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Pap with an Hatchet

John Lyly

AN ANNOTATED
MODERN-SPELLING EDITION

Edited by Leah Scragg

Manchester University Press

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Pap with an Hatchet, John Lyly

MANCHESTER
1824

Manchester University Press



Pappe with an hatchet.

Alias,

A figge for my God sonne.

Or

Cracke me this nut.

Or

*A Countrie cusse, that is, a sound boxe of the
eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his peace,
seeing the patch will take no
warning.*

*Written by one that dares call a dog, a dog,
and made to preuent Martins dog daies.*

*Imprinted by Iohn Anoke, and Iohn Asfile, for the
Bayline of Withernam, cum privilegio perennita-
tis, and are to bee sold at the signe of the
crab tree cudgell in thwack-
coate lane.*

A sentence.

Martin hangs fit for my mowing.

GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

Since the late 1950s the series known as *The Revels Plays* has provided for students of the English Renaissance drama carefully edited texts of the major Elizabethan and Jacobean plays. The series includes some of the best-known drama of the period and has continued to expand, both within its original field and, to a lesser extent, beyond it, to include some important plays from the earlier Tudor and from the Restoration periods. The *Revels Plays Companion Library* is intended to further this expansion and to allow for new developments.

The aim of the *Companion Library* is to provide students of the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama with a fuller sense of its background and context. The series includes volumes of a variety of kinds. Small collections of plays, by a single author or concerned with a single theme and edited in accordance with the principles of textual modernization of *The Revels Plays*, offer a wider range of drama than the main series can include. Together with editions of masques, pageants and the non-dramatic work of Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights, these volumes make it possible, within the overall *Revels* enterprise, to examine the achievements of the major dramatists from a broader perspective. Other volumes provide a fuller context for the plays of the period by offering new collections of documentary evidence on Elizabethan theatrical conditions and on the performance of plays during that period and later. A third aim of the series is to offer modern critical interpretation, in the form of collections of essays or of monographs, of the dramatic achievement of the English Renaissance.

So wide a range of material necessarily precludes the standard format and uniform general editorial control which is possible in the original series of *Revels Plays*. To a considerable extent, therefore, treatment and approach are determined by the needs and intentions of individual volume editors. Within this rather ampler area, however, we hope that the *Companion Library* maintains the standards of scholarship that have for so long characterized *The Revels Plays*, and that it offers a useful enlargement of the work of the series in preserving, illuminating and celebrating the drama of Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

J. R. MULRYNE
SUSAN BROCK
SUSAN CERASANO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many individuals and institutions for their assistance in bringing to completion by far the most challenging of my contributions to the project, initiated in 1991, to edit the entire Lylian corpus in the Revels Plays and Revels Plays Companion Library series. The British Library, Bodleian Library (Oxford), John Rylands University Library (Manchester), Beinecke Library (Yale), and Lilly Library (University of Indiana, Bloomington) all either afforded me access to their copies of the first and/or second quartos, supplied me with reproductions or responded to queries regarding the editions in their care, while Dr Williams's Library (London) was particularly welcoming, going to considerable trouble in making available the copy of the text I required. It is to the Huntington Library (San Marino, California), however, that my greatest debt of gratitude is due, and it gives me considerable pleasure to record my thanks for all the assistance afforded me by the staff with both this and my previous contributions to the series. On this occasion, not only did the rich holdings of the library enable me to collate the first and second editions of the text (as listed in *STC*), but the Curator of Early Printed Books, Stephen Tabor, was more than ready to assist me in deciphering cropped marginalia and attempting to unravel the textual history of the work.

Further help with the problematic nature of the relationship between the quartos was provided by Robert Pirie, who kindly revisited his own work for the second edition of *The Short-Title Catalogue of English Printed Books* on my behalf, while Martin Wiggins was characteristically quick to respond to queries regarding both the explication of specific phrases, and the light thrown by particular passages on the staging of the Martinist debate. Joseph L. Black, whose edition of the Marprelate pamphlets both facilitated the location of *Pap* in its cultural context and enabled the concise referencing of the Martinist texts, was equally prompt to engage in discussion, and to offer further assistance if help was required. But, among the many individuals who have contributed to this volume, it is Robin Griffin to whom I am most deeply indebted. His knowledge of classical languages and cultures has been an invaluable resource throughout the years of my engagement with the Lylian corpus, and no brief acknowledgement can do justice to the enthusiasm he has brought to the Revels Plays and Revels Plays Companion Library project, the time

he has devoted to a range of enquiries and the insights afforded through his research.

