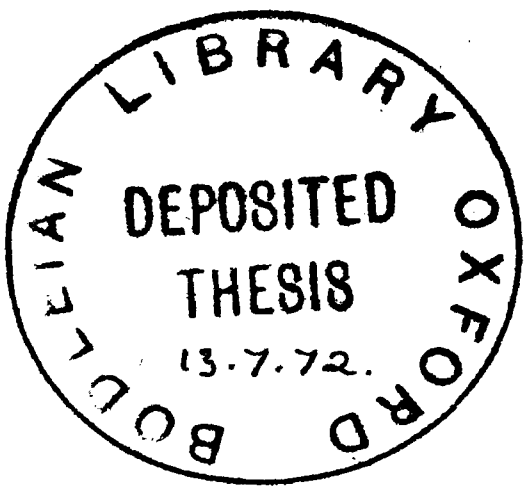
MATERIALS TOWARD AN EDITION OF

WILLIAM CAMDEN'S

REMAINS CONCERNING BRITAIN



by

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for the

Faculty of English Language and Literature

University of Oxford

Hilary Term, 1972

Thesis Abstract

This thesis represents the first stage of a projected complete edition of Camden's *Remains*. I offer here Camden's text for three chapters (Britain, Inhabitants, and the Wise Speeches) along with a textual apparatus. The General and Textual Introductions are based on a study of the whole book.

The General Introduction examines the relation of the *Remains* to Camden's major work, the *Britannia*. It also contains a discussion of Camden's sources and the manner in which he handles his material. Briefly, I indicate the extent of Camden's contact with other historians and antiquarians and state whose libraries he had access to. Discussion is purposely brief because these and related matters have already been treated in works by Linda van Norden, F. J. Levy, and May McKisack. A separate study of how and where Camden saw the manuscripts and books he used lies outside the scope of the thesis. To conclude the General Introduction I offer brief comments on Camden's style, his intentions, and the place of the *Remains* in relation to his two historical works.

The Textual Introduction studies the evidence of the manuscripts and of the three editions in Camden's lifetime.

The text is based on the edition of 1605. It adopts the authoritative revisions and additions of 1614 and 1623. The apparatus at the bottom of each page records substantive variants of the manuscripts, 1614, and 1623. It also records all departures from the copy text.

Commentary for the two sections Britain and Inhabitants is confined to identifying sources and explaining points in the text. For the Wise Speeches, I attempt to trace the origin and development of each story and, where possible, to identify Camden's source or the tradition leading to Camden's version. In a number of cases it is possible to identify the particular manuscript or edition which Camden used and these have been noted. I indicate any changes Camden has made in the substance of a story and, in most cases, I present for comparison the text of the speech or aphorism. The Commentary was designed for the convenience of the general reader, hence some entries are no doubt fuller than an historian would need.

Appendix A presents a selection of manuscript apophthegms which, for one reason or another, Camden chose not to print. They are not part of his final intentions. For this and other reasons, I offer them here, unannotated, simply as a sample of the contents of the manuscript. I hope to deal with the unpublished apophthegms separately at another time. Appendix B provides a table identifying all the material Camden added to the editions of 1614 and 1623.

R. D. Dunn

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Remains and the Britannia

In his dedication Camden states that the Remains is the "rude rubble and out-cast rubbish ... of a greater and more serious worke", that is, material which for one reason or another he did not include in the Britannia.[1] The statement calls for a clarification because it is more misleading than true and because it gives false impressions of the manner in which Camden composed the Remains, of the relation of the Remains to the Britannia, and of the value Camden himself placed on the Remains.

The Britannia, when it was first printed in 1586, was a chorographical description of Britain with particular emphasis on Roman Britain. The arrangement, or division as Camden calls it, was first by the Roman provinces, then by county, then, within the county, by city and river. It was written in Latin and intended primarily for the European reader. But Camden added material to all five subsequent editions in his lifetime and by the sixth edition the book had grown to more than twice its original size. The 1607 edition includes considerably more information on both Roman and post-Roman Britain.

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1 The "more serious worke" was the Britannia and not, as might be thought, the proposed history of England. He doesn't name the Britannia simply because to do so would have revealed his identity.

With Philemon Holland's authorised English translation in 1610 (containing more, allegedly authorial, revisions and additions) the shift in emphasis was complete: the Britannia was now a book of all British antiquity and was intended for the British reader.

By Camden's own words we know that preparation for at least one section of the Remains began as early as 1583.[1] By a chance reference to William Tooker's Charisma (STC 24117) we know that the book was near completion in 1597. Considering also that he revised and added to the second edition it appears that for at least twenty-four years Camden was collecting material that would emerge either in the Britannia or the Remains or in both. But, as the manuscripts clearly indicate,[2] the idea of two quite different books was present in the very early stages, if not from the start: Camden's notes for the Britannia are consistently written in Latin; his notes for the Remains are consistently written in English.

A certain amount of the "out-cast rubbish" in fact appeared first in the Britannia and after in the Remains. This includes a number of passages in the sections Britain, Inhabitants,[3] and Languages which were

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1 See Textual Introduction.

2 Evidence of the manuscripts, as it bears on problems of dating and composition, is discussed in the Textual Introduction.

3 Borrowings between the Remains and the Britannia for Britain, Inhabitants, and Wise Speeches are noted in the Commentary where they occur.

either transferred (and translated) whole or condensed and reworded. It also includes one Latin poem, five epigrams, two epitaphs, and seven stories in the section of Wise Speeches, usually the better known and more popular stories, as Pope Gregory and the English slave-boys, or King Cnut at Southampton commanding the tide not to come in.

Contrariwise, a certain amount of the "out-cast rubbish" appeared first in the Remains and then in the Britannia of 1607. This again includes three stories from the Wise Speeches section, one of which derives from a manuscript that may have come into Camden's hands after 1600. It also includes one epitaph, and one "rythmn". The catalogue of Anglo-Saxon names in Britannia, 1607, pp. 99-101, is an expanded version of the brief list of name-prefixes from the Remains, 1605, p. 39.

Direct borrowing between the Remains and the Britannia is one thing; another is the drawing of material for both books from a mutual fund, so to speak, a common source of manuscript notes which were transcribed for no specific purpose, or rather, for either purpose. It is clear from L, the rough title page written probably in 1598, that Camden intended to include a section on Money or Coins in the first edition of the Remains but he scratched the title out and, for one reason or another, set the material aside. Then, in the 1607 edition of Britannia, pp. 70-76, he inserted a discussion of British (i.e., Celtic) and Romano-British coins. It is brief and superficial and

Camden apologises for groping in the dark about a subject of which he knows little. Finally, Camden included a chapter on Money in the 1614 edition of the Remains which is considerably longer and not restricted to early coins. The discussion ranges widely from an account of the origin of coins to comment on the monetary policy of Elizabeth I, but at one point (p. 199), in describing the coins of Cymbeline (Cunobelinus) and of the Romans in Britain, he appears to have reworked material used for similar passages in Britannia. This is my conjecture. But while it may apply to Money it almost certainly applies to a good deal more of both the Remains and the Britannia. Camden took notes whenever and wherever he found information of British antiquity, whether from a book or at first hand on his "visitations" as Clarenceux King of Arms. It is inconceivable that at the very outset he could have known the destiny of all he wrote down, no matter how well he may have arranged it according to subject or locality. The prodigious collection of Christian Names, Names of Women and Surnames occupying 111 pages, or more than one third of the first edition of the Remains, was probably drawn from notes which Camden originally took down to serve any purpose that came to hand. A certain amount of the information was eventually absorbed in the Britannia but as Camden's note-taking went on the list doubtless swelled beyond a size that even the Britannia might accommodate. It was then an easy matter to embellish the list with a discussion of the origin of names and to rearrange the material according to etymology

or derivation and "alteration" of names. The latter part of the discussion in Surnames suggests that once Camden got going he took up the matter in earnest. The same method of accumulation and delayed employment probably applies to at least parts of Apparell and Artillary, sections which, like Money, Camden first included in the rough title page of 1598 then set aside until 1614.

The greater part of the Remains is material Camden never intended to include in the Britannia. This applies to the essay on language supplied by Richard Carew, to the alphabetical list of English proverbs, and to the first two sections in the book. Britain and Inhabitants correspond to and repeat some of the material in the introductory sections of the Britannia, but they were written expressly to introduce the Remains. Here, at least and probably elsewhere, material was not so much borrowed from but shared with the Britannia.

As stated earlier, Camden increased each edition of Britannia in his lifetime so that by 1607 it included all of British antiquity and was intended for the British reader. But, while the purpose shifted, the framework did not: it was from the first and remained a chorographical description of the country. There are no Allusions, Rebuses, or Anagrams in the Britannia and it seems unlikely that Camden ever thought to include any. They follow and complement the lists of Christian names and Surnames and the suggestion is that Camden gathered them for that purpose. He introduces the section on Allusions

with the comment:

> Out of Names the busie wit of man continually working, hath wrought vpon liking or dislike Allusions, very common in all ages, and among all men, Rebus, rife in late ages both with learned and vnlearned, and Anagrammes, though long since invented, yet rare in this our refined times. In all which, I will briefly shew our Nation hath beene no lesse pregnant, then those Southerne which presume of wits in respect of situation.

Material for three further sections (Epitaphs, Impresses, and Armories) probably grew out of Camden's activities as member of the Society of Antiquaries.[1]

The case for the Wise Speeches is even stronger. Camden tells us, by way of introduction, that when he and "I. Bishop" began (probably about 1583) to read through:

> all our Historians wee could then finde, for diverse endes, wee beganne to note aparte the Apothegms or Speeches (call them what ye wil) of our nation. Which since that time I have so farre encreased, as our Countrey-Writers spare in this point, have affoorded; and heere doe offer them vnto you.

This is the best evidence of Camden's manner of accumulating notes for future purposes. The "of our nation" is presumably an afterthought since the collection includes the apophthegms of non-Englishmen in A which were never used and could not have been used in the Britannia. Some of the English apophthegms could be and were used, but only a few

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1 See the Textual Introduction.

and that was clearly not the purpose for gathering them.

With the addition in 1614 of six new sections as well as new material to existing sections, the Remains was a long way from being out-cast rubbish. What may have been conceived as a reservoir for the overflow of the Britannia had come into its own, and Camden discreetly acknowledged the fact by dropping from the title page the reference to a "greater work".

Sources and Treatment

By any estimate, Camden's reading was vast, both in numbers of books and in variety. For the Remains he cites more than 350 printed books and manuscripts. There are between thirty and fifty more which he has not acknowledged or which I have not identified. For the Britannia the number is greater still. His personal library at Westminster Abbey contains 448 volumes of which not more than a dozen overlap or have any direct bearing on the Britannia or the Remains. They represent his incidental reading.[1] Aside from his own books, he had free access to the private libraries of William Cecil, Robert Cotton, Daniel Rogers, John Dee, and John Stowe and it was Stowe who put the manuscript collections of John Leland at Camden's disposal.[2] From 1597

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1 The "serious" books were probably removed after his death. In his will (Swann 111, Somerset House, London) Camden bequeathed to Robert Cotton all his books and manuscripts "excepte such as concerne Armes and Heraldrie, the which with all my auntient seales I bequeath vnto my successor in the office of Clarenceux". According to the Biographia Britannica Dr. John Williams, then Dean of Westminster, "procured all the printed books for the new library erected in the Church of Westminster". His papers concerning civil affairs came to Cotton's library, but his papers concerning ecclesiastical matters were given to the Church and apparently eventually destroyed when Laud's library was pillaged (Bio. Brit., ii, p. 1135, note). Some books were apparently dispersed or sold. A copy of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Hercules Prodicius, Antwerp, 1587, with Camden's autograph on the title page was recently procured and sold by an Oxfordshire bookseller.

2 Two recent accounts of Camden's sources are given by F.J. Levy, "The Making of Camden's Britannia", in Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXVI (1964), pp. 70-97, and by May McKisack, Medieval History in the Tudor Age, 1971, pp. 150-154. Some of my account is based on their work.

on he had use of the manuscripts of the College of Arms. It was probably as a friend of Cecil's that he was given access to government documents (then kept in the Tower) such as court records, statutes, deeds, seals, and charters, and the Red and Black Books of the Exchequer. As a member of the Society of Antiquaries, which met from about 1586 to about 1608[1] (when Camden was preparing the Remains, and adding to the Britannia) he had contact with at least three more collectors: Joseph Holland (who showed his collection of coins and charters to the Society), Francis Tate, and Francis Thynne. Many of Camden's letters are requests or acknowledgements for the use of manuscripts. If he did not actually borrow the manuscript, he asked for the information to be copied out and sent to him. He made at least six trips, and probably more, to various parts of Britain[2] in order to gather information first hand. Since it was obviously not possible to see all of Britain he had to rely to a certain extent on information supplied to him by others -- a fact he was forced to admit in reply to the attack on the Britannia made by Ralph Brooke.[3] Camden himself summarized his multifarious sources when

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1 L. van Norden, "Sir Henry Spelman on the Chronology of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries", Huntington Library Quarterly XIII.2 (1949-50), 69.

2 Norfolk and Suffolk in 1578; Yorkshire in 1582; Devonshire in 1589; to Wales with Bishop Francis Godwin in 1590; Salisbury and Wells (where he copied out monuments and arms in the churches) in 1596; and to the North as far as Carlisle with Robert Cotton in 1600.

3 Ralph Brooke, A Discoverie of Certaine Errours (1596?); for Camden's reply see the Ad Lectorem, Britannia, 1600.

speaking of the Britannia (in the Preface of 1600, quoted from 1695):

> I have neglected nothing that could give us any considerable light towards the discovery of hidden Truth in matters of Antiquity, having gotten some insight into the old British and Saxon Tongues for my assistance. I have travell'd very near all over England, and have consulted in each County, the men of best skill, and most general intelligence. I have diligently perus'd our own Writers; as well as the Greek and Latin ones, that mention the least tittle of Britain. I have examin'd the publick Records of this Kingdom, Ecclesiastical Registers, and Libraries, Acts, Monuments, and Memorials of Churches and Cities; I have search'd the ancient Rolls, and cited them upon occasion in their own stile, tho' never so barbarous

Camden's sources for the Remains are equally multifarious. The written sources include a full complement of the standard Greek and Latin authors (Caesar, Tacitus, Strabo, Pliny, Herodotus, Livy, etc.) as well as some of the lesser-known Byzantine historians and early Church fathers, such as Agapetus, Agathias, Clement of Alexandria, and St. Cyprian. His claim to have searched through the early writers bears up under inspection. But all of these are no more than one would expect from the one-time Headmaster of Westminster School and author of a Greek grammar. What is more significant and what stands out perhaps more clearly in the Remains than in the Britannia is the large number of European books. He borrows from the well-known French and Italian chroniclers: Joinville, Froissart, Belleforest, Philippe de Comines, Paolo Emilio, and Paolo Giovio. They are useful not only because they contain information not available in British writers but also because there is an added interest in what foreign writers have to say about

Britain. He is as quick to locate their favourable comments as he is to defend Britain against their criticisms.

The greatest use of continental authors was made for Christian names and Surnames. Camden has obviously set out to gather as much as he can from recent scholarship in order to relate English names with their European and ancient equivalents. He draws material from an impressive number of philologists including Hadrian Junius, Petrus Dasypodius, Conrad Gesner, Marquard Freher, Martin Cromer, Conrad Kiel, Julius Scaliger, Hieronymus Gewiler, Martin Luther, and Beatus Rhenanus. Camden's first interest in names stemmed from his attempts in the Britannia to identify the early inhabitants of Britain and to discredit the "Brutus" legend. For the purposes of the Remains he shifted his material to suit the more general interest in etymology. The etymological playing with names began with the ancients, was taken up by the Middle Ages (especially Isidore of Seville) and flourished in the Renaissance to such an extent as to become, as E.R. Curtius put it, a category of thought.[1] Camden professes a mild contempt for such superstitious nonsense as that "kinde of Divination called Onomantia" by which destinies are deciphered out of names and

> by which the Pithagoreans iudged the even number of vowells in names to signifie imperfections in the left sides of men, and the odde number in the right.

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1 E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, translated by W.R. Trask, New York, 1953, p. 495 et seq.

But he goes straight on to give two pages of examples which he obviously finds entertaining. Britain, he is pleased to say at last, "was farre from those and such curious toies". His own list of names, he tells us, will be based on historical principals and will confine itself to "good, hopefull, and luckie significations". For Anglo-Saxon names (which he later discussed in the Britannia of 1607) he will use Aelfric's Grammar (because he was a "learned Archbishop of Canterburie, well neare sixe hundred yeare since, and therefore not to be supposed ignorant of the English tongue"), the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Psalter, and Anglo-Saxon laws. Likewise for Surnames he intends to (Remains, 1605, p. 95):

> plainely set downe from whence the most have beene deduced, as farre as I can conceive, hoping to incurre no offence ... The end of this scribling labour tending onely to maintaine the honor of our names against some Italianated, who admiring strange names, doe disdainefully contemne their owne countrey names

In the Britannia Camden was interested in languages as the (Brit. 1695, p. xviii):

> surest evidence of the original of a nation. For there is no man, I suppose, but will readily allow that those people which speak the same Language, must necessarily be derived from one common original.

This pre-occupation with national identity has given way in the Remains to a relaxed consideration of languages in general, their characteristics and development, beginning with the "confusion of languages out of Moses". His discussion is centered on the development of English from Anglo-Saxon for which he draws on Lawrence Nowell and the recent work of

William Lambarde, John Joscelyn, and Francis Tate. He is also aware of Joseph Scaliger's theory of a family of languages which would link English with Persian (Rem. 1605, p. 14) and of Augier Busbecq's observations of the language in Taurica Chersonessus (Crimea) which has many words in common with English (Remains, 1605, p. 15):

> whereat I mervailed not a little when I first read it. But nothing can bee gathered thereby, but that the Saxons our progenitours, which planted themselves heere in the West, did also to their glorie place Colonies likewise there in the east.

One feature common to many sections is a marked diversity in the kinds of written sources. The pattern is for Camden to cite either the Greek or Latin precedents and/or two or three books which deal specifically with the subject of that section, then to fill out the discussion with material drawn from a wide variety of books which may have little or no direct bearing on the subject. As we have seen, the number of specialised books (on philology in this case) used for Christ'nnames and Surnames is unusually high. For Allusions it is Pindar and Quintilian; for Anagrams, Eustathius and Lycophron; for Money, the Suda; for Artillary, Vegetius, and so forth. In his note-taking Camden had to choose at some stage topics or categories under which to accumulate his copia. The implication is that the greater the number and diversity in the kinds of sources used for a section, the earlier Camden started to gather for it.

A considerable amount of the Remains is material from sources other

than printed books or manuscripts -- material which Camden either picked up in conversation or jotted down as he journeyed around the country. Scattered throughout the book are references to a "tradition" or to "a right worshipful friend". This probably applies to some portion of all sections, but it is particularly the case with Allusions, Rebus, Anagrams, and Impresses. Few sources are given in these sections and much of the material concerns Camden's friends and contemporaries. A number of the Wise Speeches probably came to him by word of mouth, such as the six stories of John Heywood (129.1-130.7). In the case of Epigrams and Epitaphs he often tells us where he found them: "vnder S. Peter in the Cathedral church of Norwich"; or again, "engraven about a faire tombe in a goodly Chappell".

The Wise Speeches provide the best opportunity to observe the manner in which Camden handles his material. As a general rule he uses the earliest version of a story that he can find, and this is often the original. Otherwise, he selects the best available authority -- either a contemporary chronicle, or an official biography: Eusebius for Constantine; Bede for early Anglo-Saxon history; John of Salisbury on Pope Hadrian IV; Walter Map for Henry I; Beccatelli for Cardinal Pole, and so on. He avoids Tudor historians (who have already re-told many of the same stories from his own sources) until they become authoritative: Hall's chronicle for Henry VIII. An exception to this rule is usually because the story is not readily available elsewhere. Likewise he uses the original Latin or French texts rather than Tudor

translations. He avoids the encyclopedias, the popular handbooks, and such obvious potential sources as Foxe's Actes and Monuments, or John Marbecke's A Booke of notes and Common places.

