff. taylor do put my self prentys unto Ihon Lowyson Citizen and goldsmythe of London for the terme of xi yeares beginninge at myhelnis last entred the xiiijth day of october in Anno 1581

By me Robert Armin

Denkinger omits the words 'myhelnis last entred', and the spelling 'Lowyson' does not appear in the Goldsmith's records. Lonyson's death is recorded in,

Ambrose Heal, The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800 ([Cambridge], 1935; reprinted Newton Abbott, 1972), p.196.

- 26 Denkinger missed this entry, which is reproduced by Tilney-Bassett (p.1):
- Robt Armyn Memorandum that I Robart Armin the sonne of Ihon Armin of Lynn in the Cownty of norfolke tailor, have put my self prentis to Ihon Kettlilwoode for the terme of nyne yeares beginninge at myhelmus Anno domine 1582.
By me Robart Armin.
- 27 The parish registers of St Mary Woolnoth record the marriage of John Kettlewood, the baptisms of five of his children, the burials of three, and the burial of his wife Mary on 3 April 1583. The registers of St Mary Woolchurch Haw record the burial of his wife Elizabeth on 20 May 1586. See,
The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800, p.188.
J.M.S. Brooke and A.W.C. Hallen, The transcript of the registers of the united parishes of S. Mary Woolnoth and S. Mary Woolchurch Haw, in the city of London, from their commencement 1538-1760 (London, 1886).
- 28 The burial register of St Botolph Aldgate describes Armin as 'ffree of the Gouldsmithes' (P M L A 41 (1926), p.95), and his will as 'Cittizen and Goldsmithe of London' (Shakespeare's Motley, p.108).
- 29 I am grateful to Mr David Beasley, Assistant to the Librarian to the Company of Goldsmiths, London, for this information.
- 30 Arber, iii, 168.
- 31 Nashe, Works, i, 280.
- 32 Pierces Supererogation, sigs. Aa1-Aa1^V.
- 33 Arber, iii, 401.
- 34 The Collected Works of Robert Armin, ii, introduction to The Italian Taylor and his Boy.
- 35 The Collected Works of Robert Armin, i, introduction to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.
- 36 The Collected Works of Robert Armin, i, introduction to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.
- 37 S[amuel] R[owlands], The letting of humours blood in the head-vaine (London, 1600), sig. D8:

What meanes Singer then?
And Pope the Clowne, to speake so Boorish, when
They counterfaite the clownes upon the Stage?

- 38 Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell, p.58.
- 39 A.H. Bullen, editor, Poems, Chiefly Lyrical, from Romances and Prose-Tracts of the Elizabethan Age (London, 1890), p.xi.
- 40 Paget Toynbee, Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (c.1380-1844), 2 vols (London, 1909), i, 79.
- 41 Nashe, Works, v, 140. Ranson claims that McKerrow 'gives the impression that C.H. Cooper in Athenae Cantabrigiensis (1861), II, 306-09 lists TN as Number 31 of a list of works "written by, or attributed to" Nashe'. Cooper does not mention this work, and McKerrow clearly says that he will make Cooper's list 'the basis of the present inquiry', continuing the numbers after Cooper's list ends at number 27.
- 42 Arber, ii, 499.
- 43 Arber, ii, 529.
- 44 Nashe, Works, i, 319.
- 45 G.R. Hibbard, Thomas Nashe. A Critical Introduction (London, 1962), p.7.
- 46 E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 vols (Oxford, 1923), ii, 105.
- 47 Gabriel Harvey, A New Letter of Notable Contents (London, 1593), sig. B3.
- 48 Nashe, Works, v, 133.
- 49 Nashe, Works, i, 347.
- 50 Nashe, Works, i, 320.
- 51 Nashe, Works, iii, 26.
- 52 Nashe, Works, iii, 30-31.
- 53 The Three Parnassus Plays (1598-1601), edited with an Introduction and Commentary by J.B. Leishman (London, 1949), pp.71-79.
- 54 E.B. Everitt, The Young Shakespeare. Studies in Documentary Evidence, Anglistica II (Copenhagen, 1954). Further references to this work are given in the text.
- 55 Review by M.M. Reese, Review of English Studies, n.s. 6 (1955), 310-313 (p.310).
- 56 See, Edward Haviland Miller, 'The Relationship of Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe (1588-92)', Philological Quarterly, 33 (1954), 353-67.

- 57 He does not mention the possibility that 'yong Juvenall' may refer to Lodge. See, Philip Drew, 'Was Greene's "Young Juvenal" Nashe or Lodge?', Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 7 (1967), 55-66.
- 58 Nashe, Works, iii, 315 line 21 to 316 line 29.
- 59 Nashe, Works, i, 343.
- 60 In fact Ronsard's song is not a translation of a French poem, and I can see no confusion between Tarlton's Purgatory and Elysium, nor is the cosmology noticeably derived from Virgil's Aeneid (see 'News from Hell').

Critical Introduction

Having analysed the stylistic characteristics of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, studied its development from its sources, explored the literary background of the genre, and the context of the 'quarrel' with The Cobler of Caunterburie, and having failed to identify the author, it is time to turn to the work itself, without the distraction of these background details. I have pointed out oddities of phrasing in the text, and inconsistencies in the narrative, but despite such minor flaws and weaknesses the work has great charm and appeal.

The writer undoubtedly used Tarlton's name to promote his pamphlet, whether or not he was his 'old companion', and the device seems to have worked. In using the clown's name he appears to have tried to adopt something of the legendary genial nature of Tarlton in his narration. The personality of the clown/narrator does not develop strongly, and yet there is a consistent warmth in the tone of the tales. I have already discussed the author's development of his sources, and his manoeuvring of events in order to discredit the doctrine of Purgatory, but without being aware of the reason behind this one must nevertheless appreciate the tenderness that the writer shows. To the casual reader what is striking in, for instance, Stephano's reason for giving the crane's leg to his girl is his primary motive, 'for love hee bare hir', not how this differs from the source. Similarly in the final tale of the lovers of Pisa what is overwhelming about Mutio's reaction to the news of Lionello's interest in his wife, and her response to it, is not the skill of the author in changing the young husband of

the source to this impotent old fool, thereby partly justifying the adultery, but the agony of his realization of his inadequacy and helplessness,

almost mad for feare his wife any way should play false: he saw by experience, brave men came to besiege the castle, and seeing it was in a womans custodie and had so weake a governor as himselfe, he doubted it would in time be delivered up, which feare made him almost frantike. (sig. G3, p.336)

The comic characters in the tales are drawn with a vividness that makes them unforgettable, however briefly they appear. The hostess in the tale of the Vicar of Bergamo, for example, who is a creation of the author's, having no equivalent in the source, comes across as a high-spirited and jovial, though domineering, woman. None of this is stated in the text, but by the time we have heard how she argued with the vicar so that he 'went away with a broken head', how she defied the ban on her Sunday breakfasts, acted promptly, whipping the puddings out of sight, when discovered, complained to her husband - evidently a long-suffering man - and reacted when the puddings appeared, she is as memorable as Mistress Quickly. Although he does not develop as a character, it is impossible not to feel some sympathy with, if not admiration for, the way Friar Onion's host teases his guest's nerves, and slyly and 'helpfully' offers his plan. The shortest tale, that of the Painter of Doncaster, offers one of the most appealing of the minor characters, the Protestant mayor with his mocking solution to the problem of the ostentatiously Catholic parishioners.

The least appealing tale is probably the one which owes least to the author, that of the Gentlewoman of Lyons. As

already discussed in this Introduction this is the one tale in which the character of the protagonist has been deliberately blackened to lose the reader's sympathy. It is not the question of the justice of the punishment that alienates the reader, however, but the unoriginality of the tale. This is the story closest to its source in language, often being a direct translation of Boccaccio. It is also the one that has most echoes of Greene's style in his romances, and most use of euphuism and of popular proverbs, as a result of this borrowing I think it is the least memorable of the seven tales, lacking the character given by the author's style.

One of the reasons for the survival of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie could be the ageless quality of its humour, which can still raise a smile after nearly four hundred years.

Contemporary accounts suggest that the quality of Tarlton's humour lay in his physical clowning rather than in his verbal wit, but it is wit that gives the work its quality. Some of the humour is open and clear, such as the sudden reduction of Purgatory to physical terms by explaining that the first thirty popes could not go there because it was not ready, with a hint, at least for a modern reader, that the project was behind schedule. Sometimes the humour takes the form of heavy irony, readily understood and appreciated in any age, such as the description of the virtue of Astasio's wife, who was,

thought a vertuous matron: for a Cardinall
lay in her house, to instruct her with holy
sentences, and where such blessed men lie,
there can be no lecherie. (sig. B3^v, p.288)

At other times the humour is far less obvious, and yet I think

it is there nevertheless. A good example of the author's more subtle use of wit is the tale of Friar Onion. In this no one is unjustly punished, and there is no sympathetic character with whom the reader identifies. The tale is told purely as an anti-clerical story, and so the writer can allow his sense of humour free rein without risk of spoiling his tale. The scope of his jesting is wide, some of it is obvious, such as the various comments about the 'angel' having left without his wings. At other times it is less clear whether the author intends to be humorous or not, but it is difficult to imagine his being entirely serious when describing the 'angel' carefully taking off his 'habiliments' before going to bed, and speaking of how he had 'put off his wings, and was gone to bed' (sig. D1, p.301). The likelihood of the humour being deliberate here is heightened by the use of Ovid's rhetorical question to describe the rest of the night, an account of the type that Boccaccio's Lisetta gives to Friar Alberto of her activities with Gabriel would destroy the lightness of tone. The third kind of humour used here is that of the author mocking his own characters by making them unconsciously speak the truth, for instance, Friar Onion foretells his end when he says,

it is such a secret as may not be revealed:
 for if I should disclose it to you, and you
 by any meanes make it manifest, there were
 no way with me but a most miserable death.
(sig. C3v, p.297)

Lisetta's gossip also speaks the truth in her conventional promise 'to be as secrete in this matter as hir selfe' (sig. C4^v, p.300), which indeed she is, breaking the secret just as Lisetta has done.

One of the most striking features of the writing of this unknown author is his attitude to cuckolds. His was an age in which the cuckold was a figure of fun in the eyes of the world. This writer treats him as a figure of pathos rather than of scorn, to be pitied rather than mocked. He also manages to convey the suffering inflicted by jealousy whilst criticizing the folly of the emotion. Even Mutio, though a contemptible figure in his excessive jealousy, and his folly in acting on it, is made pathetic in his impotent anguish. The wittol, or willing cuckold, usually the most mocked and scorned of all, is made the most pathetic here,

he saw it, and knew very well, that his wife loved another as well as himselfe: yet hee loved hir so, that he woulde not discontent hir, but suffered hir to have hir longing and to feede hir owne fancie, and like a wittold winkt at it, and therefore worthy to weare the horne. (sig. D3, p.306)

The folly of the jealousy of the third cuckold, the one who was not one, is shown to be wrong, and yet his suffering in this jealousy is shown to have been great,

the eie of hir husband fiered with suspition so inflames his hart with jealousie, as there is none looks on his wife, but he thinks he comes to court hir, and shee glaunces hir eie on none but straight shee loves him: if shee smile, it is to thinke how hir love and shee shall meet; if shee lower, it is because shee hath not seen him to day: thus living doth he lead a hellish life in the labirinth of Jealousie, and therefore is he placst heere without punishment in Purgatorie, because there can be no greater torment than to bee plagued with the restlesse sting of Jealousie.

(sig. D4, pp. 308-9)

In taking this attitude the author seems to defy the conventions of his time and to state his own point of view, emphasizing it by placing traditionally funny characters in a humorous text

but not in comical situations.

It is impossible to say why Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie has survived, perhaps the use of Tarlton's name is responsible for its survival as well as for its initial success. It is over-shadowed by the publicity-seeking pamphleteers of its day, it is not an important work of prose literature, and yet it offers something that is not to be found in the pamphlets of the major writers of the period. Despite its comparatively early date it has none of the rather sickly euphuism found in the romances of, for instance, Greene at this time, nor does it abound in technical terms as do rogue pamphlets of the period, thus necessitating a glossary for the modern reader to understand them. Although a Protestant work it is not aggressively religious in tone, and does not require a knowledge of the background of events as do the pamphlets of the Marprelate Controversy. It does not satirize contemporary people and events as does Nashe, and so is readily understood. The writer does not have Nashe's brilliance with language, but his less dense style is far more readable. Although over-shadowed by the works of eminent writers, therefore, this piece probably has far more to offer the modern reader than those works. I have not been able to identify the author, but the warmth and humour of the work must form an appealing picture of his personality for any reader, whether of the sixteenth or the twentieth century, and so renders the question of his identity relatively unimportant.

The Contents of the Whole BookA1^V

- The tale of Pope Boniface, and why he wore a miller's cap and a malkin in Purgatory. fol.4
- What kind of men those be that God never made. 6
- 5 What creatures those be that in sight are carnations, in smell roses, in hearing Sirens, in touching nettles, and in taste wormwood. 9
- What occupations take more pains about God than the Pope. 10
- 10 The tale of Friar Onion, why in Purgatory he was tormented with wasps. 13
- The tale of the three cuckolds, of their impresse and mottoes. 21
- The tale of the cook, and why he sat in Purgatory
15 with a crane's leg in his mouth. 22
- The tale of the Vicar of Bergamo, and why he sits with a coal in his mouth in Purgatory. 29
- The tale of the painter of Doncaster, and why in Purgatory he was beaten with a bell-rope. 33
- 20 Why the gentlewoman of Lyons sat with her hair clipped off in Purgatory. 38
- The tale of two lovers of Pisa, and why they were whipped in Purgatory with nettles. 42

To the Gentlemen Readers,

A2

Health.

Gentlemen, the horse when he is first handed to the
wars starteth at the crack of every piece, and every
5 couched lance is a censure of death to a freshwater
soldier. So fareth it with me, for never before being
in print I start at the sight of the press, and having
not dared to look into the open light, I feared with the
owl to fly before it be twilight. Yet I have heard others,
10 whose books have passed your view, account you so
favourable, courteous, and affable, shrouding every scape
with silence, that I presumed the rather to experience
with them the hope of your favours, which if I find as
they have done, though I be blind Bayard yet I will in
15 the thickest of the mire plunge up to the saddle for your
sakes. Virgil afore he wrote his Aeneidos wrote his Culex,
and assayed in trifles afore he attempted in triumphs.
Lucan wrote Quaedam Lyrica before he began with Bellum
per Emathios plusquam Civilia campos. Rome was not
20 builded in a day, and men that venture little hazard
little. So, gentlemen, I present you with a toy of
Tarlton's called his News out of Purgatory, which I
desire you accept as courteously as I offer willing to A2^V
please. Though they be crepundia yet read them, and if
25 you find any pleasant facetiae, or quicquid salis, think
all savoury, and so pleased without being satirically
peremptory; for Momus will have a mouthful of invectives,
and Zoilus should not be Zoilus if he were not squint-eyed.

Therefore, leaving their humours to the wordmongers of malice, that like the vipers grew odious to their own kind, hoping of your courteous censure, I bid you farewell.

Tarlton's News Out of Purgatory

B1

Sorrowing as most men do for the death of Richard
 Tarlton, in that his particular loss was a general lament
 to all that coveted either to satisfy their eyes with his
 5 clownish gesture, or their ears with his witty jests, the
 wonted desire to see plays left me, in that although I
 saw as rare shows, and heard as lofty verse, yet I
 enjoyed not those wonted sports that flowed from him as
 from a fountain of pleasing and merry conceits. For
 10 although he was only superficially seen in learning,
 having no more but a bare insight into the Latin tongue,
 yet he had such prompt wit that he seemed to have that
salet ingenii which Tully so highly commends in his
Orator. Well, howsoever either natural, or artificial,
 15 or both, he was a mad merry companion, desired and loved
 of all. Amongst the rest of whose wellwishers myself
 being not the least, after his death I mourned in conceit,
 and absented myself from all plays as wanting that merry
 Roscius of players, that famoused all comedies so with
 20 his pleasant and extempore invention.

Yet at last, as the longest summer's day hath his
 night, so this dump had an end, and forsooth upon Whit
 Monday last I would needs to the Theatre to see a play;
 where when I came I found such concourse of unruly people
 25 that I thought it better solitary to walk in the fields
 than to intermeddle myself amongst such a great press.
 Feeding mine humour with this fancy, I stepped by
 Dame Anne of Cleere's Well, and went by the backside

B1^v

of Hoxton; where finding the sun to be hot, and seeing a fair tree that had a cool shade, I sat me down to take the air, where after I had rested me awhile I fell asleep.

As thus I lay in a slumber, methought I saw one
 5 attired in russet with a buttoned cap on his head, a great bag by his side, and a strong bat in his hand, so artificially attired for a clown as I began to call Tarlton's wonted shape to remembrance. As he drew more near and he came within the compass of mine eye to judge,
 10 it was no other but the very ghost of Richard Tarlton, which pale and wan sat him down by me on the grass. I, that knew him to be dead, at this sudden sight fell into a great fear, insomuch that I sweat in my sleep, which he perceiving, with his wonted countenance full of smiles,
 15 began to comfort me thus: 'What, old acquaintance, a man or a mouse? Hast thou not heard me verify that a soldier is a soldier if he have but a blue hose on his head? Fear not me man, I am but Dick Tarlton that could quaint it in the Court, and clown it on the stage; that had a
 20 quart of wine for my friend, and a sword for my foe; who hurt none being alive, and will not prejudice any being dead. For although thou see me here in the likeness of a spirit, yet think me to be one of those familiars
lares that were rather pleasantly disposed than endued
 25 with any hurtful influence, as Hob Thrust, Robin Goodfellow, and such like spirits, as they term them, of the buttery, famed in every old wives' chronicle for their mad merry pranks. Therefore since my appearance to thee is in resemblance of a spirit, think that I am

as pleasant a goblin as the rest, and will make thee as merry before I part as ever Robin Goodfellow made the country wenches at their cream bowls.'

With this he drew more near me and I, starting back, 5 cried out, 'In nomine Jesu, avoid, Satan, for ghost thou art none, but a very devil. For the souls of them which are departed (if the sacred principles of theology B2 be true) never return into the world again till the general resurrection. For either are they placed in 10 Heaven, from whence they come not to entangle themselves with other cares, but sit continually before the seat of the Lamb singing "Alleluia to the highest", or else they are in Hell; and this is a profound and certain aphorism, Ab inferis nulla est redemptio. Upon these 15 conclusive premisses depart from me, Satan, the resemblance of whomsoever thou dost carry.'

At this, pitching his staff down on the end and crossing one leg over another, he answered thus: 'Why you whoreson dunce, think you to set Dick Tarlton non plus 20 with your aphorisms? No, I have yet left one chapter of choplogic to tewslite you withal, that were you as good as George-a-Greene I would not take the foil at your hands, and that is this: I perceive by your arguments your inward opinion, and by your wise discretion what pottage you 25 love. I see no sooner a risp at the house-end, or a maypole before the door, but I cry, "There is a paltry alehouse"; and as soon as I hear the principles of your religion I can say, "Oh there is a Calvinist". What, do you make Heaven and Hell contraria immediata, so contrary

that there is no mean betwixt them, but that either a man's soul must in post haste go presently to God, or else with a whirlwind and a vengeance go to the Devil? Yes, yes, my good brother, there is quoddam tertium, a
5 third place, that all our great-grandmothers have talked of, that Dante hath so learnedly writ of, and that is Purgatory. What, sir, are we wiser than all our forefathers? And they not only feared that place in life, but found it after their death; or else was there much
10 land and annual pensions given in vain to morrow-mass priests for dirges, trentals, and such like decretals of devotion, whereby the souls in Purgatory were the sooner advanced into the quiet estate of Heaven. Nay more, how many popes and holy Bishops of Rome, whose canons cannot
15 err, have taught us what this Purgatory is? And yet B2^V if thou wert so incredulous that thou wouldst neither believe our old beldams, nor the good bishops, yet take Dick Tarlton once for thine author, who is now come from Purgatory. And if any upstart Protestant deny, if
20 thou hast no place of scripture ready to confirm it, say as Pythagoras's scholars did - ipse dixit - and to all boon companions it shall stand for a principle.'

I could not but smile at the mad merry doctrine of my friend Richard, and therefore taking heart at grass,
25 drawing more near him, I prayed him to tell me what Purgatory is, and what they be that are resident there. As one willing to do me such a favour, he sat him down and began thus.

Tarlton's Description of Purgatory

After thy breath hath left thy body, and thy soul
 is set free from this vile prison of earth, where it hath
 been long enclosed, then doth it wander forward into a
 5 fair broad way, where at the turning of a cross there are
 three passages; one on the right hand, and that is very
 narrow and leadeth unto Heaven; the second on the left
 hand is broad and fair, over a green vale, and that
 conducteth unto Hell. Now betwixt these is there a lane
 10 neither too broad nor too narrow, and that is the highway
 to Purgatory; wherein, after you have wandered awhile,
 you come to a bridge framed all of needle-points, and
 over that must you pass bare footed as the first penance
 for your foremost offences. Then, sir, to have a little
 15 ease after that sharp absolution, shall you come into a
 fair meadow, and that is all overgrown with Ave Marias
 and Credos. This is to put you in remembrance of Our
Lady's Psalter, which if you can say a hundred and fifty
 times over before you pass the meadow you escape passing
 20 over a whole field of hot burning ploughshares, that B3
 day and night lie glowing hot for such purposes.

After these and many more of other miseries, which
 I am by the law forbidden to utter, you come to Purgatory
 Gate, where, for an entering penny, you have forty lashes
 25 with a whip, as ill as ever were given in Bridewell, then
 you are admitted entrance.

At first you shall come into a very sumptuous hall,
 richly hanged with tapestry so fine and so curious that

the most cut-throat broker in England would take the worst of the hangings for a sufficient pawn. In this hall shall you see an infinite number of seats, formed and seated like an amphitheatre, wherein are royally, 5 nay, more than royally, placed all the popes, except the first thirty after Christ, and they went presently to Heaven, and the reason was because Purgatory was then but a-building, and not fully finished. In those seats, I say, the popes sit triumphantly with their pontificalia 10 and their triple crowns, but yet abiding pains of Purgatory as well as the meanest in all the house, equally proportioned according to the measure of their sins: some for false wresting the scriptures, others for ambition, some for covetousness, gluttony, extortion, simony, wrath, 15 pride, envy, many for sloth and idleness. And some, I can tell you, have come thither for wenching matters; that's counted in Rome but a venial sin, and therefore three dirges and two tapers offered to the picture of old Pasquil is sufficient to wipe away so small an offence. 20 But amongst all the rest two of them made me to marvel at the strangeness of the punishment. The first was Boniface IV, and he sat in this order.

He was richly attired in his pontificalia, and somewhat more rich than the rest, but upon his head, 25 instead of his triple crown, he wore a dusty miller's cap, and whereas other popes held in their right hand the keys of Heaven, and in the left the sword of Paul, he held between both his hands a dirty malkin such as bakers sweep their ovens withal, and right over his head was B3^v

written this old adage in Latin:

Ne sutor ultra crepidam.

And because thou shalt know the reason why he was thus punished mark this merry tale.

5 The tale of Pope Boniface, and why he wore a
 miller's cap and a malkin in Purgatory

There dwelled sometime in the city of Rome a baker named Astasio, who for his honest behaviour was well accounted of amongst his neighbours, insomuch that what
10 size soever his bread was baked after, his loaves never passed the balance. This Astasio had sundry prentices and journeymen to do his business, for he was chief baker to the pope's holiness, amongst whom there was one called
15 Miles, who was a strong lusty lubber, and one that was as ripe conceited for knavery as the miller that ground their meal for thievery, and had as many good conditions as his mistress had points of chastity; and she was thought a virtuous matron, for a cardinal lay in her
20 house to instruct her with holy sentences, and where such blessed men lie there can be no lechery. Well, Miles was a mad wag, and when he had done his business, to exercise his wits would divers times resort to some one or other of the cloister of nuns, amongst these merry wenches to put in practice the excellency of his prattle. He so
25 behaved himself that if higher fortune had not fallen him the nuns of Santa Maria had entreated their abbess to have made him their factotum, but to his greater dignity thus it fell out.

It chanced that Pope Pius fell sick, and for that he knew cardinals were ambitious, and would fly with Icarus whatsoever befall, to avoid all mutinies that might ensue after his death about the succession of the papacy, he called his cardinals together, and charged them to elect none pope but he that could absolve these three questions: B4

- 1 What kind of men those be that God never made?
- 2 What creatures those be that in sight are carnations, in smell roses, in hearing sirens, in touch nettles, and in taste wormwood?
- 3 And what occupations take more pains about God than the pope?

Upon these the cardinals were agreed, and went home to their several lodging, leaving Pius well contented with their mutual consent, and resolved to die, since he had so well determined of the papacy. To be brief, as every dog hath his day, so the pope had his date, for the next morning he died, and upon this there was a general mourning through all Rome. The cardinals wept, the abbots howled, the monks roared, the friars cried, the nuns puled, the courtesans lamented, the bells rang, and the tapers were lighted, that such a black sanctus was not seen a long time afore in Rome.

Well, to be short, his funerals were solemnly kept, and his body carried from Castell' Angelo to St Peter's Church, and there entombed. After his death every one of the cardinals aspiring to the papacy pondered in his

brain the meaning of these questions, but they were not
 so good scholars that they could either divide, define,
 or distinguish upon them. Especially Cardinal Montecelso,
 that lay at the baker's house, who long while had these
 5 questions hammering in his head, but to small purpose,
 for the more he sought, the farther off he was, which
 grieved him full sore, for the day was come wherein they
 must give up their verdict, and the synod of the
 cardinals appointed to meet. Cardinal Montecelso,
 10 ashamed to go because he was so monstrous a dunce, B4^v
 knowing that Miles, the baker's man, was a fellow of a
 prompt wit, and withal so like the Cardinal as no man
 could discern the one from the other, brought it so to
 pass that he persuaded Miles to go and hear the questions,
 15 and to sit in his robes amongst the rest of the cardinals,
 promising if he won the victory by his wit he would, when
 he were pope, so labour that he would make him a cardinal.

Miles, that was ever malapert, and more saucy than
 honest, undertook the matter, and bluntly over his baker's
 20 mealy cassock for haste put on the cardinal's habit, and
 went very solemnly to St Peter's Church, where the rest
 of the holy brotherhood sat, taking his place amongst
 them as Montecelso had directed him. When thus they were
 all gathered together, the eldest of the fraternity laid
 25 open unto them that now, by the death of Pius, the papacy
 stood sede vacante; yet by the good direction of his
 Holiness in his lifetime, to avoid further controversy
 in the Church, he had left a mean to know who should be
 next successor in the see, and thereupon he propounded

three questions, which began at the eldest, and so gradatim went downward.

Sundry men gave sundry verdicts, at last it came to Cardinal Montecelso, who was youngest, to yield his
 5 reason, which if it were not probable and plausible the synod must devise some other means to know the successor, for the questions were so dark that amongst the rest they were as inscrutable enigmas. Well, to Miles at last came the matter to be made manifest, who, very demurely, in
 10 his scarlet robes and his grave bonnet, began thus: 'My Lords and fellow brethren in this dignity, now is the text fulfilled "The last shall be first and the first shall be last", for I that am youngest in years am like to be eldest in judgement, and being last in degree am
 15 like to be first in dignity. Therefore, you foolish dunces, thus to absolve these three questions.

What kind of men be those that God never made? C1

'I tell you they be popes, cardinals, abbots, monks, and priests, for none of all these did God ever make, and
 20 thus I prove it. The creator, both according to the principles of philosophy and theology, is greater than the creature, and it is impossible that the maker should be
 25 formed or fashioned by the thing made, as a pot to make a potter. Is it not then as repugnant to reason that God should make a priest, when the priest every day in his mass maketh God? And so is he the creator and God the creature. Therefore, brethren, the priest is the man that God never made because we ourselves know that the

priest is God's maker.' To this they all applauded, and said he had spoken as much as Pius meant. 'Now', quoth he, 'to the second question.

What creatures those be that in sight are carnations,
 5 in smell roses, in hearing sirens, in touching nettles,
 and in taste wormwood?

'Thus I answer: they be, my masters', quoth he, 'these kind of cattle that we covet so much to keep, and these be women. For he that sees a gallant wench, which
 10 we Italians term bona roba, with a false face flourished over with a vermilion blush, she seems to his eye as beautiful as a carnation, and her breath that is as sweet and odoriferous as a rose. He that listens to her words shall find them as pleasant and melodious as the siren,
 15 and as full of flattery as Circe's; so that he that will avoid three wiles must with Ulysses tie himself to the mast, or else venture on three dangerous shelves. In touching they be nettles, for they sting to the quick; and in taste, whosoever tries them shall find them as
 20 bitter in the end as wormwood.' When Miles had C1^v
 discoursed this, they thought Sphinx himself could not have yielded a better reason, and therefore our gentleman baker went on to the third thus boldly, 'and now masters',
 quoth he, 'to the last.

25 What occupations take more pains about God
 than the pope?

'Marry', quoth Miles, 'there be three, the ploughman, the miller, and the baker, and thus I prove it. The

ploughman he takes pains to dress his field, to sow his
 corn, and in harvest with toil to reap, in winter to
 thresh it out with the sweat of his brows. Then it is
 conveyed from him to the miller, and he bestirs himself
 5 to set his stones in frame to grind it. Next it is
 transported to the baker, and he boults it and sifts the
 bran from the flour, and with great pains makes it into
 a fine cake and bakes it. Last it is brought to the pope,
 and he, when he is at mass, says but, "hoc est corpus
 10 meum", and it is God. He spends but a little few waste
 words about it, whereas the other three labour long ere
 they bring it to perfection, therefore these three take
 more pains about God than the pope.'