It is with David Bevington, however, that this multi-volume series must come to a close. Associated with the project from its inception, either as the editor of specific plays or general editor of the series, it has been his acuteness of mind that has shaped these volumes, and students of Lyly owe him an immeasurable debt.

ABBREVIATIONS

The place of publication is London unless otherwise stated. All references to the Martin Marprelate tracts are to *The Martin Marprelate Tracts: A Modernized and Annotated Edition*, ed. Joseph L. Black (Cambridge, 2008). Wherever possible, classical texts are cited by through line numbering (TLN) in the case of drama, and by book (where applicable), poem, and line number for verse. The Loeb Classical Library (LCL) offers a convenient edition for many classical authors, and all citations are to the most recent volumes in the series. All references to the works of Shakespeare are to *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, general eds Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan (1998, rev. 2001), unless otherwise noted. Abbreviations of the titles of Shakespeare's plays are those adopted by the Revels Plays series. References to plays other than those by Shakespeare are to the Revels editions unless another edition is cited. References to the Bible are to the Authorized Version (1611).

<i>Anatomy</i>	<i>Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit</i> , in John Lyly, <i>Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England</i> , ed. Leah Scragg, Revels Plays Companion Library series (Manchester, 2003).
Bond	R. Warwick Bond, ed., <i>The Complete Works of John Lyly</i> , 3 vols, (Oxford, 1902).
Dutton	Richard Dutton, <i>Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama</i> (Iowa, 1991).
Dyce	Alexander Dyce, ed., <i>The Works of John Webster</i> (1859).
<i>England</i>	<i>Euphues and His England</i> , in John Lyly, <i>Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England</i> , ed. Leah Scragg, Revels Plays Companion Library series (Manchester, 2003).
<i>Epistle</i>	Martin Marprelate (pseud.), <i>The Epistle</i> (1588).
<i>Epitome</i>	Martin Marprelate (pseud.), <i>The Epitome</i> (1588).
Green	Nina Green, <i>Pap with an Hatchet</i> , on-line modern spelling ed., www.Oxford-Shakespeare.com/Nashe/Pap_With_Hatchet.pdf (1999, 2001).
<i>Hay</i>	Martin Marprelate (pseud.), <i>Hay any Work for Cooper</i> (1589).
Hinman	Charlton Hinman, <i>The First Folio of Shakespeare</i> , The Norton Facsimile (1968).
<i>Just Censure</i>	Martin Senior (pseud.), <i>The Just Censure and Reproof of Martin Junior</i> (1589).
<i>Protestation</i>	Martin Marprelate (pseud.), <i>The Protestation of Martin Marprelate</i> (1589).
<i>Q1</i>	<i>Pappe with an hatchet</i> . Alias, <i>A figge for my God somme</i> [attrib. John Lyly. Prefatory epistle signed Double V]. Imprinted by Iohn Anoke, and Iohn Astile, for the Bayliue of Withernam [T. Orwin, 1589]. STC (second ed.) 17463.
<i>Q2</i>	Another issue, with textual corrections. STC (second ed.), 17463.3.
<i>Q3</i>	Another edition [T. Orwin, 1589]. STC (second ed.), 17463.7.
Ray	John Ray, <i>A Collection of English Proverbs</i> (1670).

- Schoolpoints* Martin Marprelate (pseud.), *Certain Mineral and Metaphysical Schoolpoints* (1589).
- SN Side note.
- STC A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland . . . 1475-1640*, rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer, 3 vols (1976-91).
- Theses Martinianae* Martin Junior (pseud.), *Theses Martinianae: Certain Demonstrative Conclusions* (1589).
- Tilley Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950).

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<i>Pap with an Hatchet</i> , Q1 title-page (reproduced by kind permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California)	

INTRODUCTION

A bald toy, full of stale and wooden jests . . . good for nothing but to stop mustard pots, or rub gridirons.