The majority of his sources were available in print; some, the ancient authors and Bede in particular, were available in numerous editions. The principal English chronicles were available in editions by Archbishop Matthew Parker, Henry Savile, and Lord Howard of Naworth and others. Camden's own collection of English chronicles (Anglica, Normanica, etc., Frankfort 1602; London, 1603) was printed too late to be useful. The assumption is that he used the manuscripts. He also published in an appendix to the Britannia of 1607 the Annales Hiberniae and the chronicle of Henry of Marlborough. The Annales contains a story which appeared in the Remains in 1605. For thirty-one stories (and probably more) he has used a manuscript. Camden's tendency is to seek out the lesser known or unprinted version of a story. This sometimes leads him to misjudge the authorship or date of a manuscript. More often, however, he is correct and the version he uses is older than the available printed one.

Camden never consciously writes fiction, but he is not above trimming or re-shaping a story to suit his own needs. There is hardly a story which he merely translates or repeats verbatim. In most, he condenses or omits details, usually to good effect, in order to get to the witty speech as quickly as possible. Sometimes he combines two

(41.10) or even three (58.4) versions of a story. He often composes the aphorism himself (65.19; 66.13; 68.13), but never departs radically from the substance of his source in doing so. The worst he has done is to put words into the mouth of a speaker where before his source fumbled about describing what was in the speaker's mind. One story concerning Sir Thomas More (109.1) he has altered in order to give Sir Thomas the last word. In another (72.6-8) he helpfully supplies the missing part of a Biblical quotation. He ignores the unfavourable and often repeated stories of William Rufus, King John, and Richard III, and tells only favourable stories of them (55.10; 74.6; 68.13).

The <u>Remains</u> is the only work Camden wrote in English. While his prose is not devoid of accomplishment, it is difficult to discuss him as a stylist from a book composed of such disparate sections--parts being mere lists of names, or proverbs, or Latin poems. But those sections which are written in connected prose reflect a good deal of care. The manuscripts, particularly those for the Wise Speeches, provide ample evidence of what pains he took to polish and revise.[1] When a topic appeals to him, he does rise to the occasion, such as the excursus on chivalry (below, 91.15-92.17) or the patriotic defense of English in the chapter on

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1 Revisions to <u>1614</u> and <u>1623</u>, however, were nearly always to correct errors or add new material.

languages (1614, pp. 28-30). If, for the most part, his language is formal and "drab" (to borrow the term of C. S. Lewis) it should be remembered that much of it is either translation from sources or simply introductory discussion. For his purposes, the language is admirably clear and straightforward.

It would be rash to generalize too much about Camden's intentions in the Remains or to draw conclusions about his special interests from the contents of the book. It is composed of twenty-two quite different sections which, as the manuscripts demonstrate, were written at different times, in variable circumstances, and for different reasons. The contents and emphasis are largely accidental. If there are more stories about Thomas More than about others, it is probably a mark of availability rather than a symptom of Camden's preference. If the poems, epigrams, "rythmes", and epitaphs are nearly all medieval, it is because they were taken from medieval sources and not, as might be thought,[1] because Camden preferred rhyming Latin verses to the classical mode favoured in his own day. Some material was obviously included to please his friends: compliments about Cornishmen for Richard Carew (20.5 and elsewhere); the anagrams of William Cecil (1614, p. 174) and Fulke Greville (1614, p. 176), and so forth. On the other hand, there are curious gaps. Why, for instance, is there not one story of King Alfred? It is

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1 Stuart Piggott, "William Camden and the Britannia", Proc. British Academy, 1951, p. 203. But to be fair, Piggott's main interest is to show that Camden was among the first to appreciate medieval Latin poetry.

possible to suggest reasons for particular inclusions or omissions, but as a general rule the contents simply reflect Camden's omnivorous appetite for things British.

Camden clearly intended the Remains to serve as a convenient guide, a congenial handbook to British antiquity rather than an exhaustive study of any one subject. He warns the reader in several places (e.g., 5.14) to bear that limitation in mind. When he called the book "rude rubble" it was no doubt in the sense that every section contains material which he could, and presumably would, have developed further or put to another use had he had the time. But there was no time, for in 1596 he was asked to write a history of the reign of Elizabeth and by 1605 that task could no longer be avoided.[1] The Britannia was a chorographical description of Britain; the annals of Elizabeth would have to be political and civil history--no place for antiquarian lore. What Camden has given us in the Remains is the note-taking of a lifetime. The book certainly retains its charm, particularly for a reader who shares Camden's antiquarian interests. And it is a storehouse of information, much of which is not available elsewhere. But for most readers, the chief interest of the Remains today is as a sourcebook for other writers.

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1 See further H. R. Trevor-Roper, Queen Elizabeth's First Historian: William Camden and the Beginnings of English 'Civil History', Neale Lecture in English History, 1971.

TEXTUAL INTRODUCTION

I. MANUSCRIPTS

An editor of the Remains must consider the three editions within Camden's lifetime, 1605, 1614, and 1623; from them a text can be established. He must also consider the extant manuscript material. None of the manuscripts can be given much weight in establishing a text because none of the manuscripts contains Camden's final thoughts. Excepting Carew's essay on the English language, all are incomplete. At the same time, they cannot be dismissed out of hand. They are either in Camden's holograph, or have his holograph corrections; all have passed through his hands. Where the editions present obvious corruption, the manuscripts are an invaluable guide. The manuscripts also shed a good deal of light upon Camden's scholarly method, his manner of composition, and the date at which the book began to take shape. The picture they present is considerably different from the impression Camden gives in the dedication of the book as printed in 1605. With this in mind, I shall first discuss those aspects of the manuscripts which contribute to a knowledge of how the book was made. The discussion is necessarily selective, but it implies a comprehensive study.

(a) Contents and Description

Manuscript materials for the Remains survive in four codices: British Museum Cotton manuscripts Julius F.x, F.xi, and Faustina E.v,

and Bodleian manuscript Dodsworth 20.[1] It is clear that none of the manuscripts is printer's copy, but they vary in quality from rough notes with much crossing-out and late insertions to rather fine, orderly fair copy.[2] The wording varies likewise from what were obviously first thoughts to passages identical with the first edition. The manuscripts were apparently written at different times, in variable circumstances, and in different hands.

The bulk of the material is preserved in F.xi, which contains manuscripts for fifteen sections (by order in codex): Epitaphs, Names, Usual Christian Names, Surnames, Allusions, Rebus or Name -devises, Anagrams, "The Excellency of the English tongue by R.C., Esq.", England and Englishmen (i.e., notes for what became the two sections Britain and Inhabitants), English tongues (i.e., Camden's chapter on languages), Apparell, Artillary, Printing (never published), and Armories. F.xi also contains Camden's rough draft of the dedication. It is very rough, with much revising and much that is crossed out. Since no names are mentioned it is impossible to tell if the dedicatee he has in mind is

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1 For the sake of brevity, the codices will be referred to hereafter as F.x, F.xi, E.v, and Dods.20. A list of sigla will be found on p. xliii and a description of the four codices on p. xlv.

2 By fair copy, I mean copy that was made fair; i.e., copy prepared for some purpose, either revision, or as the papers to the Society of Antiquaries, for presentation.

Greville or Cotton; all the revising may indeed be the process of switching from one to the other. L is Camden's rough title page (addressed to Fulke Greville) giving a list of contents which is useful in determining what Camden, at this stage, had prepared as well as what he was intending to include. Several matters have been crossed out, and some crossed out and then re-entered at another position. See Plate 1. In two places material for one section ends and material for another section begins on the same side of the same folio (folio 139^{r} joining G and H; and folio 306^{v} joining P and Q) indicating that the notes were drawn together at approximately the same time and for the same purpose.

Cotton Julius F.x. This codex contains manuscripts A and B. A is a collection of 551 apophthegms, in English, chiefly of ancient and early European persons. They are arranged for the most part chronologically and according to empires: the Persian, Greek, Roman, and then the feudal kingdoms of Europe. They are grouped in sub-sections, as "Agasicles, Kinge of Lacedemonia" (31^{v}), "Kinge Agis the first" (32^{r}), "Witty sayinges of Lacedemonian women" (33^{v}), "Witty sayinges of Greek Captaines"(36^{r}), and so forth. Of these 551 apophthegms, two only appear in the Remains: the story of Constantinus Chlorus's policy toward public monies (36.16 of the present edition) and Charles V's comment on an emperor's immunity to gun fire (56.14).

B contains "Witty aunsweres & saienges of Englishmen". This is the basis for the Wise Speeches (pp. 32-130 of the present edition). There

Plate 3

The Excellency of the English tonque.
Cap. R. C. Esq.

It were most fitting (in respect of discretion) that men should first learn matters of
Judgement, and then enrich their affection, w^th^ the greatest reason (wants) but ex-
rience it falleth out to the contrarie, for riches by nature or by custome wee first settle our
affection, and then afterward frame in those arguments to approve it, w^ch^ should cause forty
to perswade ourselves. This preposterous course (being antiquitye from our Elders, and
use of our neighbours) doth entitle (w^th^ a right) I could my self the more freely (warrant)
deliver, not only cum Virgo. but also cum Sapientibus in seeking out w^ch^ what commendacon
I may) attire our English Language, as Stephanus hath done for the French, and divers
others for theirs.

Copia. is defined, Animi sensus per vocem expressio, On two grounde I builde these conse-
quents. That the first and principall point sought in every Language, is that wee may express
meaning of our minded apthye ery to others. Next, that we may do it readily (w^th^)
great adoo, then fully, so as others may have occasion retaine us. And last (of all) gain-
some by, that those to w^ch^ we speake may take pleasure in hearing us, for as what
pugne will gaine the name of perfection, must runn on these fower wheeles, Significancye,
Easynes, Copiousnes, & Sweetnes, of w^ch^ the two formost (compounde a meet) either, the
latter a delight. Now if I can prooue that our English Language, for all or the
is margeable, if not preuable before any other in Vogue at this Day. I hope the assent of
any impartiall reader will passe on my side, and haue endeuoured to approue the same
this short labour shall manyfest.

Significancye. To begin then w^th^ y^e^ significancye, it consisteth in the lives, words, and phrases
and because the Greeke and Latyne haue euer borne aduauntage the preheminence from all
other tongues, they shall serue as touchstones to make our tryall by.

Letters. For letters, wee haue Q more then the Greeke, K. and Y more then the Latyne
and W more then then both, or the French and Italian.
for those I omit to speak and no, wee haue the vse of the Greek A. in our A. of our B. they haue
none for haue wee of their Δ and Θ in our Dh. w^ch^ in that, and thing, expresseth both, but of
our D. they haue none, likewise their Υ. wee turne to another vse in wee, their Ω. wee
and as for C. G. and J. neither Greeke nor Latyne can make offill of them, as wee do
in those words cry, deare, ioye, knew it is y^e^ cost in pronouncing the Latyne, vse them alter
after his manner; but the same in regard of the ancient and nigh Romayne dialect,
rather absurdly, as many expleane by Scaliger, S^r^ Tho: Smith, Lipsius and others.

Now for the

are 267 apophthegms in the manuscript, of which 110 were printed. Their order (unlike material in most of the manuscripts in F.xi) is entirely different from the order in the editions. The first in B is the story of King Leir, the first in 1605 is a story of Caratacus. Camden's introductory remarks (32.5 - 33.12) do not appear.

Cotton Faustina E.v. This codex contains S2, C2, and T. All three are fair copies of papers Camden delivered to the Society of Antiquaries, but they either derive from or are related to sections of the Remains. I shall discuss their significance further on.

Dodsworth 20. This codex contains S3 and S4, fragments of two early drafts for the chapter on Armories. I shall discuss their significance further on.

(b) Handwriting and Authorship

Of all the manuscripts, only seven (L, N1, R, S1, N2, S2, S3) can be said with certainty to be wholly in Camden's hand. The problem is complicated by the fact that Camden practised at least three hands, not to mention either the uncials used sometimes in place of italic to transcribe Latin inscriptions, or the hand he used for Greek. The first of the three is a large, rapid hand basically secretary but containing some italic characters and often flamboyant initials. The second is a smaller version of the same hand but bearing closer resemblance to pure secretary, often used for revising and for close note-taking. The third

is a pure italic used almost exclusively for Latin, for quotations, and for fair copies of letters and papers.[1] When writing, he usually keeps to one hand or the other, but there are times when he has mingled the characters or when CH-1 resembles CH-2.

In addition to Camden's three, there are three Unidentified Hands. All the apophthegms, European and English (A and B) are written in an exceptionally clear, pure secretary hand (UH-1). An equally pure secretary hand but of a slightly different cast, with more perpendicular ascenders and descenders (UH-2), appears at certain times in manuscripts of F.xi. UH-1 and UH-2 share many characteristics and there is strong temptation to call them one hand. But since they are geographically separated, so to speak, and since there is no proof they are the same, it is better to treat them as two.[2] Finally, there is a small, perpendicular, even rigid italic, used indiscriminately for both Latin and English (UH-3).

Unfortunately, none of the three unidentified hands betrays any consistent eccentricities. Furthermore, strict analysis breaks down at some points where UH-2 begins to resemble CH-2, as in manuscript I,

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1 For brevity, I shall refer to the three hereafter as CH-1, CH-2, and CH-3 respectively. CH-3 is by far his best-known hand, but it concerns us the least because it occurs the least often in manuscripts for the Remains. CH-3 corresponds to specimens A, B, and C in W.W. Greg's English Literary Autographs, 1932, iii, plate 73. CH-2 corresponds to his specimen D. Greg does not give an example of CH-1.

2 Also, the apophthegm scribe does not share UH-2's habit of using italic for quotations.

folios 141^{r}-142^{r}. One hopes that this is the proof of Camden's dexterity, but it is probably just the scribe imitating his copy.[1]

As stated, A and B of F.x are uniformly written in UH-1. But in many manuscripts of F.xi the hands appear mingled, often two or more alternating on the same folio. A good example of this can be found in C1 where five of the six (all but UH-1) appear on the same folio (80^{r}); see Plate 2.

UH-2 and UH-3 are very probably the hands of professional copyists. John Aubrey notes (Brief Lives, ed. O.L. Dick, Penguin Books, 1949, p. 150):

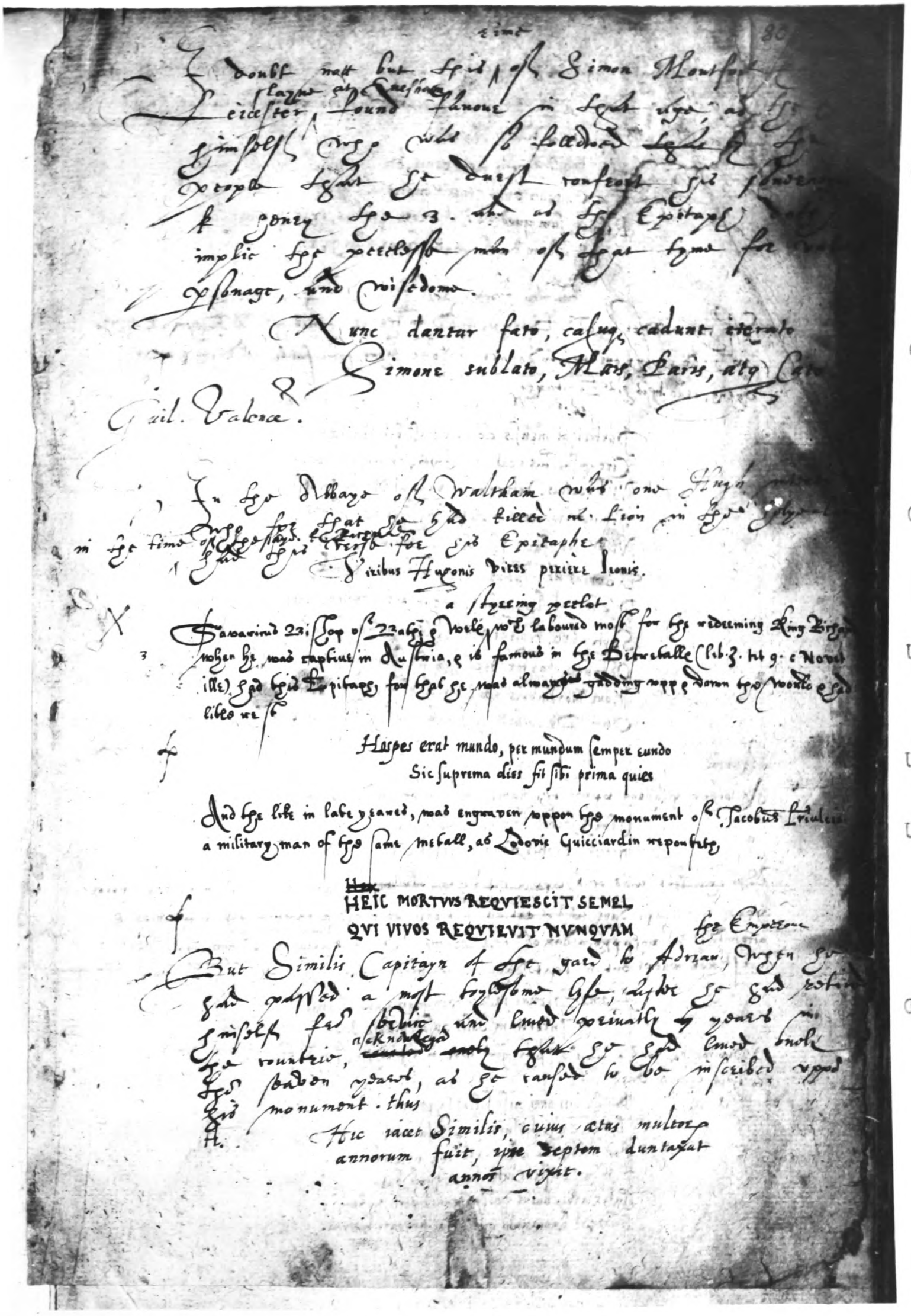
> 'Tis reported, that he had bad Eies (I guesse Lippitude) which was a great inconvenience to an Antiquary.

Certainly Camden was in a position as Clarenceux King of Arms, and even earlier as Master of Westminster School, to employ a copyist. The more one considers his labours as author, King of Arms, member of the Society of Antiquaries, and correspondent, the more it is apparent that he must have had secretarial help. With few exceptions, the whole pattern of F.xi is fair copies in UH-2 or UH-3 with authorial corrections in CH-2. Those manuscripts wholly written by Camden (L, N1, R, S1, and N2) are either rough drafts, or authorial insertions.

The identity of UH-1 poses a larger problem because it raises some

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1 I am indebted to Mr. P.J. Croft of Sotheby's for this suggestion, and for his kindness in examining the various hands of F.x and F.xi.



CH-1

doubt matt but ſd ſ Simon Montfort
Leicester, found ſauour in ſome vſe ad
ſimplex, vrg wch ſo ſtadred ſome
copie ſome ſe durſt confeſſ ſd ſomewhat
& gonry ſee 3. th ad ſe Epitaph
implic ſee peeceſſe mdn of ſome ſe
ſonage, vnd wiſedome.

CH-3

Nunc dantur fato, caſus, cadunt æterno
Simone ſublato, Mars, Paris, alq Cato

Gil. Valence.