One of the old cardinals hearing this, wondering at
 15 his wit, began to repeat over the names of the ploughswain,
 the miller, and the baker. Miles, hearing him name the
 baker, took straight pepper in the nose, and starting up
 threw off his cardinal's robes, standing in his dusty
 cassock, swore, 'Aye, by cocks-bread, the baker, and he
 20 that says to the contrary, here stand I, Miles the baker's
 man, to have the proudest cardinal of you all by the ears.'

The cardinals all this while thinking it had been
 Montecelso, and now seeing it was Miles the baker's man,
 to sooth up the matter, and cloak their own ignorances,
 25 made him pope, and called him instead of Miles, Boniface,
 where he soon forgot, being a priest, that ever he was a
 clerk. Insomuch that on a day passing to St Peter's C2
 Church, his master Astasio met him, and amongst the rest
 did his Holiness great reverence, but Miles, now that was

pope, could not look so low as a poor baker, which his
 master espying, as he came by, said that the pope might
 hear, 'non fuit sic a principio'. 'No, knave', quoth he,
 'but that shalt hear sung anon, "Sic erit in saecula
 5 saeculorum. Amen".'

Thus went the baker's man in solemn procession to
 St Peter's Church, and there, after his instalment, heard
 mass, and so departed home to Castell' Angelo. And for
 that he was advanced from a baker's trough to the papacy,
 10 and after grew so proud and insolent that he would not
 know his old master, he sits in a miller's dusty cap and
 a baker's malkin to signify the former pride of his life.

Next him sat Hildebrand, and he held a red herring
 in his hand because he made Lent. And one pope sat with
 15 a smock sleeve about his neck, and that was he that made
 the embering weeks in honour of his fair and beautiful
 courtesan Imbra. A little beyond sat Alexander, who was
 forced to make clean rusty armour that, like Sisyphus's
 stone, had no end, for as fast as he scoured the canker
 20 still fretted that he did in caucasum saxum voluere, and
 this was because he was a better soldier than a scholar.
 Hard by him was Julius, that upon the bridge threw St
 Peter's keys into Tiber, and took him to the sword of
 Paul. Infinite other sundry offences, but such a multitude
 25 were plagued for wenching that of them all there was not
 one scaped free for that fault, but Urban II, that was
 installed pope in the morning and was poisoned before
 dinner, and yet the question whether if he had lived that
 night his leman and he had not bidden penance in Purgatory

for their sins.

Thus when I saw all these stately fellows, as I was ready to go out of the hall I spied sitting in a corner a bare faced youth, well featured, of a lively
 5 countenance and a sweet look, in pope's attire; but on her head instead of a mitre she had a kercher, and in C2^v
 her hand a distaffe. I thought it had been Hercules, that was found playing the wanton so with Omphale, or Sardanapalus amongst his courtesans. But at last I spied
 10 it was a pope, or had been a pope, but whether man or woman, or what it was, I could not tell till I spied written over his head in great characters this style:

Papa, Pater, Parens Patriae, Prope Portas Petri,
Pauli, Paruum Peperit Puerum.

15 Then I perceived it was Pope Joan, that honest woman, that as she went a procession through the Lateran was brought to bed in the streets. I smiled at her attire, and left her to her punishment.

Passing from thence I went into a lower room, and
 20 there were all kings and princes, and men of name, which for that I might slander their royal titles I omit with silence. But thus they were all punished according to their offences, no more spared for their wealth than the poor for their poverty, unless they died highly in the
 25 pope's favour, and perhaps there was some indulgence to mitigate their punishment.

I left them, and anon I came into a baser room, all full of monks and friars. What sins I saw there figured

forth I am ashamed to rehearse. Only Friar Onion, the holy confessor of Florence. He sat there naked, all anointed with honey and miserably tormented with wasps. The cause of his punishment I learned to be this.

5 The tale of Friar Onion, why in Purgatory he
 was tormented with wasps

C3

There dwelled a widow in Florence of good parentage and large possession, more beautiful than she was wealthy, and yet she was the richest widow in all Florence, her
 10 name was Lisetta. The only fault that was found in her was that her beauty was more than her wit, and that such a self-love of her excellency had made her overween herself that she thought none fit to be her husband in all Florence. Thus, though she were looked at for her
 15 outward perfection, yet she was laughed at for her inward follies. Well, howsoever others censured of her, she thought her penny better silver than the rest, and would so strive to excel other gentlewomen in the niceness of gesture, that oft-times she marred all, insomuch
 20 that her coy quaintness was a byword in the city.

Every week forsooth, because she would seem as virtuous as she was fair, she devoutly went to Friar Onion to be confessed of her sins. The priest, who was a lusty lubber, and a tall swain, and nursed up lust with
 25 idleness, began to look upon her more narrowly, and to take a particular view of her perfections; with that entering with a piercing insight into her self-love, thought that she might quickly be overreached in her own

conceits. For he thought that if the wisest women were won with fair praises and large promises, it were more easy to entrap her with the discourse of her excellency.

Therefore he laid his plot thus: the next time
 5 Lisetta came to shrift, after she had made her confession, and had received absolution for her sins, Friar Onion, looking earnestly upon her, fetched a far sigh and said, 'Ah, Madam, if you knew as much as I know, as you are the fairest so you would think yourself the happiest of all
 10 women that are alive.' 'And why, sir, I pray you?' C3^v
 quoth Lisetta. 'Ah', said Friar Onion, 'it is such a secret as may not be revealed. For if I should disclose it to you, and you by any means make it manifest, there were no way with me but a most miserable death.' Lisetta,
 15 as all women be desirous of novelty, was so greedy to hear what good was toward her, that she made a thousand protestations, and uttered a thousand oaths never to bewray what her ghostly father should tell her in secret. 'Then, Madam', quoth Friar Onion with a grave and a
 20 demure countenance, 'know your beauty is so excellent, and your perfection so far beyond the common course of all other women, that not only all men that see you admire you as a miracle, but the very angels in Heaven are enamoured of your proportion.' 'The angels', quoth she,
 25 'is that possible?' 'The angels, Madam, and not the meanest, but the most beautiful of all the rest. For the angel Gabriel is so far in love with you that the other night he appeared unto me and charged me to do his earnest commendations unto you, with promise that, if he

might be assured of your secrecy, he would at convenient times visit you, and entertain you with such love as befitteth such holy spirits.'

This tale so set afire Lisetta that she not only
 5 thanked Friar Onion for his commendations, but counted herself the most fortunate of all women that she was beloved of so blessed a saint; and therefore, when and where it pleased him, he should be entertained with as honourable secrecy as a poor dame of her calling might
 10 afford. Friar Onion, seeing this gear would work, prosecuted his purpose then subtly. He presently fell down on his knees before her, and desired that for such happy news as he had brought she would grant him a boon. Lisetta, liberal now to perform any demand, bade him ask.
 15 Then he began thus, 'Madam', quoth he, 'for that the angel Gabriel is a spirit, and his brightness such as no mortal eye can suffer, and therefore must come unto you in some human shape, I pray you vouchsafe that my
 C4 body may be the receptacle for him, that while he
 20 putteth on my carcass, my soul may enjoy the sight and pleasures of Paradise; so shall you not hinder yourself, and do me an unspeakable benefit.' Lisetta, seeing Friar Onion was a lusty tall fellow, willing in what she might to pleasure him, granted his request very willingly;
 25 whereupon it was concluded that she should leave the door open, and about midnight the angel Gabriel should come to visit her.

Upon this resolution home went Lisetta, as merry as a pie, tricking up her bedchamber with all bravery and

rich perfumes for the entertainment of her paramour; and
 Friar Onion, as busy as a bee, was making his wings and
 his trinkets ready to play the angel. Well, he dealt so
 that he agreed with an old pander that dwelt opposite to
 5 the house, and there made himself ready, and at the hour
 appointed went to Lisetta, where he found the door open,
 and so entered up till he came to her bedchamber, where
 she sat expecting his coming. As soon as she saw him
 with his glorious wings and his white robes she rose, and
 10 fell at his feet, but he lovingly took her up, embraced
 her, kissed her, and pointed to the bed, whither the
 angel went after he had laid apart his habiliments, and
 Lisetta followed with as much speed as might be. Caetera
quis nescit. Early before break of the day Gabriel took
 15 his leave of his Lisetta, and went to his lodging, leaving
 her the proudest woman in the world that she was beloved
 of an angel.

Friar Onion he got him to his cell, and there took
 up his broken sleep he had lost, till nine of the clock,
 20 that he went into his oratory, where he had not sitten
 long but Lisetta, in as great bravery as might, came to
 the church, and then offered up in greater devotion a
 burning taper to the angel Gabriel. Afterwards, her
 orisons done, she came to Friar Onion, who, after some
 25 conference, demanded her of her new lover, whom she C4^v
 highly commended; and he again gave her great thanks
 that she vouchsafed him to be the receptacle of so holy
 a saint, for all the while his body was with her, his
 soul did taste the joys of Paradise. These two thus agreed,

it so fell out that sundry times, as occasion and opportunity would give leave, the angel Gabriel visited Lisetta.

The friar thus frolic in this conceited content
5 was thwarted by fortune in this manner. Lisetta, waxing very proud with the remembrance of her new lover, was so coy and disdainful as she thought never a dame in Florence fit for her company, insomuch that many wondered why she grew so insolent. But the more they marvelled, the more
10 she was malapert, conceiving such abundance of self-love within her stomach, that she was with child till she had uttered her mind to some of her gossips. On a day, sitting with one in whom she had most affiance, she began to require secrecy, and she would unfold unto her a thing
15 not only strange, but of great import. Her gossip, as the custom is, began to blame those wives whose secrets lay at their tongue's end, and said she was never touched with any stain of her tongue, and therefore whatsoever she told her should be buried underfoot and go no further.
20 Upon this Lisetta began to rehearse unto her from point to point the whole discourse of the angel Gabriel, how he was in love with her, and how sundry nights he lay with her, and many more matters which he told her of the joys of Paradise. Her gossip, being a wily wench, kept her
25 countenance very demurely, commending the excellency of her beauty that did not only amaze men but drew even angels to be enamoured of her, promising to be as secret in this matter as herself.

She thought the time long till they might break off

talk, and therefore as soon as she could find opportunity she took her leave, and hied her homeward. But to her house she could not go till she had met with two or three of her gossips, to whom, in a great laughter, she
5 unfolded what Madam Lisetta had told her. How she was beloved of the angel Gabriel, and how sundry nights he lay with her and told her of the joys of Paradise. D1

This was work enough for nine days, for the wonder of Madam Lisetta's bairn went through all Florence, so
10 that at last it came to the ears of Lisetta's friends, who grieved that such a clamour should be raised of their kinswoman; knowing her folly thought to watch near, but they would take the angel Gabriel, and clip his wings from flying. Well, secret they kept it, and made as though
15 they had not heard of it, yet kept they such diligent watch that they knew the night when the angel would descend to visit Lisetta; whereupon they beset the house round, and as soon as Friar Onion was in, and had put off his wings and was gone to bed, the rushing in of the
20 watch wakened him from his rest, and that with such a vengeance that trusting more to his feet than to his feathers he left Madam Lisetta amazed at the noise. And he himself was so sharply beset, and so near taken, that he was fain to leap out of a high garret window, and so
25 almost break his neck, into a little narrow lane.

Well, his best joint scaped, but he was sore bruised, yet fear made him forget his fall, that away he ran to a poor man's house where he saw light, and there got in, making an excuse how he had fallen among thieves, and so

desired lodging. The man having heard talk of the angel Gabriel, knowing very well Friar Onion, that knew not him, let him have lodging very willingly. But all this while that he escaped were Lisetta's friends seeking for the
 5 saint that so tenderly loved their kinswoman, but they could not find him; and to Heaven he was not flown, for they had found his wings. Sorry they were that Gabriel had missed them, but they chid hard, and rebuked the folly of Lisetta's self-love, that was not only so credulous,
 10 but such a blab as to reveal her own secrets. It was late, and because they had missed of their purpose they D1^V departed, leaving Lisetta a sorrowful woman that she was so deceived by the angel Gabriel.

Well, night passed, and the morning came, and this
 15 poor man, Friar Onion's host, told him that he knew not how to shift him, for there was that day a great search for one Friar Onion, that had escaped naked from Lisetta's house, and whoso kept him in secret should have his ears nailed on the pillory. At this the friar started, and
 20 said, 'Alas, friend, I am the man, and if by any means thou canst convey me to the dorter of our friary, I will give thee forty ducats.' 'If you will', quoth his host, 'follow my counsel, fear not, I will convey you thither safe and unknown, and thus: this day there is great shows
 25 made before the Duke of Florence, and strange sights to be seen, and divers wild men disguised in strange attire are brought into the market place. Now I will dress you in some strange order, and with a mask over your face, lead you amongst the rest, and when the show is done,

carrying you as though I should carry you home, I will convey you into the dorter backside secret and unknown.'

Although this seemed hard to the friar, yet of the two evils the least was to be chosen, and he consented to suffer what the host would devise. Whereupon he that was of a pleasant conceit used him thus. He anointed him over with barm mixed with honey, and stuck him full of feathers, and tying him by the neck with a chain, put a vizor on his face, and on either side tied a great bandog.

10 In this come equipage marched this poor man with the friar. He was no sooner come into the open street, but the people, having never seen such a sight before in Florence, did not only wonder at the strangeness of his dressing, but marvelled what this novelty should mean;

15 whereupon an infinite number, not only of the common sort, but of the gravest citizens, followed to see what should be the end of this wonder.

With a solemn pace marched his keeper till he came to the market place, where, tying him to a great pillar that stood there, he then let make in all places of the city solemn proclamation that whoso would see the angel Gabriel should presently come to the market place, and behold him there in that amorous dignity that he did usually visit the dames of Florence. At this proclamation there was a general concourse of people, especially of the better sort that had heard of Lisetta's loves, so that the duke himself came thither, and amongst the rest Lisetta's kinsmen. When all the market place was full of people the host pulled the vizor from the friar's face,

at which the people gave a great shout, clapping their hands and crying, 'The angel Gabriel, the angel Gabriel! He that comes from Heaven to make us wear horns.' I need not, I hope, entreat you to believe that poor Friar
 5 Onion was heavily perplexed; especially when the day grew hot, he naked and anointed with honey so that all the wasps in the city, as it were by a miracle, left the grocers' shops and came to visit the friar, because his skin was so sweet; but alas to the poor man's pains, that
 10 he was almost stung to death.

Divers of his convent came thither to see the strange apparition of the angel, who, when they saw he was Friar Onion, then they covered their shaven crowns with their cowls, and went home with a flea in their ears.
 15 Thus all day stood the poor friar, wondered at of all the people of Florence, and tormented with wasps, and at night fetched home to the dorter by some of his brothers. He was clapped in prison, where for sorrow poor Gabriel died; and, because he did so dishonour the other friars,
 20 he bides this torment in Purgatory.

The discourse of the friar thus past, I viewed them all that were churchmen, and after went into a lower room, where there was a medley of all manner of people of all trades, sciences, and occupations, assigned to
 25 such sundry torments as man's eye would almost surfeit with the variety of objects. Even the very broom men were there for robbing of the broom closes between Barking and London; and hard by them was there a place empty, formed thus. It was made like the shape of Tyburn

threesquare, and all painted about with halters, and hard
 by stood two tall fellows with carter's whips, so sternly
 looking, as if with every lash they would cut a man to
 the bones. There was written over the place a great
 5 roman B. I could not learn for whom this torment was
 provided, for that so many men, so many censures. Some
 said it was for one Boniface, which should be pope, and
 should prove a great persecutor; others, that Bonner
 should be brought from his place among the prelates, and
 10 be whipped there for breeching of Bartlet Greene naked
 in his garden; but the most voices went that it was for
 Bull the hangman, because at his whipping in London the
 carters showed him too much favour. Well, for whomsoever
 it is, God bless me from it, for he is like to be well
 15 belaboured with two lusty knaves.

Looking still about, I saw three men seated as it
 were in thrones, higher than the rest, with three shields
 hanging by them, having impresse and mottoes. I stayed
 and gazed my fill upon them, for they had no punishment,
 20 but were as prisoners detained in Purgatory, but with a
 pre-eminence, for whichsoever of the ghosts passed by
 gave them a knee with a reverence. I marvelled what they
 should be, and one told me it was the three degrees of
 cuckolds. With that I smiled, and looked more narrowly
 25 upon them. I spied written over the first's head this
 short sentence, 'One and One'; over the second, 'None
 and One'; over the third, 'One and None'. This was to me
 a dark enigma, that I wished some sphinx to unfold the
 secret. At last one stepped to me and told me the whole

matter thus.

The tale of the three cuckolds, of their
impresse and mottoes

D3

These three men, my friend (quoth the ghost)
5 when they lived were three famous men, and yet cuckolds,
as by their attire thou mayest perceive, but different in
degree, nature and condition. He which sits highest, over
whose head thou seest is written 'One and One', had a
beautiful dame to his wife, fair and well featured, yet
10 a great deal more full of beauty than of honesty, but
howsoever qualified, a good wench she was, and one that
was not such a niggard but she could keep a corner for a
friend. To be brief, she would bear a man false at tables,
and her husband, that loved Irish well, thought it no
15 ill trick at tables to bear a man too many. He saw it,
and knew very well that his wife loved another as well
as himself, yet he loved her so that he would not discontent
her, but suffered her to have her longing, and to feed
her own fancy, and like a wittol winked at it, and
20 therefore worthy to wear the horn.

Thus, while he lived the dishonour of his life
was shame enough for his lewdness, and now after his
death, because he was so kind a man, they have placed him
there without any punishment, because it was penance
25 enough to have his conscience pricked with a restless
sting of bawdry. And here they have made him a gentlemen,
and in his scutcheon have given him the ram rampant,
with a mighty pair of horns hanging over his eyes, to

signify, if it be rightly emblazed, that he had such a great head, that, looking through his horns, he did see and not see, shocking on with heavy palms as bell-wether to the rest. His motto is stolen out of Tully,

5 Non solum pro nobis.

Meaning, that as we are not born for ourselves but for our country, so he did not marry a wife for himself, but for his neighbours; this was the kind opinion of this grave wittol.

D3^v

10 The second, over whose head is written, 'None and One', was a man of an honest and virtuous disposition, who having a fair wife, that though she could not tread right yet wrenched her shoe inward, that was as secret as she was false, and though she could not live caste,
15 yet she lived caute. He never suspected her, but as he was honestly minded towards her, and kept himself to the wife of his bosom, so measured her foot after his own last, and thought none in the world to have a more chaste wife, although, indeed, none had a more lascivious
20 wanton.

This poor man was none in his own conceit, yet was one indeed; and therefore is he placed here without any torture, for that it is plague enough for him that he had a whore to his wife. He is likewise made a gentleman,
25 and gives arms the goat, which by emblazure signifies that as the goat carries his horns behind, so having horns, because they were not apparent on his forehead, thought he had none, and yet carried a fair pair backward like

the goat. His motto is,

Crede quod habes et habes.

Meaning, that a man's content stands as his believing is; so that if a man in his own conscience thinks he hath a
5 fair wife it sufficeth, whatsoever proof makes manifest to others.

The third, over whose head is written, 'One and None', is a man that hath a woman of surpassing beauty to his wife, excellent and rare in properties, and every way
10 as virtuous in honest perfection, a woman as fair as Helen and as chaste as Lucrece. Yet, forsooth, because his wife is more fair than the common sort, and therefore more gazed on, for that wheresoever she goes many men's eyes wait upon her, and divers lascivious youth attempt to
15 frequent her company. Yet she, that is wholly resolved upon virtue, hath the tortoise under her feet D4 and gads not abroad, but keeping home avoids all occasions of dishonour. Yet for all these manifest instances of her honesty, the eye of her husband, fired
20 with suspition, so inflames his heart with jealousy, as there is none looks on his wife but he thinks he comes to court her; and she glances her eye on none but straight she loves him; if she smile, it is to think how her love and she shall meet; if she lour, it is because she hath
25 not seen him today.

Thus living doth he lead a hellish life in the labyrinth of jealousy, and therefore is he placed here without punishment in Purgatory, because there can be no

and brought her duly and dutifully his groat, which could not content her, but she would in brave terms abuse him, and call him 'rascal' and 'slave', but above all 'pricklouse', which he could not abide. Wherefore, 5 having often forbade her, and seeing she would take no warning, on a day took heart at grass, and belaboured her well with a cudgel. But all would not suffice, the more he beat her, the more she called him 'pricklouse'. Seeing stripes would not prevail, he threatened to cut 10 out her tongue. 'It is no matter for that, knave', quoth she, 'yet shall the stump call thee "pricklouse".' At this answer the poor botcher was so mad that taking a rope and tying it about her middle, having a well in his yard, and thereunto he let her down into the well, and 15 threatened to drown her. Tush, all would not prevail, but she cried more vehemently; wherefore he ducked her over head and ears, and then, when her tongue could not wag, she heaved her hands above water and knacked with her two nails of her thumbs. Then, seeing nothing would 20 prevail but death, he drew her up and left her to her villainy. She above the rest was tormented.

A little below her I saw a cook that was a mad merry fellow, and he sat demurely with a crane's leg in his mouth, having no other punishment. At this I smiled, 25 and asked the cause, and it was told me thus.

The tale of the cook, and why he sat in Purgatory
with a crane's leg in his mouth

There dwelled in Venice a gentleman called Signor Bartolo, who, being one of the Consiliadory, and greatly experienced in the civil law, was much frequented of sundry suitors. Amongst the rest there was a
 5 gentleman, his neighbour, that by fortune had caught E1
 some eight or ten cranes, a fowl in high esteem in that city. These, as a thing of great price, he bestowed on Signor Bartolo, who accepted them with that gratefulness that so good and bountiful a gift merited. Proud,
 10 forsooth, of this present, he fed them up in one of his yards, looking with great care to them because the Venetians hold them so rare.

On a day, desirous to make his neighbours partakers of his dainties, he had divers of them to supper, and
 15 commanded his cook to provide good cheer, and amongst the rest charged him to kill a crane and to see that it were excellently well roasted. The cook, whose name was Stephano, made all things in a readiness for supper, and when the time was convenient laid the crane to the fire.

20 Now, sir, this Stephano was a fellow that was somewhat amorous, and excellent at courting of a country wench, insomuch that he was the chief gallant of all the parish for dancing of a Lincolnshire hornpipe in the churchyard on Sundays. Being thus well qualified he was
 25 generally loved of all the girls thereabout, and especially of one in the town, whom he had so long dallied withal that the maid fell sick, and her disease was thought to be a tympany with two heels. Well, howsoever, she was sped, and Stephano had done the deed.

This maid, hearing what a great feast should be at Signor Bartolo's house, hied her thither, not only to see the good cheer, but that she must feed her eye with the sight of her Stephano, who now was ruffling and sweating in the kitchen. She made an excuse and came in for fire, but in an unlucky time for the poor cook, for she no sooner saw the crane but she longed for a leg, and that so sore that there was nothing but that or death. Whereupon she called Stephano to her and told him that she must needs have a leg of the crane, for she so deeply longed for it, that, if she had it not, it were able both to cast her away and that she went withal. Although poor Stephano alleged many excuses, as the displeasure of his master, and the fear of the loss of his service, yet no reason could prevail with her who was without reason. And therefore, what for love he bear her, and for dread of discredit that might ensue if for want of her longing she should fall to travail, he ventured a joint, and when the crane was enough cut her off a leg. His wench thus satisfied went home. And supper time grew on, for all the guests were come, and presently, because it was somewhat late, sat down, where they were served very bountifully.

At last the dainties, the crane forsooth, was brought up, and Signor Bartolo commanded the carver to trunk her, which when he had done she was set upon the table. The gentleman of the house fell to distributing to his guests, and at last missed a leg; with that, looking about, he called the carver and asked him where

the other leg was. 'Sir', quoth he, 'your mastership hath all the cook sent up.' 'Then', quoth Bartolo, 'go to the cook and ask him where the other leg is.' The carver went down and did his master's command. The cook, 5 thinking to face out the matter, began to smile, 'Why', quoth he, 'we may see cranes are dainty in this country when gentlemen cannot tell how many legs they have! Go tell my master I sent him up as many legs as she had.'

The fellow brought this news to his master, who in 10 a great chafe called for the cook and asked of him how many legs a crane had. 'Marry, sir', quoth he, 'one.' 'Why, malapert villain', quoth Bartolo, 'mockest thou me before all these gentlemen?' 'Not I, sir', quoth the cook, 'for I am sure I have dressed many in my life, and 15 hitherto yet I never saw a crane have but one leg.' With this answer Bartolo was thoroughly inflamed with choler, but, that he would show himself to be patient amongst his neighbours, he suppressed his anger with this mild reply: 'Either, gentlemen, you may think I or my cook is drunk, 20 that hold a dispute about a crane's leg, but for that this night I will not be impatient, I pass it over. But E2 tomorrow morning, all as you are here, I humbly request you to take so much pains as to rise betimes, and to be judges between me and my man whether cranes have two legs 25 or no; for I have nine cranes more, and we will early go into the yard where they feed. And this shall be the wager between my man and me, if they have but one leg I will give him twenty ducats and a suit of satin; if they have two he shall have twenty blows with a cudgel and I

will turn him quite out of service.' With this motion
 the cook seemed very well contented, that all the guests
 smiled to see poor Stephano so obstinate. Upon this
 matter they began to descant, and fell into pleasant chat,
 5 and so passed away the supper time. At last, although
 loath to depart, yet every man departed with great thanks
 to Signor Bartolo for their good cheer, promising very
 early in the morning to be with him.

Where we leave them, and again to the cook, who
 10 provided all his trinkets in a readiness to trudge away
 with bag and baggage the next morning, for he knew his
 matter was nought. Thus with a heavy heart he passed away
 the night, and in the morning fell in a slumber. But he
 had not long lien in his dream but Bartolo, accompanied
 15 with his neighbours, knocked at his man's chamber door,
 and bade him rise that they might end the quarrel.

Poor Stephano started up, and, with a heavy cheer,
 coming out of his chamber, gave his master and the rest
 the bonjour. 'Come, sirrah', quoth his master, 'here
 20 are the gentlemen, my neighbours, come to be equal censors
 of our controversy. Hold, take the key of the yard and
 open you the door, and then let us see how many legs a
 crane hath.' The cook took the key and very easily
 opened the door and entered in; and all the cranes, because
 25 it was so early, were at strud. As their custom is generally
 all stood upon one leg and held the other under their
 wing. Stephano seeing the advantage, not willing to let
 so fair a ball fall to the ground, began himself, 'Now,
 sir', quoth he, 'I hope yourself and the rest of the

gentlemen will confess I have won the wager. For you see here is never a crane that hath more than one leg.' At this, seeing how nimble he was to take the advantage, they all laughed. 'Truth, sir', quoth his master, 'they stand now on one leg, but straight you shall see me make them all have two.' With that Signor Bartolo, lifting up his hand, cried, 'So ho!', and with that the cranes let down their legs and every one stood upon two. 'How now, you knave', quoth his master, 'how many legs hath a crane? Hath she not two?' 'Yes, marry, sir', quoth he, 'and so would your other crane have had if you had done this. For if your worship, when you had seen the crane in the platter had but one leg, had as loud as you do now cried, "So ho!", why, then she would have had two legs as well as these.' At this jest Signor Bartolo fell into such a laughing, and all his guests with him, that he laughed away choler, and admitted his man into his wonted favour. Whereupon Stephano told them the whole discourse, what happened between him and his wench, and upon this merrily they went all to breakfast.

Now, sir, although this fault was forgiven, yet, because he died not in favour with the priest of the parish, he was appointed for stealing the crane's leg to stand in Purgatory with a leg in his mouth for a certain season.

After I had heard this discourse of the cook, I went on further to see if I could perceive any other such jests as might make me merry in so melancholic a place. At last, as I cast mine eye aside, I saw where a poor vicar

sat with a coal in his mouth. I asked the reason why he was appointed to such punishment, and it was answered me thus.

The tale of the vicar of Bergamo, and why he sits

E3

5

with a coal in his mouth in Purgatory

There dwelled sometime in Bergamo a vicar that was well-beloved in the town for that he was a boon companion, and would not stick to play at trump all day with his parishioners for a pot or two of ale. A fair reader he was, and pleased the people well. Marry, for his learning, that was little, and tongues he had no more than were in his mouth, neither would he trouble himself with the knowledge of many languages, but applied his idle time upon good fellowship.

15

It chanced that his score growing very great, and much chalk upon the post, his hostess, wanting money to pay the maltman, waxed hasty with the vicar for her debt. He being then bare of pence, because his quarterage was not come in, told her she could not have it as yet;

20

whereupon they grew to words, and from words to blows, for master vicar went away with a broken head, which drove him into such a choler that he sought all means how to revenge, and he laid his plot thus.

25

Every Sunday morning afore mass all the youth of the parish did accustom to come to the alehouse to eat hot puddings, which was great profit to the goodwife. Now to prevent her of this commodity the vicar spake against it, and forbade it openly. Yet it was not so deeply

inveighed against but that divers Sundays they would
 make a steal thither to breakfast, and one Sunday amongst
 the rest, the whole crew being gathered together, notice
 was given to the vicar, whereupon he hied him thither, and
 5 found them all hard at it by the teeth. When they saw
 master vicar come in every man rose up and ran away to
 shift for himself; the hostess she whipped in with her
 puddings, so that there was none left in the house but
 master vicar, who, spying a dozen of lusty large black
 10 puddings hanged in the chimney, whip them into his E3^v
 wide sleeve and went his way. He was no sooner gone
 but the goodwife, coming out, missed her puddings, and
 little suspected the vicar, but thought some of her guests
 had carried them away. Whereupon she told it to her
 15 husband, who let the matter pass lightly and wished his
 wife to make her hastily ready that they might go to mass.
 On goes she with her holiday partlet, and, sponging
 herself up, went with her husband to church, and came
 just to the service.