(Gabriel Harvey, *An Advertisement for Pap-hatchet*)¹

Gabriel Harvey's derisive response to John Lyly's *Pap with an Hatchet* has largely been endorsed by twentieth- and twenty-first-century critics. R. Warwick Bond, in his seminal edition of Lyly's complete prose and dramatic works, described it as 'a mere farrago of abuse and scandal' that 'makes little attempt at serious argument, and indeed seems to disclaim any such',² while G. K. Hunter, widely regarded as the father of modern Lylian studies, dismissed it as 'turgid and tasteless', a 'lamentable performance' exhibiting Lyly's 'ineptitude in polemic'.³ The piece has consequently been marginalized in contemporary reappraisals of the Lylian corpus as a whole, its erasure from contemporary discourse signalled by the absence of any discussion of the pamphlet in Ruth Lunney's recent collection of significant essays on Lyly's work.⁴ There is considerable evidence to suggest, however, that the prevailing critical view of the composition was not shared by the audience to whom it was initially addressed. Published late in 1589, *Pap* ran through three editions before the end of the year, and a number of extant copies bear witness to the care with which it was read. A copy in the Huntington Library, for example,⁵ has extensive marginal notes, signalling the reader's engagement with the issues raised by the text, while passages of the Lilly Library copy, including Lyly's justification for responding to Martin in kind, are heavily underlined. Rather than reflecting the stance of the disinterested reader, Harvey's furious response to the piece was motivated by anger at the mockery to which he and his family were subjected in the work (e.g. at lines 120ff.), and may be set against the equally biased declaration by Nashe, Lyly's ally in the Martinist debate, that 'he [Lyly] hath one of the best wits in England' and that, should he elect to take issue with Harvey again, 'there would more gentle readers die of a merry mortality . . . than there have done of this last infection'.⁶ The negative stance of twentieth-century commentators was not shared, moreover, by nineteenth-century editors involved in the publication either of the Martin Marprelate tracts or of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century pamphlet literature as a whole. Petherham, in his collection of Puritan tracts, presented the work to his readers as 'a very rare, and by no means uninteresting'⁷ piece, while Saintsbury, in his Elizabethan and Jacobean pamphlets series, described

it as 'perhaps the ablest and not the least characteristic of all the [Martinist or anti-Martinist] set'.⁸

The dismissive attitude of more recent critics towards the work is attributable, in part, to the construction of the distinctive character of the Lylian corpus in the years following the publication of Bond's edition. The relative neglect of early modern prose by mid- and late twentieth-century criticism in favour of the products of the Elizabethan-Jacobean stage has led to the progressive marginalization of the two prose works (*Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and His England*) that first precipitated Lyly to public notice, and an increasing emphasis on the plays that he subsequently composed for the first Blackfriars theatre and the boys of St Paul's. The comedies written for performance at court, in particular, have come to dominate critical attention, leading to the construction of an artistic identity largely predicated on a single aspect of the work, which overlooks contemporary evidence of Lyly's engagement with material of a very different kind. Lyly is now generally represented as a sophisticated craftsman, adept in the patterned exploration of refined mental and emotional states, and notable as the exponent of a witty, highly patterned style, heavily dependent upon varieties of word-play, designed for the entertainment of an educated, aristocratic elite. The hurly-burly, extreme colloquialism, and abusive language of the Martinist debate are thus seen as at odds with the delicacy and refinement of his art, a view summed up in Hunter's comment that the ecclesiastical authorities who commissioned *Pap with an Hatchet* were plainly mistaken 'in supposing that Lyly could be as lively in the gutter as he was in the court'.⁹

In fact, Lyly's eight extant comedies are far more varied than the current critical emphasis on his first four plays (*Campaspe*, *Sappho and Phao*, *Galatea*, and *Endymion*) designed for courtly performance, suggests. While three of this group are pastoral dramas, and all four explore the tension between love and chastity in situations pertinent to that of the monarch, the later plays depart from that formula in a variety of ways. *Midas* is a political allegory, prompted by the defeat of the Spanish Armada;¹⁰ *Love's Metamorphosis* shares the structural pattern of previous works but is notable for its much greater reliance on spectacle; while *The Woman in the Moon* stands aside from the remainder of the corpus in its use of blank verse rather than highly structured prose. It is *Mother Bombie*, however, the sole extant witness of the plays written by Lyly for the playhouse in Paul's, that is indicative that the writer now defined in terms of his work for the court was not averse to a far broader type of comedy than the majority of his extant dramas suggest. The play is set in a recognizable town, Rochester, rather than a pastoral location remote from any specific place or time, while the action centres on middle- and

lower-class concerns rather than the choices faced by an aristocratic elite. The play is peopled, not by rulers or mythological figures, but by financially motivated fathers concerned for the security of their children, and those at the margins of society – servants, simpletons, impoverished fiddlers, a wise-woman, and a mother too impoverished to nurse her own children and obliged to exchange them for the offspring of others. The dramatic idiom is colloquial, rather than elegantly organized and non-naturalistic, while a sense of immediacy is achieved through allusions to the specificities of sixteenth-century life (e.g. the cost of travelling between Rochester and Canterbury). The imagery turns upon everyday matters rather than classical mythology or the esoteric natural history for which Lyly was renowned in his own day, while the humour is broad and situational rather than intellectual and rooted in word-play. A group of fiddlers, for example, mistakenly attempt to salute a newly married bride on two occasions, only to be driven by irate fathers from their doors (see 5.3.1–112), while drunken conduct and exchanges expose the intellectual limitations of those who regard themselves as authority figures (see 2.5 and 5.1 *passim*). Nashe's use of the work as an index of amusement is indicative that the play was a success in its own day,¹¹ and a recent production by the Read Not Dead troupe under the auspices of Globe Education¹² demonstrated that its knock about humour is still capable of entertaining a broad spectrum of spectators today.