CH-2

In ſe Abbaye of Walthā wch one Hugh
in ſe time of ſe ſayd Edwarde ſad ſd titled de Lion in ſde Wylde
ſame ſd Hugh ſe Epitaphe
Pectoribus Hugonis dirus perijt Leonis.

a ſtreeme peeſat

UH-2

Sauarinus Archbp of Yorke, who labored moſt for ſe redeeming King Richard
when he was captiue in Austria, is famous in ſe Decretalle (lib. 3. tit 9. c Nouit
ille) ſad hee his Epitaph, for ſeale he made almoſt gadding rounde ſe worlde &
liked we ſe

Harpes erat mundo, per mundum ſemper eundo
Sic ſuprema dies fit ſibi prima quies

UH-3

And ſee like in lake yeared, was engraven vppon ſee monument of Jacobus Friulensis
a military man of ſee ſame metall, as Ludovic Guicciardin reporteth

UH-2

~~Hic~~
HEIC MORTVVS REQVIESCIT SEMEL
QVI VIVOS REQVIEVIT NVNQVAM

ſee Emperour

But Similis Capitayn of ſee yard to Adrian, when he
had ordred a moſt royalſome feaſt, wythe he had eaten
& miſſed ſad ~~brewis~~ vnd loued perfectly & yeares in
ſe countrie, ~~acknowledged~~ made requeſt & had loued knowl
ſee ſaddon ydaunt, as he ranſed to be inſcribed vppon
his monument. thus

CH-2

H. Hic iacet Similis, cuius ætas multorū
annorum fuit, ipſe septem duntaxat
annos vixit.

Manuscript C1
(British Museum, MS. Cotton Julius F.xi, 80^{r}; reduced)

doubt about Camden's authorship of the Wise Speeches. The question is heightened by Camden's statement, quoted earlier, that he and "I. Bishop" worked together to collect the apophthegms. This could suggest that UH-1 is the hand of Bishop and, hence, only those apophthegms not in B are by Camden. But this is a rather extreme view, with no real evidence to support it and Camden's statement is too vague to indicate the nature of their collaboration, or even that it was a collaboration. While the text of B is crude in places, it is not a first draft and it presents no abrupt changes of style, content, or attitude. If Camden did borrow material from Bishop it was probably revised in drafts before B. Camden's holograph corrections to B, and the absence of any evidence to the contrary provide the best available arguments in favour of his authorship.

(c) Composition

For four sections of the Remains (Britain, Money, Armories, and Epitaphs) more than one manuscript version survives. None is complete; none contains all that is printed, and some are mere fragments. Each case needs to be described because three of the four present somewhat different information and all throw light on Camden's method of composition. The first two are the simpler.

M1 and M2 contain two versions of the first part of Britain; both are fair copies in UH-2 and both have authorial corrections in CH-2.

Neither is complete, but M2 contains more material and incorporates Camden's corrections to M1. M2 also contains material for what became the section Inhabitants.

Likewise two versions survive for Money: K2 and K1. Again, both were prepared as fair copies (UH-2) neatly transcribed and complete with marginal references and catch-words. Both contain authorial revisions in CH-2. K2, the second version, contains more material, it incorporates revisions of K1, and further revisions appear, again in CH-2. K2 contains about half the material in the first printed text, 1614, pp. 196-210.

S1, written entirely in CH-1, is a rough draft for the paper[1] on Arms which Camden delivered to the Society of Antiquaries. S2 is Camden's holograph (again CH-1) fair copy of the same, presumably the copy he read from. It forms, with some revision and an introduction to fit it into a new context, the first part of Armories as it first appears in print, 1614, up to p. 180. But the paper went through at least three further stages of development before 1614. Dods.20 contains two fragments. They overlap, but each bears material not in the other, and both have material not in the paper to the Society. The first fragment, S3 (a single folio entirely in CH-1), appears to be Camden's

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1 Printed as anonymous by Hearne, Curious Discourses, 1773, i, p. 170. No date appears on the manuscript, but it was probably read to the Society on 2 November 1598, the date appointed for papers on Arms. This was only a year after Camden became King of Arms.

first attempt to rewrite the paper for a new purpose, with a new beginning:

Armes.
When I first sett penne to [speak] \ write/ of Armes

The discussion is curiously rambling and Camden several times breaks off abruptly and begins a new point. He is obviously trying to fit new material into an old framework. At two points he makes elliptical dots and leaves a space, presumably indicating where to insert existing material. The second fragment (S4) is, like so much of F.xi, a fair copy in UH-2, with corrections by Camden in both CH-2 and CH-3. The fragment begins abruptly at: "coates of Armes which were registred alwaies" (1614, p. 181, line 28) and contains the bulk of the latter portion of Armories (material not in the paper to the Society). Where S3 and S4 overlap, it is possible to establish that S4 is a fragment from a version closer to 1614. Finally, since there are substantial differences between S4 and 1614, we must assume at least one further version, making a total of five stages of development prior to 1614.

If Armories grew out of a paper to the Society of Antiquaries, the reverse appears to be true of Epitaphs. There are three witnesses: C1, C2, and 1605. C1 is incomplete but it does contain in varying

stages of development[1] the bulk of the text of 1605. C2 is the paper on epitaphs Camden delivered to the Society of Antiquaries on 3 November 1600.[2] Both C2 and 1605 derive independently from C1, or probably the lost fair copy of C1. For his paper to the Society Camden simply borrowed a few paragraphs from C1 and added filling material to suit it to the purpose of a talk. The paper (C2) contains twenty epitaphs. Nine of these appear in C1; these nine and five more of the same twenty appear in 1605. The remaining six were presumably collected sometime after the conjectural lost fair copy of C1.[3]

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1 Of all the manuscripts, C1 is the most disparate. It begins as a fair copy, but after four or five folios it degenerates into very rough copy. Some "folios" are mere slips of paper with one or two epitaphs jotted down, and no commentary. At other times, the commentary has been written and a space left for an epitaph, but the pertinent epitaph was never supplied. The manuscript begins in UH-2, but four of the five remaining hands (all but UH-1, the apophthegm scribe) appear intermingled. As mentioned earlier, these five can be found on folio 80^{r}.

2 The date, the title, and two epitaphs are in CH-1 -- all probably added to the copy after Camden received it from the scribe. The text is in UH-2. The paper was printed by Hearne in Curious Discourses, 1773, i, p. 228 (with a number of misprints). Hearne also printed "A further Discourse on Epitaphes by Mr. Camden" (i, pp. 310-354). This is in fact a reprint of the chapter on "Epitaphs" from John Philipot's edition of the Remains and hence includes Philipot's unidentified additions and alterations.

3 Camden's interest in epitaphs was long-standing. He includes a number in the first edition of Britannia and added some to later editions. In 1600, the same year as the Antiquarian paper, he published his description of the sepulchral monuments of Westminster Abbey (Reges, reginae, nobiles, etc.), including all the epitaphs in the Abbey. This was enlarged in 1603 and again in 1606.

Carew's essay "The Excellency of the English tongue" is, as it stands in J, almost but not quite word for word with 1614. It is therefore the closest glimpse we have of what was probably handed to the compositor and as such deserves special notice. The text is in UH-2 and is written on both sides of three folios, each approximately twelve by eight inches.[1] It is written neatly and spaciously; the scribe allowed about ½ inch between lines and a left hand margin of 1½ inches -- plenty of room for correcting. The corrections, insertions, and the title are Camden's, CH-2 and CH-3. Camden made fifteen insertions, mostly one or two words each and usually written above the line. But one is too long. He consequently wrote it length-wise in the left hand margin and made a clear mark where it was to be inserted in the text. All the insertions were adopted in 1614. There are marginal glosses and catch-words; the glosses were printed. Simpson states[2] that manuscript and printed text differ only once; in fact, there are sixteen variants: four scribal errors, eight errors in the printed text, three revisions, and one additional name in the printed edition. Page and line references are to 1614; the reading from J is the right hand column (x marks the erroneous reading):

37.5	in use	in vogue

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1 Plate 3 shows the first folio of J.

2 Percy Simpson, Proof-Reading, 1935, p. 106. Simpson notes only the name "Maister Puttenham" added to the printed text.

Plate 3

The Excellency of the English tongue.
By R. C. Esq.

It were most fitting (in respect of discretion) that men should first learn matters of Judgement, and then enrich their affection, with the greatest reason (praise) but experience it falleth out to be contrarie, for either by nature or by custome we first settle our affection, and then afterward draw in those arguments to approve it, we should have sufficient to perswade ourselves. And yet notwithstanding common speech (being antiquity from our Elders), and practise of our neighbours doe entitle us a right, I could my self the more freely maintain & delivare, not only cum Virgilio, but also cum Sapientibus in seeking out the reason what commendeth or disgraceth, I may affirm our English Language, ad Stephanum gaze done for the Frenche, and divers others for their.

Compositio. pointes requisite in a Language. is defined, *Animi sensus per vocem expressio*. On the grounde I builde these conclusions. That the first and principall point sought in every Language, is that we may expresse the meaning of our minded aptlye ere to offer. Next, that we may doe it readilye without great adoo. Then fullye, so as others may therethroughlye continue us. And last of all (and sometyme that those to whome we speake may take pleasure in hearing us, for as the tongue will gaine the more affection, must runne on these fower wheeles, Significancye, Easynes, Copiousnes, & Sweetnes, of the five the first foremost, compose a mervailous, the latter a delight. Now if I ran [illegible] that our English Language, for all or the order is marveilable, if not prevailable before any other in Vogue at this Day. I hope the assent of any impartiall reader will passe on my side, And have endeavoured to performe the same by [illegible] labour shall manyfest.

Significancye. To begin then with the first significancye, it consisteth in the lives, words, and phrases: and because the Greeke and Latyne have entombed among the propriate from all other tongues, they shall serve as touchstones to make our tryall by.

Letters. For letters, we have Q more then the Greekes, K. and Y more then the Latyne: and W more then them both, or the Frenche and Italian.
for those common to them and us, we have the use of the Greek B. in our V. of our B. they have none so have we of their Δ and Θ in our TH. with in that, and thing, expressely both, but of our D. they have none likewise have Y. we turne to another use inverted, then they and as for C. G. and I. neither Greekes nor Latynes can make choice of them, as well for in these words ego, iove, new it is my care in pronouncing the Latyne, use them as after his manner; but let same in regard of the auncient and right Romayne delivery, neither absurdly, as many practise by Scaliger, Sr Tho: Smith, Lipsius and others.

Now for the

Manuscript J
(British Museum, MS. Cotton Julius F.xi, 265r; reduced)

37.13	we have K more	(x)	we have Q more
37.14	W more then them both		W. more then then them both (x)
37.16	In those common	(x)	for those commone
38.14	the masters	(x)	the musters
38.26	as by Bill is meant	(x)	As by Bill, are ment
39.17	shooteth out into branches	(x)	Shooteth oute into two braunches.
39.29	with the Italian	(x)	which the Italian
41.16	hath triumphant Throne		hath triumphant thorne (x)
41.29	which in the Latine it selfe		which in the Latyne self (x)
42.2	as in these verbes		as verbs (x)
42.11	can you expresse to stand in French		cann you, to Stand in French
43.1	Maister Puttenham		Not in J.
43.3	a fore imagined possi-bilitie in that behalfe.	(x)	a fore imagined impossibility in that behalff.
43.9	as a still fleeting water.		as to \to/ stillye \fleeting/ water.
43.10	but even nice	(x)	but over nice

J contains no printer's marks, and Simpson maintains that "it is clear that the manuscript never left Camden's study". He also suggests that

> in all probability the transcript used by the printer was made by Camden himself, and he was responsible for

(inserting) Maister Puttenham.[1]

The insertion very probably was made by Camden, but there is no evidence whatsoever that the printer's copy was in Camden's hand. The pattern is too strong the other way: it is always possible that UH-2 is Camden's, but in the absence of proof there is only wishful thinking.

There is the least to say about the apophthegm manuscripts A and B, the manuscripts which concern the present study most directly. Both are consistently written in UH-1, on both sides of the folio. The writing is neat and clear and some space is left between each apophthegm, but there is less deliberate spaciousness than in Carew's essay, as if anticipating no further corrections. They are clearly intended to be fair copies for some purpose, but the immediate purpose does not appear to be publication. Unlike all other manuscripts, there is no introductory discussion, and the English apophthegms are not arranged in any discernible order. There are a few guide-words in the margins,[2] but these are merely intended to help locate a name. Camden has certainly dealt with them. There are a few corrections to the European apophthegms, but the revisions are in the same hand as the text. In the English apophthegms, however, the few revisions there are, are Camden's, CH-2. The two clearest samples of this appear on 54^{r} where

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1 P. Simpson, Proof-reading, 1935, p. 106.

2 Some marginalia were added by later hands and refer to late editions of the Remains.

he has added the reference "Polydorus and others" to the story of King Cnut at Southampton (46.20 of this edition), and on 62^{r} where he has added "But this lost him the Papacye" to the apophthegm on Cardinal Pole's piety (127.2). 1605 adopts both revisions.

In my remarks so far on the manuscripts in F.xi I have stressed their roughness, their disparity, the bewildering number of hands. But for all their roughness, only the slips of paper containing single epitaphs give the impression of random note-taking, and only L, N1, and R look like first drafts. In all others, some portion, usually the introductory discussion of the chapter, is in UH-2 -- a fair copy made for the purpose of revising and polishing. Within each manuscript, the arrangement is usually close enough to the first edition to indicate that the writer's intentions were already well established. What we have in F.xi is material certainly destined for a book written in English about England.

(d) Dating

Aside from the two antiquarian papers mentioned already, there are two further means useful in establishing a date for the manuscripts of F.xi. In Cotton MS. Faustina E.v, folio 105 is Camden's holograph fair copy dated "25 Novemb. 1598" for a talk on the origin of the word Duke. Camden's rough draft of the same talk appears in R. On the top half of the same folio is the conclusion of the rough dedication

for the Remains, in the same hand (CH-1). Where the one ends, the other begins:

> ... being onely the rude ruble, and outcast rubish of a greater worke./
>
> Duke.
>
> This word Duke we have receaved from the French ...

Presumably the rough title page (L), described earlier, was made at about the same time as the dedication.

But there is a still earlier date. In Britain (7.11-12) Camden refers to Tooker's Charisma (STC 24117), published in 1597:

> \As for the sacred gifte of curing the King's Evill, hereditarye to the anonynted princes of this Realme, I referre you to the Learned discourse therof lately [published] \written/ by D. Toocker./

Since the whole reference is an insertion to M2, then presumably M2 was made some time before; likewise Camden's first draft must have been made some time even earlier. Britain is clearly an introductory chapter, written when the author knew full well what he was introducing. Given these facts, it is reasonable to assume that the manuscripts in F.xi should be dated no later than 1597. Given the knowledge that the Remains as we have it in 1605 emerged through multiple revisions, it is reasonable to postulate that Camden probably began arranging notes and even writing introductory discussions for the book several years earlier. From March 1593/4 until he assumed the duties of Clarenceux on 23 October 1597 Camden was Headmaster of Westminster School, a position that gave him more leisure than he would ever have again. For

the manuscript of English apophthegms (B) we have his own word that collecting began twenty years before 1605, or probably twenty years before the date of the dedication, 1603 -- that is, 1583, while he was second master at Westminster and before the first edition of Britannia.

II. THE EDITIONS

On November 10, 1604 the following entry was made in the Stationers Register:

> Master Waterson Entred for his Copie vnder th[e h]andes of Master Pasfeild and the wardens a booke called Reserches of Brittainne Containinge the Inhabitants thereof, their Language, Christian names, Surnames, Impreses, Apothegmes & ...

Some time the following year, 1605, the book was published anonymously with the title

> Remaines of a Greater Worke, Concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreses, Wise Speeches, Poesies, and Epitaphes.

The revised dedication, to Robert Cotton,[1] is signed merely "M.N.", last letters of the author's Christian name and surname. Camden

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1 The confusion over whom to dedicate the work to is easily explained. Camden had plentiful reason to honour either, but he had just dedicated his anthology of British histories to Greville, the Anglica, Normanica ... descripta, published in 1602 and again in 1603 at Frankfort. Cotton was, as fellow member of the Society of Antiquaries, interested in many of the matters in the Remains, and it was to Cotton's house at Connington that Camden retired to avoid an outbreak of the plague in London. Presumably he went after 12 June 1603; according to Wood, "he remained till the nativity of our Saviour".

apparently sent the book to Cotton in manuscript form for his approval, and indeed even correction, for he states in the dedication:

> I here send it unto you in lose leaves, as fitt to be Ludibria venti: and withall submit it to your censure.

The dedication is dated 12 June 1603, more than a year before it reached Waterson. The revisions (a considerable number and scattered throughout the book) necessitated by the death of Elizabeth I (24 March 1603) and the accession of James I were presumably made in this gap of time.

Two matters suggest that Camden made alterations after the copy reached the printer. First, the title as registered with the Stationers Company resembles the rough title page (L), which is dedicated to Fulke Greville; see Plate I. Secondly, there was an earlier title page dated 1604 as three independent writers verify. Smith, Camden's biographer, gives 1604 as the date and it is not likely he had referred to the Stationers' register.[1] Anthony Wood concurs with Smith. The writer of Biographia Britannia claims that 1604 "is not contrary to the title-page of the first edition which lies before me".[2] Camden himself gives 1605 as the date in a memorandum, but this does not preclude the possibility that the printer made copies before

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1 Thomas Smith, ed., Camdeni Epistolae, 1691, p. lxxix.

2 Biographia Britannia, 1748, ii, p. 1125, note k.

25 March. There is not sufficient evidence to suggest that 1604 was an earlier edition, indeed it is unlikely. The anonymous writer in Biographia Britannia is aware of and quotes the title page of 1605, but makes no further comment to indicate that his own copy differs beyond the matter of date. Commenting elsewhere, however, he states that the work is dedicated to Cotton "though from the work itself it appears, that he once intended to have inscribed it to Fulk Grevil".[1] There is nothing in "the work itself" as printed in 1605, either in the dedication, the title page, or the text, to indicate the work was first inscribed to Greville, and it is most unlikely that the commentator had seen folio 290 of Cotton Julius F.xi. In any case, signature A contains the title page and dedication and was probably printed last.

1605 was printed in two parts, with the four sections of poetry[2] as the second part. A half-title for part two was printed on the verso side of the last folio in part one, but otherwise the break is decisive and the two parts reveal divergent compositorial practices. Head-pieces and tail-pieces were used in part one; none appear in part

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1 Biographia Britannia, 1748, ii, p. 1125.

2 None of the four (Poesies, Epigrams, Rythmns, and Epitaphs) is mentioned in the Stationers entry, but "Poesies" and "Epitaphes" appear in L. It is noteworthy that of the four, manuscript material survives for only Epitaphs. If it is true that this chapter grew out of a lecture to the Society of Antiquaries in 1600, it is conceivable that the four sections of poetry were a last-minute thought and that Camden was rushed to include them. This would also provide more reason for a new title page.

two. In part one, only the first three leaves of a gathering are signed; in part two all four are signed. George Eld could not have been a printer for very long before he received the copy from Waterson. He was apprenticed to Robert Bolton until 13 January 1599/1600 (Arber, ii.185 and 725) when he took up his freedom. The first book bearing his imprint is dated 1604; his entire output for 1604 was five books and part of a sixth; then fifteen books in 1605. This may be the fate of a new printer, but it may also be that Eld wasn't ready for more than a certain work load. The number of times italic is substituted at random for roman type strongly suggests his supply was limited.

Part two was probably printed in the shop of Richard Read; there is both internal and external evidence for this. Three decorative initials appear in part two; none of the three appears in the first part, nor in any other book Eld printed in 1604, or 1605 -- that is, since he first set up shop. The decorative initials are an O (on a1), an I with a broken lower right corner (on b1), and a G (on d2). The G appears in two books (STC 2869 and STC 2868) printed by Richard Jugge about 1552 or 1553.[1] The decorative I with the same broken corner appears in two books attributed to Richard Read (STC 1074 and STC 5775) both dated 1601. Moreover, the device appearing on the title page of Remains, an ornament of ferns, appears also on the title page of a book

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1 My search was aided by F.S. Fergusson's Collection of initials. A copy-flo of his cards is in the New Bodleian.

Read printed in 1603 (STC 12061). Read had been an apprentice to Jugge; Jugge died in 1577, and on 18 January 1579/80 (Arber, ii.681) Jugge's widow presented Read for his freedom. He may have been printing as early as 1584 (Arber, ii.130), but he was certainly printing between 12 May 1601 and some time in 1603 (Arber, iii.184 and 201) at his shop on Fleet Lane, where Eld's shop was located. Read died, probably of the plague, either late 1603 or early in 1604 and his widow shortly married George Eld and so made Eld succeed to the business (Arber, v. 201). It was probably at this time that Eld got the second press which he is returned as having by the Court of the Stationers Company in 1615 (Arber, ii.699); a second press would certainly help to account for Eld's sudden jump in productivity from six books in 1604 to fifteen books in 1605. Finally, there are ten other initials in part one of the Remains; not one of the ten can be found in any of the books Read is known to have printed nor in any of the books attributed to Read. In the face of all this, the most plausible of several possibilities is that Read died and his widow remarried either while the Remains was in the press at Eld's shop or before Eld had time to consolidate his new equipment. For some time he was probably operating from both shops. If the compositors of part one were at work in the same building as the compositors of part two, there would be no call to make such a decisive break in the book, even if there were a cause to put the work aside.