20 Well, master vicar, who was in a great chafe, mumbled
 up his mattins, and after service was done very stoutly
 got him into the pulpit and began to fall to his collation.
 His text was upon the gospel for that day, which he so
 coursed and canvassed over that he fell at last to talk of
 25 the breakfast. 'Oh neighbours', quoth he, 'as I came
 this day to churchward I came into a house, nay into an
 alehouse, where I found a crew at breakfast before mass,
 at a bloody breakfast, a black breakfast, yea, neighbours,
 the Devil's breakfast!' And with that he threw his arms

about him with such violence that his wide sleeve untied,
 the puddings fell out and hit an old wife on the head
 that she fell over again. The hostess, seeing her dozen
 of puddings that she missed, cried out to her husband,
 5 'Oh man', quoth she, 'there's the dozen of puddings that
 were gone out of the chimney, hie thee lest they be gone.'
 At this there was such a laughing, and such a rumour, that
 the poor vicar was fain to leave of his collation and
 come down to answer what the alewife objected against him.
 10 But he was so well-beloved in the parish that the alewife
 was punished, and her Sunday breakfasts put down by a
 common consent of the churchwardens.

The vicar, thus well revenged of the alewife,
 endeavoured how to make amends to his parish, and therefore
 15 casting in his head how he might bring it to pass. One
 day as he travelled towards Pisa he met a stranger who
 had certain feathers in his hand of a bird called Apis
Indica, which were long and large, of the colour of E4
 gold, and were so bright as scarce one could look against
 20 them. Such before were never seen in Italy. Master
 vicar as soon as he saw these had a reach in his head,
 and jumped with the traveller to buy one. A price was
 pitched for thirty julios, and master vicar paid it.
 Having this, home he came and bought a case of crimson
 25 velvet embroidered with gold, to put his feather in,
 keeping it with great curiosity and secrecy, making report
 that he had one of the richest relics in the world, and
 promising upon Candlemas day next to show it. Whereupon
 it was not only blazed abroad throughout the town, but in

all the villages and hamlets adjoining, that both old and young prepared themselves to see this holy relic.

Two of the crew who were brothers at the breakfast of puddings, hearing these news, sought how to be even
 5 with master vicar, and therefore brought it so to pass by a wench of the house where the vicar lay, that they might see the holy relic. She brought them to the chamber and the box wherein the case lay in perfume. The fellow
 10 looking in and seeing a feather, neither respecting reason nor religion, took it out and put it in his bosom, and filled the case full of charcoals that lay by; and so, putting the case into the box, kissed the wench and went his way.

Service time being come, master vicar runs up for
 15 his box, claps it under his arm, and away he goes to church; and for that it was Candlemas day, a high day, he said and sung a very solemn mass, and that being done, seeing such a multitude of people, he got him with a great
 20 grace into the pulpit, and began his text, which, after he had rattled over a little, he told them what sundry relics were left to the Church for the benefit of the people. 'Oh my masters and good friends', quoth he, 'parishioners and neighbours, you see that every city
 25 here about, nay through the whole world, hath some holy relic or other as a blessing belonging to their corporation, but our poor town of Bergamo hath had none. But E4^v
 now God hath considered of your estate, and hath sent you a richer and more holy than all the rest. Some town', quoth he, 'hath a piece of the cross, or of the nails, or

a piece of the sponge that reached Christ vinegar. At Rome there is the spear that pierced his side; at Venice the jawbone of St Mark, good for the falling evil; at Vienna the tooth of St Appolym, wholesome for the toothache; 5 at Pisa the hoof of St Loyes's horse, that healeth such kind of cattle; for the swine, St Anthony's bell; for the pose, St Dunstan's tongs; for the squinsey, St Martin's trough; for the eye sight, St Winifred's girdle; for the palsy, St Asaph's beads; and a thousand more 10 which are now needless to rehearse. But, good people, I have here for your comfort one of the feathers, yea, one of those holy and glorious feathers, that the angel Gabriel wore when he said "Ave Maria" to the mother of Christ. Old wives and aged men, yea, rich and poor, kneel 15 down, and with joy behold so great a miracle.'

With that they all fell upon their knees, and he pulled forth his box, and drew forth the case, which, when he heard rattle he marvelled; but when he put his hand in, and found nothing but coals, his heart was cold in 20 his belly, and he sweat for woe. Yet, having a knavish and a ready wit, he suddenly and upon the present shifted it thus: 'Good people', quoth he, 'I have missed of my box, and have left the wing of the angel Gabriel behind me; but I have here a relic no less precious than that, 25 which I thought not to show you before Easter day, and these be the coals that St Lawrence, the holy martyr, was broiled with', and with that he drew the charcoal out of his poke. 'These, parishioners', quoth he, 'even the very mark that is made with these, is good against all evil

spirits, against blasting and witchcraft, and, therefore, seeing it is the will of God I should show you these first, I will come down and mark you all with the holy relic of St Lawrence.' So he stepped down out of the pulpit F1
 5 and crossed them all, to his great profit and their content; for which cause, in that he mocked the people, he is appointed to stand in Purgatory with a coal in his mouth.

The vicar's tale of Bergamo being ended, I went further, and presently I espied a little door, whereout
 10 issued a most fearful noise, tempered with such far fetched sighs and grievous shrieks that it was a sound much to be pitied. The smallness of the voice discovered that they were women, whereupon I pressed more near the door and looked in at a little chink, and there I might
 15 see a company of beautiful women of all ages pitifully tormented, as sitting in a place full of smoke and stinking savours, and bitten continually about the hearts with scorpions. In all there were not above three of them, and yet they uttered as grievous laments as though
 20 there had been a thousand. I demanded why these were punished above the rest. They said they were such as died maids and kept their virginity without spots, that hated men, and for that they were so hard-hearted, they were adjudged to that sharp punishment.

25 Straight, as I cast mine eye up, I spied in a blind corner where a painter sat, having the picture of a rood hung before him, and every time he looked upon it he had three bastinadoes over the shoulders with a bell-rope. As of the rest so I inquired the cause of this,

and it was discoursed to me thus.

The tale of the painter of Doncaster, and why in
Purgatory he was beaten with a bell-rope

I know you are not ignorant how in King Edward VI's
5 days all popery and superstition was banished, and the
light of the gospel pulled from under the bushel where
it was covered, and the sight and comfort of all set
upon a hill; so that all his relics were abolished, and F1^V
his idols pulled down, and the Church, as near as they
10 could, cleansed from the dregs of such an Antichrist.
Whereupon, the painters that lived with such trash as
trimming of shrines and roods, altars and saints, and the
carvers that made such images, were fain, with Alexander
the copper-smith, to cry out against Paul and his doctrine,
15 having so little work that they almost forgot their
occupation. But when, for the sins of this land and
wickedness of the people, the Lord took away their good
king, and deprived them of the sweet manna of the gospel,
and sent them again Antichrist with all his traditions,
20 Queen Mary, lawful successor in the kingdom, made
proclamation that all those roods which were pulled down
should be set up again in every church.

Amongst the rest the church of Doncaster in
Yorkshire, desiring to be one of the foremost to signify
25 their obedience and devotion, in all haste sent for the
painter to make them a rood, and agreed upon the price.
Whereupon he went about his work, but, for that his hand
had been out of use by the space of six years, he had

forgot the lineaments of the visage, and the other wanted proportion, that he made it very hard-favoured. Yet as every man's work seems well to himself, he went forward withal, and set it up on a Saturday at night on the
 5 rood-loft.

On Sunday at mass there was old ringing of bells, and old and young came to church to see the new rood, which was so ill-favoured that all the parish disliked it, and the children they cried and were afraid of it. Upon
 10 this they fell in great displeasure with the painter, and when Monday came and he was with the chief of the parish for his money, they denied flatly to pay him any, because his work was so ill-wrought. He, upon that, called them before the mayor of the town, who was a man that favoured
 15 King Edward's religion as far as he durst, and to him the painter made his complaint that the parishioners, now that he had made their rood, would not pay him
 F2 his money. The mayor demanded of them why they denied him payment. They answered for that he had, like a
 20 bungler, made Christ so hard-favoured that it was not only unfit to stand in any church, but their children were afraid to look on it, so that every way it should greatly hinder devotion. 'But yet', quoth the mayor, 'the poor man hath done his goodwill. You must consider his hand
 25 hath been long out of use, and therefore there is no reason, though his cunning hath failed him, but you should pay him his money.' 'Well, sir', quoth they, 'at your request we will give him what our bargain^s was; but we must buy a new rood, and cannot tell what to do with the

old.' 'Marry, neighbours', quoth the mayor, 'if he
 will not serve you for a god, follow my advice, clap
 a pair of horns on his head, and I warrant you he will
 prove an excellent good devil.' 'And that, sir', quoth
 5 the painter, 'will I do over and beside their bargain.'

Thus were the poor parishioners of Doncaster mocked,
 and yet paid their money. But their vicar so dealt with
 bell, book and candle against the poor painter for
 making the ill-favoured rood, that he sits in Purgatory
 10 beaten with a bell-rope.

The tale of the painter being ended, passing a
 little further I might see where sat a crew of men that
 wore bay garlands on their heads, and they were poets;
 amongst which was old Ennius, Virgil, Juvenal, Propertius,
 15 and wanton Ovid, Martial, Horace, and many more which
 had written lascivious verse, or other heroical poems.
 But above them all I marked old Ronsard, and he sat there
 with a scroll in his hand, wherein was written the
 description of Cassandra, his mistress. And because his
 20 style is not common, nor have I heard our English poets
 write in that vein, mark it, and I will rehearse it, for
 I have learned it by heart.

Ronsard's description of his mistress, which he
wears in his hand in Purgatory

F2^v

25 Down I sat,
 I sat down

Where Flora had bestowed her graces.

Green it was,

It was green

Far surpassing other places,

For art and nature did combine

With sights to witch the gazer's eyne.

5 There I sat,

I sat there

Viewing of this pride of places.

Straight I saw,

I saw straight

10 The sweetest fair of all fair faces.

Such a face as did contain

Heaven's shine in every vein.

I did look,

Look did I,

15 And there I saw Apollo's wires,

Bright they were,

They were bright,

With them Aurora's head he tires.

But this I wondered, how that now

20 They shadowed in Cassandra's brow.

Still I gazed,

I gazed still,

Spying Luna's milk-white glass,

Comixed fine,

25 Fine comixed

With the morning's ruddy blaze.

This white and red their seating seeks

Upon Cassandra's smiling cheeks.

Two stars then,

5 Then two stars

Passing sun or moon in shine,

Appeared there,

There appeared,

And were forsooth my mistress' eyne;

10 From whence proud Cupid threw his fires

To set aflame all men's desires.

Breasts she had,

She had breasts,

White like the silver dove.

15 Lie there did,

There did lie

Cupid overgrown with love,

And in the vale that parts the plain

Pitched his tent, there to remain.

20 This was she,

She was this,

The fairest fair that e'er I see,

I did muse,

Muse did I

25 How such a creature found could be.

A voice replied from the air,
 'She alone and none so fair'.

This was Ronsard's description of his mistress, and he is forced to hold it in his hand, that every time he casts his eyes on it he may with sighs feel a secret torment, in that he once loved too much being alive.

A little above sat the ghost of a young gentlewoman that had been false to her husband. She should have been grievously tormented, but that she bestowed an annuity for three years pension upon a morrow-mass priest, who so laboured it with dirges, trentals, and masses ad requiem, that she had no other punishment but this, that her beautiful hair, wherein she so much delighted, and whose trammels was a train to entrap young gentlemen, that now was clipped off bare to the skull, and so she sat, ashamed and mourning. The cause, as I learned, was this.

Why the gentlewoman of Lyons sat with her hair
 clipped off in Purgatory

In the city of Lyons there dwelt a gentleman of good account amongst his neighbours, called Monsieur Perow. This gentleman, having lands and revenues sufficient to maintain his estate, thought fully to heap to himself content, and therefore sought out a young virgin of equal parentage to himself, with whom he had a sufficient dowry; and her he loved, and she liked him, and so they married, living in good estimation amongst their tenants.

As they were thus linked together in wedlock, so it seemed in outward appearance that they were so strictly tied in affection as no means might alienate. But women, whom nature hath framed to be inconstant, cannot be altered by nurture. The palm will grow straight though it be never so depressed, and a wanton will be a wanton were she married to Cupid; and so it proved by Maria, for so was the gentlewoman's name, who, because she was fair, had many suitors that attempted to be rivals with her husband in her love.

Amongst the rest, as she resolved to choose one, there was a young amorous youth of Lyons called Pierre. He sought divers means to creep into her favour, passed by her house and cast up looks that pleaded for pity, and had handed him again glances that foreshowed goodwill. Thus with interchange of favours they lived, Pierre seeking opportunity how to reveal his mind to Maria. At last as he walked one day forth the town, he saw where she was walking only with one of her maids. Taking, therefore, opportunity by the forehead, he stepped to her and began to court her with sundry protestations of his love, which had been long and so surely set as no despair could rase out, promising not only to be a faithful servant in constancy, but to be so careful of her honour as of his own life. 'And for your gravity, think, mistress', quoth he, 'that faults in affections are slight follies; that Venus hath shrines to shade her truants; and Cupid's wings are shelters for such as venture far to content their thoughts; unseen is half pardoned,

and love requires not chastity, but that her soldiers be chary.' Maria, hearing the wag thus play the orator, having love in her eyes and desire in heart, after a few faint denials, -thrusting him away with the little finger
 5 and pulling him to her with the whole hand, she granted him that favour to be called her servant. Graced thus, he grew in such credit that there was no man with Maria but Pierre.

Having thus a love beside her husband, although he
 10 was a fair man and well-featured, yet she found fault with him because he was a meacock and a milksop, not daring to draw his sword to revenge her wrongs. Wherefore she resolved to entertain some soldier, and so she did; for one Signor Lamberto, a brave gentleman but
 15 something hard-faced, sought her favour and found it, and him she entertained for her champion. Thus had she a white-livered Adonis to feed her eye with beauty, and a stout Hercules to revenge all her wrongs with his sword, and a poor husband to shadow both with his horns. Living
 20 thus contentedly in her own conceit.

Her husband went into the country to a farm of his, and thither with him he carried his wife, where he
 F4^V
 passed away many merry days in such pleasure as country sports can afford. At last, serious affairs forcing him
 25 to it, he rid his way for three or four days to certain of his friends there adjoining.

Maria, seeing her husband gone, thought not to let time slip nor to lose opportunity, and therefore the next day after sent for Pierre, who hasted as fast as might be

till he came to his mistress, where he had such friendly
entertainment as fitted both their humours. She caused
her maid to make great cheer, and as soon as it was
ready to dinner they went, where they were scarce set
5 but one knocked at the door. The maid looked out, and
it was Signor Lamberto. She ran and told her mistress,
who, fearful that he should see Pierre, or know of him,
hid him under the bed and commanded her maid to bid
Signor Lamberto come up; she, like a cunning courtesan,
10 giving him such favourable entertainment as though he
were the man whom above all other she made account of.
'Faith, sweet', quoth he, 'I heard thy husband was from
home, and so I took my nag and came galloping hither.'
'Set him into the stable', quoth the mistress. 'No',
15 quoth Signor Lamberto, 'let him be there still and bite
of the bridle, for my business is such as I will only dine
with you, and then bid you farewell', with that he sat
him down to dinner. Poor Pierre, lying close under the
bed, thinking every minute an hour till he were gone.
20 As thus they sat in their cups and were wantonly
quaffing one to another, came in the maid running, and
said her master came riding. At this Signor Lamberto
started up and was amazed, but the gentlewoman was in a
fear, that had two lovers at once in her house, and yet
25 could have hidden them both had it not been for the
horse that stood tied in the courtyard. Well, a shift
must be had, and where sooner than out of a woman's head.
'What shall I do?' quoth Signor Lamberto. 'Marry, I
pray you, good sweetheart', quoth she, 'to save your

own credit and mine, draw your sword and go down the stairs, and as you go swear and say that you shall find G1 a time and place more convenient, when you will be revenged to the uttermost.'

5 So he did, and by that time was the gentleman of the house come in, who marvelled to see a horse tied in the court, and therefore, alighting off, came up the stairs, and as he came, met Lamberto with his sword drawn and his face full of frowns, swearing when fitter time and 10 place should serve, he would revenge, and that with extremity. 'What is the matter?', quoth the master of the house, he answered nothing, but put up his sword, took horse, and away towards Lyons.

As soon as the gentleman came up he found his wife 15 amazed, sitting in the hall in the midst of the floor, as half beside herself. 'What is the matter, wife,', quoth he, 'that thou art so amazed, and that Signor Lamberto went down with his sword drawn in such a rage?' 'Ah, husband', quoth she, 'as I sat here at my work, came 20 running into the courtyard a proper young man, having thrown away his cloak and his hat, and desired me, as I tendered the state of a man, to save his life, for Signor Lamberto would kill him. I, pitying his case, stepped in and hid him in my bedchamber. With that Signor 25 Lamberto came galloping, dismounted in the court, and drawing his sword came running up, and would have broken open my chamber door, but that on my knees I entreated him to the contrary. At my request he went his way, frowning as you see, and so he is rode to Lyons. The

poor young man, alas, husband, lies hid under the bed in
great fear.' And this tale she told so loud, that Pierre
heard every word, and therefore had his lesson what he
should answer, smiling at the prompt wit of his mistress
5 that had so sudden a shift. 'Bid him come out, wife',
quoth he, then she opened the door, and Pierre he came
as one greatly affrighted from under the bed. The
gentleman, seeing him a proper young man and weaponless,
had pity on him, and said he was glad that his house
10 was a sanctuary for him, and greatly commended his wife G1^V
that she had saved him from the fury of Signor Lamberto,
whom all Lyons accounted a most desperate man. Upon this,
taking Pierre by the hand, they sat down to dinner, and
when they had taken their repast, the gentleman very
15 courteously conducted Pierre home to Lyons. Now for
because she was thus inconstant she, to qualify her pride
and insolency, sat in Purgatory with the punishment afore
rehearsed.

This tale being ended, I looked a little further,
20 and I might see where a young man and a young woman sat
together, naked from the middle upward, and a very old
man whipping of them with nettles. They, as persons
that little regarded his punishment, would often times
kiss, and then the old man, as one inwardly vexed,
25 would bestir all his strength to torment them. The reason
of this strange show was thus discoursed unto me.

The tale of the two lovers of Pisa, and why they
were whipped in Purgatory with nettles

In Pisa, a famous city of Italy, there lived a gentleman of good lineage and lands, feared as well for
 5 his wealth as honoured for his virtue, but, indeed, well thought on for both, yet the better for his riches. This gentleman had one only daughter, called Margaret, who for her beauty was liked of all and desired of many; but neither might their suits, nor her own eye, prevail
 10 about her father's resolution, who was determined not to marry her but to such a man as should be able in abundance to maintain the excellency of her beauty. G2

Divers young gentlemen proffered large feoffments, but in vain, a maid she must be still, till at last an
 15 old doctor in the town that professed physic became a suitor to her, who was a welcome man to her father in that he was one of the wealthiest men in all Pisa. A tall stripling he was, and a proper youth, his age about four score, his head as white as milk, wherein, for offence
 20 sake, there was left never a tooth. But it is no matter, what he wanted in person he had in the purse, which the poor gentlewoman little regarded, wishing rather to tie herself to one that might fit her content, though they lived meanly, than to him with all the wealth in Italy.
 25 But she was young, and forced to follow her father's direction, who upon large covenants was content his daughter should marry with the doctor; and whether she liked him or no, the match was made up, and in short time

she was married. The poor wench was bound to the stake,
 and had not only an old impotent man, but one that was
 so jealous as none might enter his house without
 suspicion, nor she do anything without blame. The least
 5 glance, the smallest countenance, any smile was a manifest
 instance to him that she thought of others better than
 himself: thus he himself lived in a hell, and tormented
 his wife in as ill perplexity.

At last it chanced that a young gentleman of the
 10 city, coming by her house and seeing her look out at
 her window, noting her rare and excellent proportion,
 fell in love with her, and that so extremely as his
 passions had no means till her favour might mitigate his
 heart sick discontent. The young man, that was ignorant
 15 in amorous matters, and had never been used to court any
 gentlewoman, thought to reveal his passions to some one
 friend that might give him counsel for the winning of her
 love, and, thinking experience was the surest master, on
 a day seeing the old doctor walking in the church, that
 20 was Margaret's husband, little knowing who he was, G2^V
 he thought this the fittest man to whom he might discover
 his passions, for that he was old and knew much, and was
 a physician that with his drugs might help him forward in
 his purposes. So that seeing the old man walk solitary
 25 he joined unto him, and after a courteous salute told
 him that he was to impart a matter of great import unto
 him, wherein if he would not only be secret, but endeavour
 to pleasure him, his pains should be every way to the full
 considered. 'You must imagine, gentleman', quoth Mutio

(for so was the doctor's name), 'that men of our profession are no blabs, but hold their secrets in their heart's bottom, and therefore reveal what you please, it shall not only be concealed, but cured, if either my art or
5 counsel may do it.'

Upon this Lionel, so was the young gentleman called, told and discoursed unto him, from point to point, how he was fallen in love with a gentlewoman that was married to one of his profession, discovering her dwelling and the
10 house, and, for that he was unacquainted with the woman, and a man little experienced in love matters, he required his favour to further him with his advice. Mutio at this motion was stung to the heart, knowing it was his wife he had fallen in love withal; yet to conceal the matter,
15 and to experience his wife's chastity, and that if she played false he might be revenged on them both, he dissembled the matter, and answered that he knew the woman very well, and commended her highly, but said she had a churl to her husband, and therefore he thought she
20 would be the more tractable. 'Try her, man', quoth he, 'faint heart never won fair lady, and if she will not be brought to the bent of your bow, I will provide such a potion as shall dispatch all to your own content; and to give you further instructions for opportunity, know
25 that her husband is forth every afternoon from three till six. Thus far I have advised you because I pity your passions as myself being once a lover, but now I charge thee reveal it to none whomsoever, lest it do disparage G3
my credit to meddle in amorous matters.' The young

gentleman not only promised all careful secrecy, but gave him hearty thanks for his good counsel, promising to meet him there the next day and tell him what news.

Then he left the old man, who was almost mad for fear his wife any way should play false. He saw by experience brave men came to besiege the castle, and seeing it was in a woman's custody, and had so weak a governor as himself, he doubted it would in time be delivered up, which fear made him almost frantic; yet he drived of the time in great torment till he might hear from his rival.

Lionello he hastes him home and suits him in his bravery, and goes down towards the house of Mutio, where he sees her at the window, whom he courted with a passionate look, with such a humble salute as she might perceive how the gentleman was affectionate. Margareta, looking earnestly upon him and noting the perfection of his proportion, accompted him in her eye the flower of all Pisa, thinking herself fortunate if she might have him for her friend, to supply those defaults that she found in Mutio.

Sundry times that afternoon he passed by her window, and he cast not up more loving looks than he received gracious favours, which did so encourage him, that the next day between three and six he went to her house, and knocking at the door, desired to speak with the mistress of the house, who, hearing by her maid's description what he was, commanded him to come in, where she entertained him with all courtesy. The youth, that never before had given the attempt to court a lady, began his exordium

with a blush; and yet went forward so well, that he
 discoursed unto her how he loved her, and that if it
 might please her so to accept of his service, as of a
 friend ever vowed in all duty to be at her command, the
 5 care of her honour should be dearer to him than his life,
 and he would be ready to prize her discontent with his ^{G3^v}
 blood at all times. The gentlewoman was a little coy,
 but before they passed they concluded that the next day
 at four of the clock he should come thither and eat a
 10 pound of cherries, which was resolved on with a succado
des labres, and so with a loath to depart they took their
 leaves.

Lionello, as joyful a man as might be, hied him to
 the church to meet his old doctor, where he found him
 15 in his old walk. 'What news, sir?', quoth Mutio, 'how
 have you sped?' 'Even as I can wish', quoth Lionello,
 'for I have been with my mistress, and have found her so
 tractable, that I hope to make the old peasant, her
 husband, look broad-headed by a pair of brow antlers.'
 20 How deep this struck into Mutio's heart let them imagine
 that can conjecture what jealousy is, insomuch that the
 old doctor asked when should be the time. 'Marry', quoth
 Lionello, 'tomorrow at four of the clock in the afternoon,
 and then, master doctor', quoth he, 'will I dub the old
 25 squire "knight of the forked order".'

Thus they passed on in chat till it grew late, and
 then Lionello went home to his lodging, and Mutio to his
 house, covering all his sorrows with a merry countenance,
 with full resolution to revenge them both the next day with

extremity. He passed the night as patiently as he could,
 and the next day after dinner away he went, watching when
 it should be four of the clock. At the hour just came
 Lionello, and was entertained with all courtesy; but
 5 scarce had they kissed ere the maid cried out to her
 mistress that her master was at the door, for he hasted,
 knowing that a horn was but a little while on grafting.
 Margaret, at this alarm, was amazed, but yet for a
 shift chopped Lionello into a great dry vat full of
 10 feathers, and sat her down close to her work. By that
 came Mutio in, blowing, and as though he came to look
 somewhat in haste, called for the keys of his chambers, G4
 and looked in every place, searching so narrowly in every
 corner of the house, that he left not the very privy
 15 unsearched. Seeing he could not find him, he said nothing,
 but feigning himself not well at ease, stayed at home, so
 that poor Lionello was fain to stay in the dry vat till
 the old churl was in bed with his wife, and then the
 maid let him out at a back door, who went home with a
 20 flea in his ear to his lodging.

Well, the next day he went again to meet his doctor,
 whom he found in his wonted walk. 'What news?', quoth
 Mutio, 'how have you sped?' 'A pox of the old slave',
 quoth Lionello, 'I was no sooner in, and had given my
 25 mistress one kiss, but the jealous ass was at the door.
 The maid spied him, and cried her master, so that the poor
 gentlewoman for very shift was fain to put me in a dry
 vat of feathers that stood in an old chamber, and there
 I was fain to tarry while he was in bed and asleep, and

then the maid let me out and I departed. But it is no matter, 'twas but a chance, and I hope to cry quittance with him ere it be long.' 'As how?', quoth Mutio.

'Marry, thus', quoth Lionello, 'she sent me word by her
5 maid this day that upon Thursday next the old churl
suppeth with a patient of his a mile out of Pisa, and
then I fear not but to quit him for all.' 'It is well',
quoth Mutio, 'Fortune be your friend.' 'I thank you',
quoth Lionello, and so after a little more prattle they
10 departed.

To be short, Thursday came, and about six of the clock
forth goes Mutio, no further than a friend's house of his,
from whence he might descry who went into his house.
Straight he saw Lionello enter in, and after goes he,
15 insomuch that he was scarcely sitten down before the maid
cried out again, 'My master comes!'. The goodwife, G4^v
that before had provided for afterclaps, had found out
a privy place between two ceilings of a placher, and there
she thrust Lionello, and her husband came sweating. 'What
20 news', quoth she, 'drives you home again so soon, husband?'
'Marry, sweet wife', quoth he, 'a fearful dream that I
had this night which came to my remembrance, and that was
this: methought there was a villain that came secretly
into my house with a naked poinard in his hand, and hid
25 himself, but I could not find the place. With that mine
nose bled, and I came back, and by the grace of God I
will seek every corner in the house for the quiet of my
mind.' 'Marry, I pray you do, husband', quoth she. With
that he looked in all the doors and began to search every

chamber, every hole, every chest, every tub, the very
 well, he stabbed every feather bed through, and made
 havoc like a madman, which made him think all was in
 vain, and he began to blame his eyes that thought they saw
 5 that which they did not. Upon this he rest half lunatic,
 and all night he was very wakeful, that towards the
 morning he fell into a dead sleep, and then was Lionello
 conveyed away.

In the morning when Mutio wakened, he thought how by
 10 no means he should be able to take Lionello tardy, yet
 he laid in his head a most dangerous plot, and that was
 this. 'Wife', quoth he, 'I must the next Monday ride to
 Vicenza to visit an old patient of mine. Till my return,
 which will be some ten days, I will have thee stay at
 15 our little grange house in the country.' 'Marry, very
 well content, husband', quoth she. With that he kissed
 her, and was very pleasant, as though he had suspected
 nothing, and away he flings to the church, where he meets
 Lionello. 'What, sir', quoth he, 'what news? Is your
 20 mistress yours in possession?'. 'No, a plague of the old
 slave', quoth he, 'I think he is either a witch, or else
 works by magic, for I can no sooner enter in the doors
 but he is at my back, and so he was again yesternight, H1
 for I was not warm in my seat before the maid cried, 'My
 25 master comes', and then was the poor soul fain to convey
 me between two ceilings of a chamber, in a fit place for
 the purpose, where I laughed heartily to myself to see
 how he sought every corner, ransacked every tub, and
 stabbed every feather bed. But in vain, I was safe enough

till the morning and then when he was fast asleep I slipped out.' 'Fortune frowns on you', quoth Mutio.

'Ay, but I hope', quoth Lionello, 'this is the last time, and now she will begin to smile; for on Monday next he
5 rides to Vicenza, and his wife lies at a grange house a little of the town, and there in his absence I will revenge all forepassed misfortunes.' 'God send it to be so', quoth Mutio, and so took his leave.