A passage in *Pap with an Hatchet* supplies further evidence that Lyly was far from hostile to a type of comedy considerably removed from that represented by the preponderance of his extant work. Regretting the ban imposed by the authorities on the theatrical representation of the Marprelate debate, he commends the emblematic mode in which the character of Martin had been staged in the past, and proposes a further type of satirical treatment through which both his folly and the danger represented by his ambitions might be exposed:

He shall not be brought in as whilom he was, and yet very well, with a cock's comb, an ape's face, a wolf's belly, cat's claws, etc., but in a caped cloak and all the best apparel he wore the highest day in the year, that's neither on Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension, nor Trinity Sunday (for that were popish), but on some rainy weekday, when the brothers and sisters had appointed a match for particular prayers . . . Would it not be a fine tragedy when Mardocheus shall play a bishop in a play, and Martin, Haman, and that he that seeks to pull down those that are set in authority above him should be hoisted upon a tree above all other.
(lines 498–514)

The emphasis falls here not on fine discriminations between religious positions through the intricacies of a polished dialectical style, but on

humour rooted in visual signifiers, and a shared knowledge of a field of reference familiar to every Elizabethan spectator. Lyly's previous success in subjecting his opponents to the type of public derision envisaged here is attested by a comment by Jack Roberts, in a letter addressed to Sir Robert Williams in 1584, in which he warns, 'beware of my lord of Oxenford's man called Lyly, for if he see this letter he will put it in print or make the boys in Paul's play it upon a stage'.¹³ Similarly, Gabriel Harvey, in *An Advertisement for Pap-hatchet*, advises that 'all you, that tender the preservation of your good names, were best to please Pap-hatchet, and fee Euphues betimes, for fear less he be moved, or some one of his apes hired, to make a play of you, and then is your credit quite undone . . . Such is the public reputation of their plays'.¹⁴

It is not solely the discrepancy between the perceived delicacy of the Lylian corpus and the robust humour of *Pap with an Hatchet*, however, that has led to the marginalization of the work in twentieth- and twenty-first-century criticism. Sixteenth-century pamphlet literature as a whole has received relatively little scholarly attention, and though the democratization of literary studies in recent years, and an emergent interest in early modern print culture, have partially rectified that position, the embeddedness of the Marprelate tracts in an obscure religious controversy rooted in the irrecoverable specificities of private behaviour and conducted in highly colloquial and abusive terms has made engagement with the products of both the pro- and anti-Martinist camps both difficult and profoundly unappealing.¹⁵ The lack of a recent modern-spelling, annotated edition of the corpus has contributed to the problems attended upon the study of the pamphlets as a group,¹⁶ while the tit-for-tat process by which the controversy evolved has been largely obscured by the sequestration of individual tracts in discrete editions, or their isolation from their cultural context in their authors' collected works.

The publication in 2008 by Joseph Black of all seven Marprelate tracts in a richly documented, fully annotated, modern-spelling edition, with an extensive introduction,¹⁷ has entirely transformed this situation. Not only are the Martinist pamphlets themselves now much more accessible to the modern reader but the contributions of those who sought to counter the perceived threat to the national life that their extraordinary character posed may now be much more readily located in the historical milieu that supplied both their tone, and their seeming indifference to any serious engagement with theological issues, with meaning. Rather than being measured against productions designed to amuse an aristocratic elite, Lyly's contribution to the debate may now be situated within the discourse to which it insistently refers, enabling both a far fuller understanding of the work and a greater appreciation of its effects.