1605 has been carefully printed. There are only 100 obvious

printer's errors in the copy I have examined. There is no significant pattern in the incidence of error between the two parts, nor among signatures, nor within formes; they are almost uniformly spread. The largest incidence of thirteen errors comes, as one might expect, on signature S (11 outer forme; 2 inner forme), during the catalogue of surnames -- a section of dense and quite difficult composing. Some amount of correcting was done while the book was at the press, but my impression is that this was negligible and that the correcting was confined to printer's errors. Out of a selection of eighty errors collated in sixteen copies of 1605, no more than six errors appear to have been corrected. None of the sixteen copies examined contains a cancel.

The collation of 1605 is: 4^{o}, A-2G^{4} 2H^{2} a-g^{4} h^{2}. A1 is blank, and missing from some copies; A2 title, verso blank; A3-A4 dedication; A4^{v} blank; B1-2H2^{v} text; 2H2^{v} section title to part two; a1-h2 part two; h2^{v} blank.

The second edition, "Reviewed, Corrected, and encreased", was given to John Legatt to print. The dedication is retained, but Camden has added one new paragraph asking Robert Cotton for permission to address him "again in the same words, I did ten yeares since". The dedication is now dated: "From my Lodging. xxx. Iunij. 1614". Changes, as the title page indicates, are of three kinds: the original order is

retained, but six new sections have been inserted, making twenty-two in all,[1] and new material has been introduced to the existing sections; a good number of passages have been rephrased or given clearer statement; printer's errors have been corrected (and new errors have appeared in other places).

Several factors suggest that 1614 prints from manuscript rather than from a copy of 1605. The first is that 1614 repeats very few errors of 1605. Conversely, certain errors in 1614 are of the kind a compositor might make by misreading handwriting. But this is as far as the evidence goes. After careful consideration, the evidence that 1614 prints from a copy of 1605 seems stronger. To begin with, Legatt certainly received manuscripts for both the new sections and for the additions to existing sections. Possibly some of the more elaborate revisions were also handed to the printer separately, but for the most part the revisions are all specific, not general: no section was completely rewritten and most changes involve only a word or phrase and could easily have been inserted in a copy of 1605. The strongest evidence is readily apparent; the compositors of 1614 have tried to follow the alignment of 1605 in order to save themselves work. This was not always possible. Legatt's decorative initials tend to be bigger. Then, too, when new material occurs, the compositor is on his own. But

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1 The new sections are: Carew's essay on "The Excellencie of the English tongue", Armories, Money, Apparell, Artillary, and the Proverbs.

in the Wise Speeches, one of the chapters where changes are negligible, the compositors faithfully preserve 1605 line by line for the first thirty-eight pages, while employing their own accidentals.

1614 corrects the errors of 1605, but it also adds about the same number of its own. This is still remarkably few for the kind and the amount of composition. The book is now 386 pages. While there is no certain evidence that Camden actually supervised the printing, there is no question that the revisions and new material come from him and the one new paragraph in the dedication indicates that the edition was by his authority. If he took the trouble to revise and correct what was first printed, he would likely take the trouble to see that what was gained on the one hand was not lost on the other.

The collation of 1614 is: 4^{o}, A-3B^{4} $3C^{2}$. A1 title, verso blank; $A2^{r-v}$ dedication; A3-4, blanks, are missing from most copies; $B1-3C1^{v}$ text; 3C2 blank, and missing from some copies.

1623 is a third edition. Waterson has given it to yet another printer, Nicholas Okes, and the format has been entirely changed. The dedication of 1614 is reprinted verbatim. The arrangement of the second edition is preserved. While there are no new sections, there are these notable additions: eleven more anagrams, making sixty-two in all; the number of proverbs has been increased from 391 to 573; there are two new epigrams; and there is one new epitaph, on the Dowager

Countess of Pembroke. Three of the nine copies I have examined contain a fold-out (15 x 12 in.) pasted to page 345; in a fourth the fold-out is missing, but there is a clear impression left where it was. It is a broad-sheet with verses commemorating the death in 1619 of James I's queen:

> Upon the death of Queene Anne, Wife of our Soveraigne Lord King James, funerall verses written by William Swadon of New Colledge in Oxford, Doc. of Divinity & Chaplayne to Her Majesty.

There are printer's instructions to the binder at the bottom of the sheet indicating where the sheet is to be inserted.

1623 carries all the signs of a cheap reprint. The format is the more economical one of a quarto in eights. All the additions were inserted at the end of the pertinent sections, hence they never disrupt the composition of 1614. 1623 faithfully reproduces most of the errors of 1614 and adds roughly the same number of its own. There is nothing to prove that the additions are Camden's, and the broad-sheet is patently not Camden's. These signs combined with the knowledge that Camden was ill and semi-retired for more than a year before his death argue that 1623 has no authority. The argument might end there were it not for two references to the Welsh epigrammatist John Owen inserted in 1623 (p. 191 and p. 289 and see Appendix B), the year following Owen's death. Owen and Camden were probably old friends, through their mutual acquaintance, William Cecil. There are a number of other changes to the text of 1623, but they are all very minor and there is

always a ready reason to suspect it is printer's emendation or a compositor's reckless justification.

There is no doubt 1623 was printed from a copy of 1614. In the absence of anything to deny it, I am inclined to think that it was printed with Camden's permission and that the new material, excepting the broad-sheet, is from him. The initiative might have been Camden's, but all things considered, it was probably Waterson who, seeing the market, desired to reprint and asked Camden if he had anything more to add. He was gravely ill, but we know that he was well enough between October 1622 and 18 August 1623 to conduct some of his affairs and that at the time of his death he was contemplating a new edition of Britannia. The errors are too many to suppose that Camden supervised the printing, but the additions are few enough to have come from an invalid.

The collation of 1623 is: 4^{o}, A-Y^{8} Z^{4}. A1 is blank, and missing from most copies; A2 title, verso blank; $A3^{r-v}$ dedication; $A4$-$Z3^{v}$ text; Z4 blank, and missing from most copies.

The editions after 1623 do not affect the present study; none has any authority. 1629 is a straight reprint of 1623 with its errors, holus-bolus. 1636 is the work of John Philipot; it and all that follow contain unidentified material he has added from his own sources. Thomas Moule's edition in 1870 follows a copy of Philipot; Moule has

also changed the order of the sections.

The Present Edition

The text for the present edition is that of 1605; my control copy is British Museum C.13.a.19. I adopt the revisions of 1614 and 1623. The material Camden added in 1614 and 1623[1] is indicated in the text by a single oblique dash: /. . ./ and is noted in the apparatus. A double oblique dash denotes the folio of 1605.

The textual apparatus is strictly selective. It records substantive variants of the manuscripts, of 1614, and 1623. Major variants of the manuscripts are recorded in the Commentary. The apparatus also records all departures from 1605 and the authority for them.

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1 Appendix B locates the additional material in the texts of 1614 and 1623.

LIST OF SIGLA
(Manuscripts for the Remains, by order in codex)

British Museum; Cotton Julius F.x: (F.x)		Location
A	European apophthegms	29^{r} - 49^{v}
B	English apophthegms (Wise Speeches)	53^{r} - 66^{v}

British Museum: Cotton Julius F.xi: (F.xi)		
C1	Epitaphs	73^{r} - 104^{v}
D	Names	107^{r} - 112^{r}
E	Usual Christian Names	112^{v} - 120^{v}
F	Surnames	121^{r} - 135^{r}
G	Allusions	136^{r} - 139^{r}
H	Rebus, or name-devises	139^{r} - 140^{v}
I	Anagrams	141^{r} - 149^{v}
J	Carew's essay	265^{r} - 267^{v}
K2	Money (later version)	268^{v},269^{r} - 271^{r}
L	Title page	290^{r}
M2	"England" (later version)	292^{r},293^{v} - 297^{v}
M1	"England" (earlier version)	293^{r}
N1	Languages.	298^{r} - 300^{r}
N2	Languages (authorial insertions)	300^{v}, 319^{v} - 322^{r}, 323^{r}
O	Apparell	301^{v} - 303^{r}

P Artillary . . . . . 303v - 306v

Q Printing (never published) . . . . . 306v - 307r

K1 Money (earlier version) . . . . . 307v - 310r

R Dedication 313r-v

S1 Arms (draft of Antiquarian paper) . . . . . 317r - 318v

British Museum: Cotton Faustina E.v: (E.v)

S2 Arms (Camden's holograph paper to Soc. of Antiquaries). . . 95r-v

C2 Epitaphs (Antiquarian paper). 162r-v

T "Mottes" (Antiquarian paper; related to Impresses) 198r-v

Bodleian Library: Dodsworth 20: (Dods.20)

S3 Armories (earlier fragment) 90r-v

S4 Armories (later fragment) . . . . . 91r - 92v

DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUR CODICES CONTAINING MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE REMAINS

BRITISH MUSEUM:

Cotton Julius F.x.

The codex contains 197 leaves in modern binding; the last rebinding was 30 May 1962. There are two foliations. The earlier runs 1-210. This foliation has been struck out and a note added to the backing-sheet: "197 Fol's Tw. March 1884". Some folios are only thin slips of paper containing one or two notes. The contents and handwriting vary. Folios 95-101 contain an anonymous narration of the Armada campaign, ff. 10-14 the last will and testament of Sir Wyllyam Saye Knyght, anno. 24th Hen. VIII. On ff. 103, 157^{v} - 159, 163 - 164^{v} and possibly elsewhere are extracts copied by Camden from Leland's notes in Cotton Julius C.vi, ff. 1-89. Camden's hand, CH-1, certainly appears on many folios, as 125, 150^{v} et seq. The European apophthegms (29^{r} - 49^{v}) and the English apophthegms (ff. 53^{r} - 66^{v}) are both written on folios of more or less uniform size, 12" x 8". There is a watermark on many of the apophthegm folios -- a vase or pot, 23/8" high, with a handle, grapes with a small square-shaped object protruding from the top. The vase bears the initials GG. The watermark occurs twenty-three times through both sections of apophthegms.

Cotton Julius F.xi.

The codex consists of 323 leaves in modern binding. The volume was last foliated in 1884; an earlier foliation comes to 319 leaves. Some leaves bear a third foliation, presumably dating from before they came into Cotton's library. Numerous leaves are out of order and a table of contents appearing on folio 1 is bound verso first. The volume contains a large amount of unrelated matter. There are many hands, but all of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the leaves that bear material for the Remains are sheets folded once to create bifolia, as ff. 73 and 74 are conjugate, measuring 14 x 10½ inches. There are three watermarks on leaves containing material for the Remains: the most common, a man's hand 1½ in. long, as on folio 73; the next common, an orb measuring 1¾ in., as on folio 108; the least common, a man's hand with a gilly-flower measuring 2¼ in. from end to end, as on folio 81.

Cotton Faustina E.v.

The codex contains 221 leaves in modern binding. The foliation was made by Sir Frederick Madden in 1872 and it was last bound July 1957. The volume is a collection of discourses by eminent antiquarians, delivered between 1598-1604. Many are dated and signed. There are many different hands, but all are sixteenth and seventeenth century hands. Folio 95, Camden's holograph fair copy of "The Antiquitye of

Armes in England" bears a watermark: a vase or pot 2 3/8 in. with handle, but no discernible initials. A number of other antiquarian essays by Camden also appear; he tends not to sign them, but his hand is readily identifiable. (Hearne has published most of the essays in Curious Discourses):

> Folio 198 contains Camden's paper on "Mottes" or Impresses. No signature or date. "Mottes as we use the worde now for clauses short wittie & conceited ..." Hand could be either UH-1 or UH-2. No watermark. Folio 193 contains a discourse on Mottes by A. Agarde, dated 28 November 1600.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY:

Dodsworth 20

This codex is described in the Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian, number 4162:

> In Latin, &c, on paper: made up of two MSS. written at end of the 16th cent.: 12 3/8 x 8¼ in., v + 172 leaves.

The contents and handwriting vary; see the Catalogue for a full description. Folio 90 (S3) is in Camden's holograph, CH-2. The watermark is an outstretched hand, 1 inch. Folios 91 and 92 (S4) are written in UH-2 with corrections by Camden in CH-2 and CH-3. There is a watermark on folio 91 -- an orb with cross, 2 inches.

Marginal Notes and Textual Apparatus

Camden's marginal notes are given immediately below the text and are set-off by a short line. Their numbers refer to the pertinent passages from the text above. Marginal notes added in 1614 or 1623 are given within single oblique-dashes (the same as with additions to the text) and the edition in which the note first appeared is noted in parentheses.

The textual apparatus appears below the text and below any marginal notes, and is set-off by a longer line. A square bracket] indicates that the reading of 1605 has been retained; substantive variants follow the bracket. A colon : indicates that 1605 has been discarded; authority for the emendation is given before the colon. For manuscript readings all contractions have been expanded silently. The following symbols are used:

[ ]	MS. deletion
\ /	MS. insertion
⟨ ⟩	1 gap in MS., or 2 passage in MS. illigible, or 3 passage supplied by editor
MSS.	M1 and M2 agree
EDD.	1605, 1614, 1623 agree
Ed.	Editor's emendation

ABBREVIATIONS

Arber	Edward Arber. Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London, 1554-1640. 5 vols.
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
EETS	Edition of the Early English Text Society
EHR	English Historical Review
HBC	Handbook of British Chronology
MHB	Monumenta Historica Britannica, ed. H. Petrie & J. Sharpe, London: 1848.
Migne, PG	J.P. Migne. Patrologiae cursus completus (Greek series)
Migne, PL	_____. _____. (Latin series)
NBG	Nouvelle Biographie Générale
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd edition, 1970
ODCC	Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1957; reprinted 1966
ODEP	Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, 3rd edition, 1970
OED	A New English Dictionary, gen. ed. J.A.H. Murry
Rolls	Edition of the Rolls Series; cited by volume and page
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Loeb edition
STC	Pollard & Redgrave. Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640, 1926; reprinted 1948.
Stevenson, Proverbs	B. Stevenson. Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases, London: 1949.
Tilley	M.P. Tilley. A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England, Ann Arbor: 1950.

Other abbreviations will be found in the bibliography.

REMAINES
OF
A GREATER WORKE,

Concerning

Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, *their Languages, Names, Surnames, Empreſes, Wiſe ſpeeches, Poëſies, and Epitaphes.*

AT LONDON
Printed by *G. E.* for *Simon Waterſon.*
1605.

Title page of the first edition
(Bodleian Library, Malone 750)

REMAINES,
concerning
BRITAINE:

But especially England, and the
Inhabitants thereof.

THEIR

Languages.
Names.
Surnames.
Allusions.
Anagrammes.
Armories.
Monies.
Empreses.
Apparell.
Artillarie.
Wise Speeches.
Prouerbs.
Poesies.
Epitaphes.

Reviewed, corrected, and encreased.



Printed at London by IOHN LEGATT for SIMON
WATERSON. 1614.

Title page of the second edition
(Own copy)

REMAINES,

Concerning

BRITAINE:

But eſpecially England, and the *Inhabitants thereof.*

THEIR

Languages.		Empreſes.
Names.		Apparell.
Surnames.		Artillary.
Alluſions.	> <	Wiſe Speeches.
Anagrammes.		Prouerbs.
Armories.		Poeſies.
Monies.		Epitaphs.

The third Impreſſion *Reviewed, corrected, and encreaſed.*

LONDON,

Printed by NICHOLAS OKES, for SIMON WATERSON, and are to be ſold at his ſhop, at the ſigne of the Crowne in *Paul*s Church-yard. 1623.

Title page of the third edition
(Bodleian Library, Gough Gen. Top. 171)

TO THE RIGHT
WORSHIPFVLL,
WORTHY, AND LEARNED
SIR ROBERT COTTON
of Connington Knight,
and Baronet.

PARDON *me, Right Worthy Baronet, if at the Printers requeſt, I addreſſe theſe* REMAINES *with ſome ſupplement, to you againe in the ſame wordes, I did ten yeares ſince.*

Temples (*ſaith the auncient* Ariſtides) are to be dedicated to the Gods, and Bookes to good-men. *Upon warrant of which words, and long experience of your goodneſſe, this ſilly, pittifull, and poore* Treatiſe *was once vnaduiſedly forward to haue bin dedicated to you. But vpon more aduiſed conſid ration, whereas* Ariſtides *in his wiſdome knew nothing but that which was good, to be ſeemly and ſortable for good men, and therefore meant moſt certainly, that onely good Bookes are to be dedicated to good men: It recalled it ſelfe in good time, for that it cannot challenge any ſuch title either for matter or manner of handling, being onely the rude rubble and out-caſt rubbiſh (as you know) of a greater and more ſerious worke. Whereas therefore neither in reſpect of it ſelfe it dare,*

Camden's dedication from second edition
(Own copy)

neither in regard of you it may preſent it ſelfe by way of Dedication, for that ſhould implie honour vnto you, which it cannot bring, and require patronage from you, which it needeth not, being by the pittifull fillineſſe thereof ſecured from enuie, onely reaching at eminencie. I heere ſende it vnto you in looſe leaues, as fit to be Ludibria venti: *and withall ſubmit it to your cenſure, not as he did* Siue legi, ſiue tegi iuſſeris. *For verily I aſſure my ſelfe that you in your learned iudgement cannot but ſentence it, as I haue done with this doome:*

Tineas paſcat taciturnus inertes.

From my Lodging xxx. Iunii. 1614.

Your Worſhips aſſured

M. N.

TEXT

Britaine.

WHereas I have purposed in all this Treatise to confine my selfe within the bounds of this Isle of Britaine, it cannot be impertinent, at the verie enterance, to say somewhat of Britaine, which is the onely subiect of all that is to be said, and well knowne to be the most flourishing and excellent, most renowmed and famous Isle of the whole world: So rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation, so resplendent in all glorie, that if the most Omnipotent had fashioned the world round like a ring, as hee did like a globe, it might haue beene most worthily the onely gemme therein. For the ayre is most temperate and wholesome, sited in the middest of the temperate Zone, subiect to no stormes and tempests as the more Southerne and Northerne are; but stored with infinite delicate fowle. For water, it is walled and garded with the Ocean most commodious for trafficke to all parts of the world, and watered with pleasant fish-full and navigable rivers, which yeelde safe havens and roads, and furnished with shipping and Saylers, that it may rightly be termed the Lady of the sea. That I may say nothing of healthfull Bathes,

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1 Britaine.] England. M2 Not in M1 3 this Isle of Britaine] this realme of England MSS. 3-4 it cannot be...of Britaine] it cannot seeme impertinent [to saye somewhat] at the very entraunce \to saye somewhat/ of England M1 it cannot seem impertinent, at the very entraunce to saye somewhat of England M2 6-7 and excellent...whole world] and excellent parte of Britayne, as Britayne is ye most renowmed and famous ysle of the whole World MSS. 1.10-2.15 For the ayre...not to strangers.] Not in M1 12 no stormes] no torments \stormes/ M2 14 and garded] Not in M2 16-17 and furnished] so furnished M2 16-18 roads, and...sea. That] roads \so furnished with shypping, and saylers that it may rightly be termed the Ladye of the Sea/ that M2

and of Meares stored both with fish and fowle; The earth fertile of all kinde of graine, manured with good husbandrie, rich in minerall of coles, tinne, lead, copper, not without gold and silver, aboundant in pasture, replenished with cattell both tame and wilde, (for it hath more parkes than all Europe besides,) plentifully wooded,
B1^{v} prouided with all complete provisions of Warre, // beautified with many populous Citties, faire Borroughs, good Townes, and well-built Villages, strong Munitions, magnificent Pallaces of the Prince, stately houses of the Nobilitie, frequent Hospitals, beautiful Churches, faire Colleges, as well in other places, as in the two Vniversities, which are comparable to all the rest in Christendome, not onely in antiquitie, but also in learning, buildings, and endowments. As for governement Ecclesiasticall and Civill, which is the very soule of a kingdome, I neede to say nothing, whenas I write to home-borne, and not to strangers.