These two lovers longed for Monday, and at last it
10 came. Early in the morning Mutio horsed himself and his wife, his maid, and a man, and no more, and away he rides to his grange house, where, after he had broke his fast, he took his leave, and away towards Vicenza. He rode not far ere, by a false way, he returned into a thicket, and
15 there with a company of country peasants lay in an ambuscado to take the young gentleman.

In the afternoon comes Lionello galloping, and as soon as he came within sight of the house he sent back his horse by his boy, and went easily afoot, and there
20 at the very entry was entertained by Margaret, who led him up the stairs, and conveyed him into her bedchamber, saying he was welcome into so mean a cottage. 'But', quoth she, 'now I hope Fortune shall not envy the purity of our loves.' 'Alas, alas, mistress', cried the maid,
25 'here is my master and a hundred men with him, with bills and staves.' 'We are betrayed', quoth Lionello, 'and I am but a dead man.' 'Fear not', quoth she, 'but follow me', and straight she carried him down into a low parlour, where stood an old rotten chest full of writings. She

put him into that, and covered him with old papers and evidences, and went to the gate to meet her husband.

'Why, Signor Mutio, what means this hurly-burly?', quoth she. 'Vile and shameless strumpet as thou art, thou shalt know by and by', quoth he. 'Where is thy love? All we have watch him and seen he enter in. 'Now', H1^v quoth he, 'shall neither thy tub of feathers, nor thy ceiling serve, for perish he shall with fire, or else fall into my hands.' 'Do thy worst, jealous fool', quoth she, 'I ask thee no favour.' With that, in a rage, he beset the house round, and then set fire on it.

Oh in what a perplexity was poor Lionello that was shut in a chest, and the fire about his ears; and how was Margaret passionate, that knew her lover in such danger. Yet she made light of the matter, and as one in a rage called her maid to her, and said, 'Come on, wench, seeing thy master, mad with jealousy, hath set the house and all my living on fire, I will be revenged upon him. Help me here to lift this old chest where all his writings and deeds are, let that burn first, and as soon as I see that on fire I will walk towards my friends; for the old fool will be beggared and I will refuse him.' Mutio, that knew all his obligations and statutes lay there, pulled her back, and bade two of his men carry the chest into the field and see it were safe, himself standing by and seeing his house burned down stick and stone.

Then quieted in his mind he went home with his wife, and began to flatter her, thinking assuredly that he had burned her paramour; causing his chest to be carried in a

cart to his house at Pisa. Margaret impatient went to her mother's, and complained to her and to her brethren of the jealousy of her husband, who maintained it to be true, and desired but a day's respite to prove it.

5 Well, he was bidden to supper the next night at her mother's, she thinking to make her daughter and him friends again. In the meantime he to his wonted walk in the church, and there, praeter expectationem, he found Lionello walking. Wondering at this, he straight
 10 inquires what news. 'What news, master doctor', quoth he, and fell in a great laughing, 'in faith, yesterday I scaped a scouring. For, sirrah, I went to the grange house, where I was appointed to come, and I was no sooner gotten up the chamber but the magical villain her
 15 husband beset the house with bills and staves, and, that he might be sure no ceiling nor corner should shroud me, he set the house on fire and so burnt it down to the H2 ground.' 'Why', quoth Mutio, 'and how did you escape?' 'Alas', quoth he, 'well fare a woman's wit. She conveyed
 20 me into an old chest full of writings, which she knew her husband durst not burn, and so I was saved and brought to Pisa, and yesternight by her maid let home to my lodging.' 'This', quoth he, 'is the pleasantest jest that ever I heard, and upon this I have a suit to you.
 25 I am this night bidden forth to supper, you shall be my guest, only I will crave so much favour as after supper, for a pleasant sport, to make relation what success you have had in your loves.' 'For that I will not stick', quoth he, and so he carried Lionello to his mother-in-law's

house with him, and discovered to his wife's brethren
 who he was, and how at supper he would disclose the
 whole matter, 'for', quoth he, 'he knows not that I am
 Margaret's husband.' At this all the brethren bade him
 5 welcome, and so did the mother too, and Margaret she
 was kept out of sight.

Supper time being come, they fell to their victuals,
 and Lionello was caroused unto by Mutio, who was very
 pleasant to draw him to a merry humour, that he might
 10 to the full discourse the effect and fortunes of his love.
 Supper being ended, Mutio requested him to tell to the
 gentlemen what had happened between him and his mistress.
 Lionello, with a smiling countenance, began to describe
 his mistress, the house and the street where she dwelt,
 15 how he fell in love with her, and how he used the counsel
 of this doctor, who in all his affairs was his secretary.

Margaret heard all this with great fear, and when
 he came at the last point she caused a cup of wine to be
 given him by one of her sisters, wherein was a ring that
 20 he had given Margaret. As he had told how he escaped
 burning, and was ready to confirm all for a truth, the
 gentlewoman drunk to him, who taking the cup and seeing
 the ring, having a quick wit and a reaching head, spied
 the fetch, and perceived that all this while this was
 25 his lover's husband, to whom he had revealed these
 escapes. At this, drinking the wine and swallowing the
 ring into his mouth, he went forward. 'Gentlemen', quoth
 he, 'how like you of my loves and my fortunes?'. H2^v
 'Well', quoth the gentlemen, 'I pray you, is it true?'

'As true', quoth he, 'as if I would be so simple as to reveal what I did to Margaret's husband, for know you, gentlemen, that I knew this Mutio to be her husband whom I notified to be my lover, and for that he was generally
 5 known through Pisa to be a jealous fool, therefore with these tales I brought him into this Paradise, which indeed are follies of mine own brain; for trust me, by the faith of a gentleman, I never spake to the woman, was never in her company, neither do I know her if I see
 10 her.'

At this they all fell in a laughing at Mutio, who was ashamed that Lionello had so scoffed him. But all was well, they were made friends; but the jest went so to his heart that he shortly after died, and Lionello
 15 enjoyed the lady. And for that they two were the death of the old man, now are they plagued in Purgatory, and he whips them with nettles.

As soon as I had passed over these two of Pisa, I looked about and saw many more, as mad and pleasant as
 20 the rest. But my time was come that I must to the judge to be censured, what punishment I should have myself for all the mad wanton tricks that I did when I was alive. Faith, at last, because they knew I was a boon companion, they appointed that I should sit and play jigs all day
 25 on my tabor to the ghosts without ceasing; which hath brought me into such use that I now play far better than when I was alive, for proof thou shalt hear a hornpipe.'

With that, putting his pipe to his mouth, the first stroke he struck I started, and with that I waked,

and saw such concourse of people through the fields
that I knew the play was done. Whereupon, rising up
and smiling at my dream, and after supper took my pen and
as near as I could set it down, but not half so pleasantly
5 as he spoke it, but howsoever, take it in good part,
and so farewell.

Finis

Commentary

This Commentary aims to provide information about points in the text, and to explain obscure references. Words which are not defined in The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 6th edition (Oxford, 1976) are glossed. Any emendations to the text from the second and third editions are noted. Phrases which are included as proverbs by M.P. Tilley in his A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries are noted. Phrases from the works of Greene and Nashe (and occasionally of other authors) which echo, or are echoed by, Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie are recorded without comment. Halliwell's notes from his edition of the work are reproduced where relevant. Volume and page references to Nashe's works are to R.B. McKerrow's edition. References to the works of other sixteenth and seventeenth century authors are to the earliest available edition, unless otherwise stated. Biblical quotations are taken from the Bishop's version of 1568. The following works are cited in the Commentary with shortened or abbreviated titles:

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Jacobus de Varagine, Thus endeth the legende named in latyn Legenda aurea that is to saye in englysshe the golden legende (Westminster, 1527).

Commentary

p.280, 3 handed] led by the hand (OED 3).

5 censure] 'A judicial sentence; esp. a condemnatory judgement' (OED 1).

5 freshwater] untrained, raw (OED 2b).

Alcida, C2^V: he marched under the standard of fancy, being but a fresh water souldier.

6 So fareth it with me]

Menaphon, *2^V: It fareth with mee Gentlemen, as with Batillus

Orpharion, A4^V: So fared it with mee

See also: Nashe, The Anatomie of Absurditie, i, 9
Pierce Penillesse, i, 240
Summers Last Will and Testamant,
iii, 234.

8-9 feared with the owl to fly before it be twilight]

See 'the crow's tale' in Ovid's Metamorphoses:

The wicked wretch Nyctyminee (who late for
lacke of grace
Was turned to an odious birde) to honor called
bee?
I pray thee didst thou never heare how false
Nyctyminee
(A thing all over Lesbos knowne) defilde hir
fathers couch?
The beast is now become a birde: whose lewdnesse
doth so touch
And pricke hir guiltie conscience, that she
dares not come in sight,
Nor shewe hirselfe abrode a days, but fleeteth
in the night

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For shame least folke should see hir fault:
and every other birde
Doth in the Ayre and Iwie toddes with wondring
at hir girde. (II, 742-51)

This could also be a reference to the popular
belief that the owl cannot see in daylight.

- 11 shrouding every scape with silence]
Disputation, D1^V: shroude my name with silence
Vision, C2: thinking best to smother sorrow with
silence

See also: Alcida, H1; Disputation, E2; Perimedes,
F1; Philomela, F1, F2.

- 11 scape] a clerical error (OED 3).

- 14-16 though I be blind Bayard yet I will in the thickest
of the mire plunge up to the saddle for your sakes]

Tilley B112: 'Who so bold (As bold) as blind
Bayard?'

'Alluded to in many phrases and proverbial sayings,
the origin of which was in later times forgotten,
and 'Bayard' taken as the type of blindness or
blind recklessness' (OED 2c).

M. Garment, K3^V: I have (like blinde Bayard)
plodded forward

Vision, C2: yet as blinde Baiard wil iumpe soonest
into the mire

See also: C. Amor, A3; Euphues his censure, L1;
Mamillia I, A2/A2v.

- 16 Virgil afore he wrote his Aeneidos wrote his Culex]
Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 B.C.). In the Middle

p.280

Ages Virgil came to be regarded with superstitious reverence, and was thought to be an early Messianic prophet. Dante chose him to be his guide through Inferno and Purgatorio. Aeneidos is Virgil's epic of the Trojan hero Aeneas after the fall of Troy, and of the foundation of Rome. It was particularly important to Elizabethans as the English thought themselves to be descended from the Trojans, the legendary first king of Britain being Aeneas's great-grandson, Brut. Culex is a poem traditionally thought to have been an early work of Virgil's, though this attribution is now disputed. It tells of a shepherd killing a gnat that has stung him to warn him of the approach of a snake. Later the ghost of the insect appears and reproaches him, and describes the torments and the blessings of the underworld. It was translated by Spenser and published as Virgil's Gnat in 1591.

17 [he] assayed in trifles afore he attempted in triumphs]

trifle 'A literary work, light or trivial in style' (OED 4).

triumph 'a signal success or achievement' (OED 2).

Alcida, A3^v: to purge melancholly with toyes, then for any delight in such trifles

Pandosto, A2: The minde is sometimes delighted as much with small trifles as with sumptuous triumphs.

See also: Carde of Fancie, Biii^v; Mamillia I, A3; Morando I, A3v; Never Too Late, A3; Vision, E1.

p.280, 18-19 Lucan wrote Quaedam Lyrica before he began with Bellum per Emathios plusquam Civilia campos]

Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39-65 B.C.). Quaedam Lyrica ('Certain Lyrics') is presumably one of Lucan's many lost works, though it could be a general reference to unnamed early works. Bellum per Emathios plusquam Civilia campos ('Wars worse than civill on Thessalian playnes') is the opening line of Lucan's one surviving work, Pharsalia, an unfinished epic, the first book of which was translated by Marlowe, and published in 1600.

19-20 Rome was not builded in a day] Tilley R163: 'Rome was not built in one day'.

20 men that venture little hazard little] A variation on the usual proverb 'Nothing venture nothing have' (Tilley N319), or, 'Nothing venture nothing win' (Tilley N320). It is perhaps closer in meaning to 'He incurs no danger that comes not where it is' (Tilley D32).

21 toy of Tarlton's] 'A fantastic or trifling speech or piece of writing' (OED I 3). This could be a reference to Tarltons Toyes, a lost work, presumably by Tarlton, licenced to Richard Jones on 10 December 1576 [Arber, ii, 306].

Nashe, Pierce Penillesse, i, 153: I confesse it to be a meer toy

Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 233: I that have a toy in my head more then ordinary

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Nashe, The Terrors of the Night, i, 343: the first
yere of the reigne of Tarltons toies

See also: Nashe, The Anatomie of Absurditie, i, 46
Summers Last Will and Testament,
iii, 323.

24 crepundia] 'a rattle', here with the plural sense
of 'toys' or 'playthings'.

25 facetiae] 'humorous sayings or writings' (OED).

The word is particularly associated with the
Liber Facetiarum of Poggio Bracciolini, one of
the sources of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.

M. Garment, B3: full of such wittie facetiae and
affable sentences.

25 quicquid salis] 'something witty (lit. 'salty')'

27 Momus] 'Fault-finding personified, a literary
figure, hardly mythological' (Oxford Classical
Dictionary). In Elizabethan literature he is
sometimes associated with Martin Marprelate, e.g.
by Nashe in his Preface to Menaphon, 'the most
poysonous Pasquil any durty mouthed Martin or
Momus ever composed' (iii, 315).

Mamillia I, G3^V: Momus onely found this fault

Mamillia II, Aiii^V: Well (Gentlemen) let Momus
mocke, and Zoilus envie

See also: Lodge, Rosalynde, A4^V.

p.280, 28

Zoilus] 'Zoilus of Amphipolis (4th c. B.C.), the cynic philosopher ... was notorious for the bitterness of his attacks on Isocrates, Plato, and especially Homer' (Oxford Classical Dictionary).

Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 281: nor Zoylus anie more flurt Homer, nor Thersites fling at Agamemnon

Christs Teares, ii, 183: The ploddinger sort of unlearned Zoilists about London exclaim that it is a puft-up stile, and full of prophane eloquence.

Momus and Zoilus are usually linked and appear as a pair.

M. Garment, K3/K3^v: I know MOMUS will looke at it narrowly, and say there is too little cloth, ZOILUS with his squint eyes will finde fault with the shape, so shall I be bitten both for matter and method.

Nashe, The Terrors of the Night, i, 343: Martin Momus and splaiefooted Zoylus, that in the eight and sixt age of Poetrie and first yere of the reigne of Tarltons toies, kept a foule stir in Poules Church-yard.

p.281, 1

wordmongers] those who deal in words, 'esp. in strange or pedantic words, or in empty words without sense or substance' (OED). This occurrence is cited as the earliest example in OED.

2 that like the vipers grew odious to their own kind]

See Pliny's Naturalis Historia, X, lxxxii:

Snakes mate by embracing, intertwining so closely that they could be taken to be a single animal with two heads. The male viper inserts its head into the female viper's mouth, and the female is so enraptured with pleasure that she gnaws it off. The viper is the only land

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animal that bears eggs inside it; they are of one colour and soft like fishes' roe. After two days she hatches the young inside her uterus, and then bears them at the rate of one a day, to the number of about twenty; the consequence is that the remaining ones get so tired of the delay that they burst open their mother's sides, so committing matricide.

See also: Herodotus's History, III, 109.

p.282, 2-5, 21-22 Sorrowing as most men do for the death of Richard Tarlton, in that his particular loss was a general lament to all that coveted either to satisfy their eyes with his clownish gesture, or their ears with his witty jests yet at last, as the longest summer's day hath his night, so this dump had an end]

c.f.

A Maidens Dreame (from the Dedicatory Epistle to Lady Elizabeth Hatton):

Mourning as well as many, (right worshipfull ladie,) for the late losse of the right honorable your deceased unckle, whose death being the common preiudice of the present age, was lamented of most (if not all), and I among the rest sorrowing that my Countrie was deprived of him Passing over many daies in this muse, at last I perceived mens humors slept...

2 the death of Richard Tarlton] 3 September 1588.

6-9 the wonted desire to see plays left me, in that although I saw as rare shows, and heard as lofty verse, yet I enjoyed not those wonted sports that flowed from him as from a fountain..]

This passage is contradicted a few lines further down:

I mourned in conceit, and absented myself from all plays as wanting that merry Roscius of players
(lines 17-19).

p.282, 13-14 that salem ingenii which Tully so highly commends in his Orator]

Tully is Marcus Tullius Cicero (196-43 B.C.), whose Orator, written in 46 B.C., describes the ideal orator and outlines a scheme for his education. The second edition of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie reads 'Oratorie', perhaps intending a reference to Cicero's De Oratore. Halliwell gives the reference 'Lib. i,c. 25', which is close to the meaning of 'salem ingenii' (salt of wit), but the actual words do not appear in the Orator.

Royal Exchange, Aii: Tullie in his Orator

Nashe, Preface to Menaphon, iii, 312: that temperatum dicendi genus which Tully in his Orator termeth true eloquence.

See also: Euphues his censure, A2^v.

Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 268.

- 14 either natural, or artificial, or both] See pages 251-52.
- 16 wellwishers] wellwisher - 'one who wishes well to another' (OED). This occurrence is cited as the earliest example in OED.
- 17 in conceit] conceit - 'A (morbid) affection or seizure of the body or mind: esp. in phrase To take a conceipt: to become affected, to sicken, etc.' (OED IV 11). Used here to convey the intensity of the narrator's grief.

p.282, 19 Roscius] Roscius Gallus Quintus, a Roman actor of enormous popularity whose name became typical for a consummate artist. Like Tarlton he was supreme in comedy, though he also played tragic parts, and he had a squint. (from Oxford Classical Dictionary). John Stradling calls Tarlton the British Roscius (Epigrammatum Libri Quattuor, 1607, sig. A8), and the two are associated by Dr Case (Politikes, VII, xvii) and Sir Richard Baker (Chronicle, p.581).

F. Fortunes, B4^V: in the daies of Tully on Roscius grewe to be of such exquisite perfection in his facultie

Frier B. & B., D3: Strange comick showes, such as proud Roscius
Vaunted before the Romane Emperour

Nashe, Preface to Menaphon, iii, 324: the deserved reputation of one Roscius is of force to enrich a rabble of counterfeits

Pierce Penillesse, i, 215: but our Sceane is more statelye furnisht than ever it was in the time of Roscius

See also: F. Fortunes, B4^V-C1; Mamillia I, F4; Menaphon, *2v.

Nashe, Pierce Penillesse, i, 153, 215.

20 pleasant and extempore invention] The most famous characteristic of Tarlton's acting, hence the word 'Tarltonize' coined by Gabriel Harvey.

21 as the longest summer's day hath his night]
Tilley D90: 'The longest Day has an end'.

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Pen. Web, B1^V: the longest Sommer hath his Autumne
Planetomachia, J1: as the longest sommers daye
 hath his evening

22 dump] 'A fit of melancholy or depression' (OED 2).
 Tilley D640: 'To be in the dumps'. Nowadays the
 word 'dumps' has a slightly humourous overtone.

22-23 upon Whit Monday last] either 19 May 1589, or
 7 June 1590.

23 the Theatre] According to E.K. Chambers:

The Theatre stood in the Liberty of Halliwell
 or Holywell, part of the Middlesex parish of
 St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, immediately outside
 the Bishopsgate entrance to the City there
 was no right of way through Rutland's holding
 from Holywell Lane, an entrance was made through
 the wall direct from Finsbury fields. The
 Theatre itself, indeed, was sometimes loosely
 spoken of as 'in the fields' [he cites Tarltons
Newes Out of Purgatorie as an example].

(The Elizabethan Stage, ii,
 384-86)

References to Tarlton acting at the Theatre show
 that the Queen's Men played there, and Martin's
Month's Mind indicates that they were there in
 1589. The Admiral's Men were there in 1590-91
 (The Elizabethan Stage, ii, 395). It cannot be
 determined which company the narrator planned to
 see.

24 I found such concourse of unruly people]
 Tarlton's ghost comments on such theatre crowds
 in Chettle's Kind-harts Dreame:

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And lette Tarleton intreate the yoong people of the Cittie, either to abstaine altogether from playes, or at their comming thither to use themselves after a more quiet order.

In a place so civill as this Cittie is esteemed, it is more than barbarously rude, to see the shamefull disorder and routes that sometime in such publike meetings are used.
(sig. E4)

28 Dame Anne of Cleere's Well] 'Somewhat North from Holywell, is one other well curbed square with stone, and is called Dame Annis the cleare' (John Stow's A Survey of London, edited by C.L. Kingsford, i, 16).

A spring called Dame Annis de Cleare, called by the name of a rich London widow, called Annis Cleare, who, matching herself with a riotous courtier in the time of Edward I, who vainely consumed all her wealth, and leaving her in much povertie, there she drowned herself, being then but a shallow ditch or running water.
(The Pleasant walks of Moore Fields: a dialogue between a Country Gentleman and a Citizen, 1607; Kingsford, ii, 273)

Disputation, C4^v: Shordish wold complaine to dame Anne a Cleare

p.283, 1

Hoxton] 'Hogsdon or Hogsden, district N. of London, W. of Kingsland Rd., and N. of Old Street Rd. Stow describes it in 1598 as "a large st. with houses on both sides". The H. Fields were a favourite place for afternoon jaunts by the Londoners, & they were also used as a drilling-ground for the Trainbands.' (Sugden).

5-7 one attired in russet with a buttoned cap on his head, a great bag by his side, and a strong bat in his hand, so artificially attired for a clown]

p.283 For full discussion of Tarlton's costume see pages 46-49.

russet] A cloth traditionally associated with clowns, e.g. 'the roges were ready, the ruffians were rude, theyr clownes cladde as well with country condition, as in ruffe russet' (William Rankins, The Mirrour of Monsters, 1587, sig. Ciii).

a great bag] 'A large purse or wallet at the girdle is a very ancient part of the fool's dress' (Douce, p.514). There is an old tradition of carrying away a fool in a cloakebag, referred to by Nashe, 'Then fetch us a cloake-bagge, to carry away your selfe in' (Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 262), and by Armin, 'They say he goes in collours, as one strangely affected, and I goe in Motly making my own cloakebag ready (A Nest of Ninnies, sig. A2^V).

a strong bat] This seems too early a reference to be to Harlequin's slapstick. Douce (p.509) quotes an inventory of goods of the ancient Co. of St. George at Norwich from Blomefield's History of Norfolk, ii, 737, 'two habits, one for the club-bearer, another for his man, who are now called fools'.

C. Amor, J1: with a great batte on his neck - bat meaning 'staff' here.

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a buttoned cap] 'A cap with a round or square close beret-shaped crown, and a button on the top for securing the side flaps when present' (A Dictionary of English Costume 900-1900).

Nashe, Pierce Penilesse, i, 163: a sage butten-cap
Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 262,
such countrey button'd caps as you

The Terrors of the Night, i, 352: that love
gold and a buttond cap above heaven.

9 he came within the compass of mine eye]

Conny-Catching 2, E2: within the compasse of their
reache

Philomela, B2^V: came within the compasse of his
thoughts

See also: F. to Folly, D3; Never Too Late, D2^V;
Pen. Web, E2^v.

15-16 a man or a mouse?] Tilley M297: 'A man or a mouse'.
A proverb supposedly illustrating the extremes of
courage and cowardice.

F. Fortunes, G1^V: Why, Eurymachus, a man or a mouse?

16-17 Hast thou not heard me verify that a soldier is a
soldier if he have but a blue hose on his head?]

Tilley M244: 'A man is a man though he have but a
hose on his head'. Tarlton's version of the
proverb may have some reference to blue caps and
coats being worn by soldiers.

18 quaint it] to assume a comical prim air (OED 2).

p.283, 18-19 that could quaint it in the Court, and clown it on the stage]

F. Fortunes, C1: to brave it in the streets, as they bragge it on the stage

F. Fortunes, C4: boast it in the towne, not brave in the field

21 prejudice] injure (OED I 1b).

23-24 familiares lares] 'The tutelary deities of a house, household gods, domestic Lares (whose images stood on the hearth in a little shrine, aedes, or in a small chapel, lararium)' (Lewis & Short II).

Lavater, sig. Aii (p.3): Thus sayeth Apuleius, Of those Lemures, he that hath care of hys posteritie, and inhabiteth the house with a peaceable and quiet kinde of rule, was called Lar familiaris, god of the house.

See also: Nashe, The Terrors of the Night, i, 347, and iv, 199.

25 Hob Thrust] 'A goblin' (OED). This is the earliest example cited by OED. 'Hob' is a rustic diminutive of Robert or Robin, and this name is sometimes substituted for 'Robin Goodfellow'.

25-26 Robin Goodfellow] 'A sportive and capricious elf or goblin believed to haunt the English country-side in the 16-17th centuries; also called Hobgoblin or Puck' (OED 1). Here the name is used in a general sense for a goblin of this kind. 'Robin Goodfellow' is the publisher of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, according to the title page, and

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answers the challenge of The Cobler of Caunterburie in an Epistle in that work.

26-27 spirits, as they term them, of the buttery] The only meaning of this expression offered by OED is 'the spirit of wine' (1c). Nashe uses it in Strange Newes (i, 324), and in his note (iv, 192) McKerrow gives only two other examples, this one, and one from The Cobler of Caunterburie (sig. A4^v). The expression is again linked with Robin Goodfellow at the end of Greenes newes both from Heaven and Hell (1593), when Greene's ghost threatens to become both of these spirits: 'I will sometimes bee a spirite of the Buttery Sometimes I will bee Robin Goodfellowe' (sig. H3). Heywood describes such spirits in The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells (1635):

Hast thou not heard tell
Of Buttry-Spirits, who in those places dwell
Where cous'nage is profest? Needs must you waine
In your estate, when such devour your gaine.
"All such as study fraud, and practise evill,
"Do only starve themselves, to plumpe the Devill."
(sig. Ccclv)

p.284, 5

In nomine Jesu] 'In the name of Jesus'

5 avoid] Here used as an imperative, 'depart!', the verb means 'To send or drive away' (OED II 5).

5-6 ghost thou art none, but a very devil] c.f. Hamlet's fears about his father's ghost. Lavater explains

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this fear,

But it is no difficult matter for the devil
to appeare in divers shapes, not only of
those which are alive, but also of deade menne
(sig. Xiv, p.167)

- 6-13 For the soules of them which are departed ...
never return into the world again till the general
resurrection. For either are they placed in
Heaven ... or else they are in Hell]

c.f. Lavater,

And that the soules both of the faithfull &
unfaithful, which presently after their death
are translated to heaven or hel, do not returne
thence into the earth before the day of the
last iudgement (sig. Pii, p.115)

For first the soules of the blyssed need no
aide or help yt men can give them: & on the
other side, the damned sort can no way be
releved. (sig. Piii_v, p.118)

- 12 Alleluia to the highest] Halliwell gives the
reference 'Revelation, c.xix'.
- 14 aphorism] According to Nashe, 'That word
Aphorismes Greenes Exequutors may claime from him;
for while hee liv'd he had no goods nor chattles
in commoner use than it.' (Have With You to
Saffron-Walden, iii, 44). The word occurs in the
following of Greene's works: Vision (6 times);
Euphues his censure; Menaphon (twice); Perimedes;
C. Amor; Royal Exchange (3 times); Never Too Late
(4 times); Alcida; M. Garment (5 times); Conny-
Catching 2; Orpharion; Frier B. & Frier B. (6 times).

p.284, 14 . ab inferis nulla est redemptio] Tilley R60: 'There is no redemption from hell'.

Repentance, B2^V: concluding all in this of the Psalmes: Ab inferis nulla est redemptio

Nashe, Nashes Lenten Stuffe, iii, 192: so ab inferno nulla redemptio, he is falne backward into hell

In his note McKerrow cites Harington's

Metamorphosis of Ajax (1596, ed.1814, p.79),

As for that scripture, ex inferno nulla redemptio, I have heard it oft alleged by great clerks; but I think it is in the Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, or in Nicodemus' Gospel: for I never yet could find it in the Bible.

He also points out that, 'In Hickscorner, l.785-6, it is attributed to Job' (iv, 403). Langland also associates the phrase with Job,

For þat is ones in helle out comeþ [it] nevere.
Iob þe [parfit] patriark repreueþ þi sawes:
Quia in Inferno nulla est redempcio.

(Piers Plowman, B text, xviii, 147-9)

19 whoreson] a term of abuse, here used with jocular familiarity (OED 1a).

19 non plus] 'A state in which no more can be said or done' (OED A 1a).

Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 324: are not we set non plus

See also: Nashe, Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 236, 290.

Have With You to Saffron-Walden, iii, 107.

p.284, 21 choplogic] 'Sophistical or contentious argument'
(OED 1).

Quip, B4^v: his choplogicke was not woorth a pinne

Disputation, B1^v: your choplodgicke hath no great
subtiltie for simple .

21 tewslite] This is the only example of the word
known to OED, which describes it as 'Obs. nonce-wd.'.
Halliwell glosses it 'to perplex', which conveys
the meaning in this context.

21-22 as good as George-a-Greene] Tilley G83: 'As good
as George of Green'. This is an early occurrence
of the proverb, which implies that no matter who
or what a person is the speaker's attitude or
reaction will not be affected. There is also a
play George a Greene, the pinner of Wakefield, first
published in 1599, which is sometimes attributed
to Robert Greene.