THE MARTIN MARPRELATE TRACTS

Published between October 1588 and September 1589, the Martin Marprelate tracts created a public sensation and generated a degree of official concern wholly disproportionate, from a twenty-first-century perspective, to either their theological importance or scope. Designed to advance the argument for ecclesiastical reform through the establishment of a Presbyterian system of church government wholly at odds with the structures of the established church, the pamphlets drew on a body of thought common to sixteenth-century Presbyterian reformers, and familiar from contemporary theological debate.¹⁸ The seven pamphlets amount to just 257 pages in total, considerably shorter than the 1400 pages of John Bridges's *A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters* (1587) alone, and the last of the group was partly set by amateurs, crudely printed, and shorter than its thirty-two pages suggest owing to the size of type that the printers employed.¹⁹ The pamphlets provoked, nevertheless, a wide-scale hunt by the civic authorities for their authors,²⁰ severe punishment for those thought to be engaged in any aspect of their publication,²¹ and the engagement of literary figures known to be supporters of the status quo to counter their views,²² while simultaneously giving rise to a rich vein of satirical drama that finally prompted an edict prohibiting the performance of any representation of religious matters on stage.²³

The discrepancy between the familiarity of the arguments advanced by the tracts and the furore that they occasioned is largely a product of the unconventional nature of the style that their anonymous author (or authors)²⁴ chose to employ. Aware on the one hand that the 'most part of men' would not engage with religious polemic in that their humours are 'given to mirth' (*Hay*, p. 115),²⁵ and contemptuous on the other of the intellectual deficiencies of opponents whose 'writings and sermons tend to no other end than to make men laugh' (*Epitome*, p. 53), Martin spoke to his readers in a voice designed to undermine the representatives of the established church not through detailed theological argument but through derision.²⁶ *Ad hominem* attacks on the sexual transgressions,²⁷ misuses of power,²⁸ and inappropriate behaviour²⁹ of those responsible for the spiritual welfare of the community as a whole strip authority figures of the respect traditionally accorded to the princes of the church, while a variety of mocking terms of address, from corruptions of titles (e.g. 'John of Cant'; 'Kankerbury')³⁰ to childish formulations (e.g. 'good neame and nuncka'; 'uncka Bridges')³¹ contribute to their belittlement, and repositioning in the public mind as figures of fun.

The process is furthered by a humorous, colloquial style of address wholly at odds with both the conventional treatment of theological matters and the ultimate seriousness of the issues addressed. The Dean of Salisbury (John Bridges) is cheerfully saluted as 'brother Bridges' and is expected by Martin to 'prove a goose' (*Epistle*, p. 20); the Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is mocked for his failure to respond to an attack with 'Ha, ha, Doctor Copcot, are ye there?' (*Epistle*, p. 8); while Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, becomes 'good Tom Tubtrimmer' (*Hay*, p. 107), John Aylmer, Bishop of London, 'Dumb John', and 'Dumb dunsical John of good London' (*Epistle*, p. 21), and the fathers of the church 'the unpreaching Parsons, Fyckers and Currats, that have learned their catechisms, and are past grace' (*Epitome*, p. 51). Martin's amused response to the intellectual deficiencies of his opponents is typographically represented ('I cannot but laugh, py hy hy hy. I cannot but laugh': *Hay*, p. 103), contributing to the vivacity of the style, while casual, direct address (e.g. 'Alas poor reverend T. C. Be not afraid. Here be none but friends man': *Hay*, p. 106) conveys an attitude of sublime superiority to the targets of the attack.

Rather than being situated within academic discourse, moreover, through the dialectal exploration of oppositional positions, the controversy between the ecclesiastical authorities and the reformers is positioned within a range of popular modes of entertainment that serve to further trivialize the Episcopalian position. Riddles (e.g. *Epistle*, p. 13), rhymes (e.g. *Just Censure*, pp. 186–8), plays (e.g. *Epistle*, p. 14), humorous tales (e.g. *Epistle*, pp. 36–7) and ballads (e.g. *Protestation*, p. 204) are all invoked in the course of the pamphlets, relocating religious polemic from the cathedral to the pedlar's pack, and turning the bishops and their spokesmen into both objects and purveyors of public amusement. Proverbial usages heighten the easy informality of the level of discourse employed (cf. 'Well fare old mother experience yet, the burnt child dreads the fire': *Epistle*, p. 8), further embedding the work in the everyday world, while the occasional use of rustic, dialectic forms (e.g. 'tat' and 'vather': *Just Censure*, pp. 158 and 159) accentuates the subversion of hierarchical conventions informing the style as a whole.

The amusement afforded by the Marprelate tracts is not solely a product, however, of their tone. Print culture itself becomes an agent of mirth, with the tracts anticipating Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* by nearly two hundred years in harnessing the medium to the promotion of the message. The elaborate title-pages of sixteenth-century publications become the vehicle for punning mockery (cf. 'a brief pistle directed by way of an hublication to the reverend bishops, counselling them, if they will needs be barrellled up . . . that they would use the advice of reverend Martin