But to praise Britaine according as the dignitie thereof requireth, is a matter which may exercise, if not tire the happiest wit furnished with the greatest variety of learning; and some already have busied their braines and pennes heerein with no small labour and travel: let therefore these few lines in this behalfe suffice, out

1 and of Meares] and Meares M2 2 manured with good husbandrie] Inserted to M2 4 with cattell] with with cattayle M2 6 prouided...of Warre] Inserted to M2 7 populous] Inserted to M2 7-8 well-built Villages] Well-[peopled,]built Villages M2 8 strong Munitions] Inserted to M2 9 houses] places M2 11 to] with M2 13 Ecclesiasticall and Civill] Inserted to M2 16 Britaine] England MSS. 17 tire MSS., 1614, 1623: tier 1605 20 travel] trauailes M1 trauayle M2

of an antient Writer. Britaine, thou art a glorious Isle, extolled and renowmed among all Nations; the navies of Tharsis can not be compared to thy shipping bringing in all pretious commodities of the world: the Sea is thy wall, and strong fortifications doe secure thy Portes: Chivalrie, Cleargie, and Merchandize do flourish in thee. The Pisans, Genoveses, and Venetians do bring thee Saphires, Emeraldes and Carbuncles from the East: Asia serveth thee with Silke & Purple, Affrica with Cinamon and Balme, Spaine with Golde, and Germanie with Silver: Thy Weaver Flaunders dooth drape Cloth for thee of thine owne Wooll: Thy Gascoigne[1] dooth send thee Wine: Bucke and Doe are plentifull in thy Forrests: Droves of Cattle, and Flockes of Sheepe are vpon thy Hilles: All the perfection of the goodliest Land is in thee: Thou hast all the Foule of the aire. In plenty of Fish thou doost surpasse all Regions. And albeit thou art not stretched out with large limites, yet bordering Nations clothed with thy Fleeces, doe woonder at thee for thy blessed plenty. Thy Swordes have beene turned into Plow-shares: Peace and Religion flourish in thee; so that thou arte a Mirrour to all Christian Kingdomes.

1 Gascoigne then vnder the crown of England.

3.1–4.2 an antient...more antient] Not in MSS.

Adde heerevnto (if you please) these few lines out of a farre more antient Panegyrist in the time of Constantine the Great. O

B2r happy Britaine and more blisfull then all other Regions: Nature // hath enriched thee with all commodities of heaven and earth, wherein there is neither extreame colde in Winter, nor scorching heate in Summer; wherein there is such aboundant plenty of Corne, as may suffice both for Bread and Wine: wherein are Woodes without wilde Beasts, and the Fields without noysome Serpents; but infinite numbers of milch Cattle, and Sheepe weighed downe with rich Fleeces: And that which is most comfortable, long dayes, and lightsome nights.

So that, not without cause, it was accounted one of the fairest and most glorious Plumes in the triumphant Diademe of the Roman Empire, while it was a Province vnder the same; and was truely called by Charles the Great,[1] The Store-house, and Granary of the whole westerne world.

But whereas the saide Panegyrist falleth into a gladsome admiration, how from hence there hath risen gratious princes, As good gods

1 Alfredus Rhivallensis.

1-2 out of...in the time] out of the old Panegirist, which liued in the tyme MSS. 4 commodities] endowments MSS. 5 in...in] of...of MSS. 8 Fields] countrey MSS. 11-14 So that...westerne world.] Not in MSS. 15-16 But whereas...from hence] And after a few woords he falles into a ioyfull admiration how from hence MSS. 16 hath risen] hath alwayes risen MSS.

honoured throughout the whole world. That if ever, as it was lately to our glorious ioy evidently, & effectually verified in our late Soveraigne, of most deare, sacred and ever-glorious memorie QVEENE ELIZABETH, the honour of her time, and the mirrour of succeeding ages: so with an assured confidence, wee hope it will likewise bee prooved true in her vndoubted and rightfull successor, our dread Lord and Soveraigne. That to his endlesse honour MERCIE and TRVTH, RIGHTEOVSNES and PEACE may heere kisse together; and true RELIGION, with her attendants IOY, HAPPINES, and GLORY, may heere for ever seate themselves vnder him; in whose person the two mightie kingdomes of Engeland and Scotland hitherto severed, are now conioyned, and beginne to close together into one, in their most antient name of BRITAINE.

If any would vndertake the honour and precedence of Britaine before other Realmes in serious maner (for heere I protest once for all, I will passe over each thing lightly & slightly) a world of matter at the first view would present itselfe vnto him. As that the

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1 throughout] through MSS. 1-13 That if ever...Britaine] which if euer, is now most euidently and effectually verefied, to ye worldes comfort and Englandes glorious ioye, in hir who for the full complement of all princely virtues[and happines], is most admired, most adored, most honoured of all vniuersally, as the only and true Deliciae generis humani: vnder whom by godes especiall fauour Peace, Plentye, and Iustice haue kissed together in England/ Yff any would vndertake, the honoure and precedence of England M2 M1 ends at: ...worldes comfort, and 5.16-6.1 As that the true] For the true M2

true Christian Religion was planted heere most auntiently by Ioseph of Arimathia, Simon Zelotes, Aristobulus, yea by saint Peter, and
B2[v] saint Paul, // as may be prooved by Dorotheus, Theodoretus, Sophronius, & before the yere of Christ 200. it was propagated, as Tertullian writes to places of Britaine inaccessa Romanis, whither the Romans never reached, which can not be vnderstoode, but of that parte which was afterward called Scotland. The kingdomes also are most auntient, helde of God alone, acknowledging no superiours, in no vassalage to Emperour or Pope.[1] The power of the Kings is more absolute, than in most other kingdomes, their territories very large; for the Kings of England, beside Ireland, have commaunded from the Isles of Orkenay, to the Pyrene Mountaines, and are de iure, Kings of all France by descent.[2] The Kings of Scotland, beside the ample realm of Scotland command the 300 Westerne Isles, the 30. of Orkney & Schetland. Also, which was accounted a special note of maiesty in former ages, the kings of England, with them of Fraunce, Ierusalem, Naples,

1 Tho. Moore in the Debellation 2 Parl.43.Edw.3.

4–7 & before...Scotland.] Not in M2 7 kingdomes also are] Kingdome is also M2 7–14 auntient, helde...& Schetland.] auncient, when as Castile, Arragon, Nauarre, Portingall had their first kinges about the yeare of 1025, [and] it is helde of God alone, acknowledging no superiour, in no vassalage to the Emperour or Pope, as Naples, Sicile, Aragon, Sardinia, Corsica, [&] The power of the kinges is moste absolute, which in other kingdomes is much restricted with diuerse limitations. [They who] \They/ are [also] superiour Lordes of the kingdome of Scotland, [and] absolute kinges of Ireland, and haue commaunded all from the Pirene mountaynes to the Isles of Orkeney M2 9 is M2: EDD. omit ✓ 14 command Ed.: commands EDD. 15 was accounted... former ages] is accounted an especiall [ma] note of maiesty among the French M2 16 Naples] and Naples M2

and afterward Scotland, were antiently the onely annointed Kings of Christendome: which manner begaune among the Iewes, was recontinued at length by the Christian Emperors of Constantinople, with this word at the annoynting, Ἴσθι ἅγιος that is, Be holy; and Ἴσθι ἄξιος Be worthie; and from thence was that sacred ceremonie brought to vs and the other kingdomes.[1] / In respect whereof our Kings are capable of spirituall Iurisdiction, according to that of our Law, Reges sacro oleo vncti sunt spiritualis iurisdictionis capaces.[2] /

As for that admirable gift hereditary to the annoynted Princes of this Realme, in curing the Kings Evil, I referre you to the learned Discourse[3] thereof lately written. Neyther would it be forgotten, that England in the opinion of the Popes (when they swayd the world, and their authoritie was held sacred) was preferred, because it contained in the Ecclesiasticall Division, two large Provinces, which had their severall Legati nati, whereas Fraunce had scantly one. That Scotland was by them accompted an exempt

1 Curopalates. 2 Term Hilarii, 33.Edw.3. 3 Charisma of doctor Tooker.

1 and afterward Scotland] Not in M2 1 were antiently] are M2 4-5 Ἴσθι ἅγιος, that is...and Ἴσθι ἄξιος] first Ἴσθι ἅγιος be holye, and then Ἴσθι ἄξιος M2 6-9 In respect...capaces.] Added in 1614 10-11 As for...I referre]\is for the sacred gifte of curing the Kinges Evill, hereditarye to the anoynted princes of this Realme, I referre/ M2 12 lately written.] lately [published]\written/ by [Mr] D. Toocker M2 12 would it be] is it to be M2 13-14 (when they...held sacred)] Not in M2 7.17-8. That Scotland...Chappell.] Not in M2

kingdome, and a Peculiar properly appertaining to the Roman Chappell.[1] And which was accompted in that age a matter of honour, when all Christianitie in the Counsell of Constance was divided into Nations, Anglicana Natio was one of the principall and no subalterne. B3r As also, that in times // past, the Emperour was accounted Maior filius Ecclesiae, the King of France, Filius Minor, and the King of England, Filius Tertius, and Adoptivus. And so in generall Councells, as the King of Fraunce had place next the Emperour on the right hand, so the King of England on the left; and the Kings of Scotland, as appeereth in an antient Roman Provinciall, had next place before Castile. / And howsoeuer the Spaniard since Charles the 5. time challengeth the primier place in regard of the largenesse of his dominions: Pope Iulius the second gaue sentence for England before Spaine in the time of King Henrie the seuenth. / The Archbishops of Canterbury, who were antiently stiled Archbishoppes of Britaine, were adiudged by the Popes, tanquam alterius orbis Pontifices Maximi, and they had their place in all general Councells, at the Popes right foote. The Title also of Defensor fidei, is as honourable, and more iustly conferred vpon the Kinges of England, than either

1 Epist.Bonif.sept.ad Ed.I.reg.Anglia.

3 of M2, 1614, 1623: 1605 omits 4 Anglicana...subalterne.] Anglicana Natio had the (blank space) place. M2 7 Tertius, and] Not in M2 7-14 And so...seuenth.] Not in M2 11-14 And howsoeuer...seuenth.] Added in 1614 14-16 The Archbishops...Popes] that the Archbishopps of Canterbury likewise were accounted by the Popes M2 17 they] Not in M2

Christianissimus vpon the French, or Catholicus vpon the Spaniard. Neither is it to be omitted, which is so often recorded in our Histories, when Brithwald the Monke, not long before the Conquest busied his brain much about the succession of the Crown, because the blood Royall was almost extinguished, he had a strange vision, and heard a voyce, which forbade him to be inquisitive of such matters, resounding in his eares. The kingdome of England is Gods owne kingdome, and for it God himselfe will provide. But these, & such like are more fit for a graver Treatise than this. I will performe that I promised, in handling nothing seriously, and therfore I will bring you in some Poets, to speake in this behalfe for mee, and will beginne with olde Alfred of Beverlie, who made this for Britaine in generall, which you must not reade with a censorious eye; for it is, as the rest I will cite, of the middle age, having heeretofore vsed all of more auntient and better times in an other worke. But thus saide he of Britaine.

Insula praedives quae toto vix eget orbe,
Et cuius totus indiget orbis ope.

8.18-9.1 The Title...Spaniard.] that the title of Defensor fidei as honourable and more iustly is conferred vppon the Kinge of England, as Christianissimus vppon the French or Catholicus vppon the Spaniard M2 2-8 Neither is...provide.] See p. 377. 9 such like] such other like M2 9-10 I... I] And I will performe that which I M2 12 olde] Not in M2 13-16 for Britaine...of Britaine.] Not in M2 17 In M2 the poem begins with an extra verse: Anglia terra ferax et fertilis angulus orbis.

Insula praedives, cuius miretur, & optet,

Delicias Salomon, Octavianus opes.

For Scotland / the North part of Britaine, / one lately in a far higher straine, and more Poetically, sung these:[1] //

B3v Quis tibi frugiferae memorabit iugera glebae,

Aut aeris gravidos, & plumbi pondere sulcos,

Et nitidos auro montes, ferroque rigentes

Deque metalliferis manantia flumina venis:

Quaeque beant alias communia commoda gentes?

/ For Wales on the West side of Britaine an old riming Poet sung thus:

Terra, foecunda, fructibus, & carnibus, & piscibus,

Domesticis, siluestribus, Bobus, Equis, & Ouibus.

Laeta cuncta seminibus, culmis, spicis, graminibus,

Aruis, pratis, pecoribus, herbis gaudet & floribus,

Fluminibus, & fontibus, conuallibus, & montibus.

Conualles pastum proferunt, montes metalla conferunt,

Carbo sub terrae cortice, crescit viror in vertice.

Calcem per artis regulas, praebet ad tecta tegulas.

Epularum materia, mel, lac, & lacticinia,

Mulsum, medo, ceruisia, abundat in hac patria;

1 / Buchananus. / (Added in 1614)

10.3-11.4 For Scotland...salutarium.] Not in 12 Added in 1614 3 the...Britaine,] 10.10-11.4 For Wales...salutarium.] Added in 1614

Et quicquid vita congruit, vbertim terra tribuit.
Sed vt de tantis dotibus, multa concludam breuibus,
Stat haec in orbis angulo, ac si Deus a seculo
Hanc daret promptuarium cunctorum salutarium. /

But for England a very olde Epigrammatist[1] made these with a Prosopopoeia of Nature, the indulgent mother to England, which doth comprise as much as the best wittes can nowe conceive in that behalfe.

Anglia terra ferax, tibi pax secura quietem,
Multiplicem luxum merx opulenta dedit.
Tu nimio nec stricta gelu, nec sydere fervens.
Clementi coelo, temperieque places.
Cum pareret Natura parens, varioque favore,
Divideret dotes omnibus vna locis:
Seposuit potiora tibi, matremque professa
Insula sis foelix, plenaque pacis, ait.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid desiderat vsus,
Ex te proveniet, vel aliunde tibi.

1 / Hildebertus Bishop of Main. / (Added in 1614)

1 vita 1623: vitae 1614 5 But for 1614, 1623: For 1605 5-6 But for... Prosopopoeia] This \ould Epigramme/ to the glorye of England, [containing] \with/ a Prosopopoeia M2 6 which] Not in M2 8 secura] [diuturna] \secura/ M2 13 locis:] locis. M2 15 foelix] [locuples \foelix/ M2 16 amat luxus] [luxus] amat \luxus/ M2

Accordingly it is written in the Blacke booke of the Exchequer, that our Auncestors termed England, a Store-house of Treasure, and a Paradise of Pleasure, in this verse;

Divitiisque sinum, deliciisque larem.

So that not without cause Pope Innocentius the fourth, most willingly, and especially desired to see Divitias Londini, & delicias Westmonasterii. / And would often say, That England was a Paradise or garden of pleasure, a pit which could never be drawne drie, and where much was, much might be had.[1]

And accordingly in that age these verses were written in praise of England:

Anglia dulce solum, quod non aliena recensque
Sed tua dulcedo pristina dulce facit:
Quae nihil a Gallis, sed Gallia mutuat a te,
Quicquid honoris habet, quicquid amoris habet.

Merry Michael the Cornish Poet piped this vpon his Oten pipe for merry England, but with a mocking compassion of Normandie, when the French vsurped in the time of King Iohn.

Nobilis Anglia, pocula, prandia, donat & aera.

1 Mathew Paris.

1-4 Accordingly it...larem.] Not in M2 5-9 So that...be had.] See Commentary 10 And...in] [And in another old booke I finde this:] In M2 12.7-15.3 And would...conclude this] Added in 1614 14 Quae] Qua 1623

Terra iuuabilis & sociabilis, agmine plena.
Omnibus vtilis Anglia fertilis est, & amaena:
Sed miserabilis & lachrimabilis absque caterua,
Neustria debilis, & modo flebilis est, quia serua.

I know not whether these of Henry of Huntington thogh more ancient are worthie to be remembred:

Anglia terrarum decus, & flos finitimarum,
Est contenta sui fertilitate boni.
Externas gentes consumptis rebus egentes,
Cunae fames laedit, recreat & reficit.
Commoda terra satis, mirandae fertilitatis,
Prosperitate viget, cum bona pacis habet.

Olde Robert of Glocester in the time of king Henrie the 3. honoured his countrey with these his best English rimes, which I doubt not but some (although most now are of the new cut) will giue the reading.

England is a well good Land; in the stead best
Set in the one end of the world, and reigneth west.
The Sea goeth him all about, he stint as an yle,
Of foes it need the lesse doubt: but it be through gile
Of folke of the selfe land, as me hath I sey while

1 plena.] plena M2 5–12 I know...habet.] Not in M2

From South to North it is long, eight hundred mile
And two hundred mile broad from East to West to wende
Amid the land as it might be: and not as in the one ende,
Plentie men may in England: of all good see
But folke it agult, other yeares the worse and worse be.
For England is full enough of fruite and of treene
Of Woods and of Parkes that ioy it is to seene.

Haue patience also to reade that which followeth in him of some cities in this Realme:

In the countrey of Canterbury, most plentie of Fish is,
And most chase of wilde beasts, about Salisbury I wis.
And London ships most, and wine at Winchester.
At Hartford sheepe and oxe: and fruite at Worcester.
Soape about Couentrie: and yron at Glocester.
Metall, lead, and tinne in the countrey of Exeter.
Euorwike of fairest wood: Lincolne of fairest men.
Cambridge and Huntington most plenty of deepe venne.
Elie of fairest place: of fairest sight Rochester.

Farre short was he that would comprise the excellencies of England in this one verse:

7 seene.] seene: M2 haue patience M2
8 Haue patience] [Now whereas you haue read this]
14.19-15.7 Farre short...blest.] Not in M2

Montes, Fontes, Pontes, Ecclesia, Foemina, Lana.

Mountains, Fountains, Bridges, Churches, women & wool.

Although in these it surpasseth. But to conclude this, / most truely our Lucan[1] singeth of this our countrey;

The fairest Land, that from her thrusts the rest, 5
As if she car'd not for the world beside,
A world within herselfe with wonders blest.

1 Samuel Daniel.

3 But...this, 1614, 1623: In these respects, to conclude, 1605

B4r

The inhabitants of Britaine.

AS all the Regions with the whole worlds frame, and all therein was created by the Almightie, for his last and most perfect[1] worke, that goodly, vpright, prouident, subtile, wittie, and reasonable creature, which the Greekes call Ἄνθρωπος for his vpright looke; the Latines Homo, for that he was made of Molde; and we with the Germaines,[2] call Man of his principall part, the mind, being the verie image of God, and a pettie world within himselfe: so he assigned in his diuine prouidence, this so happy and worthy a region to men of answerable worth, if not surpassing, yet equalling the most excellent inhabitants of the earth, both in the endowments of minde, lineaments of bodie, and their deportment both in peace and warre, as if I would enter into this discourse I could very easily shew.

But overpassing their naturall inclination by heauenly influence, answerable to the disposition of Aries, Leo, and Sagittary, & Iupiter, with Mars Dominators[3] for this North-west part of the world, which maketh them impatient of seruitude, lovers of libertie, martiall

1 Cicero. 2 Petrus Nannius. 3 Ptol.in Quadrip.

16.1–22.4 The inhabitants...holy baptisme.] Not in M2 7 Man... part] man a principall part 1614, 1623 13 this 1614, 1623: Not in 1605

and couragious. I will only in particular note somewhat, and that summarily of the Britaines, Scottish, and English, the three principall inhabitants.