22 I would not take the foil at your hands] Halliwell
(page xi) quotes a fragment of the register of a
School of Defence which records that on 23 October
1587 'Mr. Tarlton, ordenary grome off her majestes
chamber' was admitted to the degree of Master of
Fence. He illustrates the prestige of this title
by quoting Marston's The Mountebank's Masque
(Works, iii, 429), 'A Master of Fence is more
honourable than a Master of Arts; for good fighting

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was before good writing'.

23-24 I perceive by your arguments your inward opinion,
and by your wise discretion what pottage you love]

Tilley N227: 'One may know by his nose (looks,
face) what pottage (porridge) he loves'.

Alcida, D1^V: I perceive ... what lettice you love

Disputation, F2^V: I gesse by his noase what
porredge hee loved

25 risp] 'A bush, branch, or twig' (OED). Halliwell
suggests 'a branch'. This is the earliest
occurrence of the word cited in OED.

25 house-end] 'Forming part of, or an adjunct to, a
house' (OED III 19a).

26 a maypole before the door] Halliwell notes 'The
ale-stake, frequently explained a may-pole in the
old glossaries'. See Humphrey King, An Halfe-Penny
worth of Wit, in a Penny-worth of Paper (1613):

Of merry Tarlton in our time,
Whose conceite was very fine,
Whom death hath wounded with his dart,
That lov'd a May-pole with his heart.
(Bibliotheca Heberiana, iv, 1205, 11-14)

25-26 I see no sooner a risp at the house-end, or a
maypole before the door]

Nashe, Christs Teares, ii, 137: a bushe is not else
hanged forth but to invite men to buy

The Unfortunate Traveller, ii, 210: he kept
a plaine alehouse without welt or gard of
anie ivybush

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Nashe, Have With You to Saffron-Walden, iii, 84:
 whereas his Muse, from the first peeping
 foorth, hath stood at Livery at an Alehouse
 wispe

See also: Nashe, iv, 257-58.

28 Calvinist] a follower of Calvin. 'According to Calvin, God ordains some to everlasting life, others to everlasting punishment. God does not choose the elect for any good He sees in them, or which He sees they will do; nor does He select some for eternal reprobation because of their evil deeds foreseen by Him' (A Catholic Dictionary).

29 contraria immediata] absolute contraries

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either a man's soul must in post haste go presently to God, or else with a whirlwind and a vengeance go to the Devil? ... there is quoddam tertium, a third place ... and that is Purgatory]

c.f. Lavater,

God dothe not take up suche kynde of men straightwayes into heaven, nor yet bycause they are not utterly voyde of fayth, thrust them presently downe into hell. And therefore, that there is a middle place betwene bothe, whiche is called Purgatorie. (sig.Vii_v, p.156)

3 with a whirlwind and a vengeance go to the Devil]
 Tilley D228: 'The Devil and the whirlwind go with him'.

4 quoddam tertium] 'third thing', translated by the author as 'third place'.

- p.285, 6 Dante] Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), author of Divina Commedia, to which Tarlton is referring here. In this work the poet visits Hell, Purgatory and Heaven. Tarlton's Purgatory resembles the pit of Dante's Inferno more closely than it does the mountain of his Purgatorio.
- 10-11 morrow-mass priests] 'The first mass of the day. attrib., as morrow-mass altar, monger, priest' (OED 1ab).
- 11 dirges] a solemn service, or part of a service, celebrated on behalf of a departed soul (A Catholic Dictionary).
- 11 trentals] an office of thirty masses for the dead (A Catholic Dictionary).
- 11 decretals] A collection of papal decrees, forming part of canon law. There is no clear association between decretals and offices for the dead.
- 14 Bishops of Rome] i.e. Popes. Originally the term 'Pope' was used by many clergy and then gradually it became limited to the Bishop of Rome. In 1073 Gregory VII formerly prohibited the assumption of the title by any but the Bishop of Rome.

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say as Pythagoras's scholars did - ipse dixit -
and ... it shall stand for a principle]

A reference to Cicero's De Natura Deorum (I, v, 10):

'Ipse dixit.' 'Ipse' autem erat Pythagoras. ('He himself said it', and this 'he himself', it seems, was Pythagoras.). An unsupported, and unanswerable, assertion.

Morando I, Ciii^V: in this Ipse dixit shall stande
for no paye, neither shall your
censure be set doune for a
sentence

M. Garment, F3: let this stand for a principle: Si
nihil attuleris, ibis Homere foras

R. Exchange, Ai^V: The Philosophers ... have sette
downe this for a principall

22 boon companion] 'lit. "good-fellow", used in a
jovial bacchanalian sense' (OED A 4).

Nashe, Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 269:
only to purchase the alehouse title of a
boone companion

24 taking heart at grass] Tilley H332: 'To take Heart
of grace'. 'Grass' is a corruption of 'grace',
meaning 'to pluck up courage'.

See also: Alcida, B2^V, C4^V; Carde of Fancie, Ciii,
P1v; Euphues his censure, E1; F. Fortunes,
A2v; M. Garment, J2; Orpharion, C4v;
Vision, C2.

p.286, 6-9

one on the right hand, and that is very narrow
and leadeth unto Heaven; the second on the left
hand is broad and fair, over a green vale, and
that conducteth unto Hell]

See Matthew VII. 13-14:

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Enter in at the strayte gate. For wyde is the gate, and brode is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in therat. Because strayte is the gate, and narowe is the way, which leadeth unto lyfe, and fewe there be that fynde it.

See also: Luke XIII. 24.

16-17 Ave Marias and Credos] 'Credo' is a summary of the chief articles of faith. 'Credo', or 'Creed', simply indicates the word with which most such professions of faith begin. There are four in the Roman Catholic Church, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, the Athanasian, and that of Pius IV. The Ave Maria, also called the Angelical Salutation, is only used by the Roman Catholic Church, it consists of three parts: 1 the salutation of Gabriel to Mary, 'Ave [Maria] gratia plena, Dominus tecum'; 2 the words of Elizabeth, 'benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui'; 3 a section added by the Church, 'Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis nostrae'.

17-18 Our Lady's Psalter] The Psalter of the Virgin - an adaptation of the Psalms of David for the worship of the Virgin Mary by St Bonaventure. An English translation appeared in 1624 (STC 17542.7).

20 a whole field of hot burning ploughshares] The only reference I have found to this particular form of torment is in Lavater,

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But she afterwarde declared hir innocencie
by treading uppon hote glowing plowshares,
(as the custome was then) without any hurting
hir feete. (sig. Mii^v, p.92)

22 these and many more of other miseries] This is
taken from the second edition, the first reads,
'these and a many more of other miseries'.

24 entering penny] A reference to the practice of
classical times of placing a coin in the mouth of
a corpse to pay the fare of the soul, described by
Robert Graves:

When ghosts descend to Tartarus, the main
entrance to which lies in a grove of black
poplars beside the Ocean stream, each is
supplied by pious relatives with a coin laid
under the tongue of its corpse. They are
thus able to pay Charon, the miser who ferries
them in a crazy boat across the Styx. This
hateful river bounds Tartarus on the western
side, and has for its tributaries Acheron,
Phlegethon, Cocytus, Aornis, and Lethe.
Penniless ghosts must wait for ever on the
near bank. (The Greek Myths, 31a)

25 Bridewell] A London palace given to the City of
London by Edward VI to be used as a rehabilitation
centre and prison. Rather than condemn the
vagrant to penal servitude for life the aim was
to reform and teach him some profitable trade or
skill. The original high ideals faded with time,
and eventually it became just a prison, indeed
'Bridewell' became a generic term for prison.
Whipping as a punishment is particularly
associated with Bridewell.

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Nashe, Pierce Penillesse, i, 190: a backe so often
knighthed in Bridewell

p.287, 9

the popes sit triumphantly with their pontificalia]

F. to Folly, B4: deckt in your pontificalibus

Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, ii, 267: sitting
in my pontificalibus with my curtizan at
supper

19 Pasquil] OED tells the tale behind this reference:

Pasquino or Pasquillo was the name popularly given to a mutilated statue, or piece of ancient statuary, disinterred at Rome in the year 1501, and set up by Cardinal Caraffa at the corner of his palace near the Piazza Navona. Under his patronage, it became the annual custom on St. Mark's Day to 'restore' temporarily and dress up this torso to represent some historical or mythological personage of antiquity; on which occasion professors and students of the newly restored Ancient Learning were wont to salute Pasquin in Latin verses which were usually posted or placed on the statue. In the process of time these pasquinate or pasquinades tended to become satirical, and the term began to be applied, not only in Rome, but in other countries, to satirical compositions and lampoons, political, ecclesiastical, or personal, the anonymous authors of which often sheltered themselves under the conventional name of Pasquin.

20 amongst all the rest two of them made me to marvel]

Having said this the author tells only the tale of Boniface IV, there is no further mention of the other one.

22 Boniface IV] Saint Boniface, was pope from 609

until his death in 615. Bale describes him thus,

Boniface the fourth borne in Marcia, obtained of Phocas the Emperour that a Church in Rome called Pantheon, which the heathen had dedicated to all their gods and idols, should be translated from the worshipping of Idols to the service of Christ, and be dedicate to al Saints, and

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so called all hallowes Churche: An ungodly and blasphemous alteration, and contrary to S. Paules doctrine, that Christians should turne that to Gods service, which, was dedicate to idols. He appointed y feast of alhallowes day, and that the Pope on that daye should say a long masse: he gave moncks leave to baptize and absolve. (The Pageant of Popes, Bk.3, no.67)

I have found nothing to link Boniface IV with the tale told here.

26-27 keys of Heaven ... and the sword of Paul] Peter and Paul are regarded as the joint founders of the Catholic Church, sharing a feast on 29 June. The popes are thought of as the heirs of Peter, after Christ named him as the founder of his Church:

And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rocke I wyll buylde my congregation: And the gates of hell shall not prevayle agaynst it. And I wyll geve unto thee, the keyes of the kingdome of heaven: And whatsoever thou byndest in earth, shalbe bounde in heaven: and whatsoever thou loosest in earth, shalbe loosed in heaven.

Matthew XVI. 18-19

Tradition has it that St Paul was put to death by the sword, his right as a Roman citizen. The keys and the sword became the two symbols representing papal authority.

28 malkin] 'A mop; a bundle of rags fastened to the end of a stick; esp. that used to clean out a baker's oven' (OED 3a).

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Ne sutor ultra crepidam] Erasmus, Adagia 228A.

Tilley C480: 'Let not the Cobbler (shoemaker) go

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beyond his last'. This rebuke is supposed to have been delivered by Apelles, the great painter of the 4th century B.C., to a shoemaker who criticized the appearance of some shoes in a picture, and then proceeded to criticize the painting generally.

The Cobler of Caunterburie, A2: I heare Appelles boy crying, Ne Sutor ultra crepidam

Carde of Fancie, Kiii^v: the poore shoemaker was not blamed for viewing Appelles picture, but because in finding fault he went beyond his shooe

See also: Euphues his censure, F1; Menaphon, H1^v; Orpharion, D1; Perimedes, B1^v.

- 3 why he was thus punished] This is taken from the second edition, the first reads, 'why we was thus punished'.
- 5-6 The tale of Pope Boniface] See Sources. Halliwell notes, 'This tale is only another version of the old story of King John and the abbot of Canterbury: it was a popular subject, which occurs under various forms. See Sir F. Madden's Gesta Romanorum, p.508'.
- 10-11 loaves never passed the balance] According to Ranson 'bread was often sold by weight, though penny loaves were usually sold by size. Thus it was possible to cheat by weight, and disguise it by volume.' He gives no source for this information

- p.288, 14 Miles] The name appears in Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay, A Disputation and The Defence.
- 16 conditions] 'personal qualities' (OED II 11b)
- 16-17 as many good conditions as his mistress had points of chastity]
Disputation, A4: as many Crownes as thou hast good conditions
- 27 factotum] 'A man of all-work; also a servant who has the entire management of his master's affairs' (OED 1c). This recalls the situation of Decameron day III, tale i.
 Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, ii, 318: she is mistres fac totum.
- p.289, 1 Pope Pius] There is no indication which Pius is meant here. Boniface IV succeeded Boniface III. Pius III, between Alexander VI (1492-1503) and Julius II (1503-1513) ruled for only 26 days, which may have some association with Urban II in the text. Pius V (1566-1572) is the closest in date to Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie.
- 3 Icarus] The over-ambitious son of Daedalus. When escaping from Crete on wings made by his father from feathers and wax he ignored Daedalus's warning and flew too near the sun so that the wax melted and he fell to his death in the sea.

p.289, 9-11 What creatures those be that in sight are carnations, in smell roses, in hearing sirens, in touch nettles, and in taste wormwood?]

Alcida, E1: women ... like unto the Crocodile in teares: in sight, they seeme to be Carnations; in smelling, Roses; in hearing, Syrens; in taste, worme-wood; in touching, nettles.

18 as every dog hath his day] Tilley D464: 'Every dog has his day'. In context this means that death comes to everyone in time, usually it is taken to mean that everyone will have a chance to achieve something someday.

Nashe, Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 254: Each one of those foule-mouthed mangy dogs Governes a day, (no dog but hath his day,)

23 black sanctus] 'a kind of burlesque hymn', a discordant noise, here used in the sense of the expression 'To sing the black sanctus: to lament' (OED 3).

The Cobler of Caunterburie, H1: to make the matter up, that it might be a right blacke Sanctus

26 Castell' Angelo] 'Castle and Bridge of St. Angelo, Rome. Castle orig. built as Mausoleum by Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 130, converted into fortress 5th c., also used as a prison. Right bank of Tiber, reached by Ponte St. Angelo. Used as residence by Popes' (from Sugden).

26 St Peter's] The metropolitan church of the

- p.289 Christian world, situated in Rome. The present building was begun in 1450, but not dedicated until 18 November 1626.
- p.290, 2 divide] 'To draw distinctions with regard to' (OED 14b).
- 2 define] 'To state exactly what (a thing) is' (OED 6).
- 3 distinguish upon] 'To make (scholastic or subtle) distinctions with regard to' (OED II 8c). The earliest example given by OED is 1592.
- 4 who long while] This is from the second edition, the first edition reads 'who along while'.
- 5 hammering] cudgelling his brains (OED II 4a)
- 12-13 no man could discern] This is from the second edition, the first reads 'no man possible could discern'.
- 20 cassock] 'A kind of long loose coat or gown. (Fairholt) Originally applied to garments worn by both sexes' (OED 2b). 'Baker's mealy cassock' presumably refers to some sort of loose overgarment worn to protect clothing.

- p.290, 26 sede vacante] lit. 'the seat being vacant'.
'Eccl. In the Latin sense, as advb. phrase: During the vacancy of an episcopal see' (OED 1a).
- p.291, 2 gradatim] 'step by step, by degrees'
Perimedes, A3^V: the greatest part of their wits, which wasts Gradatim, as the Italians say Poco a poco.
- 7-8 the questions were so dark that amongst the rest they were as inscrutable enigmas]
See: Alcida, B4; C. Amor, H2; Morando II, K1; R. Exchange, H4.
See also note on p.305, 27-29.
- 10 scarlet robes] 'Official or ceremonial costume of scarlet, as ... the gown or robe of a cardinal, etc.' (OED A 3).
- 10 grave bonnet] grave - 'of colour, dress, etc: dull, plain' (OED A 4). bonnet - 'a head dress of men and boys; usually soft, and distinguished from the hat by want of a brim' (OED 1a).
- 12-13 'The last shall be first and the first shall be last']
But many that are first, shalbe last, and the last, shalbe first. Matthew XIX. 30
So the last, shalbe the first, & the first shalbe last: For many be called, but fewe be chosen.
Matthew XX. 16.

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See also: Mark IX. 35; X. 31. Luke XIII. 30.

22-24 it is impossible that the maker should be formed or fashioned by the thing made, as a pot to make a potter]

Tilley G196: 'God is a potter and we are the clay'.

The Fourth Lateran Council defined that "God is the sole principle of all things visible and invisible, the creator of all" and the Bible throughout ascribes the creative act to Him alone (The Catholic Encyclopaedia, 'Creation' VI).

25-26 the priest every day in his mass maketh God] A reference to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, described by the Council of Trent as the 'change of the whole substance of the bread into the Body, of the whole substance of the wine into the Blood [of Christ], only the appearance of bread and wine remaining; which change the Catholic Church most fitly calls transubstantiation'. (A Catholic Dictionary)

p.292, 8

cattle] 'Live stock. of men and women, with reference to various preceding senses' (OED II 7b).

10 bona roba] 'A wench' (OED)

Nashe, The Terrors of the Night, i, 380: Such goodly lustfull Bonarobaes they were

10 flourished] painted - 'made up' (OED II 8a)

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Orpharion, F4^V: touching the faultles mixture of
vermillion flourisht upon Ivory

- 14 siren] The Sirens were creatures in classical mythology who had the faces and voices of women, but birds' feet and feathers. They sang to lure sailors to shipwreck and death on rocks. Their name became synonymous with temptress.
- 15 Circe] See The Odyssey, Book X. Circe was a goddess/enchantress who changed Odysseus's men into hogs by giving them doped food.
- 16 Ulysses] The Greek hero Odysseus, the tale of whose wanderings on his return from Troy is told in The Odyssey. The reference here is to an incident told in Book XII of The Odyssey. Circe had warned Odysseus about the Sirens, and told him what to do.. He plugged the ears of his sailors with wax so that they could not hear the song, and had them tie him to the mast so that he could hear it but would be prevented from succumbing to it.
- 21 Sphinx] A mythological monster with a human head and the body of a lion. In Greek literature it is female, and was sent by Hera to Thebes, where it asked wayfarers a riddle about the three ages of man, killing and devouring them when they could not answer. Oedipus solved the riddle, at which the Sphinx committed suicide, and Oedipus was made

- p.292 king by the grateful Thebans.
- p.293, 6 boult] sifts (OED 1)
- 9-10 hoc est corpus meum] 'this is my body' the words in the Mass by which the bread and wine are changed into 'body and blood'. In the Roman Missal the phrase is 'Hoc est enim corpus meum'.
See the Vulgate Bible, Matthew XXVI. 26; Mark XIV. 22; Luke XXII. 19.
- 15 ploughswain] 'A ploughman' (OED)
- 17 took straight pepper in the nose] Tilley P231: 'He takes pepper in the nose'. This means to take offence, become angry.
- 19 cocks-bread] The second edition reads 'cockesbread' it is not clear whether the first edition is the same, or whether it reads 'cockelbread'. The third edition has 'cockesbread'. Cocklebread is a type of love charm. Cock-bread is 'specially prepared food for fighting-cocks' (OED V 23).
- 21 [to] have by the ears] 'To keep or obtain a secure hold upon (a person)' (OED I 1c).
- 24 to sooth up the matter] 'To smooth over or gloss

p.293 over something (e.g. an offence) (OED 6a).

Defence, D3^V: al things was smoothed up so cunningly

S. Masquerado, B3^V: Soothing himselfe uppe in these Heresies

26-27 he soon forgot, being a priest, that ever he was a clerk]

Tilley P56: 'The Parish Priest forgets that ever he was clerk'.

Carde of Fancie, Kii^V/Kiii: the Priest forgets himselfe that ever he was a Clearke

p.294, 3 non fuit sic a principio] 'it was not thus in the beginning'. This is a mockery of the traditional doxology, 'sicut erat in principio', indicating that the earlier popes were not thus proud, the response implies that this is how it will be in future.

Nashe, Christs Teares, ii, 127: Non fuit sic a principio, I wis it was not so in the Primitive church, but in our Church every man will be a primate.

McKerrow notes, 'I suppose this to be a misquotation of Matt. 19.8 "ab initio autem non fuit sic"' (iv, 238).

4-5 Sic erit in saecula saeculorum. Amen.] 'Thus it will be for ever and ever. Amen.'

13 Hildebrand] Gregory VII (1073-1085). Hildebrand

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was one of the greatest churchmen of his age. He enforced celibacy on the clergy, commanded that Saturday should be a fast day, established the doctrine of transubstantiation, and prescribed the observation of Ember Days. He was canonized in 1728. He was thought by many, such as Bale, to have been an evil man and necromancer, obtaining his will by sorcery.

13-17 Next him sat Hildebrand, and he held a red herring in his hand because he made Lent. And one pope sat with a smock sleeve about his neck, and that was he that made the embering weeks in honour of his fair and beautiful courtesan Imbra]

c.f. Nashe, Nashes Lenten Stuffe, iii, 211, [on the red herring]:

nor there hee rested and stopt, but in the mitigation of the very embers wheron he was sindged, (that after he was taken of them, fumed most fulsomly of his fatty droppings,) hee ordained ember weekes in their memory, to be fasted everlastingly.

16 embering weeks] 'Ember Days - Quattuor Tempora - The Wednesday, Friday and Saturday which follow December 13, the first Sunday in Lent, Pentecost, and 14 September. Days of fasting. Clergy are ordained only on the Saturdays of Ember weeks.'
(A Catholic Dictionary) Ember weeks are weeks in which Ember Days occur.

17 Imbra] I have not found this name associated with any pope, nor can I find any story of the foundation of Ember Days that bears any resemblance to this.

p.294, 17. Alexander] Ranson assumes that this refers to Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia) because he is one of the most notorious popes. He is more often associated with necromancy and lechery than with waging war, though he and his family played a large part in the struggles for power in Renaissance Italy. But the reference could be to Alexander V (1409-10), of whom Bale says, 'his life was counted almost a warre-fare: he thought that souldiours and warrelicke prancks, and many other wanton toyes which are not to be named, became him well enoughe.' (The Pageant of Popes, Bk.6, no. 149)

18 Sisyphus] One of the best known figures of the classical underworld. The Judges of the Dead ordered him to roll a great rock up a hill and to topple it down the other side. As soon as he is near the summit of the hill the weight of the rock forces him back and it rolls to the bottom of the hill again.

See: Ovid's Metamorphoses, iv, 459; The Odyssey, xi, 593-600.

18-20 make clean rusty armour ... as fast as he scoured the canker still fretted that he did]

M. Garment, E3: like rust in yron that never leaves fretting till it be consumed

A saying that occurs frequently in Greene's works.

p.294, 19. canker] rust (OED 2)

20 fretted] corroded (OED 6)

20 in caucasum saxum voluere] 'like piling boulders on top of the Caucasus mountains' Halliwell gives the reference 'Ovidii Ibis, 177', which is 'Sisyphus est illie saxum volvensque perensque'. This phrase is not from Ovid's works, however, and I have not been able to find the source of it.

22 Julius] Julius II (1503-1513). Bale describes the incident behind this reference:

This Pope Julius being a lustye warriour, and goinge forth on a time with his armye out of the Cittye, did hurle Peters keyes into Tiber with these words: Because that Peters keye is able to do no more, let the sworde of Paule helpe to do it.

(The Pageant of Popes, Bk.7, no.227)

Bale quotes several verses on this incident by various authors. He has much to say about Julius's warlike activities.

26 Urban II] This event bears no relation to the life of the historical Urban II (1088-1099), who is probably best known for inaugurating the First Crusade. Urban VII reigned for only twelve days, 15-27 September 1590, but these were after the date of the entry of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie in the Stationers' Register, and therefore

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presumably after the completion of the text.

Urban V (d.1371) and Urban VI (d.1390) are both reputed to have died of poison.

29 bidden] offered (OED A I 1).

p.295, 6

kercher] = kerchief, 'a cloth used to cover the head, formerly a woman's head-dress' (OED 1).

7-8 Hercules, that was found playing the wanton so with Omphale]

Hercules was sold as a nameless slave to Omphale as retribution for killing Iphitus. Reports reached Greece of Hercules wearing woman's clothes and performing female tasks, spinning etc., and of Omphale wearing his lion pelt. The myth tells how Pan fell in love with Omphale, but because of their exchange of clothes he crept into Hercules's bed by mistake, and because of this mishap he thereafter abhorred clothes, and spread a rumour that Hercules and Omphale habitually changed clothes.

See: Ovid, Heroides, ix, 54ff.; Fasti, ii, 305.

Arbasto, E1: that Omphale shoulde handle the club, and Hercules the spindle

Morando I, Di: I am not so fonde, as with Hercules to become a slave to Omphale

9 Sardanapalus] The last king of Assyria, notorious according to legend for his luxury and effeminancy.

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F. to Folly, C3: Sardanapalus was thrust from his empire, for that he was a little effeminate

13-14 Papa, Pater, Parens Patriae, Prope Portas Petri, Pauli, Paruum Peperit Puerum]

'Pope and father, obedient to her city, near to the gate of Peter and Paul, gave birth to a little boy'.

15 Pope Joan] There was a popular medieval legend, supported by sixteenth-century Protestants, that between Leo IV (d.855) and Benedict III there was a female pope, John Anglus, who reigned for two years, 5 months, and 4 days. There are several variations on the legend, but basically it tells how Joan disguised herself as a boy to accompany her lover to Athens. She was extremely learned, had a fine reputation for virtue and knowledge, and was eventually elected pope. Her downfall came when she became pregnant, gave birth in the street during a procession, died in childbirth, and was buried on the spot. Traditionally the pope always turns aside from the place. Some versions identify her child as Antichrist.

See: S. Baring-Gould, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages (London, 1884), chapter 8.

16 Lateran] The Church of St John Lateran, which is the Cathedral Church of Rome, in which the pope is

- p.295 crowned, which takes precedence over all other churches, even St Peter's. Until 1309 the Lateran Palace was the residence of the popes.
- p.296, 5-6 The Tale of Friar Onion] Decameron IV, ii. See Sources.
- 5 Onion] A translation of 'Cipolla' the name of the friar in the tale used as a source for the tale of the Vicar of Bergamo, Decameron VI, x. See Sources.
- 8 large possession] This is from the second edition, the first reads 'large possessions'.
- 17 she thought her penny better silver than the rest] Tilley P194: 'He thinks his penny (farthing, halfpenny) good silver'. The meaning here is that she thought herself better than everyone else.
- Alcida, D1: wee count our penny good silver
C. Amor, D2: his peny is good silver
Pen. Web, H2^v: for all the cracke my peney may be
good silver
- 25 narrowly] 'carefully, closely' (OED 1).
- 26 particular] 'specially attentive to a person' (OED 9).

- p.296, 27 entering with a piercing insight into her self-love]
Philomela, H1^V: entring with a percing insight into her vertues
- p.297, 7 [he] fetched a far sigh]
Conny-Catching 2, E2: he fetcht a great sigh
- 27 Gabriel] The angel of the Annunciation, see Luke I. 19, 26; Daniel VIII. 16, IX. 21.
- p.298, 28-29 as merry as a pie] Tilley P281: 'As merry as a pie (magpie)'.
 29 tricking] adorning (OED II 5).
Menaphon, E1^V: caused Samela to tricke her up in her countrey attire, and make her selfe brave
Planetomachia, D2^V: began to trick up her selfe towards hir iourney
 See also: Alcida, C2; F. to Folly, B3^V, G2^V; Notable Discovery, D2.
- p.299, 2 as busy as a bee] Tilley B202: 'As busy as a bee'.
 3 trinket] 'Any small article forming part of an outfit, accoutrements' (OED 1).
 13-14 Caetera quis nescit?] 'Who does not know the rest?'
 Ovid, Amores I, v, 25.

p.300, 10-12 conceiving such abundance of self-love within her stomach, that she was with child till she had uttered her mind to some of her gossips]

Tilley C317: 'To be with child to hear (see) something'.

Alcida, K1^V: shee was with childe of this late and dangerous newes, laboring with great paines till shee might utter it to her Gossips

Alcida, K2: Women, you know, having any thing in their stomake, long while they have discourst it to some friend

Philomela, D3^V: Philomela with childe to see the contents of the letter

See also: Nashe, Have With You to Saffron-Walden, iii, 101.

16-17 to blame those wives whose secrets lay at their tongue's end]

Tilley T413: 'To have it at one's tongue's end'.

This refers to women who cannot keep a secret, the proverb can also refer to being not quite able to remember something.

Alcida, K2: the closets of womens thoughts are ever open

Pen. Web, F4^V: as womens secrets oft hang at the tip of their tungs

Planetomachia, E1^V: [they] carrie their thoughts in their tongues end

See also: Nashe, Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 271.

19 whatsoever she told her should be buried underfoot and go no further]

Alcida, K2: hoping all shal be troden under foote

p.300

Disputation, E3^V: [she] swore solemnly to tread
it [scandal] under foote.

20-21 to rehearse unto her from point to point] to tell
in detail (OED 3).

Philomela, B2^V: to rehearse from point to point

See also: Philomela, C4^V; Perimedes, Eiv^V;
Conny-Catching 3, C1v.

See note on p.335, 7-8.

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p.301, 4

She thought the time long till they might break
off talk, and therefore as soon as she could find
opportunity she took her leave, and hied her
homeward. But to her house she could not go till
she had met with two or three of her gossips]

Alcida, K2: Celia longing to be out of the chamber,
that shee might participate this newes
to her Gosips, as soone as opportunity
gave her leave, went abroad.

p.301, 8

work for nine days] Tilley W728: 'A wonder lasts
but nine days'. Something that causes a sensation
for a few days. According to Brewer's Dictionary
of Phrase and Fable the original expression is 'A
wonder lasts nine days, and then the puppy's eyes
are open'.

Vision, G1^V: the greatest wonder lasteth but nine
dayes

9

bairn] '[Scottish form] - A child' (OED). This
refers back to the image of Lisetta being pregnant
with a secret. Ranson mistakenly interprets this
as meaning that she is literally pregnant, and

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that the expression 'with child' is intended to suggest an ironic comparison with the Virgin Mary.

10 friends] relatives (OED 3).

13 clip his wings from flying] Tilley W498: 'To clip one's wings'. Referring to the practice of clipping the feathers off a bird's wings to prevent it flying away.