The Britaines, the most antient people of this Isle antiently[1] inhabited the same from sea to sea, whose valour and prowes is renowned both in Latine & Greek monuments, and may appeare in these two
B4v points which I will heere // onely note. First that the most puissant Roman forces, when they were at the highest, could not gaine of them, being but then a halfe-naked people, in thirtie whole yeares the countries from the Thames to Strivilling.[2] And when they had gained them, and brought them into forme of a province, they found them so warlike a people, that the Romanes levied[3] as many Cohorts, companies, and ensignes of Britans from hence for the service of Armenia, AEgypt, Illyricum, their frontire Countries, as from any other of their Provinces whatsoeuer. As for those Britans[4] which were farther North, and after as is most probable, called Pictes, (for that they still painted themselues when the Southerne parts were brought to civilitie,) they not onely most couragiously defended their libertie, but offended the Romans with continuall and most dangerous incursions. The other remainder of the Britans,[5] which

1 Britains 2 Plinius. 3 Notitia provinciarum. 4 Pict-Britans.
5 Welsh-Britans.

retyred themselues to west parts, now called Wales, with like honour of fortitude, for many hundred yeares repelled the yoake both of the English and Norman slaverie. / In which time how warlike they were, I will vse no other testimony than that of King Henrie the second, in his letter to Emanuel Emperour of Constantinople: The Welsh nation is so aduenterous that they dare encounter naked with armed men, ready to spend their bloud for their countrie, and pawne their life for praise. How actiue, and seruiceable they were when king Richard Cuer-de-lion lead an armie of them into France, haue this testimonie of William Britto (who then liued) in his fifth booke of Philippeidos.

Protinus extremis Anglorum finibus agmen
Wallorum immensum numero vocat, vt nemorosa
Per loca discurrant, ferroque ignique furore
Innato, nostri vastent confinia regni.
Gens Wallensis habet hoc naturale per omnes
Indigenas, primis proprium quod seruat ab annis.
Pro domibus syluas, bellum pro pace frequentat,
Irasci facilis, agilis per deuia cursu,
Nec soleis plantas, caligis nec crura grauantur
Frigus docta pati, nulli cessura labori.
Veste breui, corpus nullis oneratur ab armis.

18.3-19.20 In which time...ditior.] Added in 1614

Nec munit thorace latus, nec casside frontem,
Sola gerens, hosti caedem quibus inferat, arma,
Clauam cum iaculo, venabula, gesa, bipennem,
Arcum cum pharetris, nodosaque tela, vel hastam
Assiduis gaudens praedis, fusoque cruore.

How afterward in processe of time they conformed themselues to all ciuilitie, and the reason thereof, appeareth by these lines of a Poet then flourishing.

Mores antiqui Britonum iam ex conuictu Saxonum
Commutantur in melius, vt patet ex his clarius.
Hortos & agros excolunt, ad oppida se conferunt,
Et loricati equitant, & calceati peditant,
Vrbane se reficiunt, & sub tapetis dormiunt
Vt iudicentur Anglici, nunc potius quam Wallici.
Huius si quaeratur ratio, quietius quam solito
Cur illi viuant hodie, in causa sunt diuitiae,
Quas cito gens haec perferet, si passim nunc confligeret.
Timor damni hos retrahit, nam nil habens nil metuit.
Et vt dixit Satyricus: Cantat portatur vacuus
Coram latrone tutior, quam phaleratus ditior. /

And since they were admited to the imperiall Crowne of England, they

14 Wallici.] Wallici, 1623 21 And since...admited 1614, 1623: But since they were vnited 1605

have, to their iust praise, performed all parts of dutifull loyaltie and allegiance most faithfully therevnto; / plentifully yeelding Martiall Captaines, iudicious Ciuillians, skilfull common Lawyers, learned Diuines, complete Courtiers, and aduentrous Souldiers. In which commendations their cousins the Cornishmen do participate proportionally, although they were sooner brought vnder the English command. / Great also is the glorie of those Britans,[1] which in most dolefull time of the English invasion, with-drew themselves into the West parts of Gallia, then called Armorica: For they not onely seated themselves, there maugre the Romans, (then indeede low, and neare setting,) and the French: but also imposed their name to the countrey, held and defended the same against the French, vntill in our grandfathers memorie, it was vnited to France by the sacred bonds of matrimonie.]

Next after the Britans, the Scottishmen comming out of Ireland,[2] planted themselves in this Isle on the North side of Cluid,[3] partly by force, partly by fauour of the Pictes, with whom a long time they annoyed the Southerne parts, but after many blody battels amongst themselves, the Scottish-men subdued them, and established a kingdome in those parts, which with manlike courage and warlike prowesse, //

1 Armorican or French Britans. 2 Scottishmen. 3 Beda lib.I

2-7 plentifully yeelding...command.] Added in 1614

C1[r] they have not onely maintained at home, but also haue purchased great honour abroad. For the French cannot but acknowledge they have seldome atchieved any honourable acts without Scottish hands, who therefore are deservedly to participate the glorie with them. As also divers parts of France, Germany, and Suitzerland, cannot but confesse, that they owe to the Scottish Nation, the propagation of good letters and Christian religion amongst them.

After the Scottishmen, the Angles, Englishmen or Saxons[1] by Gods wonderfull providence were transplanted hither out of Germanie. A people composed of the valiant Angles, Iutes, and Saxons, then inhabiting Iutland, Holsten, and the sea coasts along to the river Rhene, who in short time subduing the Britans, and driving them into the mountanous Westerne parts, made themselves by a most compleate conquest, absolute Lords of all the better soyle thereof, as farre as Orkeney. Which cannot be doubted of, when their English tongue[2] reacheth so farre along the East coast, vnto the farthest parts of Scotland, and the people thereof are called by the Highland-men, which are the true Scots, by no other name then Saxons, by which they also call vs the English.

This warlike, victorious, stiffe, stowt, and rigorous Nation, after it had as it were taken roote heere about one hundred and sixtie yeares, and spread his branches farre and wide, being mellowed

1 Englishmen 2 / See afterward in Languages. / (Added in 1614)

and mollified by the mildenes of the soyle and sweete aire, was prepared in fulnes of time for the first spirituall blessing of God, I meane our regeneration in Christ, and our ingrafting into his mysticall bodie by holy baptisme. Which Beda our Ecclesiastical Historian recounteth in this manner, and I hope you will give it the reading. Gregorie the Great Bishop of Rome, on a time saw beautifull boyes to be sold in the market at Rome, & demanded from whence they were; answer was made him out of the Isle of Eritan. Then asked he againe, whither they were Christians or no? they said no. Alas for pittie said Gregorie, that the foule fiend should be Lord of such

C1^{v} faire folkes; and that they which // carrie such grace in their countenances, should be voide of grace in their hearts. Then he would know of them by what name their Nation was called, and they told him Angleshmen. And iustly be they so called (quoth he,) for they have Angelike faces, and seeme meete to be made coheires with the Angells in heaven.

Since which time, they made such happy progresse in the Christian

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4-16 Which Beda...in heaven.] The story appears in manuscript B; see Commentary. 4-6 which Beda...a time saw] Reuerende Bede in his Ecclesiasticall historie of Englande, writeth thus of the cause that moved Gregorie the greate to sende Austen into Engelande. That one a time he saw B 8 asked he] he asked B 12 should be voide] woulde be quite voide B 14-15 be they...faces] be they called Angellike men quothe he for they haue Angel like faces 16 in heaven] in heaven: finally when it was tolde him that there Kinge was called Alla: then saied he, ought Alleluya to be sonnge in that countrie to the praise of there Greator. B 22.17-23.16 Since which...whatsoever.] Not in H2

profession both of faith and works, that if I should but enter into consideration thereof, I should be over-whelmed with mayn tides of matter. Many and admirable monuments thereof, do every where at home present themselves to your view, erected in former times, (and no small number in our age, although few men note them,) not for affectation of fame, or ostentation of wealth, but to the glorie of God, increase of faith, of learning and to maintenance of the poore. As for abroad, the world can testifie that foure Englishmen have converted to Christianitie, eight Nations of Europe. Winfrid alias Boniface, the Denshire-man converted the German Saxons, Franconians, Hessians, and Thuringians, Willebrod the Northerne man, the Frisians and Hollanders. Nicholas Brakspere of Middlesex, who was after called Pope Hadrian the Norwegians, and not long since, Thomas of Walden of Essex, the Lithuanians. Neither will I heere note which strangers have noted, that England hath bred more Princes renowmed for sanctitie, then any Christian Nation whatsoever. It doth also redound to the eternall honour of England, that our countrimen have twice beene schoolemaisters to France. First when they taught the Gaules the discipline of the Druides; and after, when they and the

11 Thurigians,] Thurigians: 1614, 1623 17 countrimen have] countreymen \(who fi)rst converted Germany, and Norway to Christianitie,/haue M2

Scottishmen first taught the French the liberall Arts, and perswaded Carolus Magnus to found the Vniversitie of Paris. They also brought into Fraunce the best lawes which the Parlament of Paris and Burdeaux have now in vse.[1] They at the lowest ebbe of learning, amazed the world with their excellent knowledge in Philosophie, and Divinitie: for that I may not particulate of Alexander of Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, Schoole- // master to the Angelique Doctor Thomas Aquinas, one Colledge in Oxford[2] brought forth in one age those foure lights of learning: Scotus the Subtile, Bradwardine the Profound, Okham the Invincible, and Burley the Perspicuous, and as some say, Baconthorpe the Resolute; which Titles they hadde by the common consent of the iudiciall and learned of that and the succeeding ages. Yet their militarie glorie hath surpassed all, for they have terrified the whole world with their Armes in Syria, AEgypt, Cyprus, Spaine, Sicill, and India.

C2r

They have traversed with most happy victories both France and Scotland, brought away their Kings captives, conquered Ireland and the Isle of Cypres, which King Richard the first gave frankly to Guie

1 Iovius. (1614, 1623 omit) 2 Merton colledge

2 They also] that they M2 4-15 now in vse....India.] Not in M2
6 particulate] particular 1623 16-17 They have...Scotland] [And also] that the English[men] nation haue trauersed Fraunce and Scotland with most happie victories M2

of Lusignian, and lately with a maidens hand, mated the mightiest Monarch in his owne Countries. They beside many other notable discoveries, twice compassed the whole globe of the earth with admirable successe, which the Spaniards have yet but once performed. Good Lord, how spaciously might a learned pen walke in this argument! But lest I should seeme over prodigall in the praise of my countrimen, I will onely present you with some few verses in this behalfe, and first this Latine Rythme of the middle time in praise of the English Nation, with some close cautions. Its quilted as it were out of shreds of divers Poets, such as Schollers do call a Cento.

Quo versu Anglorum possim describers gentem,
Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem.
Sunt in amicitiae percusso foedere veri.
Maior at est virtus, quàm quaerere, parta tueri.
Sunt bello fortes, alacres, validique duellis,
Aspera sed positis mitescant secula bellis.
Sunt nitidi, culti, florent virtutis amore,

1 Lusignian,] Lusignian: 1614, 1623 1-4 and lately...performed.] and haue lately twise compassed the whole globe of the earth, which the Spaniardes haue yet but once atcheiued M2 5 argument!] argument? 1614, 1623 4-9 Good Lord...cautions.] Not in M2 9 Its] It is 1623 9-10 Its quilted... Cento.] Haue now a Latin riminge quilte of that age in praise of the English nation, quilted out of flockes, sheared out of diuers poetes. Schollers will call it a Cento: M2 11 Quo...possim] Qualiter Anglorum possum M2 11 gentem,] gentem M2 12 mentem.] mentem M2 13 amicitiae] amicitiae, M2 14 Maior at est] Non minor est M2 25.15-26.1 Sunt bello...honore] Not in M2

Sed nihil est virtus, nisi cum pietatis honore.
Quid sit avaritia pestis gens Anglica nescit,
Crescit amor dandi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.
AEtas prima studet, dare largè, dando virescit,
Vas nisi syncerum quodcunque infundis acescit. // 5
C2v Lautior est illis cum mensa divite cultus,
Accedunt hilares semper super omnia vultus.
Non ibi Damaetas pauper dicit Melyboeo,
In cratere meo Thetis est sociata Lyaeo.
Gratius ingenium datur his, & gratia morum, 10
Sic norunt quàm sit dulcis mixtura bonorum.

Anglorum cur est gens quaevis invida genti?
Summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti.

And for the Scottish nation this of their owne Poet:

Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis, 15
Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando
Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora & aestus:
Nec fossa & muris patriam, sed Marte tueri,
Et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam,

2 sit avaritia M2: fit avaritiae 1605 sit avaritiae 1614, 1623 3 dandi,] dandi M2 4 studet,...virescit,] studet...virescit M2 studet,... virescit. 1614, 1623 6 cultus,] cultus: M2 7 vultus.] vultus: M2
12 Anglorum] Anglicanae M2 26.14–27.4 And for...Beuerly] Not in M2
17 aestus 1614, 1623: oestus 1605

Polliciti seruare fidem, sanctumque vereri
Numen amicitiae, mores non munus amare. /

/ The merry free and francke disposition of the old English was thus discribed by Alfred of Beuerly.

Anglia plena iocis, gens libera et apta iocari:
Libera gens cui libera mens & libera lingua,
Sed lingua melior, liberiorque manus.

The desire of knowledge in the English, the contempt thereof in the French Britons, and the swelling pride of Normans was thus rimed on in that time:

Scire Anglis sitis est, sitis est nescire Britannis,
Fastus Normannis crescit crescentibus annis.

Pope Eugenius the 4. said, that the English men were fit for anything, and to be preferred before other nations; were it not for their wauering and vnsetled lightnesse. Policraticon.

The sweete that the Popes sucked hence a long time so easily, gaue occasion to their successors, to sucke England almost dry with extorting from the Clergie, and imposing such burdens vpon them: that Adam Murymuth called Englishmen The Popes Asses, willing to beare all

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27.3-31.23 The merry...thine and mine.] Added in 1614 3 francke] franticke 1623 7 Sed] Et M2 9 French Britons] [Welsh] \French Britons/ M2 10 time] [age] \time/ M2 11 Scire Anglis] Anglis scire M2 15 vnsetled] [(illegible)] \vnsettled/ M2 16 Popes M2, 1623: Pope 1614 18 them:] them M2

burdens whatsoeuer. In this respect another Pope playing vpon people at his pleasure, said that the Italians were Volatilia coeli, the French and Spaniards Pisces aequoris, the English and Germans, Pecora campi.

Salt and sharpe was he which said, French and English doe not reade as they write. Flemmings and Germans doe not sing as they pricke. Spaniards and Italians doe not meane as they speake.

The hypercriticall controuller of Poets, Iulius Scaliger doth so seuerely censure Nations, that hee seemed to sit in the chaire of the scornefull, and therefore I will omit him and his censures, lest I might seeme to approue them.

Camerarius more moderately writeth, The Germans are warlike, plaine meaning and liberall, the Italians proud, vindicatiue and witty, the French well made, intemperate, and heady; the Spaniards disdainers, aduised, pilling, and polling; Englishmen stirring, trading, busie, and painfull.

The Frenchmen are not altogether vntrue and vnfauorable to England in this their prouerbial speech. England is the paradise of women, the purgatorie of seruants, and the hell of horses.

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3 aequoris M2, 1623: aquoris 1614 | 5-7 English...Spaniards] [Spaniards] \English/..[English] \Spaniards/M2 | 8-11 The hypercriticall...them.] Inserted to M2 | 10 will] Not in M2 | 11 approue] fauour M2 | 12 writeth, The] writeth, that the M2

Lewes Regius or Le Roy in his vicissitudes obserueth that the Spaniards commonly are haughtie, the Moores disloyall, the Greekes warie, the Italians aduised, the French hardie, the English and Scots lustie and stout.

But most true this may seeme which runneth current euery where. The Bridges of Poleland, the Deuotion of Italians, the Fasts of Germans, the Monkes of Boeme, the Nunnes of Suaben, the Religion of Pruze, the Constancy of the French, the impatience of the Spaniard, the new Guise of the English, are sutable, like vnto like.

A certaine Italian in his censuring humour noteth, that such is the humour of the Englishman, the more charge and authoritie hee hath, the more matters he couets to thrust himselfe into, albeit impertinent to him, to make himselfe esteemed aboue that hee is, and whatsoeuer hee enterpriseth either for fauour or displeasure, hee maintaineth by right or wrong.

The Welshmen our neighbours, or rather our incorporate countrimen, both by approoued allegeance and law, in their Brittish old booke of Triplicities write: As welshmen doe loue fire salt and drinke: the Frenchmen, women, weapons, horses: so Englishmen, do especially like good chere, lands and traficke. This good cheare causeth the Germans

2 haughtie] soe haughtie M2 3 Italians] Italian M2 4 lustie and stout.] fierce. M2 11 the Englishman] [an] \ the/Englishman M2

to recharge vs with gluttony when we charge them with drunkennes which as we receiued from the Danes, so we first taught the French all their Kitchen-skill and furnishing their Tables.[1]

And in the same place, The Welsh are liberall, The French courteous, the English confident.

Doctor Bourd shall end these matters, who painted for an Englishman, a proper fellow naked, with a paire of Tailers sheares in one hand, and a peece of cloath on his arme, with these rimes: how truely and aptly I referre to each mans particular consideration.

I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
Musing in my mind, what garment I shall weare,
For now I will weare this, and now I will weare that,
Now I will weare I cannot tell what:
All new fashions be pleasant to mee,
I will haue them whether I thriue or thee:
Now I am a frisker, all men on me looke,
What I should doe but set cocke on the hoope?
What doe I care, if all the world me faile,
I will haue a garment reach to my taile;
Then am I a minion, for I weare the new guise.

1 P. Iouius.

6 Bourd] Bourds M2 9 how truely...consideration.] Not in M2

The next yeare after I hope to be wise:
Not onely in wearing my gorgeous aray,
For I will goe to learning a whole summers day;
I will learne Latine, Hebrew, Greeke, and French,
And I will learne Dutch sitting on my bench.
I doe feare no man, all men feareth me,
I ouercome my aduersaries by land and by sea:
I had no peere, if to my selfe I were true.
Because I am not so, diuers times do I rue.
Yet I lacke nothing, I haue all things at will,
If I were wise and would hold my selfe still,
And meddle with no matters but to me pertaining,
But euer to be true to God and my King.
But I haue such matters rowling in my pate,
That I will and doe I cannot tell what.
No man shall let me, but I will haue my mind,
And to father, mother, and friend Ile be vnkinde:
I will follow mine owne minde and mine old trade,
Who shall let me? the diuels nailes are vnparde,
Yet aboue all things new fashions I loue well,
And to weare them my thrift I will sell,
In all this world I shall haue but a time,
Hold the cup goodfellow, here is thine and mine. /

2A1r

Grave Speeches, and wittie Apothegmes of woorthie Personages of this Realme in former times.

TWenty yeares since, while I: Bishop (whose memory for his learning is deare to me) and my selfe turned over all our Historians wee could then finde, for diverse endes, wee beganne to note aparte the Apothegms or Speeches (call them what ye wil) of our nation. Which since that time I have so farre encreased, as our Countrey-Writers spare in this point, have affoorded; and heere doe offer them vnto you. Albeit I doe knowethey will lie open to the censure of the youth of our time, who for the most part, are so over-gulled with self-liking, that they are more then giddy in admiring themselves, and carping whatsoever hath beene done or saide heeretofore. Nevertheless I hope that all are not of one humour, and doubt not, but that there is diversitie of tastes, as was among Horaces guests; so that which seemeth vnsavorie to one, may seeme dainty to another, and the most witlesse speech that shalbe set downe, wil seeme wittie to some. We knowe that whereas Dianaes Temple at Ephesus was burned that night that Alexander the Great was borne; one saide, It was no

32.1-37.3 Grave Speeches...Eusebius.] Not in B 14 heeretofore. 1614, 1623: heeretofore, 1605

marvel, for she was then absent, as mother Midwife, at so great a child-birth.[1] Tully dooth commend this for a wittie conceit, and
2A1[v] Plutarch condemneth it[2] as a // witlesse ieast. The like is to be looked for in these, which neverthelesse whatsoever they are in themselves, or in other mens iudgements, I commend them to such indifferent, courteous, modest Readers, as doe not thinke basely of the former ages, their country, and countrie men; leaving to other to gather the pregnant Apothegmes of our time, which I knowe wil finde farre more favour. And that I may set them in order of time, I will beginne with the antient Britan Prince, called by the Romans Caratacus (happly in his owne tongue Caradoc) who flourished in the partes now called Wales, about the sixtieth yeare after the birth of Christ.

CAratacus a Britaine that 9. yeeres withstood the Roman puissance, was at length vanquished, and in triumphant manner with his wife, daughters, and brethren, presented to Claudius the Emperour, in the view of the whole cittie of Rome. But he nothing appalled with this adversitie, delivered this speech; Had my moderation and carriage in prosperitie, beene answerable to my Nobilitie and Estate, I might have come hither rather a friend than a captive; neither would you

1 Cicer.de Nat. Deorum lib.I. 2 Plutarch. in Alexandro.

5 them] 1623 omits 7 to other] the other 1614, 1623

have disdained to have entred amitie with me being nobly descended, and soveraigne over many people. My present state, as it is reproachfull to me, so it is honorable to you: I had horsemen, munition and money, what marvel is it, if I were loath to loose them? If you will be soveraigne over all, by consequence all must serve you: Had I yeelded at the first, neither my power, nor your glorie had beene renowned, and after my execution oblivion had ensewed: But if you save my life, I shall be for ever a president and proofe of your clemencie. This manly speech purchased pardon for him and his, and the Senate assembled adiudged the taking of this poore Prince of Wales, as glorious, as the conquering of Siphax King of Numidia by P. Scipio, or of Perses King of Macedonia by L. Paulus. [Tacitus] //

2A2r When this Caratacus now enlarged was carried about to see the state and magnificence of Rome, Why doe you (saide hee) so greedily desire our poore cottages, whenas you have such stately and magnificall pallaces? [Zonaras]

In the time of Nero, when the Britans could no longer beare the iniustice wherewith the Romans both here and elsewhere grounded their greatnes; Bundica, called by some Boadicia, Princesse then of the partes of Norffolke and Suffolke, exceedingly iniuried by them, animated the Britans to shake off the Roman bondage, and concluded: Let the Romaines which are no better than Hares and Foxes vnderstand

that they make a wrong match with Woolfes and Grevhoundes: And with that woorde lette an Hare out of her lappe, as a fore-token of the Romans fearefulnesse, but the successe of the battell prooved otherwise. [Xiphilinus.]

Calgacus a warrelike Britan commaunding in the north parte of this Isle, when he had encouraged his people with a long speach to withstand the Romans ready to invade them, concluded emphatically with these words, You are now come to the shocke, thinke of your auncestors, thinke of your posteritie: for the Britans before the arrivall of the Romans enioyed happy liberty, and now were in daunger of most heavy slaverie.

Severus the Emperour an absolute Lorde of the most parte of this Isle, when from meane estate hee had ascended to the highest honour, was woont to say, I have beene all, and am never the better.

When hee lay sicke of the gowt at Yorke, and the souldiers had saluted his sonne there by the name of Augustus as their Soveraigne: he got him vppe, caused the principall practisers of that fact to be brought before him, and when they prostrate craved pardon, hee laying his hand vppon his head, sayde; You shall vnderstand, that my head, and not my feete dooth governe the Empire: and shortly after

16 their] then 1614, 1623

ended his life in the cittie of Yorke with these wordes; I found the State troublesome every where, and I leave it quiet even to //
2A2v the Britans, and the Empire sure and firme to my children, if they be good, but vnsure and weake if they be bad: A Prince he was verie industrious, of marvellous dispatch, and so invred in continuall action, that at the last gaspe he said, And is there any thing for me to doe now?

While he ruled, the world was so loose that three thousand were indicted at Rome of adultery, at which time Iulia the Empresse blamed the wife of Argetocox a northern Britaine Lady, that the British women did not according to womanhoode carry themselves, in accompanying with men, (for then tenne or twelve men hadde twoo or three wives common among them.) But she not ignorant of the Roman incontinencie, replied; Wee accompany indeede with the best and bravest men openly, but most vile and base companions doo vse you secretly. [Xiphilinus]

At Yorke also died Constantinus Chlorus the Emperour, who being not able to furnish Diocletian his consort in the Empire with such a masse of mony, as he required at that instant, saide, Hee thought it better for the common-weale that mony should be in the handes of private men, then shutte vp in the Emperors coffers: con-

4 Prince 1614, 1623; man 1605 10 Argetocox] Argetocoz 1623
36.16-37.2 At Yorke...the lesser.] See Commentary 16 died] did 1623
19 common-weale] common-wealth 1614, 1623 19 should] would 1614

curring with Traiane, who compared the treasure of the Prince vnto the splene, that the greater it groweth, the limbes are the lesser. [Eusebius.]

His sonne Constantine, invested in the Empire at Yorke, (and a Britan borne as all writers consent, beside Nicephorus who lived not long since, and now Lipsius deceived by the false printed coppie of Iul. Firmicus,) the first Emperour which advanced the faith of Christ, followed the humilitie of Christ, for hee vsed to call the common people, His fellow servants and brethren of the Church of God.

When a flattering Priest (for in all ages the Clericall will flatter, as well the Laicall) tolde him that his godlines & virtues iustly deserued to have in this world the empire of the world, and in the world to come, to raigne with the sonne of God: The humble Emperour cried, Fie, fie, for shame, let me heare no more such vnseemely

2A3r speeches: but ra- // ther suppliantly prav vnto my Almightie Maker, that in this life, and in the life to come, I may seeme worthy to be his servant.

4-8 His sonne...followed the] Constantine the greate (whom I do put here amonge the Britanes accordinge to the common opinion although other holde otherwise:) was the first Romaine Emperour, that embraced, & aduanced the faith of Christ: ye & followed his B 9 people, His...brethren of] people his brothers, & fellowe seruantes of B 10-11 (for in...Laicall)] Not in B 12 deserued B, 1614, 1623: deservd 1605 13 sonne of God] sonne of the maker of the worlde B 16-17 to be his] to be accompted his B

When hee sought by severe edicts to abolish all heathenish superstition, and laboured by godly lawes to establish the true religion and service of Christ; yea, and vncessantly endevoured to draw men vnto the faith, perswading, reproving, praying, intreating in time, out of time, publikely and privately: he one day said merrily, yet truly vnto the Bishoppes, that he had bidden to a banquet, As ye be Bishops within the Church, so may I also seeme to be a Bishop out of the Church.

He disswading one from covetousnes, did with his lance draw out the length and bredth of a mans grave, saying: This is all that thou shalt have when thou art dead, if thou canst happily get so much.

He made a law, that no Christian should be bondman to a Iew, and if that any Iew did buy any Christian for his slave, hee should bee fined therefore, and the Christian enfranchised; adding this reason: That it stoode not with equitie, that a Christian should be slave vnto the murderers of Christ.

Ethelbert King of Kent, was hardly induced to imbrace Christian Religion at the perswasion of Augustine, sent to convert the English

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3 of Christ] 1614, 1623 omit Bishop EDD. 6 to a banquet] vnto a banquett B 6 truly] worthelie B 6 Bishoppes B: 8 out of] without B 15 not with] not with not B 38.17-39.6 Ethelbert King...minde, [Ioscelinus.] See Commentary

Nation: but at length, being perswaded and desirous to be baptized, said: Let vs come also to the King of Kings, and giver of Kingdomes: it may redound to our shame, that we which are first in authoritie, should come last to Christianitie: But I doe beseech that true King, that he would not respect the precedence in time, but devotion of my minde. [Ioscelinus.]

When Paulinus brought vnto Edwin king of Northumberland, the glad tidings of the salvation of mankinde by Christ, and preached the Gospel vnto the king and his Nobilitie, zealously and eloquently, opening vnto them the mysteries of our faith and precepts of Christian
2A3^{v} Religion; one of the Lords thus spake vnto the King, (but // some now happily will smile at this speach,) We may aptly compare mans state vnto this little Robbin-redbrest, that is now in this cold weather heere in the warme chamber chirping and singing merrily, and as long as she shall remaine heere, wee shall see and vnderstand how she doeth: but anone when she shall be flowne hence abroad into the wide world, and shall be forced to feele the bitter stormes of hard winter, we shall not know what shall become of her: So likewise we

5 my] 1614, 1623 omit 7 vnto Edwin king] vnto this Edwin the Kinge B 9 zealously and eloquently] eloquently & elegantly B 10-11 of Christian... Lords] of Christe religion, and the great rewardes for \the/ obseruinge therof: one of the Lordes B 11-12 (but some...speach,)] Not in B 12 compare mans] compare oure mans B 13 now in this] nowe this B 14 chamber chirping] Chamber of Presence chirpinge B 17 wide] wilde B

see how men fare as long as they live among vs, but after they be dead, neither wee nor our Religion have any knowledge what becomes of them: Wherefore I do thinke it wisedome to give eare vnto this man, who seemeth to shew vs, not onely what shall become of vs, but also how we may obtaine everlasting life heereafter. Beda.

When Rodoald king of the East Angles, being wonne with rewards, was shamefully minded to have delivered vnto Edelfride the king of Northumberland, the innocent Prince Edwin, who had fled vnto him to be saved from the bloodie hands of Edelfride, who had vnlawfully bereaft him of his kingdome: His wife turned his intent, by telling him, that It stoode not with the high and sacred state of a King to buy and sell the bodies of men, as it were a petie-chapman: or that which is more dishonourable, slave-like to sell away his faith, a thing which hee ought to hold more precious then all the gold and and gemmes of the whole world, yea and his owne life. Beda.

Ina King of West-Saxons, had three daughters, of whom vpon a time he demanded whether they did love him, and so would do during their lives above all others; the two elder sware deepely they would,

4 become of vs] be come of vs after this life B 5 may obtaine...Beda.] maye obteine euerlastinge blisse and felicitie after it. B 6 Rodoald king] Rodovalde the Kinge B 11 with the high and] with the [Kin] highe & B 15 Beda.] Not in B 40.16-41.11 Ina King...of king Leir.] See Commentary

the yongest, but the wisest told her father flatly without flattery. That albeit she did love, honour, and reverence him, and so would whilst she lived, as much as nature and daughterly dutie at the vtter-most could expect: Yet she did thinke that one day it would come to passe, that she should affect another more fervently, meaning her husband, when she were married: Who being made one flesh with her, as God by commaundement had told, and nature had taught hir she
2A4r was to cleave fast to, forsaking father and mother, // kiffe and kinne. [Anonymus.] One referreth this to the daughters of king Leir.

Imperious was that speech of Theodore the Grecian, Archbishop of Canterbury, in depriving a poore English Bishop, Although we can charge you with nothing, yet that we will, we will: like to that, Sic volo, sic iubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas: But humble was the English Bishops reply: Paul appealed from the Iewes to Caesar, and I from you to Christ. Vita S. Wilfredi.

The reverend Bede, whome wee may more easily admire, than sufficiently praise for his profound learning in a most barbarous age, when he was in the pangs of death, saide to the standers by: I have

41.10-42.18 Imperious was...ora pro me.] Not in B

so lived among you, that I am not ashamed of my life, neither feare I to die, because I have a most gratious Redeemer. Hee yeelded vp his life with this praier for the Church; O King of glory, Lorde of Hostes, which hast triumphantly ascended into heaven, leave vs not fatherlesse, but send the promised spirit of thy trueth amongest vs. Some write that hee went to Rome, and interpreted there S, P, Q, R, in derision of the Gothes swarming to Rome, Stultus Populus Quaerit Romam: and that in his returne hee died at Genoa, where they shew his toombe: But certaine it is that he was sent for to Rome by Sergius the Pope, and more certaine that hee died at Weremouth, and from thence was translated to Durham: And that I may incidently note that which I have heard: Not manie yeeres since a French Bishop returning out of Scotland, comming to the Church of Durham, and brought to the shrine of Saint Cuthbert, kneeled downe, and after his devotions, offered a Bauble, saying; Sancte Cuthberte, si sanctus sis, ora pro me: But afterward, being brought vnto the Toombe of Beda, saying likewise his Orisons, offered there a French crowne with this alteration, Sancte Beda, quia sanctus es, ora pro me.

Iohannes Erigena surnamed Scotus, a man renowmed for learning, sitting at the Table, in respect of his learning, with Charles the
2A4^{v} bawld Emperour and King of Fraunce, // behaved himselfe as a slovenly

42.19-43.4 Iohannes Erigena... [Rog: Hovedenus.] See Commentary

Scholler, nothing Courtly; whereupon the Emperour asked him merrily, Quid interest inter Scotum & Sotum; What is betweene a Scot and a Sot? Hee merrily, but yet malapertly aunswered, Mensa, The Table; as though the Emperour were the Sot, and hee the Scot. [Rog: Hovedenus.]

On an other time the Emperour did sette downe vnto him a dish with two faire great fishes, and one little one, willing him to be carver vnto two other Schollers that sate beneath him: Then Maister Iohn, who was but a little man, layed the two great fishes vppon his owne trencher, and set downe the one little fish vnto the other two Schollers, who were bigge men. Which when the Emperour sawe, hee smiling saide; In good faith Maister Iohn, you are no indifferent divider: Yes if it like your Highnesse, verie indifferent (saide he) for heere (poynting to himselfe and the two great fishes) be two great ones, and a little one, and so yonder (reaching his hand towardes the Schollers) are two great ones and a little one. Idem.

Winefridus borne at Kirton in Devonshire, after surnamed Boniface, who converted Freeseland to Christianitie, was wont to say, In olde time there were golden Prelats, and woodden Chalices, but in

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6 fishes] fishes therin B 7-9 Then Maister...and set downe] Then Scott laied the two great fishes vppon his owne trencher, who was but a little man, & sett downe B 11 you are no] you be no we B 12 Yes if... saide he)] yes, Yt like your maiestie very indifferent saied Scotus B 15 Idem.] Not in B 43.16-44.2 Winefridus borne...Germanicarum.] Not in B

his time woodden Prelates, and golden Chalices. [Beatus Rhenanus libr. 2. rerum Germanicarum.]

Ethelwold the Bishop of Winchester in the time of king Edgar, in a great famine, solde away all the sacred golde and silver vessells of all his church, to releeve the hunger-starved poore people, saying, That there was no reason that the senselesse temples of God should abound in riches, and living temples of the holy-ghost starve for hunger.

Whenas Kinnad King of Scots a vassall to King Eadgar of England, had saide at his Table, That it stoode not with the honour of the Princes of this Isle to be subiect to that Dandiprat Eadgar, who was indeede but of small stature, yet full of courage. He vnderstanding thereof withdrew Kinnad privately into a wood, as though hee had to
2B1r conferre // with him of some important secret; where he offered him the choice of two swords, prepared for that purpose, with these wordes, Now we are alone, you may try your manhood: now may it appeare who should be subiect to the other: retire not one foote backe: It standeth not with the honour of Princes to brave it at the Table, and not to dare it in the field. But Kinad heere-at dismaied, desired

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2 Germanicarum 1614, 1623: Germaniarum 1605 5 to releeve the hunger-starved] for to releiue the almoste starued B 7 living] liuery B 7-8 starve for hunger.] lacke ytt. B 44.9-45.8 Whenas Kinnad...Anno 973.] Not in B

pardon by excuse, and obtained it. [Malmesburiensis pag.33.]

The same king Eadgar, having brought into his subiection the aforesaid Kinnad king of Scottes, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Mac-cuis the arch-pirate lord of the Isles, with Dufnall, Griffith, Howell, Iacob, Iudethill Princes of Wales, was rowed by them in triumphant manner in his barge vpon the river of Dee at Chester, at which time it is reported he saide; Then may my successours the Kings of England glorie, when they shall doe the like. [Marianus Scotus Anno 973.

When Hinguar of Denmarke came so sodainely vppon Edmund the king of the East-Angles, that hee was forced to seeke his safetie by flight, hee happened vnhappily on a troupe of Danes, who fell to examining of him, whether hee knew where the king of the East-Angles was, whome Edmund thus answered; Even now when I was in the palace, he was there, and when I went from thence, he departed thence, and whether he shall escape your handes or no, onely God knoweth. But so soone as they once heard him name God, the godlesse infidells pittifully martired him. [Vita Sancti Edmundi.

When Brithwold a noble Saxon marching against the Danes encamped neare Maldon, was invited by the Abbot of Elie to take his dinner with

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9-10 When Hinguar...East-Angles] When Igner the Kinge of Danemarche had so one a sodeine supprised Edmonde the Kinge of the Est Angles B
11 flight,] flight? B 11 hee happened vnhappily] he hitt vnhappelie B
15 whether] whither B 16 they...God] they vnderstoode that he named god B 45.17-46.2 Vita Sancti...Eliensis.] Not in B

him, he refusing, answered; Hee would not dine from his companies, because hee could not fight without his companies. Liber Eliensis.

King Canutus, commonly called Knute, walking on the sea sands neare to Southampton, was extolled by some of his flattering followers, and tolde that hee was king of kings, the mightiest that raigned farre and neare, that both // sea and land were at his commaund: 2B1v But this speach did put the godly King in mind of the infinite power of God, by whome Kings have and enioy their power, and there-vpon hee made this demonstration to refell their flatterie: He tooke off his cloake, and wrapping it round together, sate downe vpon it neare to the sea, that then beganne to flowe, saying, Sea, I commaund thee that thou touch not my feete: But he had not so soone spoken the worde, but the surging wave dashed him. He then rising vp, and going backe, saide: Ye see now my Lordes, what good cause you have to call me a King, that am not able by my commaundement to stay one wave: no mortall man doubtlesse is woorthy of such an high name, no man hath such commaund, but one King, which ruleth all: Let vs honour him, let vs call him King of all kings, and Lord of all nations: Let vs not onely confesse, but also professe him to be ruler of the heavens, sea and land. [Polydorus and others.

When Edric the extorter was deprived by King Cnute of the

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3 Knute] Xnute 1623 3-20 King Canutus...and others.] See Commentary 46.21-47.10 When Edric... Florilegus.] Not in B
11-12 commaund thee that] command that 1623

governement of Mercia; hee impatient of the disgrace, tolde him he had deserved better, for that to pleasure him, hee had first revolted from his Soveraigne king Edmund, and also dispatched him. Whereat Crute all appalled, answered; And thou shalt die for thy desert, whenas thou arte a traitour to God and me, in killing thy king, and my confederate brother; His bloud be vpon thy head, which hast layed handes vpon the Lordes annoynted. Some reporte that he saide; For his deserts he should be advaunced above all the Nobilitie of England, which hee immediately performed, advauncing his head vpon the Tower of London. (Florilegus.

King Edward the Confessour, one afternoone lying in his bedde with the curtaines drawne round about him, a poore pilfering Courtier came into his chamber, where finding the Kings Casket open, which Hugoline his chamberlaine had forgotten to shut, going foorth to pay money in haste, hee tooke out so much money as hee coulde well carry, and went away. But insatiable desire brought // him againe, and so 2B2r the third time, when the King who lay still all this while, and would not seeme to see, beganne to speake to him, and bade him speedily be packing; For he was well if hee coulde see when he was well, for if Hugoline came and tooke him there, he were not onely like to loose all

12 a...Courtier] a pilferinge mate B 15 coulde well] coulde commodiously B 17 third] thrid B 19 For he was] for he trowed he was B 19 when he was well B: EDD. omit 19-20 if Hugoline] if he Hugoline B 20 loose] leese B

that he had gotten, but also stretch an halter. The fellow was no sooner gone, but Hugoline came in; and finding the Casket open, and much money taken away, was greatly mooved: But the King willed him not to be grieved, For (saide he) he that hath it had more neede of it then wee have. This at that time was adiudged Christian lenitie, but I thinke in our age it will be accounted simplicitie in the woorst sense. [Vita Sancti Edwardi.

This Edward hasted out of Normandie, whither his expelled father king Ethelred had fled with him, with a great power to recover the kingdome of England from the Danes, neere vnto whose forces hee was encamped, ready to give them battell: But when his Captaines promised him assured victorie, and that they would not leave one Dane alive: God forbid (quoth Edward,) that the kingdome should be recovered for me one man, by the death of so many thousand men: It is better that I do leade a private and vnbloody life, then be a King by such boutcheries. And therewithall brake vp Campe and retyred into Normandy, where he staied vntill God sent oportunitie to obtaine the kingdome without blood. [Paulus AEmilius.]