Nashe, Pierce Penilesse, i, 179: to clippe the winges of a high trowing Faulcon

The Unfortunate Traveller, ii, 269: I clipte not the wings of his honour

26 best joint] neck

Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 307: that woulde ieopard the best ioint of Poetica licentia to procure laughter

McKerrow's note (iv, 183) provides the following example, 'many a one jeopardeth his best joint, to maintain himself in sumptuous raiment' (Homilies, ed. 1844, p.278).

p.302, 18-19 ears nailed on the pillory] William Andrews, in Old Time Punishments, claims that it became fashionable to nail ears to the pillory, or bore through the tongue, as a punishment in the sixteenth-century (p.62). He cites three examples, one in 1552, as a punishment for fraud (p.70);

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one on 30 May 1554, for 'speaking of false lies and rumours' (p.72); and one in the reign of Lady Jane Grey, for 'seditious and trayterous words speaking of the Queene yesternight' (p.70).

26 wild men] See Richard Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages, pp.1-2:

It is a hairy man curiously compounded of human and animal traits, without, however, sinking to the level of an ape. In [sic] exhibits upon its naked human anatomy a growth of fur, leaving only its face, feet, and hands, at times its knees and elbows, or the breasts of the female of the species. Frequently the creature is shown wielding a heavy club or mace, or the trunk or a tree; and, since its body is usually naked except for a shaggy covering, it may hide its nudity under a strand of twisted foliage worn around the loins ... The creature itself may appear without its fur, its club, or its loin ornament. Any one of its characteristics may be said to designate the species.

An example cited in OED suggests a similar type of show to that mentioned in the tale, 'To make waye in the streetes, there are certayne men apparelled lyke devells, and wylde men, with skybbs and certayne beadells' (1575 Brydges Brit. Bibliogr. (1810) I. 541).¹

p.303, 7

barm] 'The froth that forms on the top of fermenting malt liquors, which is used to leaven bread, and to cause fermentation in other liquors' (OED 1a).

Nashe, The Terrors of the Night, i, 382: the deaw lyes like froathie barme on the ground

p.303, 6-8

anointed him over with barm mixed with honey, and stuck him full of feathers]

Apart from the inevitable result of this treatment, i.e. the attraction of wasps, I can find little of significance in it. There could be some association with tar and feathers, a punishment devised by Richard I: 'to smear with tar and then cover with feathers: a punishment sometimes inflicted by a mob (esp. in U.S.) on an unpopular or scandalous character ... in Howell's Fam. Lett. (1650, I. 111. xxvii. 81) it is said to have been applied in 1623 by a bishop of Halverstade to a party of incontinent friars and nuns' (OED 1b). There is a proverb 'Cover yourself with honey and the flies will have you' (Tilley H545). Emblem xxi of Guillaume de la Perrière's Le theatre de bons engins [sic] [1536] shows a hypocrite with his sword covered in honey being attacked by bees, which, apart from the obvious interpretation, could suggest that honey is generally used to mask hypocrisy.

- 9 ban-dog] 'Band = fastening + Dog. orig. A dog tied or chained up, either to guard a house, or on account of its ferocity' (OED).

Nashe, Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 253:
looke you bring all hounds, and no bandogges

- 10 come equipage] 'equipage' seems to mean 'costume'

- p.303 here (OED I 4b), the whole phrase could mean 'hairy costume', or perhaps 'feathery costume'.
- p.304, 3 to make us wear horns] Tilley H625: 'He wears the horns', i.e. the symbol of cuckoldry.
- 5 perplexed] tormented (OED 1b).
- 9-10 alas to the poor man's pains, that he was almost stung to death]
It is not clear whether the 'poor man' is Friar Onion or his host.
- 14 went home with a flea in their ears] Tilley F354: 'To send one (To go) away with a flea in his ear'. Much used by both Nashe and Greene.
- 20 bides] endures (OED 9)
- 24 sciences] Here meaning 'occupations requiring trained skill' (OED 3d).
- 26 broom men] 'One who uses a broom; a street-sweeper' (OED). Apparently considered to be a very lowly profession. The earliest example of the word in OED is from Greene's A Quip for an Upstart Courtier (1592).
Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 280: Broome boyes, and cornecutters

p.304, 27. Barking] Town in Essex, 8 miles east of London.

p.304, 29-

p.305, 1 Tyburn threesquare] 'Place of execution for Middlesex criminals, exact area (by 1590) said to be angle between Edgware Rd and Bayswater Rd. Condemned criminals taken in cart, or dragged on hurdle (traitors) from Newgate to Holborn Hill and along Oxford St (Tyburn Rd). Gallows seems to have been a permanent structure - horizontal triangle of beams, supported by 3 legs. The prisoner was strangled by a rope hanging from one of the beams, the cart being driven from under him.' (from Sugden)

p.305, 1 halters] 'A rope with a noose for hanging malefactors. b. Used typically for death by hanging; 'the gallows'' (OED 2ab). It is not clear which meaning is intended here.

6 so many men, so many censures]
M. Garment, F2^V: so many heads, so many censures
Planetomachia, H3: so many men, so many wits
 Nashe, Nashes Lenten Stuffe, iii, 178: so many
 heades, so many whirlegigs

See also: Alcida, H1; Defence, A2; Mamillia I, F3.

7 one Boniface] The most notorious pope called Boniface was probably Boniface VIII, but the use

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of the future tense here poses a problem, see p.108 for discussion.

8 Bonner] Edmund Bonner (1500?-1569) was chaplain to Wolsey and remained in service after Wolsey's fall. In 1532 he was sent to Rome to appeal personally to Clement VII on behalf of Henry VIII. In 1539 he was elected Bishop of London, and in 1542-43 was ambassador to the Emperor. In 1547 he was sent to the Fleet, and in 1549 was examined by Cranmer, deprived of his bishopric and sent to Marshalsea. In 1553 Mary acceded to the throne, and Bonner was reinstated as Bishop of London. In 1555 the great persecution began, which blackened his name as a fierce, inhuman persecutor. In 1559 he refused to take the oath of supremacy, was deprived of his bishopric and committed to Marshalsea, where he died on 5 September 1569 (from DNB).

10 breeching] flogging (OED).

10 Bartlet Green] Bartlet (Bartholomew) Green (1530-1556) was a Protestant martyr. Coming from a wealthy Catholic family, he was converted to Protestantism by Peter Martyr's lectures. A letter from Green to Christopher Goodman was intercepted in 1555, it included the words 'the queen is not dead' which led to Green being put in the Tower

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on a charge of treason which later broke down. He was examined on religious questions before Bonner in November 1555, and again on 15 January 1555/6 before Bonner and Feckenham. He was condemned to be burnt, and went to the stake at Smithfield at 9a.m. on 27 January with six others (from DNB).

- 10 breeching of Bartlet Green] Foxe tells of this incident:

For when he was beaten and scouged with rods by bishop Bonner (which scarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth), and he greatly rejoiced in the same, yet his shamefaced modesty was such, that never he would express any mention thereof, lest he should seem to glory too much in himself, save that only he opened the same to one master Cotton of the Temple, a friend of his, a little before his death.

(Acts and Monuments, vol.7, p.742)

Bonner and Bartlet Green are also linked in The Rewarde of Wickednesse (sig. N3), and in 'A commemoration ... of Bastarde Edmonde Boner' (1569) by Lemeke Avale:

Lorde how he would pullam,
When he was at Fullam,
With fire, rodds, and chaines
He put them to paines,
And that was well seen,
By M. and Bartlet green. (sig. Bii^v)

- 12 Bull the hangman] The earliest hangman whose name has survived. The dates of his holding this office are not known, but he had presumably retired

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by 1601, when his successor, Derrick, executed the Earl of Essex. According to Ranson this is the first reference in English literature to an official hangman.

See: Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 319

An Almond for a Parrat, iii, 348, 374

Harvey, Pierces Supererogation, sig. K2

Conny-Catching 2, D2^V; Disputation, C1^V;
N. Discovery, E3.

12 his whipping in London] I can find no other reference to this incident.

13-14 for whomsoever it is, God bless me from it]

Quip, E3^V: blesse mee from him with Nomine patris,
I lay Spiritus sanctus about his
shoulders with a cudgell

18 impresse] The singular form is 'impressa', plural 'impresse', the author seems to have manufactured a double plural with 'impresses'. 'An emblem or device, usually accompanied by an appropriate motto' (OED).

27-29 This was to me a dark enigma, that I wished some sphinx to unfold the secret]

See note on 'Sphinx' on p.291, 7-8. Both here and in the earlier reference the Sphinx is seen as answering riddles, which is a reversal of its legendary role of asking an insoluble riddle. The

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idea of the Sphinx solving a riddle may have arisen from a theory that one so good at asking riddles must also be good at answering them.

Alcida, E4^V: able to answer as darke an Enigma, as the subtillest Sphinx was able to propound

Menaphon, *2^V: if you finde darke AEnigmaes or strange conceipts as if Sphinx on the one side, and Roscius on the other were playing the waggess.

p.306, 12

keep a corner for a friend] 'to reserve a small place' (OED III 6c).

Alcida, H1^V: shee will keepe a corner for a friend, and so will I

Nashe, Pierce Penillesse, i, 190: those that keep a wet corner for a friend.

13 tables] 'formerly the ordinary name of backgammon' (OED II 11).

14 Irish] 'An old game resembling backgammon' (OED B3). This is the earliest occurrence of the word recorded by OED).

15 a man too many] 'man' has a double meaning here, referring to the pieces with which the game is played, and to the wife's illicit lovers.

19 wittol] 'A man who is aware of and complaisant about the infidelity of his wife; a contented cuckold' (OED).

- p.306, 27 ram rampant] In heraldry the male sheep is distinguished by its spiral horns. 'Rampant', of any heraldic beast, is 'when depicted facing dexter, standing on the sinister hind-paw, the dexter hind-paw raised, the trunk inclined upward at about 45°, the fore-paws elevated with the dexter above the sinister, the tail flourished upward and curved over to the sinister' (An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Heraldry).
- p.307, 3 shocking] marching rapidly (OED 1).
- 3 heavy palms] palm - 'The flat expanded part of the horn in some deer, from which finger-like points project' (OED I 3). Presumably this is a reference to cuckold's horns.
- 3-4 bell-wether to the rest]
- Frier B. & B., D3^V: I am ... the Belwether of this company
- G. of Witte, C4^V: her brother [is] cheefe belweather of sundry flockes
- Nashe, Pierce Penillesse, i, 198: The Lambe of God make thee a wiser Bell-weather then thou art.
- 4 stolen out of Tully] See Cicero's de Officiis, I, vii, 22, 'Non nobis solum nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat partem amici'.
- Quip, C3: They study with Tullie, that they may seeme borne for their contreys as well as for themselves.

p.307, 5 Non solum pro nobis] 'not only for us'

Tilley B141: 'We are not born for ourselves'.

6-7 Meaning, that as we are not born for ourselves but for our country]

Greene frequently used the motto 'Nascimur pro patria', particularly on the title pages of his Conny-Catching pamphlets.

See also: Defence, A4; M. Dreame, 1; N. Discovery, C4, D4v; Pandosto, C3v; Pen. Web, D3; Vision, B3.

Nashe, The Anatomie of Absurditie, i, 34
Have With You to Saffron-Walden,
iii, 27.

Lodge, An Alarum against Usurers, Fiii.

12-13 she could not tread right yet wrenched her shoe inward]

Tilley S373: 'To tread one's shoe awry [To fall from virtue]'

Ranson claims that the proverb is not known to Tilley.

Euphues his censure, D1^v: [she] had heretofore troden hir shooe so even, no step was so much as thought awry.

Mamillia II, C1^v: one silly dame to halt or tread her shoe awrie

See also: Euphues his censure, B3^v; Mamillia I, C1^v; Never Too Late, C4v; Perimedes, C4v; Vision, E4/E4v.

14-15 she could not live caste, yet she lived caute]

These forms of 'chaste' and 'cautious' usually appear in forms of the proverb.

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Tilley L381: 'Live charily if not chastely'.

F. to Folly, K1^V: they cannot deale more caste,
yet will worke more cauteF. Fortunes, L2: she liveth caste that liveth cauteSee also: Carde of Fancie, Civ, Kii^V; Disputation,
D3v; Euphues his censure, D3v;
F. Fortunes, L1; Morando I, C2v;
M. Garment, E4v; M. of Modestie, Avii^V, Bii^V;
Never Too Late, H1v, H3; Pen. Web, F3;
Philomela, D2; Vision, D3v.

17-18 measured her foot after his own last] Tilley F567:

'Measure yourself (no another) by your own foot'.

F. to Folly, C2^V: measure not the length of an
other mans foot by your owne shoePen. Web, E2^V: feeling where your own shoos wrings
ye, you aime at the straightnesse
of my lastSee also: Menaphon, F2^V; Morando I, Di^V; Morando II,
L4; Pen. Web, H1v.

p.308, 2

Crede quod habes et habes] 'Believe you have it
and you have it'. Halliwell notes: 'This motto
is included in another tale in MS. Sloane, 1489;
in Grange's Garden, 1577, 4to; and in MS. Bib.
Reg. 12 B, v.'10 Helen] Helen of Troy. The daughter of Zeus and
Leda, she married Menelaus, king of Sparta, and
was abducted by Paris, prince of Troy, thereby
causing the Trojan Wars. The archetypal example
of aduress and wanton woman, and of beauty.

p.308, 11 Lucrece] Lucretia, wife of Tarquinius Collatinus. According to legend she was ravished by Sextus, son of Tarquinius Superbus. Having told her husband of this she committed suicide. The archetypal example of virtue and industry. See Shakespeare's The Rape of Lucrece.

10-11 as fair as Helen and as chaste as Lucrece]

F. Fortunes, K3^V: caring more to be figured out with Helen, then to be famozed with Lucrece.

16-17 she, that is wholly resolved upon virtue, hath the tortoise under her feet and gads not abroad]

A popular emblem. In La Perrière's Le theatre des bons engins it is emblem xviii, which pictures a woman with her right foot on a tortoise, holding her finger to her lips, and holding keys. The title is 'Within this picture are displaid, / The beauties of a woman stayd'.

Disputation, D3: Diana is painted with a Tortuse under her feete, meaning that a Maid shoulde not be a stragler, but like the Snayle, carry her house on her heade, and keepe at home at her worke, so to keepe her name without blemish, and her vertues from the slaunder of envie.

Vision, E3: shee treads upon the Tortuse, and keepes her house

See also: Mamillia I, E4; Menaphon, D2^V.

p.309, 4-5 the ass for the length of his ears thinks them to be horns]

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Tilley A371: 'You will make me believe that an Ass's ears are made of horns'.

7-8 per consequens] consequently

Nashe, The Terrors of the Night, i, 374: so per consequens no men in earth more miserable

Have With You to Saffron-Walden, iii, 119: write against them all, & so (per consequens) vaunt him above all.

See also: Christs Teares, ii, 94;

An Almond for a Parrat, iii, 353.

10 Ne mulieri credas, ne mortua quidem] 'You do not believe a woman, even when she is dead'.

13-14 crew of the yellow-hosed companions] Tilley S868:

'To wear yellow stockings and cross garters'.

'To wear yellow stockings' means 'to be jealous'.

According to Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, yellow 'indicates in symbolism jealousy, inconstancy, and adultery. In France the doors of traitors used to be daubed with yellow'.

14 mulier, howsoever it be spoken or understood]
mulier = woman Halliwell provides the following anecdote as explanation:

A scholar once said to a woman who was complaining of him, Be quiet, bona mulier! At which, she being angry, the scholar answered, Why bona is good. Well, said she, if bona be good, then I am sure mulier is not. (MS. Sloane, 1489)

- p.309, 23 [the] botcher's wife of Sudbury] from the Liber Facetiarum of Poggio Bracciolini. See Sources.
- 23 botcher] 'A tailor who does repairs' (OED 2b).
- 23 Sudbury] 'A town in Suffolk, left bank of Stour, 17m. E. of Ipswich' (from Sugden).
- 27 painful] painstaking (OED 5).
- p.310, 4 pricklouse] 'A derisive name for a tailor' (OED).
- Defence, D4^V: but even the poore pricklouse the
country taylor
- Defence, E1^V: farewel good honest prickelouce
- 6 took heart at grass] See note on p.285, 24.
- 7 with a cudgel] This reading is from the third edition, the first and second both have 'in a cudgel'.
- 18 heaved] raised (OED B I 1).
- 18 knacked] snapped (OED 2).
- 26 The tale of the Cook] Decameron, VI, iv. See Sources.
- p.311, 2 Signor Bartolo] Changed from Currado Gianfigliuzzi

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in the Italian. There may be an association with Bartolus of Sasso-Ferrato (1313-1356), who 'practised law in Pisa and Perugia, and is known for his commentaries on the Corpus Juris Civilis. A French proverb runs thus: 'He knows his Bartolus as a cordelier knows his Dormi' (Il sait son Bartole comme un cordelier son Dormi)' (Brewer: The Historic Note-Book). A Bartolist is one skilled in law. The implication in the tale that Bartolo is a wise Councillor may reflect some association with Bartolus. The name Bartol is used by Nashe in The Unfortunate Traveller, and appears in The Cobler of Caunterburie.

- 2 Consiliadory] 'for It. consigliatori counsellors' (OED). The earliest example cited in OED is 1624.
- 6 cranes [as a delicacy]] 'The name belongs originally to the common European crane, Grus cinerea, of an ashy-gray colour, formerly abundant in marshy places in Great Britain, and prized as food, but now extinct' (OED 1).
- 22-24 he was the chief gallant of all the parish for dancing of a Lincolnshire hornpipe in the churchyard on Sundays]
- Vision, D2: [he] held it a religion every sunday to frolike it in the Church yarde
- Vision, D2: ruffling ... to the Churchyard, where he was alwayes foregallant of the Countrie gambals

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The Cobler of Caunterburie, D1: on holy-dayes to besturre his stumpes in the Churchyard so merrily after a crowd, that he was welbeloved of all the countrey wenches.

- 23 Lincolnshire hornpipe] Tilley B35: 'Lincolnshire Bagpipes'. A hornpipe is 'a dance of lively and vigorous character, usually performed by a single person' (OED 2). I can find nothing to associate the hornpipe with Lincolnshire. There are frequent references to Lincolnshire bagpipes, which usually means frogs, though it can also refer to a wind instrument, as in Foole upon Foole, sig. B1.

- 27-28 her disease was thought to be a tympany with two heels]

Tilley T648: 'She has a tympany with two legs (heels)'.

'Tympany - in reference to pregnancy' (OED 1b).

Nashe, Nashes Lenten Stuffe, iii, 199: she was pagled and timpanized, and sustained two losses under one

See also: Nashe, Christs Teares, ii, 49

The Unfortunate Traveller, ii, 292.

- 28 sped] pregnant, with a strong suggestion that the condition is accidental, that she is 'caught out'.

p.312, 4

ruffling] fussing (OED 2).

p.312, 17-18 for want of her longing] Tilley L422: 'To lose one' longing'. A reference to the cravings for particular foods experienced by pregnant women.

18 fall to travail] 'go into labour'.

26 trunk] 'To cut a part off from' (OED).

p.313, 25 I have nine cranes more] 'Nine' comes from the second edition, the first reads 'eleven' which does not accord with the original 'eight or ten' (sig. E1, p.311), the second corrects this to 'nine', but the third, being set from the first, again reads 'eleven'.

p.314, 10 provided all his trinkets in a readiness to trudge away]

c.f. Foole upon Foole, B3: goe saies hee, trusse up your trinkets and be gon: the Cooke seeing no remedy departed.

12 his matter was nought] his case was hopeless.

18-19 gave ... the bonjour] 'greeted them'.

F. Fortunes, B2: gave him the bon iorno thus
Mamillia II, E2^V: he gave her the Salve

See also: Carde of Fancie, Ei^V; Menaphon, C3;
Morando I, D2v.

Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, ii, 241.

- p.314, 20 my neighbours, come to be] This is from the second edition, the first has 'neighbours are come'.
- 25 at strud] In his edition Halliwell claims that 'this word is more usually applied to mares'. In his Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words he glosses it as 'roost', giving this occurrence as his only example.
- 27-28 not willing to let so fair a ball fall to the ground]
'not willing to lose such a good opportunity'.
Orpharion, B4^v: thinking not to let so faire a ball fall to the grounde.
- p.315, 7 So ho] 'A call used by huntsmen ... hence used as a call to draw the attention of any person, announce a discovery, or the like' (OED 1).
- 29 as I cast mine eye aside]
Arbasto, B2: at last casting his eie aside, and seeing me
Planetomachia, Civ: but casting her eye aside she espied me
Quip, B2: casting mine eie aside after them
- p.316, 4 The tale of the Vicar of Bergamo] Decameron, VI, x, and A C Mery Talys no.68. See Sources.
- 4 Bergamo] 'The capital of the province of the same

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name in N. Italy. It lies between Brembo and the Serio, 39m. N.E. of Milan and 120 W. of Padua' (from Sugden). Reputed to be the birth place of 'arlecchino'.

Never Too Late, B1: Being resident in Bergamo, not farre distant from Venice

Philomela, H3: lying then not farre off from Bergamo

Nashe, An Almond for a Parrat, iii, 342: For comming from Venice the last Summer, and taking Bergamo in my waye homeward.

6-9 a vicar ... would not stick to play at trump all day with his parishioners for a pot or two of ale]

Quip, G2: a vickar that proclaimed by the rednes of his nose he did oftner go into the alehouse than the pulpit.

7 boon companion] See note on p.285, 22.

8 trump] 'An obsolete card-game, known also as ruff' (OED 1b).

15-17 his score growing very great, and much chalk upon the post, his hostess ... waxed hasty ... for her debt]

Defence, C3^V: with chalke on every post in the house

F. Fortunes, B3^V: his score great, and his hostesse would trust him for no more money.

16 chalk upon the post] 'In reference to the old custom at alehouses, etc., of 'ticking' or writing up with chalk a 'score' or account of credit given:

- p.316 transferred from the chalk used to the chalk marks
or ticks on the door' (OED 4).
- 17 waxed] became (OED II 9a).
- 20 they grew to words, and from words to blows]
C. Amor, H3: after from lookes to wordes
Euphues his censure, K1: they fell to iarre in
wordes, and from wordes
to blowes
- 21 masse Vicar] Possibly 'master vicar' or possibly
related to 'mass-priest: A priest whose function
it is to celebrate mass' (OED).
- S. Masquerado, C4: Well, Mas Monke came once into
his Pulpitte
- 26 goodwife] 'The mistress of a house or other
establishment' (OED).
- p.317, 2 make a steal thither] 'steal - An act of going
furtively' (OED 2). This occurrence is the only
example cited by OED.
- 9-10 black puddings] 'A kind of sausage made of blood
and suet, sometimes with the addition of flour or
meal' (OED).
- 17 partlet] 'An article of apparel worn about the
neck and upper part of the chest, chiefly by

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women ... a collar or ruff' (OED).

17-18 sponging herself up] smartening, or sprucing,
herself up (OED 2).

20-21 mumbled up his mattins] 'spoke the service
hurriedly and indistinctly'.

Carde of Fancie, Ei: repentaunce make you mumble
up a masse with Miserere

22 collation] 'A sermon' (OED II 5b).

24 coursed] ran through (OED 5c). The earliest
example in OED is 1598.

24 canvassed] discussed thoroughly (OED 4).

Nashe, Have With You to Saffron-Walden, iii, 120:
Thou art unwise to canvaze it so much

See also: Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 271.

26 churchward] 'Towards the church' (OED).

p.318, 17-18 Apis Indica] lit. 'Indian bee'. In Decameron it
is the feather of a parrot that is used, and in
The Spanish Masquerado the feather of 'some strange
fowl'.

Carde of Fancie, Niii^v: The Birde called Apis
Indica, seeing the venomous
Viper readie to devour her
yong ones in the neast,
presenteth her selfe to death

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Carde of Fancie, Rii^V: The Bird called Apis Indica,
beeing young, seeing the olde
ones through age growen so
weake ..

Lodge, Rosalynde, P4: flying with APIS INDICA
against winde and weather

21 had a reach in his head] had a plan in mind (OED 2).
This is the earliest occurrence of 'reach' cited
in OED.

Defence, B2^V: having a further reatch in hir heade

22 jumped with the traveller]

Conny-Catching 3, C4^V: they iump in opinion with
the other fellow

F. Fortunes, H3: to iumpe a match with hir

See also: Alcida, D2; Defence, C3; F. to Folly, A3;
F. Fortunes, F2v; Menaphon, L2v.

23 pitched] determined (OED B II 13).

23 julios] 'A silver coin worth about sixpence,
struck by Pope Julius II (1503-13), formerly
current in Italy' (OED).

26 curiosity] 'Carefulness' (OED I 1).

p.319, 20

rattled] talked 'rapidly in a lively manner'
(OED I 3). The earliest example cited by OED is
1594.

p.319, 23-26 you see that every city here about, nay through the whole world, hath some holy relic or other as a blessing belonging to their corporation, but our poor town of Bergamo hath had none]

'Every local church felt itself at a disadvantage if it had not a holy body to protect it. Records were ransacked to see if there was no one belonging to the church in the past, who could, through his martyrdom or holiness, be regarded as a saint, and if there were none, a church of any prominence thought it necessary in the Middle Ages to procure one by petition, or purchase, or robbery.' (A Protestant Dictionary)

29 a piece of the cross] 'Before the year 350, St Cyril of Jerusalem three times over informs us that the fragments of the wood of the Cross found by St Helen [c.318] had been distributed piecemeal and had filled the whole world' (The Catholic Encyclopaedia).

29 of the nails] 'Very little reliance can be placed upon the authenticity of the thirty or more holy nails which are still venerated, or which have been venerated until recent times, in such treasuries as that of Santa Croce in Roma, or those of Venice, Aachen, the Escorial, Nuremberg, Prague, etc.' (The Catholic Encyclopaedia)

See, Rohault de Fleury, Mémoire sur les instruments de la Passion (Paris, 1870).

- p.320, 2 the spear that pierced his side] John XIX. 34.
 'In 1492 the sultan Bayazid presented Pope Innocent VIII with a lance-head purporting to be the very weapon with which our Lord was pierced. The relic has since been preserved in St Peter's at Rome'.
 (A Catholic Dictionary)
- 3 at Venice the jawbone of St Mark] The remnants of St Mark's body were buried at Alexandria, then later transported to Venice, where, in the 9th century, he was made the honoured patron of the state. Various other towns claim to hold parts of the body as relics.
- 3 the falling evil] 'epilepsy' (OED B II 7b).
- 4 at Vienna the tooth of St Appolym] St Apollonia of Alexandria, an elderly deaconess whose teeth were beaten out. 'When the tortures to which she was being subjected were remitted, to give her a chance for recantation, she sprang of her own will into the flames, and was quickly consumed' (Bell, The Saints in Christain Art, i, 258). Some versions of the legend say she was a young girl, and some say her teeth were pulled not beaten out. I can find no connection between St Apollonia and Vienna, but wonder whether there might be some confusion here with St Apollinaris, who was born in Vienne.

p.320, 5

at Pisa the hoof of St Loyes's horse] 'St Eloy had also the power of subduing wild horses, and on one occasion he reduced a horse to submission with a word, or, according to another version of the story, implying that he was a blacksmith as well as a goldsmith, he cut off the leg of a restless horse, brought to him to be shod, and, having put on the shoe, restored the limb to its place, the horse trotting off after the operation as if nothing had happened' (Bell, iii, 57). He is the patron saint of craftsmen who use or used to use a hammer.

6 cattle] 'horses' (OED II 4d). The earliest example of the word being applied to horses cited in OED is 1680.

6 for the swine, St Anthony's bell] 'The attributes given to St Antony are numerous and exceptionally quaint. Chief amongst them is the pig or hog, with or without a bell round its neck, whose constant presence has been variously explained, some seeing in it the emblem of the vices of sensuality and gluttony over which St Antony triumphed so successfully, whilst others look upon it merely as a type of the privileges enjoyed by the pigs of mediaeval monasteries, who were allowed to run wild in ~~the~~ towns and villages long after those of laymen had been deprived by law of their liberty..

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.. To distinguish them from the common herd, these pigs had to wear a bell, and at the sound of the bell pious householders were in the habit of placing food outside their doors, a custom which gave rise to the popular proverb, 'to run from door to door like a pig of St Antony,' applied to beggars and parasites, and the name os a Tantony, or St Antony pig, being given to a very fine animal' (Bell, ii, 9-10). He is the patron saint of swineherds.

7 the pose] 'A cold in the head, catarrh' (OED).

Nashe, Summers Last Will and Testament, iii, 260:
I thinke I have given you the pose.

7 St Dunstan's tongs] The life of St Dunstan in The Golden Legend tells the following tale:

whan it so was \bar{y} sayt Dunstan was wery of prayer/ than used he to werke in goldsmythes werke with his owne handes/ for to eschewe ydelnes. And he gave alwaye almes to poore people for \bar{y} love of god. (And on a tyme as he sate at his werke/ his herte was on Jesu chryst/ his mouth occupied with holy prayers/ & his handes besy on his werke. But the devyll whiche ever had grete envy at $\bar{h}\bar{y}$ / came to hym in an even tyde in likenes of a woman/ as he was besy to make a chalys/ & with smyllynge sayd that she had grete thynges to tell him. And then she began to tell many nyce tryfles/ & no maner vertue therin. And than he supposed that she was a wycked spyryte/ & anone caught her by the nose with a payre of tonges of yren brennyng hote/ & than the devyll began to rore & crye and fast drewe awaye. But sayt Dunston held fast/ tyll it was ferre within the nyght/ & then he let her go/ & the fende departed \bar{w} an horryble noyse & crye/ & sayd that all \bar{y} people myght here Alas what shame hath this carle done to me/ how may I best quyte hym agayn: But never after \bar{y} devyl had lust to $\bar{t}\bar{e}$ pte hym in that crafte. (1527 ed., fol.cxxv)

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This tale is sometimes told of St Loyes. It is also said that St Dunstan shod the devil's hoof, and made him promise never to enter a place where a horseshoe is displayed. He is the patron saint of goldsmiths.

7 squinsey] 'Quinsy; suppurative tonsillitis' (OED 1).

8 St Martin's trough] The most eminent saint of this name is St Martin of Tours, who is not associated with a trough. The only possible association which I can find is the following entry in A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable:

The patron saint of innkeepers and drunkards, usually shown in art as a young mounted soldier dividing his cloak with a beggar ... His day is November 11th, the day of the Roman Vinalia, or Feast of Bacchus; hence his purely accidental patronage (as above), and hence also the phrase Martin drunk.

8 St Winifred's girdle] 'The spring of St Winifred (Winefride, Gwenfrewi) at Holywell in North Wales has been a place of pilgrimage & miracle for over a thousand years, but great uncertainty surrounds the saint. The core of her legends is that she was attacked by Caradog of Hawarden because she refused his amorous advances, that her wounds were healed (or she was restored to life) by St Beuno, that a spring gushed out where this happened, that she became a nun and abbess at Gwytherin, and d.650' (Attwater, A Dictionary of Saints). I can

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find no mention of her girdle as an emblem or relic, it could be associated with her as a symbol of chastity.

9 St Asaph's beads] 'Asaph, cousin of St Deiniol and St Tysilio, was founder of the monastery of Llanasa in north-east Flintshire and probably of Llanelwy, in the same county, where the cathedral city of Saint Asaph now stands. There is no trace of any bishop at Llanelwy before 1143' (Attwater, A Dictionary of Saints). Details about St Asaph are scarce, I have found no mention of his beads.

13 Gabriel ... he said Ave Maria to the mother of Christ]

Luke I. 28 (Vulgate): 'Et ingressus angelus ad eam, dixit: Ave gratia plena: Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus'.

26-27 the coals that St Lawrence ... was broiled with] Lawrence was one of seven deacons of Rome under Sixtus II who was roasted to death on a gridiron during the persecution of Valerian. The gridiron is usually taken as his emblem.

28 poke] 'A bag; a small sack' (OED 1); or, 'A long wide or full sleeve' (OED 3). It is not clear which is meant here.

p.321, 12 smallness] from 'small', 'of sound or the voice: gentle, low, soft' (OED A III 13).

17-18 bitten continually about the hearts with scorpions] Scorpions are usually associated with stinging not with biting, but Edward Topsell, in The historie of serpents; or the second booke of living creatures (1608), claims,

In the next place we are to proceede to the venom & poyson of Scorpions, the instrument or sting whereof, lyeth not onely in the tayle, but a[1]so in the teeth, for as Ponzettus writeth, Laedit scorpius morsu & ictu, the Scorpion harmeth both with teeth & tayle, that is, although the greatest harme doe come by the sting in the tayle, yet is there also some that cometh by their byting. (p.229)

Topsell also tells us,

The principall of all other subjects of their hatred are virgins and women, whom they doe not onely desire to harme, but also when they have harmed are never perfectly recovered. (p.227)

Although later than 1590 it is likely that this view was current then. Scorpions are often used in medieval visions of Hell.

26 blind corner] 'Dim, as opposed to bright or clear' (OED III 7).

28 bastinado] 'Eng. fr. Sp. bastonada a blow with a stick or cudgel; a beating with a stick' (Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases). The Dedicatory Epistle to Armin's Quips upon Questions

- p.321 (sig. Aii) is addressed to 'the Right Worthy Sir Timothie Trunchion: Alias Bastinado'.
- p.322, 2 The tale of the Painter of Doncaster] I have found no source, either literary or traditional, for this tale. I am grateful for the help of the vicar of Doncaster, Canon Lawn, the town's archivist and the chief librarian in my search.
- 6-7 the light of the gospel pulled from under the bushel where it was covered]
 Matthew V. 15: 'Neyther do men lyght a candell, and put it under a busshell: but on a candelsticke, and it geveth lyght unto all that are in the house.'
 See also: Mark IV. 21; Luke XI. 33.
- 8-11 all his relics were abolished, and his idols pulled down, and the Church, as near as they could, cleansed from the dregs of such an Antichrist. Whereupon, the painters that lived with such trash..]
Sp. Masquerado, B2^v: Elizabeth hath utterly rased & abolished al his trash and traditions as absurdities & heresies, out of her Churches of England and Ireland, hating the Pope as Antichrist.
- 10 Antichrist] In the New Testament the word only appears in St John's Epistles, in which Antichrist is Christ's adversary: I Epistle II. 18; I Epistle IV. 3; II Epistle 7. Commentators identify Antichrist with the 'man of sin' mentioned but not named by St Paul, II Thessalonians II. 3-4.
 Opinions varied as to the nature of Antichrist,

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some believing him a devil, some a wicked man. It was popularly thought that there would be many Antichrists (from St John's statement 'even now are there many antichrists'), as forerunners of the ultimate one. Nero, for example, was thought to have been one. It appears that the writer of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie held this view as he speaks of 'an Antichrist', and implies that Queen Mary could have been identified in this way. See also: S. Baring-Gould, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages (London, 1884), chapter 8.

- 13-14 Alexander the copper-smith] II Timothy IV. 14:
 'Alexander the coppersmith shewed me much evyll:
 The Lorde rewarde hym accordyng to his deedes'.
- 23 Doncaster] 9 October 1536 the Pilgrimage of Grace, a popular rising in the north country against the dissolution of the monasteries, and religious innovations, began under Robert Aske of Doncaster, which may imply that the townspeople had Catholic sympathies, or a reputation for such sympathies.

p.323, 6

there was old ringing of bells] Halliwell notes 'The word olde does not here signify ancient, as in the next line, but is merely used as a kind of superlative. It is thus employed by Shakespeare in 2 Henry iv. ii. 4 [sic].

- p.323, 24 goodwill] 'Virtuous intention' (OED 1), in other words the painter has 'done his best'.
- 26 cunning] 'Skill, dexterity' (OED 3).
- p.324, 13 bay garlands] 'Leaves or sprigs of this tree, esp. as woven into a wreath or garland to reward a conqueror or poet' (OED 3).
- 14 old Ennius] Quintus Ennius (239-169 B.C.). Known as 'the father of Roman poetry'. He was skilled in Greek, Latin and Oscan. He wrote books of Annals, Satires, Comedies and Tragedies. He was revered by literary Romans, such as Cicero and Quintilian, and regarded as the forerunner of the great Latin poets.
- 14 Virgil] See note on p.280, 16.
- 14 Juvenal] Decius Junius Juvenal. A writer of bitter satires. 'Scaliger says that he is easily the first of satirists, for his verses are by far better than the Horatian, his sentences more biting, and his phrases more apt' (Allen, p.134).
- 14 Propertius] Sextus Propertius lived in the last fifty years of the first century B.C. He composed four books of elegies. 'Critics as a rule felt that Propertius was the first among Latin elegiac

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poets ... Scaliger calls him a facile, pure, and true writer of elegies (787) while Turnebus calls him a charming and polished poet' (Allen, p.123).

- 15 wanton Ovid] Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.-c.A.D. 17). One of the best known and most popular of Latin poets. The 'wanton' probably refers to his books of love, the Amores, three books of love poems, the Ars Amatoria, three books purporting to teach the art of love, and the Remedia Amoris, or remedy for love. It was supposedly because of these that Augustus exiled him to Pontus, on the Black Sea, in A.D. 8, though it has been suggested that the banishment was due to an illicit affair with the Emperor's daughter Julia. He died in exile.
- 15 Martial] Marcus Valerius Martialis (c.A.D.104-40). Martial was born in Spain and taken to Rome as a child. He wrote twelve books of epigrams. 'Scaliger praises him highly, saying that he fills the definition of the epigrammatist, who should have brevitas et argutia' (Allen, p.138).
- 15 Horace] Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65-8 B.C.). 'Horace was studied greatly during the sixteenth century. He was one of the first Latin poets that the schoolboy read, and next to Aristotle's treatise, his work on poetics was one of the handbooks of the critics. It is probably because of this extreme

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familiarity with the poet that the critics are, for the most part, so silent. He was everyday fare, something to be taken for granted. As a consequence of this, critical opinion on the poetry of Horace cannot be classified and whatever remarks occur must be treated as individual opinions' (Allen, p.121).

- 16 heroicall] It is not clear why the poets should be in Purgatory for writing heroicall verse, for which one would expect them to be commended.
- 17 Ronsard] Pierre de Ronsard (1524-85). French lyric poet, the principal figure in the Pléiade. Regarded with great admiration by his contemporaries. He played a large part in the reform of French literature, creating a distinctive poetic language.
- 19 Cassandra] Cassandre Salviati, the subject and inspiration of many of Ronsard's poems. The poet first saw her, at the age of 15, in April 1546. A year later she married Jean de Peigné, and thus put herself out of the poet's reach. The poems closely associated with her are Les Amours. The love always existed on an idealized level, Cassandre never allowing Ronsard more than the occasional kiss, and, although the poet occasionally lapses into incandescent fantasies, he seems to have been contented for it to develop into l'amour

p.324

courtois when Cassandre became 'the lovely inaccessible', doubtlessly not uninfluenced by his model, Petrarch. The tone of the sonnets is one of resignation and worship, however the love lasted for many years, and it is interesting to see it revive on Ronsard's seeing Cassandre again, for the last time, twenty years later (April 1568), a meeting which came to fruition in the publication of Derniers Vers pour Cassandre in 1571. (from D.B. Wyndham Lewis, Ronsard)

27 Flora] Italian/Roman goddess of flowering or blossoming plants.

p.325, 4

With sights to witch the gazer's eyne]

Never Too Late, B1^v: Lockes where Love did sit and
twine
Nets to snare the gazers eyne.

15 Apollo's wires] 'Applied to hairs, or rays, as resembling shining wires' (OED IV 11). The reference here is to Apollo as the god of the sun.

18 Aurora] Goddess of the dawn, hence the personification of dawn.

23 Luna] Roman moon goddess, hence the personification of the moon.

24 comixed] blended (OED 1).

p.326, 2 seating] setting or background.

18 plain] This is from the second edition, the first has 'paine'.

p.327, 11 dirges] See note on p.285, 11.

11 trentals] See note on p.285, 11.

12 masses ad requiem] Requiem Masses - masses for the dead.

Nashe, Christs Teares, ii, 161: we may not build Monasteries, or have Masses, Dirges, or Trentals sung for our soules.

13-15 her beautiful hair ... whose trammels was a train to entrap young gentlemen, that now was clipped off bare to the skull]

Shaving the head seems to have been a punishment for an adultress. See,

George Whetstone, An Heptameron of Civill Discourses (1582), sig. L2:

hee inclosed his wyfe, wont dooing her any bodely iniurie, save the cutting of her haire: and to say trueth, this beautifull ornament of haire, beseemeth not an Adultresse head.

William Painter, The Palace of Pleasure, vol. I (1566), sig. Lllli_v:

I do use her no worse than my self, although she goeth thus shaven: for the ornament of the heare doth not appertayne to an adultresse, nor the vaile or other furniture of the heade to an unchast woman. Wherefore she goeth so shaven, in token she hath loste her honestie.

G. of Witte, D4: Who chaine blind youths in tramels of their haire

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Vision, E3: She layes not out the tramels of hir
hayre to allure mens lookes

See also: C. Amor, E3^V; Menaphon, B3; M. Garment,
B2, D2v; Never Too Late, H4, J1, K2v.

Nashe, Christs Teares, ii, 95.

The Terrors of the Night, i, 380.
iv, 210.

18 The tale of the Gentlewoman of Lyons] Decameron
VII, vi. See Sources.

p.328, 3-5

women, whom nature hath framed to be inconstant,
cannot be altered by nurture]

Tilley N47: 'Nature passes nurture'; N357: 'Nurture
is above (passes) nature'. Much used by Greene.

5-6

the palm will grow straight though it be never
so depressed]

Tilley P37: 'The straighter (higher) grows the
palm the heavier the weight it bears'.

Alcida, C2/C2^V: as the Palme tree can by no meanes
be depressed

Philomela, J4: The Palme tree the more it is prest
downe, the more it sprowteth up

See also: Carde of Fancie, Civ, Rii^V; Mamillia II,
G1; Perimedes, Ciii.

15

foreshowed] betokened (OED 3). This is the
earliest example cited by OED.

20

Taking, therefore, opportunity by the forehead]

Alcida, D1: Telegonus taking opportunity by the
forehead

p.328

Menaphon, J1: Democles thinking to take opportunitie
by the forehead

See also: C. Amor, J3; Disputation, D4^V; Euphues
his censure, J4v; Never Too Late, H4;
Orpharion, C4v; Perimedes, F1v.

25 gravity] 'Seriousness of conduct, bearing' (OED
I 3). The word seems to apply to the lady's
reputation, rather than conduct, here.

27-28 Venus hath shrines to shade her truants; and
Cupid's wings are shelters]

Never Too Late, H3: Venus hath shrines to shadow
her trewants, and Cupids wings
are shelters for such as venter
farre to content their thoughts.

p.328, 29-

unseen is half pardoned, and love requires not
chastity, but that her soldiers be chary]

p.329, 2

Tilley S472: 'A sin unseen is half pardoned'.

Tilley L381: 'Live charily if not chastely'.

See note on p.307, 14-15.

F. Fortunes, L1: That sin which is secretly
committed is halfe pardoned: shee
liveth chastly enough that liveth
charily.

Never Too Late, H3: Sins unseene are halfe
pardoned; and Love requires
not chastitie, but that her
souldiours be charie.

See also: F. Fortunes, L2; M. of Modestie, Avii^V,
Bii; Vision, E3, G1v.

p.329, 3-5

after a few faint denials, thrusting him away
with the little finger and pulling him to her
with the whole hand]

Tilley F231: 'To thrust away with the little

p.329

finger what one pulls back with the whole hand'.

M. Garment, H1^V/H2: what shee thrusts away with one finger, shee will pull againe with both her hands.

Never Too Late, H4: desirous to draw to her that with both hands, which she had thrust away with her little finger.

See also: Pandosto, E2^V; Planetomachia, J2^V.

- 6 servant] 'A professed lover; one who is devoted to the service of a lady' (OED 4b).
- 11 meacock] 'An effeminate person; a coward, weakling' (OED).
- 11-12 he was a meacock and a milksop, not daring to draw his sword to revenge her wrongs]
- Carde of Fancie, Eii^V: And shall I ... proove such a meacocke or a milkesoppe
- M. Garment, F2/F2^V: to pinne a fayre meacocke and a witty milkesop on my sleeve
- See also: C. Amor, D1; F. Fortunes, H2^V; M. Garment, B3^v, B4; O. Furioso, Ciiii; Orpharion, C2^v.
- Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 304.
Christs Teares, ii, 123, 165.
The Unfortunate Traveller, ii, 258.
- 15 hard-faced] ugly
- 16 entertained] took into service (OED II 5b).
- 17 white livered] Tilley F180: 'A white-livered

p.329

fellow'. Brewer, 'It was an old notion that the livers of cowards were bloodless'. Nowadays the more common expression is 'lily-livered'.

See, Nashe, Strange Newes, i, 296.

17 to feed her eye with beauty]

M. Garment, F1^V: such a one as may content mine eye with his beauty, and satisfie my sight with his proportion.

19 a poor husband to shadow both with his horns]

Carde of Fancie, Nii^V:

to have their husbands feede the sheepe, & some other reape the fleece: under the shaddowe of his heade, doo defende themselves from such heate, as would otherwise greatly scorch their credite, to make him followe the bent of their bowe, although he set the Cuckoldes end upward.

p.330, 15-16 bite of the bridle] Tilley B670: 'To bite upon the bridle'.

p.331, 15 middest] 'in the middle' (OED).

22 tendered] pitied (OED 3c).

p.332, 22 whipping of them with nettles]

Lodge, Rosalynde, E4: Leave off (quoth Aliena) to taunt thus bitterly, or els Ile pul off your pages apparell and whip you (as Venus doth her wantons) with nettles.

I4: And for Love let me alone, Ile whip him away with nettles, and set disdain as a charme to withstand his forces.

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Nashe, The Choise of Valentines, iii, 414:
 Thow wilt be whipt with nettles for this
 geare
 If Cicelie shewe but of thy knaverie heere.

See also: Alcida, D2^V, J2; C. Amor, D2, K3;
Menaphon, C1; M. Garment, G1v; Never
 Too Late, J3v; Orpharion, B1v.

Lodge, Rosalynde, L2^V.

Lyly, Sapho and Phao, V, ii, 73-76.

p.333, 1

The tale of the two lovers of Pisa] Straparola's
Le Tredici Piacevoli Notti, IV, iv, and Ser
 Giovanni Fiorentino's Il Pecorone, I, ii. See
Sources.

4-6 feared as well for his wealth as honoured for his
 virtue, but, indeed, well thought on for both]

Mamillia I, A4: it was in doubt, whether he wanne
 more favour for his wit, or feare
 for his ryches: whether hee were
 better lyked for his calling, or
 loved for his courtesie

M. of Modestie, A1: hee was feared of most for his
 riches, and renowned above all
 for his Iustice

Pandosto, A3/A3^V: it was hard to iudge whether her
 beautie, fortune, or vertue,
 wanne the greatest commendations.

13 feoffments] 'endowments' (OED 1c).

17-18 A tall stripling he was and a proper youth]

F. Fortunes, G3: Nature having made so proper a
 stripling

G. of Witte, C4^V: the fox bad the Badger play the
 tall stripling, and strut on
 his tiptoes.

- p.333, 19 offence] 'attack' (OED 3).
- p.334, 5 countenance] 'A sign, gesture' (OED I 3).
- 8 perplexity] 'Trouble, distress' (OED 1b).
- 26 import] 'importance' (OED I 2).
- p.335, 1-2 men of our profession are no blabs] i.e. it is a matter of professional necessity that a physician should be able to keep a confidence.
- Vision, C2: for secrecie we are no blabs.
- 7-8 told and discoursed unto him, from point to point, how he was fallen in love]
- See note on p.300, 20-21.
- Conny-Catching 3, D3^V: from point to point he discourseth the whole manner of the tragedie
- Never Too Late, D2: discourst unto her from point to point the beginning & sequell of his loves
- See also: C. Amor, J2^V; Euphues his censure, M2^V; Vision, G4.
- 15 experience] test (OED I 1).
- 21 faint heart never won fair lady] Tilley H302: 'Faint heart ne'er won fair lady'.
- 22 to the bent of your bow] Tilley B313: 'I have the bent of his bow'. Here meaning 'you will be able

p.335 to persuade her'.

p.336, 9 drived] passed (OED B V 21).

11 suits him] dresses himself (OED 9b). The earliest occurrence of this recorded in OED is 1594.

17 accompted] accounted (OED).

19 friend] 'lover' (OED 4).

Euphues his censure, D3: hir faithfull servaunt & frinde at command

23 favours] 'Propitious or friendly regard, goodwill' (OED 1). 'Favour' can also refer to a love token, but that seems unlikely in the circumstances of this tale.

29 exordium] 'Lat.: a beginning, esp. the proeme or opening of a speech or of any literary composition' (A Stanford Dictionary of Anglicised Words and Phrases).

p.336, 29- began his exordium with a blush]

p.337, 1 N. Discovery, D2^V: beginning her exordium with a smile

Orpharion, G1: beginning her exordium with a blush

See also: C. Amor, E3^V; M. Garment, E4^V.

p.337, 6 prize] 'To offer as the price, to stake' (OED I 2c).

9-10 he should come thither and eat a pound of cherries]

Vision, D4: he might see his wife sitting upon a Schollers lap eating of a pound of Cherries
(repeated sig. D4v).

The Cobler of Caunterburie, E3^V: Therefore Mistres, if I chaunce to come to towne to eat a pound of cherries (if I may be so bold) I would trouble you to take part with mee; and if I meete you at Cambridge, the best wine in the Towne shall bee your welcome.

10-11 succado des labres] Apparently Spanish.

lit. 'sucking of the lips' = kiss.

Menaphon, H2^V: in sign of reconcilment gave her a stoccado des labies

Perimedes, Biii: a friendlie Bezo les labros

20 How deep this struck into Mutio's heart let them imagine]

Defence, D3: This went colde to the olde mans heart

N. Discovery, C1^V: Strikes such a cold humor to hys heart

Vision, D3^V: This went as colde as a stone to Tomkins heart, yet because hee would learne all, he conceald the matter, and bare it out with a good countenance.

24-25 dub [him] "knight of the forked order"]

Disputation, E3: [she] let him dub her husband knight of the forked order

The Cobler of Caunterburie, B4^V: he had dubbed him knight of the forked order.

- p.338, 7 a horn was but a little while on grafting] Apart from the obvious reference to cuckolds, this could suggest some reference to the practice of grafting the spurs of a fighting cock on to the root of its excised comb.
- Disputation, E3^v: grafting hornes in the Chimnies
- 9 chopped] thrust (OED II 7).
- 9 dry vat] 'A large vessel used to hold dry things (as opposed to liquids)' (OED 3).
- Nashe, Pierce Penillesse, i, 204: they shall not grow so like dry-fats as they doo
- Strange Newes, i, 271: beene buried with his bookes in the bottome of a drie-fatte
- 20 with a flea in his ear] See note on p.304, 14.
- p.339, 2-3 I hope to cry quittance with him] Tilley Q18: 'I'll cry quittance (quits) with you'.
- 6
- 17 that before had provided for afterclaps] Tilley A57: 'Beware an Afterclap'. 'An unexpected stroke after the recipient has ceased to be on his guard' (OED).
- Pen. Web, E1: Looke ere thou leape, prevent an afterclap.
- 18 ceilings] 'The wooden lining of the roof or walls of a room' (OED II 4).

- p.339, 18 plancher] 'An upper 'floor' or story' (OED 2b),
or, 'A wooden inner roof, or ceiling, etc.'
(OED 2c). In describing this hiding place in his
On the Literary Genetics of Shakspeare's Plays 1592-
1594 T.W. Baldwin comments 'Sounds like hiding a
priest' (p.458n). This particular hiding place is
not in the sources, and it does sound like a priest
hole, a far more familiar hiding place to a writer
in Protestant England than to his Italian
predecessor.
- 24 poinard] a dagger (OED).
- 25-26 mine nose bled, and I came back] Believed to be
a bad omen.
- Nashe, The Terrors of the Night, i, 358: if his
nose bleede, some of his kinsfolkes is dead.
- p.340, 13 Vicenza] 'City in N. Italy on the Bacchiglione,
40m. W. of Venice' (Sugden).
- 15 grange house] 'A country house' (OED 3).
- Perimedes, Di^V: sent them to a graunge place of
his in the countrey
- Pen. Web, G2^V: at a grange house three myles distant
- See also: F. to Folly, B1^V; Menaphon, K3; Morando I,
B2v; Pen. Web, F2v; Perimedes, D1v;
Planetomachia, F2; R. Exchange, B1v, B4.
- 18 away he flings to the church]

- p.343, 12 scouring] beating (OED 6).
- 19 quoth he] This is from the second edition, the first has 'quoth I'.
- 28 stick] 'To remain firm, continue steadfast' (OED II 7).
- p.344, 19 one of her sisters] This seems to contradict p.333, 7 (sig. G1^V), 'This gentleman had only one daughter', however, it could refer to a sister-in-law.
- 23-24 having a quick wit and a reaching head, spied the fetch]
- See note on p.318, 21.
- Alcida, G3: to deceive her that spieth the fetch
- N. Discovery, B4: it requires a quicke eie, a sharpe wit, and a reaching head
- See also: Carde of Fancie, Hi^V; Never Too Late, D4^V.
- 23 reaching] 'Having great (mental) reach' (OED 2).
- p.345, 4 notified] 'made known, proclaimed' (OED 2).
- 23 boon companion] See note on p.285, 22.
- 25-26 which hath brought me into such use that ..]
- Tilley U24: 'Use (Practice) makes mastery (perfectness)'.

Appendix I

This appendix is a collation of the three editions of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, noting all differences except those of spelling, capitalization and contractions. The ends of lines in the third edition tend to be very faint or appear clipped, so it is sometimes difficult to tell what punctuation is there, generally it follows the first edition closely. Signature references are to the first edition, page and line numbers are from my text.

	1st edition	2nd edition	3rd edition
sig. A2			
p.280, 3	handed	handled	handled
4	peece;	peece,	peece,
8	I feared	I feared	feared
11	curteous	curteous	curteous,
			[A2/A2 ^v Saddle for: <u>AEneidos</u> , (7 words missing)]
17	trifles,	trifles	trifles
17	afore	before	before
18	<u>Bellum</u>	<u>Bellum</u>	<u>Bella</u>
19	Roome	Roome	<u>Rome</u>
22	Tarltons,	Tarltons,	<u>Tarltons</u> ,
22	newes out of Purgatory	newes out of Purgatory	<u>Newes out of</u> <u>Purgatory</u>
sig. A2 ^v			
23/24	to to please	to please	to please

p.280, 24	<u>Crepundia</u>	<u>Crepundia,</u>	<u>Crepundia,</u>
27	Momus	Momus	<u>Momus</u>
28	Zoilus (twice)	Zoilus (twice)	<u>Zoilus</u> (twice)
p.281, 2	mallice	malice,	malice,
	no catchword	ctwd. Tarltons	ctwd. Tarltons.
sig. B1			
p.282, 4	coveted,	coveted	coveted
8	him	him	him,
9	fountain,	fontaine	fontaine
12	such prompt witte	such prompt witte	such a prompt wit
14	Orator	Oratorie	Oratorie
14	howsoever	howsoever,	howsoever,
15	both,	both:	both,
23	to see a play	to see a play	to a play
sig. B1 ^v			
p.283, 2	shade,	shade,	shade
3	aire,	aire,	aire
3	sleepe:	sleepe:	sleepe
8	remembrance,	remembrance,	remembrance
9	neere	neere,	neere
12	deade	dead,	deade
15	thus.	thus	thus,
16	mouse?	mouse?	mouse:
20	foe:	foe:	foe
22	in the likenes	in likenes	in likenes
29	in resemblance	in a resemblance	in resemblance
sig. B2			
p.284, 11	cares,	cares	cares,

p.284,	14	<u>redemptio:</u>	<u>redemptio</u>	<u>redemptio</u>
	15	premisses	premises,	premisses
	17	end,	end	end,
	21	choplodgicke	choplodgick,	choplodgicke
	22	your	your	you
	22	hands:	hands	hands:
	24	opinion,	opinion	opinion,
	26	there is,	there is	there is,
	28	religion	religion	religious
p.285,	11	trentals	trentals,	trentals
	13	heaven. Nay	heave Nay	heave, Nay
	13	more,	more	more
	15	is? And	is? and	is? &
sig. B2 ^v				
	19	Purgatorie,	Purgatory	Purgatorie,
	22	principle.	principle,	principle.
	25	him	him,	him,
	28	thus.	thus	thus.
p.286,	1	Tarltons description	Tarltons Newes	Tarltons newes
	4	broade	broad,	broade
	12	points	pointes,	points
sig. B3				
	22	and a many	and many	and a many
	25	Bridewell:	Bridewell,	Bridewell:
	27	At first	At first	At the first
p.287,	2	pawne: In	pawne: In	pawne: in
	4	Amphitheater:	Amphitheater,	Amphitheater:
	9	pontificalibus,	pontificalibus	pontificalibus,

p.287,	10	crownes,	crowns	crownes,
	12	sinnes:	sinnes,	sinnes:
	13	scriptures	scriptures	scripture
	15	sloth,	sloth	sloth,
	15	idlenesse:	idlenesse,	idlenesse:
	17	sinne,	sinne	sinne,
	20	rest	rest,	rest,
	21	punishment:	punishment.	punishment:
	22	order.	order	order
	25	cap:	cap,	cap:
sig. B3 ^v				
p.288,	1	Latin:	Latin.	Latin:
	3	reason	reason	reason,
	3	why we	why he	why he
	8	Astasio	Astatio	Astasio
	8	behaviour	behaviour,	behaviour
	9	insomuch,	insomuch	insomuch,
	11	Astasio	Astatio	Astasio
	19	house,	house	house,
	27	dignitie,	dignitie	dignitie,
sig. B4				
p.289,	4	succession,	succession	succession,
	5	Papacie:	Papacie,	Papacie:
	14	agreed	agreede,	agreed
	17	of the papacye	o the papacy:	of the successio of the papacy:
	21	cryed,	cryed	cryed,
	27	intombed.	intombed	intombed.
p.290,	1	questions	questions,	questions

p.290, 4	who along while	who long while	who a long while
9	meet	meet.	meet.
12/13	man possible could	man coulde	man could
15	Cardinals:	Cardinals,	Cardinals:
16	witte	witte,	witte,
17	Cardinal.	Cardinall,	Cardinal.
21	saint Peters church:	S. Peters Church,	saint Peters church:
p.291, 7	darke	darke,	darke
12	first	first,	first
14	judgement,	judgement:	judgement,
sig. C1			
17	<u>made.</u>	<u>made.</u>	<u>made,</u>
19	make:	make,	make:
23	made;	made:	made;
26	creator	creator	creator,
p.292, 5	<u>touching</u>	<u>touching</u>	<u>touch</u>
10	false face	false face	faire face
12	Carnation:	Carnation,	Carnation:
sig. C1 ^v			
25	<u>What occupations</u>	<u>What occupations</u>	<u>And what occupations</u>
28	prove it:	prove it.	prove it:
p.293, 3	brows.	browes,	brows.
4	Miller	Miller,	Miller
9	at masse	at masse	at masse,
15	wit	wit,	wit,
15	ploughswaine	Ploughswaine,	ploughswaine,
17	nose	Nose,	nose,

p.293, 23	<u>Monterelso</u>	<u>Montecelso,</u>	<u>Montecelso</u>
25	Pope	Pope,	Pope,
sig. C2			
p.294, 2	said that	said that	said, that
4	anon;	anon:	anon:
4	<u>erit</u>	<u>erit</u>	<u>exit</u>
6	solempe	solemne	solempe
9	fro from a	from a	from a
11	Cappe	Cappe,	Cappe,
12	signifie,	signifie	signifie
16	weekes;	weekes,	weekes;
18	Armor,	Armor	Armor,
19	end:	end,	end:
22	Iulius,	Iulius	Iulius,
23	Tiber,	Tiber	Tiber,
27	morning	morning,	morning
28	yet the question	yet the question	yet they question
sig. C2 ^v			
p.295, 10	was a Pope,	was a Pope,	was a Pope
11	it was	it was,	it was
12	stile:	stile.	stile:
17	streetes.	streets,	streetes.
19	thence	thence,	thence
23	wealth	wealth,	wealth
24	poverty;	povertye,	poverty;
25	favour;	favour:	favour;
27	roome	roome,	roome
p.296, 1	forth	foorth,	forth

p.296, 3/4	waspes.	waspes.	waspes,
sig. C3			
7	parentage,	parentage	parentage,
8	possessions,	possession,	possessions,
9	in al <u>Florence</u>	in al <u>Florence</u>	of all <u>Florence</u>
10/11	hir was,	was	was.
14	<u>Forence.</u>	<u>Florence:</u>	<u>Florence.</u>
16	Well	Wel,	Well
19	ofttimes	ofttimes	ofttime
25	idlenesse;	idlenesse,	idlenesse;
26	perfections;	perfections:	perfections;
27	selfelove;	selfelove	selfelove;
28	thought,	thought	thought
p.297, 1	thought,	thought	thought,
1	women	women	woman
2	promises,	promises:	promises,
4	thus:	thus.	thus:
8	Madam!	Madam	Madam,
8	know;	know,	know;
10	syr	sir,	syr
sig. C3 ^v			
13/14	there were	there were	there was
19	Madam,	Madam,	Madam;
24	Angels,	angels	Angels,
26	angels,	Angels	angels,
p.298, 2	visit you,	visit you,	visit you:
5	commendations;	commendations:	commendations:
10	this geere	this geere	the geere
12	desired,	desired	desired,

p.298, 14	demaund,	demaund	demaund,
14	aske.	aske,	aske.
sig. C4			
23	might,	might	might,
28	resolution	resolution,	resolution
p.299, 2	Onyon,	Onyon	Onyon,
7	bedchamber;	bedchmaber,	bedchamber;
13	as might be:	as might be:	as might be,
14	<u>Gabriell</u> ;	<u>Gabriell</u> ,	<u>Gabriell</u> ;
24	done	doon,	done
sig. C4 ^v			
p.300, 4	content	content,	content
6/7	was so coy	was coye	was so coy
27	hir:	her,	hir:
p.301, 4	gossips;	gossips,	gossips:
sig. D1			
19	bed,	bed	bed,
29	theeves;	theeves	theeves;
p.302, 1	lodging.	lodging.	lodging,
5	saint,	saint	saint
7	wings:	wings,	wings:
8	mist them.	them:	them.
sig. D1 ^v			
12	departed,	departed,	departed
23	not,	not,	not.
p.303, 3/4	of the two	of the two	of two
8	chaine,	chaine	chaine,
14	dressing;	dressing,	dressing;
14	meane:	meane?	meane:

sig. D2

p.303, 28	kinsmen.	kinsmen.	kinsmen,
p.304, 2	hands,	hands	hands
4	hope,	hope	hope
7	citie,	Citie	citie,
13	Onyon:	Onyon,	Onyon,
18	prison,	prison	prison
19	died:	died,	died

sig. D2^v

p.305, 3	every lashe	every lashe	ever lashe
5	B.	B,	B.
11	garden:	garden,	garden:
21	preheminnence;	preheminnence:	preheminnence;
21	passed by	passed by,	passed by,
24	Cuckholds;	Cuckolds,	Cuckholds;
26	sentence,	sentence,	sentence.
27	<u>one</u> :	<u>One</u> ,	<u>one</u> :
27	third	third,	third,

sig. D3

p.306, 5	Cuckoldes,	Cuckoldes,	Cuckoldes:
9	featured;	featured:	featured:
10	then of honesty	then honestye	then of honesty
11	was,	was	was,
14/15	no ill tricke at tables to	no ill tricke to	no ill tricke to
15	saw it	saw it,	saw it
16	well,	well	well,
21	lived	lived,	lived
p.307, 1	signifie,	signifie	signifie,

p.307, 2	hornes	hornes,	hornes
3	see,	see,	see
4	Tully:	Tully.	Tully:
6	for our selves	of our selves	for our selves
sig. D3 ^v			
10	written,	written	written,
13	inward;	inward:	inward;
14	false;	false:	false;
14	<u>Caste</u>	<u>Caste,</u>	<u>Caste</u>
15	hir;	her,	hir;
p.308, 1	his Motto	is Motto	his Motto
3	Meaning,	Meaning	Meaning,
3	is;	is,	is;
7	written,	written	written,
10	Helen	Helen,	Helen
14	hir	her,	hir
15	company;	companye:	company;
sig. D4			
16	vertue	vertue,	vertue
17	abroad;	abroad,	abroad;
24	meet;	meet	meet;
p.309, 2	Jealousie. He	Jelousie: he	Jealousie. He
4	this,	this	this,
10	<u>mortua</u>	<u>mortua</u>	<u>mortuae</u>
16	hornes,	hornes	hornes,
sig. D4 ^v			
p.310, 3	slave;	slave,	slave;
5	often	often	after

p.310, 7	in a cudgill:	in a cudgill	̄w a cudgill:
10	tongue:	tongue,	tongue:
18	water,	water	water,
18	knack	knackt	knack
19	thombes:	thombes:	thoumbs
21	villanie:	villanye,	villanie:
24	smilde,	smilde	smilde,
27	<u>mouth.</u>	<u>mouth.</u>	<u>mouth</u>
p.311, 2	<u>Consiliadorie,</u>	<u>Consiliadorie</u>	<u>Consiliadorie,</u>
sig. E1			
8	that gratefulness	great gratefulness	that gratefulness
10	present	present,	present,
15	cheere,	cheere,	cheere.
22	wench;	wench:	wench?
p.312, 3	cheere:	cheere,	cheere:
5	kitchin;	kitchin,	kitchin;
7	Crane	Crane,	Crane
sig. E1 ^v			
19	off a legge	of a legge	off a legge
20	home: And	home, and	home: And
24	dainties	dainties,	dainties
28	guests,	guests,	guests
p.313, 4	commande;	commaund:	commande;
6	he,	he	he,
13/14	Cooke:	cook,	Cooke:
19	Either,	Either	Either,
20	about a Cranes	about ȳ Cranes	about ȳ Cranes
20	legge:	leg,	legge:

sig. E2

p.313, 25	eleaven	nine	eleaven
28	give him	give him	give his
28	Duckats	Duckats,	Duckats
p.314, 7	cheere,	cheer	cheere
7	promising,	promising	promising,
12	nought;	nought:	nought,
15	neighbours	neighbours,	neighbours
17	up	up,	up
20	neighbours are come	neighbours come	neighbours come
22	doore,	doore,	doore
23	Crane hath:	hath,	hath:
24	Cranes,	cranes	cranes.
26	leg,	leg,	leg:
27	advantage	advantage,	advantage
28	himselpe:	himselpe,	himselpe,

sig. E2^v

p.315, 3	advantage,	advantage,	advantage
7	So ho;	So ho:	So ho;
8	two:	two	two:
10	syr	sir,	syr
13	platter had	platter that had	platter \bar{y} had
14	cried,	cried	cried,
15	jest,	jest	jest,
20	went all to	went to	went all to
21	forgiven:	forgiven,	forgiven:
23	leg	leg,	leg
24	with a legge	with his legge	with a legge

p.315, 28/9	last,	last	last,
29	where	where	there
sig. E3			
p.316, 5	<u>mouth</u>	<u>mouth,</u>	<u>mouth</u>
10	for his learning	for learning	for learning
13	languages,	languages,	languages
22	choller	choller,	choller
23	thus.	thus:	thus.
p.317, 4	vickar:	vickar:	vickar
4	thither,	thither,	thither;
6	vickar:	vickar,	vickar:
7/8	hir puddings;	the puddings:	the puddings:
sig. E3 ^v			
10	whip	whip	whipt
16	wife to make	wife make	wife to make
21	doone	doon,	doone
24	over	over,	over
29	breakfast;	breakfast,	breakfast:
p.318, 3	seeing hir dozen	seeing a dozen	seeing a dozen
5	thers	ther's	thers
6	Chimney;	Chimney:	Chimney;
6	gone:	gone,	gone:
11	breakfasts	breakfasts	breakfast
14	his parish	the parish	the parish
15	passe;	passe,	passe,
sig. E4			
20	them:	them,	them:
24	this,	this	this,
28	it:	it,	it,

p.319,	2	relique;	relique,	relique,
	7	chamber	chamber,	chamber
	10	out	out,	out
	15	his box	the box	the box
	16	day	day,	day,
	17	Masse;	Masse,	Masse;
sig. E4 ^v				
p.320,	1	spoong,	spunge	spunge
	1	Vineger;	Vineger:	Vineger;
	2	syde;	side,	side;
	3	evill;	evill:	evill;
	4	Appolym	Appolym,	Appolym
	4	toothake;	toothake:	toothake;
	5	horse	Horse,	horse
	6	cattell;	Cattell:	cattell:
	6	Swine	Swine,	Swine
	6	bell;	bell:	bell;
	7	tonges;	tonges:	tonges:
	8	trough;	trough:	trough:
	8	sight	sight,	sight
	8	girdle;	girdle:	girdle;
	9	Palsie	Palsie,	Palsie,
	9	Beads,	Beades:	Beads,
	11	feathers;	feathers,	feathers:
	14	yea ritch	- riche	- rich
	14	poore	poore,	poore
	15	downe,	downe	downe,
	15	myracle;	miracle,	miracle,
	17	box	box,	box

p.320,	18	hard rattle	heard it rattle	hard rattle
	20	belly,	belly,	belly
	20	woe:	woe,	woe,
	22	thus.	thus:	thus;
	28	parishioners	parishioners	parishioners,
p.321,	1	witchcraft;	witchcraft,	witchcraft,
sig. F1				
	4	<u>Lawrence;</u>	<u>Lawrence:</u>	<u>Lawrence;</u>
	10	noise	noise,	noise
	19	laments	laments,	laments
	20	why these	why these	why they
	21	rest;	rest:	rest;
	23	men;	men:	men;
	29	rest,	rest:	rest;
p.322,	1	thus.	thus.	thus,
	5	dayes	dayes,	dayes
	7	covered,	covered,	covered
sig. F1 ^v				
	14	doctrine,	doctrine	doctrine,
	16	land,	land	land,
	20	kingdome;	Kingdome,	kingdome;
	24	formost,	formost	formost,
p.323,	2	favourde;	favourde:	favourde;
	4	withall	withall	withall,
	15	religion,	religion	religion,
sig. F2				
	21	church,	church	church
	28	was:	was,	was,
	29	rood,	rood	rood,

p.324, 2	god	god	god,
11	passing	passing	passe
13	Poets,	Poets	Poets,
15	<u>Horace,</u>	<u>Horace,</u>	<u>Horace:</u>
20	stile	stile	tale
sig. F2 ^v			
26	downe,	downe,	downe
27	where	Where	where
p.325, 2	surpassing	passing	surpassing
2	places,	places,	places.
4	gasers	gasers	gaspers
7	this pride of places:	this pride of places:	this, pride of places,
10	all faire faces:	all faces:	all faire faces:
11	containe,	containe,	containe.
15	wyers,	wyers:	wyers,
16	were,	were,	were
19	now	now,	now
20	brow	bow	bow
22	still,	still,	still
p.326, 1	blase:	blase,	blase,
2	seekes	seekes,	seekes
6	shine	shine:	shine
8	appearde	appearde,	appearde
9	eine:	eine.	eine:
10	fiers	fire.	fiers
11	desiers.	desire.	desiers.
13	brests	brests,	brests
14	dove;	dove:	dove:

p.326,	16	lie	lye,	lie
	18	paine	plaine,	plane
	21	this	this,	this.
	22	fairest	faresst	fairest
	22	see;	see,	see:
	24	I	I,	I
	25	found	fond	found
	25	be;	be,	be,
sig. F3 ^v				
p.327,	22	Perow;	Perow:	Perow;
	22	lands	land	lands
p.328,	2	appearance	appearance,	appearance
	3	women,	women	women,
	5	nurture. The	nurture: the	nurture. The
	6	depressed;	depressed,	depressed;
	7	Maria;	Maria	Maria;
	9	faire	faire,	faire
	10	love;	love:	love;
sig. F4				
	20	forehead	forehead	forehead,
p.329,	3	eies	eyes,	eies
	3	heart,	hart:	heart,
	6	thus	thus,	thus
	10	featured;	featured,	featured;
	14	<u>Lamberto</u>	<u>Lamberto</u>	<u>Lamberto,</u>
	14	Gentleman;	Gentleman,	Gentleman;
	16	Champion.	Champion.	Champion,
sig. F4 ^v				
	23	pleasure,	pleasure	pleasure

p.329, 27	gone	gone,	gone,
p.330, 2	humours;	humours:	humours;
4	set	set,	set
5	out	out,	out
6	Mistres;	Mistres:	Mistres;
9	up:	up,	up
11	off.	off:	of.
16	such,	such	such,
19	bed;	bed,	bed:
21	another;	another:	another;
22	riding:	riding,	riding:
23	amazed:	amazed,	amazed:
24	feare	feare,	feare
29	sweetheart	sweethart,	sweetheart
sig. G1			
p.331, 4	uttermost;	uttermost:	uttermost;
7	off	off,	off
10	shoulde	would	shoulde
10	revenge	revenge	revenge,
11	matter	matter,	matter
20	yarde	yarde,	yarde
23	case	case,	case
25	court	court,	court
28	way,	way	way,
p.332, 1	husband	husband,	husband
2	lowde	lowde,	lowde
sig. G1 ^v			
11	<u>Lamberto,</u>	<u>Lamberto</u>	<u>Lamberto,</u>
13	hand	hand,	hand

p.333,	5	wealth	wealth,	wealth
	5	vertue;	vertue:	vertue;
	7	Margaret,	Margaret	Margaret
	8	all	all,	all
	8	many;	many:	many;
	9	owne eie prevaile	owne prevaile	owne eie prevaile
sig. G2				
	12/13	beautie. Divers	beauty, divers	beautie. Divers
	14	still	still,	still
	17	Pisa.	Pisa,	Pisa.
p.334,	1	married.	married.	married,
	1	stake,	stake	stake
	2	man:	man:	man,
	3	jealous,	jealous,	jealous
	15	matters	matters,	matters
	19	Churche	Churche,	Churche
sig. G2 ^v				
	24	solitary	solitary,	solitary
	25	him;	him:	him;
p.335,	4	concealed;	concealed,	concealed;
	4	cured,	cured:	cured
	9	profession,	profession	profession,
	14	matter	matter,	matter
	16	false	false,	false
	16	both;	both:	both;
	17	matter	matter,	matter
	17	answered,	answered:	answered,
	18	highly;	highly:	highly;

p.335, 18	said,	said	said,
19	husband:	husband,	husband:
21	Ladie:	Lady,	Ladie:
sig. G3			
29	credit	credit,	credit
p.336, 7	custodie	custodie,	custodie
8	up	up:	up,
9	frantike:	franticke,	frantike:
16	him,	him	him,
22	lookes	lookes,	lookes
26	description,	description	description,
sig. G3 ^v			
p.337, 7	was a little coye	was a little coye	was little coye
10			
10	cheries,	cheries,	cheries.
21	is;	is,	is;
24	hee;	hee,	hee;
26	chat	chat,	chat
p.338, 3	just came	justly came	just came
8	but yet	but yet	and yet
sig. G4			
16	ease	ease,	ease
18	wife;	wife:	wife;
21	Well	Well,	Well
22	walke;	walke:	walke;
23	slave	slave,	slave
26	him,	him	him,
29	sleepe;	sleepe,	sleepe;
p.339, 3	<u>Mutio:</u>	<u>Mutio,</u>	<u>Mutio:</u>

p.339, 14	in;	in:	in;
sig. G4 ^v			
16	comes:	comes,	comes:
17	afterclaps;	afterclaps,	afterclaps;
19	<u>Lionello;</u>	<u>Lionello,</u>	<u>Lionello;</u>
20	news,	news	news,
26	backe;	backe:	backe;
p.340, 3	havock	havocke,	havock
10	tardy;	tardy:	tardy;
18	nothing,	nothing,	nothing
18	Church:	Church,	Church:
19	he;	he:	he?
21	witch	witch,	witch
22	doores	doores,	doores
sig. H1			
23	backe,	backe,	backe
25	comes;	comes:	comes:
29	bed;	bed:	bed;
p.341, 3	time;	time,	time;
8	quoth	quoth	qd
8	<u>Mutio;</u>	<u>Mutio;</u>	<u>Mutio</u>
8	leave.	leave.	leave;
12	house;	house,	house;
13	<u>Vicensa.</u>	<u>Vicensa.</u>	<u>Vicensa,</u>
18	house,	house	house,
19	foot,	foot,	foot
26	<u>Lionello,</u>	<u>Lionel</u>	<u>Lionello</u>
27	man:	man:	man
28	parlor;	parlor:	parlor:

p.342, 1	into that	into that	unto that
3	<u>Mutio</u> ,	<u>Mutio</u>	<u>Mutio</u> ,
4	she?	she?	she:
6	watch him	watch him	watcht him
sig. H1 ^v			
6	he enter in	him enter in	him enter in
7	feathers,	feathers	feathers
7/8	nor thy seeling	nor thy seeling	nor the seeling
14	passionate	passionat,	passionate
15	matter,	matter	matter,
16	hir,	her	hir,
16	said;	said:	said;
16	wench,	wench	wēch
21	friends:	friends:	friends
22	beggard	beggard,	beggard
23	there	there,	there
29	Paramour;	Paramour,	Paramour;
p.343, 1	Pisa.	Pisa,	Pisa.
3	husband:	husband,	husband:
3/4	it to be true	her it be true	it to bee true
11	laughing;	laughing:	laughing;
12	scowring: For	scowring, for	scowring: For
sig. H2			
18	ground.	ground:	ground.
18	<u>Mutio</u>	<u>Mutio</u> ,	<u>Mutio</u>
19	I,	he,	he,
19	wit,	wit	wit,
23	lodging.	lodging.	lodging,
p.344, 6	sight.	sight:	sight.

p.344,	7	come,	come,	come
	9	humor,	humor	humor,
	13	countenance,	countenance	countenance,
	14	house,	house	house,
	14	and the streete	and the streete	and streete
	16	of this Doctor	of this Doctor	of his Doctor
	17	heard	heard	heard,
	17	with great	with a great	with great
	18	point,	point	point
	19	sisters,	sisters	sisters
	20	Margaret;	Margaret:	Margaret;
	23	head,	head,	head
	27	forward.	forward:	forward.
sig. H2 ^v				
p.345,	2	husband;	husband:	husband;
	6	paradize,	paradize,	paradize:
	8	gentleman,	gentleman	gentleman
	14	died,	died,	died
	18	Pisa,	Pisa,	Pisa
	22	tricks,	tricks	tricks,
	28	mouth,	mouth	mouth,
p.346,	4	downe,	downe,	downe
	4	pleasantly	pleasantly	pleasant
	5	spoake	spoake	speake

Appendix II

This appendix reproduces three poems for comparison with Ronsard's song in Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, the two most commonly associated with it, Montanus's Sonnet from Lodge's Rosalynde and Menaphon's Song from Greene's Menaphon, and one that seems to me to be closer than either of these, Radagon's verses to Mirimida in Greene's Francescos Fortunes.

Montanus Sonnet

Phoebe sate

Sweete she sate,

Sweete sate Phoebe when I saw her,

White her brow,

Coy her eye:

Brow and eye how much you please me?

Words I spent,

Sighes I sent,

Sighes and words could never draw her.

Oh my love

Thou art lost,

Since no sight could ever ease thee.

Phoebe sat

By a fount;

Sitting by a fount I spide her:

Sweet her touch,

Rare her voyce;

Touch and voice what may distaine you?

As she sung,

I did sigh,

And by sighs whilst that I tride her.

Oh mine eyes

You did loose

Her first sight whose want did paine you.

Phoebes flocks

White as wooll,

Yet were Phoebes locks more whiter.

Phoebes eyes

Dovellike mild,

Dovellike eyes both mild and cruell.

Montan swears

In your lampes

He will die for to delight her.

Phoebe yeeld,

Or I die;

Shall true hearts be fancies fuell?

(Rosalynde, sigs. F4^V-G1)

Menaphons Song

Some say Love

Foolish Love

Doth rule and governe all the Gods,

I say Love

Inconstant Love

Sets mens senses farre at ods.

Some sweare Love

Smooth'd face Love

Is sweetest sweete that men can have:

I say Love,

Sower Love

Makes vertue yeeld as beauties slave.

A bitter sweete, a follie worst of all

That forceth wisdom to be follies thrall.

Love is sweete.

Wherein sweete?

In fading pleasures that doo paine.

Beautie sweete.

Is that sweete

That yeeldeth sorrow for a gaine?

If Loves sweete,

Heerein sweete

That minutes ioyes are monthlie woes.

Tis not sweete,

That is sweete

Nowhere, but where repentance growes.

Then love who list if beautie be so sower:
Labour for me, Love rest in Princes bower.

(Menaphon, sig. B3^V)

Radagon in Dianem.

Non fuga Teucrus amat: quae tamen odit habet.

It was a valley gawdie greene,
Where Dian at the fount was seene,
Greene it was,
And did passe
All other of Dianas bowers,
In the pride of Floras flowers.

A fount it was that no Sunne sees,
Circled in with Cipres trees,
Set so nie,
As Phoebus eye
Could not doo the Virgins scathe,
To see them naked when they bathe.

She sat there all in white,
Colour fitting her delite,
Virgins so
Ought to go:
For white in Armorie is plast
To be the colour that is chast.

Her tafta Cassocke might you see
Tucked up above her knee,

Which did show

There below

Legges as white as whales bone.
So white and chast was never none.

Hard by her upon the ground,

Sat her Virgins in a round

Bathing their

Golden haire,

And singing all in notes hye

Fie on Venus flattring eye.

Fie on love it is a toy,

Cupid witlesse and a boy,

All his fires

And desires

Are plagues that God sent downe from hie,

To pester men with miserie.

As thus the Virgins did disdaine

Lovers ioy and lovers paine,

Cupid nie

Did espie,

Greeving at Dianas song,

Slylie stole these maides among.

His bow of steele, darts of fire,
 He shot amongst them sweete desire,
 Which straight flies
 In their eyes.

And at the entrance made them start,
 For it ran from eye to hart.

Calisto straight supposed Iove
 Was faire and frolicke for to love:

 Dian shee

 Scapt not free:

For well I wot hereupon
 She loved the swayne Endimion.

Clitia Phoebus, and Cloris eye
 Thought none so faire as Mercurie:

 Venus thus

 Did discusse

By her sonne in darts of fire,
 None so chast to checke desire.

Dian rose with all her maids,
 Blushing thus at loves braids,

 With sighs all

 Shew their thrall.

And flinging hence pronounce this saw,
 What so strong as Loves sweet law?

(Francescos Fortunes, sigs. J4-K1)

Appendix III

In his article in Notes and Queries, 'The Canon of Robert Armin's Works: Some Difficulties', D.J. Lake supported his argument against Armin's authorship of some of the works credited to him by John Feather by applying a vocabulary test to his known works and to the dubious ones. He claims that,

the most reliable tests of authorship are provided by absolute synonyms - the choices between which are not much affected by context, nor by levels of literary formality. In the Elizabethan-Jacobean period such synonyms include the pairs among/amongst, between/betwixt, while/whilst (with a rarer third alternative whiles); and possibly ye/you. (p.118)

I have applied such a test to the prose, or prose sections of, works of three of the possible authors of Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie, Greene, Armin and Nashe, using the following synonyms, among/amongst/amidst; between/ betwixt/ twixt; while/whilst/whiles; toward/towards; and beside/besides. I do not attach as much authority to this test as D.J. Lake does, not being convinced that authors' use of such words is necessarily unconscious personal preference, Nashe's choice in particular often seems deliberate. In Tarltons Newes Out of Purgatorie the words occur as follows: among, 2; amongst, 23; between, 9; betwixt, 2; while, 2; whiles, 1; toward, 1; towards, 7; beside, 3.

Greene

	among	amongst	amidst	between	betwixt	twixt	while	whilst	whiles	toward	towards	beside	besides
<u>Aloida</u>	1	9	1	13			3				5	2	
<u>Arbasto</u>			2	10			5	1		1	5		
<u>Blacke B. Messenger</u>		6		1	2		3	1			1		1
<u>C. Amor</u>		27	2	3	3	1	5	2			7	1	
<u>Defence</u>	2	8		2			3	1			4	5	4
<u>Disput- ation</u>	1	13		6	4		8	2			1	4	10
<u>Euphues his censure</u>	4	20	7	20	4		3				9		
<u>Francescos Fortunes</u>	1	21		3			5	1		1	7		
<u>Farewell to Folly</u>	1	13	3		1		3				3		1
<u>G. of Witte</u>	2	2		4			5	1		1	1	1	3
<u>Mourning Garment</u>		23		5			6	3		1	7		3
<u>Never Too Late</u>	3	6	1	7	1	1	5			1	6	2	
<u>Orpharion</u>	1	6	2	2	2		5			2	6	3	
<u>Vision</u>	1	17		5	1	1	1				6	1	
<u>Gwydonius</u>	1	10	3	29			14		1	2	7		2

	among	amongst	amidst	between	betwixt	twixt	while	whilst	whiles	toward	towards	beside	besides
<u>Mamillia</u> <u>I</u>	8	4	5	9			2				2	2	
<u>Mamillia</u> <u>II</u>	13	7	7	16	2		7		1	1	1	2	1
<u>Menaphon</u>	5	18	6	2	3	5	4		7		2	1	1
<u>Morando</u> <u>I</u>	1	4		5			1			1	2		
<u>Morando</u> <u>II</u>	2	10		1	6	1	1	1			5		3
<u>M. of</u> <u>Modestie</u>	1	2			1		2		1	1	3		
<u>Notable</u> <u>Discovery</u>	7	7		1	1		2				1	1	1
<u>Pandosto</u>	2	2		4	4		7			2	8		
<u>Pen. Web</u>	1	11	2	5	2		2			1	1		
<u>Perimedes</u>	1	7	5	6	1	1	6		1	2	1		
<u>Philomela</u>		14		7	3	2	12	2		1	8	1	1
<u>Planeto-</u> <u>machia</u>	7	8		16	2		5	1		4	7		
<u>Quip</u>	1	16		9	5		5				4	16	6
<u>Repent-</u> <u>ance</u>		2		1			2				1		
<u>Royal</u> <u>Exchange</u>	3	14	3	13	2		2				9		1

	among	amongst	amidst	between	betwixt	twixt	while	whilst	whiles	toward	towards	beside	besides
<u>C-Catch-</u> <u>ing 2</u>	1	9	1	2			10	2				5	2
<u>Spanish</u> <u>Masquer-</u> <u>ado</u>	1	8	2				2				3		1
<u>C-Catch-</u> <u>ing 3</u>	7	6		12			3			5	1	11	3

Armin

	among	amongst	amidst	between	betwixt	twixt	while	whilst	whiles	toward	towards	beside	besides
<u>Foole</u> <u>upon</u> <u>Foole</u>	3	9			1		10				1	1	
<u>Italian</u> <u>Taylor</u>		3	1		1	2	15				1		
<u>Nest of</u> <u>Ninnies</u>	4	8			2	1	16			1	1	1	
<u>Quips</u> <u>upon</u> <u>Questions</u>	1					1	1						1
<u>Two Maids</u>	3				4		11						3

Nashe

	among	amongst	amidst	between	betwixt	twixt	while	whilst	whiles	toward	towards	beside	besides
<u>Almond for a Parrat</u>		11				1	1	1	10		2		5
<u>Anatomie of Absurditie</u>	2	12					1		4	1	2		2
<u>Christs Teares</u>		54	2		11	2	3		8		5		12
<u>Have With You to Saffron- Walden</u>	2	26	1	1	23	11	3	2	12	1	7	2	11
<u>Lenten Stuffe</u>	2	18		2	17	4			6		9		7
<u>Pierce Penillesse</u>	4	27		1	7	1		7	4	1		1	7
<u>Strange Newes</u>		15		1	1	5	2		2				5
<u>Summers Last Will</u>		3		2	3	1	11	4					5
<u>Terrors of the Night</u>	2	8		1	3		3	1	1		1	1	5
<u>Unfortun- ate Traveller</u>	2	26		1	6	5	5	4	1		7		6
<u>Preface to Menaphon</u>	2	4			1	1							2

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