3-5 taken away...wee have.] taken awaie began to make an [out] outcrie whome the Kinge willed to be still and not agrriued therfore: for saied he; the man that hath it hathe more neede therof then we haue, for that whiche he hathe lefte will serue oure turne sufficiently. B 4 to be 1614, 1623: to he 1605 5-7 This at...Edwardi.] Not in B 8 This...out] Paulus Aemilius writeth that this Edwarde wasted out B 9 power to] power for to B 12-13 would not...alive] would sleye not leue aliue one Dane B 15 by such] thorough such B 16 boutcherie B: but chery EDD. 16 And therewithall...retyred] And then innocently brake vpp campe and retired B 18 without] withe B

Harold as hee waited on the cup of the said king Edward, chanced to stumble with one foote that he almost kissed the ground, but with the other legge he recovered himselfe and saved the wine, whereat his father Godwyn Earle of Kent, who then dined with the King, smiling said: Now one brother did helpe another: At this word, although spoken proverbially, the Kings blood beganne to rise, thinking how shamefully the erle had murdered his brother Alfrede, and angerly answered: And so might my brother have beene a helpe to me, if it had pleased you. Vita S. Edwardi. //

2B2v The same king Edward passing out of this life, commended his wife to the Nobilitie, and said; That she had carried herselfe as his wife abroad, but as his sister or daughter at home: Afterward seeing such as were present weeping and lamenting for him, he said; If you loved me, you would forbeare weeping and reioyce, because I go to my father, with whom I shall receive the ioyes promised to the faithfull, not through my merits, but by the free mercy of my Saviour, which sheweth mercy on whom he pleaseth. [Eilredus Rivallensis.]

Sywarde the martiall Earle of Northumberland, feeling in his sicknes that he drew towards his end, arose out of his bed and put on his Armour, saying, That it became not a valiant man to die lying,

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1-2 of the said...ground] of Kinge Edwarde the saint chaunced to stumble so withe one foote that he was almost vppon his nose B 6 spoken proverbially] spoken in sport B 7 the erle Ed.: therle B they EDD. 9 pleased you.] pleased your Mastershippe. B 9-17 Vita S....Rivallensis.] Not in B 18 Sywarde] Suarde B 18-19 his sicknes] his fatall sicknes B

like a beast: and so he gave vp the Ghost standing: As valiantly both spoken and performed, as it was by Vespasian.

When the said Siward vnderstood that his sonne whom he had sent in service against the Scottishmen, was slaine, he demaunded whether his wound were in fore part or hinder part of his body, when it was answered in the fore part, he replied: I am right glad, neither wish any other death to me or mine. [Hen. Huntingdon.]

In this age when a Bishop living loosely was charged that his conversation was not according to the Apostles lives, he made a mocke at it, and excused himselfe with this verse, which was after taken vp for a common excuse in that behalfe: Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores. [Anonymus.]

When the fatall period of the Saxon Empire was now complete, and battells were marshalled betweene William Duke of Normandy, and Harold King of England, Girthe Haroldes yonger brother, not holding it best to hazard the kingdome of England at one cast, signified to the King, that the successe of warre was doubtfull, that victory was swayed rather by fortune than by valour, that advised delay was most
2B3r important in Martiall affaires, and if so bee // brother (said he,) You have plighted your faith to the Duke, retyre your selfe, for no force can serve against a mans owne conscience, God will revenge

like a beast] alonge like a best B 50.1-51.11 As valiantly... Anonymus.] Not in B

the violation of an othe: You may reserve your selfe to give them a new encounter, which will be more to their terrour: As for me, if you will commit the charge to me, I will performe both the part of a kinde brother, and a couragious Leader. For being cleare in conscience, I shall sell my life, or discomfit your enemy with more felicitie.

But the King not liking his speech, answered: I will never turne my backe with dishonour to the Norman, neither can I in any sort digest the reproach of a base minde: Wel, then be it so, (said some discontented of the company,) let him beare the brunt that hath given the occasion. [Anonymus.]

William Conquerour when he invaded this Iland, chanced at his arrivall to be graveled, and one of his feete stacke so fast in the sand, that he fell to the ground. Wherewithall one of his attendants caught him by the arme and helped him vp, saying: Stand vp my liege Lord and be of good cheare, for now you have taken fast footing in England: and then espying that he brought vp sand and earth in his hand, added: Yea and you have taken livery and seisin

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12 this Iland] \t/his lande B 13 his arrivall...graveled] at his verie firste comminge out of the shippe to be graueled B 13 stacke] stucke 1614, 1623 14 the sand] the softe [grounde] sande B 14 fell to] fell downe to B 15 attendants] souldioures B 18 added...taken] added, and taken B

of the Country: For you know that in delivering of livery and seisin, a peece of the earth is taken. [Hist. Normanica.]

A Wizard, (or a Wise-man as they then called them,) had fore-told William that he should safely arrive in England with his whole Armie, without any impeachment of Harold: the which after it came to passe, the King sent for the Wizard to conferre further with him. But when it was told him that he was drowned in that ship which onely of all the whole fleete miscarried, The Conquerour said: He would never make account of that science that profited more the ignorant then the skilfull therein, for he could fore-see my good fortune, but not his owne mishap. [Idem.] //

2B3[v] That morning that he was to ioyne battell with Harold, his armorer put on his backe-peece before, and his breast-plate behinde, the which being espied by some that stood by, was taken among them for an ill token, and therefore advised him not to fight that day; to whom the Duke answered: I force not of such fooleries, but if I have any skill in South-saying, (as in sooth I have none,) it doth prognosticate that I shall change copie from a Duke to a King. [Idem.]

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2 Hist. Normanica.] Not in B 3 A Wizard...had] An Astrologian had B 5 after it] after that it B 6 Wizard...him] Astrologian to conferre withe him further B 8 all] 1623 omits 8 miscarried] was lost B 10 therein] herein 1623 11 his...Idem.] not his misfortune. B 14 some that] some noble men that B 14 among 1614, 1623: on B, 1605 15 token abodement B 17-18 prognosticate...Idem.] prognosticate a good chaunge: for I shall be no longer called Duke, but Kinge. B

Magike in the time of Nero, was discovered to be but a vanitie, in the declining state of the Roman Empire accounted by the Gentiles a verity: in the time of Hildebrand, (if we beleeve Authors,) so approoved that it was commonly practised: For as in the time of Valens, divers curious men (as hath beene said,) by the falling of a ring Magically prepared vpon the letters ΘΕΟΔ, iudged that one Theodorus should succeede in the Empire, when indeede Theodosius did. So when Hildebrand was Pope, by like curiosities it was found that Odo should succeede. Wherevppon Odo Earle of Kent, and Bishop of Bayeux, brother to king William the Conquerour, devoured the Papacy in hope, sent mony his perswading messengers to Rome, purchased a pallace there, and prepared thitherward; when king William for his presumption, and other his misdemenours staied him, and committed him, saying: Offensive foole-hardines must be timely restrained [Liber Cadomensis.]

When the same Odo who was both Bishop of Baieux in Normandy, and Earle of Kent, in former time had so disloyally carried himselfe against king William the Conquerour, that he complained of him to his Lords: Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury advised the King to commit him. But what say you (quoth the King,) whenas he is a

53.1-54.7 Magike.in...a very kn.] Not in B

Clergy man? You may not, saide he, commit the Bishop of Baieux, but you may well commit the Earle of Kent. [W: Malmsbur] Like vnto this was that distinction of Piramus, Secretary to Charles the fift in late yeares, when Pope Iulius the second did combine with the French king, against the Emperour, of the Popes honesty, and Iulius dishonesty: / saying, that the Pope was an honest man, but Iulius a very Kn. / //

2B4r This King William, by reason of sickenes, kept his chamber a long time, whereat the French King scoffing saide: The King of England lieth long in childe-bed. Which when it was reported vnto King William, hee aunswered: When I am churched there shal be a thousand lights in France: (alluding to the lights that women vsed to beare when they were churched,) and that hee performed within few dayes after, wasting the French frontires with fire and sword.

The same King at the time of his death, saide; I appoint no successour in the kingdome of England, but I commend it to the eternall God, whose I am, and in whose handes all thinges are: happly remembring that of the Monke before specified, pag. 5.

6-7 saying...very Kn.] Added in 1614 8 This King...kept] But nowe returninge ageine vnto the Conqueror yt chaunced that he fell sicke at Roven, & kept B 10-11 Which when...aunswered] which comminge vnto Williams eares, he aunswered B 12-13 (alluding...churched,)] Not in B 14 wasting...sword.] wofully wastinge the [great] \french/ borders with fire and sworde, the Kinge alluded vnto the taper, which woemen did in those daies when they \were/ churched. B 54.15-55. The same... Malmesburiensis.] Not in B 18 pag.5.] Not in B

This king perceiving his owne defects, in some poynts, for want of learning, did exhort his children oftentimes to learning with this saying, An vnlearned Prince is a crowned Asse: Which speech tooke so great impression in his sonne Henry, that hee obtained by studie and learning the surname of Beauclearke, or fine Scholler. Annales Ecclesiae Cant. Malmesburiensis.

William Rufus loved wel to keep vacant Bishopriks and Abbies in his handes, saying; Christes bread is sweet, dainty, and most delicate for Kings.

But although this King made most commonly, as it were, port-sale of the Spirituall livings; yet when twoo Monkes were at drop-vied Bezantines (the currant golde of that age) before him for an Abbey, hee espied a third Monke of their company standing in a corner, whom the King asked, what hee would give to be Abbot? Not one farthing (saide he) for I renounced the world and riches, that I

7 Rufus] Rovs B 7 vacant] voyde B 7-8 Abbies in] Abbeys longe in B 8-9 saying...Kings.] saienge that Christes his breade was a delicate and pleasaunt breade & suche as Kinges delighted muche in. B 11 yet...Monkes] yt chaunced that when two monckes B 11-12 drop-vied Bezantines] droppe vied Angels B drop-Bezantines 1623 12 (the...age)] Not in B 13 in a corner] in corner B 55.15-56.1 farthing...more sincerely.] farthinge, quoth this holy father, for I gaue my selfe vnto this lyfe to the intent that despisinge all earthly thinges and riches, and restinge in holines of lyfe, I might serve god the more sincerely. B

might serve God more sincerely. Then (said the King) thou arte most woorthy to be made Abbot, and thou shalt have it. (Liber Cantuar. //

2B4v When newes was brought him that the French King had besieged the cittie of Constances in Normandy, he posted with a few to the sea coast, to take ship. But because the winde blew very strong from South, the sailers signified, that it was very dangerous for him to take Sea, but the King replied, Hoise vp sailes in Gods name, for I have not heard of a King drowned by tempest: You shall see both winde and weather serviceable to vs. Answerable to that of Iulius Caesar, which inforced a poore Pilote in the like case to launch foorth, and in the rage of the storme comforted him with saying, Caesarem & Caesaris fortunam vehis. And as couragiously as that of Charles the fift, who in the battel of Tunis when he was advised by the Marquise of Guasto to retire his person, when the great ordonance began to play, saide; Marquesse, thou never heardst that an Emperour was slaine with a great shot.

1 said] quoth B 2-3 Liber Cantuar.] Not in B 4 was B: were EDD. 5 to] vnto B 6 to take ship] and tooke shippe B 7 from...signified] in the Southe, the mariners admonished him B 8 take Sea] take the sea B 8-9 the King...tempest] the Kinge couragiously bidde them hoise vp sailes in Goddes name, for he had seldome hearde of a Kinge drowen by tempest. B 9-17 You shall...great shot.] Not in B 13-17 And as ...shot.] When the Marques of Guasto aduised Charles the [great] fifte at the battell of Tunes, to retire out of the freefont vnto the standerd, lest he caught a clappe with a great peace of auduaincie, which then beganne to playe vppon the Christians: Why Marques quothe themperour, should thou feare that: for in all the life, thou neuer heardest that Emperour was slaine with a great shott. A

I will heere present you with an other speech (or call it what you will) of the same King William Rufus, out of the good and historicall Poet Robert of Glocester, that you may compare a Princes pride in that age, with our private pride, and that our first finest Poets may smile at the verses of that time, as succeeding ages, after some hundred yeeres will happly smile at theirs:

As his Chamberlaine him brought, as he rose on a day,
A morrow for to weare, a paire of hose of Say:
He asked what they costned, three shillings he seid,
Fie a dibles quoth the King, who sey so vile a deede:
King to weare so vile a cloth, but it costned more,
Buy a paire for a marke, or thou shalt ha cory fore.
A worse paire enough, the other swith him brought,
And said they costned a marke, & vnneth he them so boght:
Aye bel-amy, quoth the King, these were well bought,
In this manner serve me, other ne serve me not.

Hitherto also may be referred that of this king William, who
2C1r the morning before hee was slaine with an arrow in // hunting, tolde his company he dreamed the last night before, that an extreame cold winde passed throgh his sides: whereupon some disswaded him to hunt that day, but hee resolved to the contrary answering, They are no

57.1- 62.17 I will heere...Nugis Curialium.] Not in B

good Christians that regard dreames. But he found the dreame too true, being shot through the side by Walter Tirell. [Fragmentum antiquae historiae Franc. a P. Pithaeo aeditum.

OF Henry the first I have read no memorable speach, but what I have read I will report. He was by common voice of the people commended for his wisedome, eloquence, and victories, dispraised for covetousnes, cruelty, and lechery: Of which hee left proofe by his sixteene bastards. But it seemeth that his iustice was deemed by the common people to be crueltie, for the learned of that age surnamed him the Lion of Iustice. [Huntingd. Polycraticon, Gemeticensis.

It was the custome of the Court in the time of King Henry the first, that bookes, billes, and letters shoulde be drawne, and signed for servitors in the Court, concerning their owne matters, without fee. But at this time Turstane the kings steward, or Le Despencer, as they then called him, from whom the family of the L. Spencers came, exhibited to the king a complaint, against Adam of Yarmouth clarke of the Signet, for that he refused to signe without fee, a bill passed for him. The king first heard Turstane, commending the olde custome at large, and charging the Clarke for exacting somewhat contrary thereunto, for passing his booke. Then

the Clarke was heard, who briefly saide, I received the Booke, and sent vnto your steward, desiring him only to bestow of me two spice cakes, made for your owne mouth, who returned answer; He would not, and thereupon I denied to seale his Booke.[1] The King greatly disliked the steward for returning that negative, and
2C1[v] forthwith made Adam sit downe vppon the bench, with // the seale and Turstanes Booke before him, but compelled the steward to put off his cloake, to fetch two of the best spice cakes for the kings owne mouth, to bring them in a faire white napkin, and with lowe curtsie to present them to Adam the Clarke; which being accordingly performed, the King commaunded Adam to seale and deliver him his Booke, and made them friendes, adding this speech, Officers of the Court must gratifie, and shew a cast of their office, not onely one to another; but also to all strangers, whensoever neede shall require. [Gualterus Manes. De nugis Curialium.

There was allowed a pottle of wine for livery everie night to be served vp to king Henry the firsts chamber, but because the

i Gastellos.

Note i Gastellos.] 1623 omits 5 for 1614, 1623: fot 1605

king did seldome or never vse to drinke in the night, Paine Fitz-
Iohn his Chamberlaine, and the Pages of the Chamber did carowse
the wine among them. On a time it happened the King at midnight
called for wine, but none was to be found: Paine and the Pages
bestirred themselves in vaine, seeking wine heere and there. Paine
was called in to the King, who asked him if there were not allowance
for livery: hee humbly answered that there was a pottle allowed
everie night, but for that hee never called for it (to say the
trueth in hope of pardon) wee drunke it vp amongst vs: Then (quoth
the King) have you but one pottle every night? that is too shorte
for mee and you, from hencefoorth there shall be a whole gallon
allowed, whereof the one pottle shall be for mee, the other for
you and yours. This I note, not for anie gravitie, but that the
King in that age was commended herein both for bountie and clemencie.
[Gualterus Mapes.

Queene Mawd wife to King Henry the first of England, and
daughter to Malcolme Carmore King of Scotland, was so devoutly re-
ligious, that she would goe to church bare-foote, and alwayes exercise
herselfe in workes of charitie, insomuch that when David her brother
came out of Scotland to visite her, he found her in her privie
chamber with a towell about her middle, washing, wiping, and kissing //

202[r] poore peoples feete, which he disliking saide, Verily if the King your husband knew this, you should never kisse his lippes. She replied; That the feete of the King of heaven are to bee preferred before the lippes of a King in earth. [Guil: Malmes: & Math. Paris.

Simon Deane of Lincolne, who for his Courtlike carriage was called to Court, and became a favourite of this king Henry the first, was wont to say, I am cast among courtiers, as salt among quicke Eeles, for that he salted, powdred, and made them stirre with his salt and sharpe quipping speeches. But what saieth the Author, who reporteth this of him; The salt lost his season by the moysture of the Eeles, and was cast out on the dunghill: For hee incurring hatred in Court, was disgraced, committed, and at last banished. Henr. Huntingdon in Epistola.

WHen the Scottes in the time of king Stephen with a great army invaded England, the Northerne people brought to the field the Earle of Albemarle the only respective heire of those partes in his cradle, and placed him by the Standard, hoping thereby to animate the people: But Ralph Bishop of Duresme animated them more with this saying, Assure your selves, that this multitude not trained by discipline wil be combersome to it selfe in good successe, and in distresse easily discomforted. Which proved accordingly, for many Scottishmen left

16 respective] respected 1614, 1623

their carcases in the field. [Historiola de Standardo.

MAwd the Empresse, daughter and heire of this king Henry the first, which stiled her selfe Lady of the Englishmen, would often say to her sonne king Henry the second; Be hasty in nothing; Hawkes are made more serviceable, when yee make faire shewes of offering meate often, and // yet with-hold it the longer. 202v

Gualterus Mapes. Others Maximes of her, In arte Regnandi proceeding from a niggish olde wife I wittingly omitte, as vnbefitting a Prince.

Robert Earle of Gloucester base sonne to king Henry the first, the onely martiall man of England in his age, vsed Stephen Beauchampe with all grace and countenaunce, as his onely favorite and privado, to the great dislike of all his followers. Whereupon when he was distressed in a conflict, he called to some of his companie for helpe, but one bitterly bade him, Call nowe to your Stephen. Pardon mee, pardon me, replieth the Earle, In matters of Venery I must vse my Stephen, but in Martiall affaires I relie wholie vppon you. [Gualter Mapes de Nugis Curialium.

HEnry the second caused his eldest sonne Henry to bee crowned

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62.18-63.1 crowned king, and that day] crowned Kinge, while he him selfe was yet aliue, and lustie and that daie B

king, and that day served him at the Table, Whereuppon the Archebishop of Yorke saide vnto the yoong king, Your Maiestie may reioyce, for there is never a Prince in the world that hath this day such a waiter at his Table as you have. Wonder you so much at that my Lord (saide the yong king) and dooth my father thinke it an abasement for him being discended of rovall bloud, onely by his mother, to serve me at the Table, that have both a King to my father, and a Queene to my mother? Which prowde speech when the vnfortunate father heard, hee rounded the Archbishop in the eare, and saide; I repent mee, I repent me of nothing more than of vntimely advauncements. [Anonymus.

Wimund Bishop of the Isle of Man, in the time of King Stephen, a martiall Prelate (as many were in that age) after he had with many an inrode annoyed the Scots, some English procured by them sodainely apprehended him, put out his eies, and gelded him (as my Author saieth) for the peace of the kingdome, not for the kingdome of heaven. Who after retiring himselfe to the Abbey of Biland in Yorkeshire, would
203r often couragiously say, Had I but a // sparrowes eye, my enemies should never carry it away scot-free. [Newbrigensis.]

1 Table. 1614, 1623: Table, 1605 4 as you have.] as youre grace hath. B 5 saide] quothe B 6 royall] noble B 10-11 of nothing...Anonymus.] of his vntimely aduauncement. B 63.12-69.10 Wimund Bishop...Ypodigma.] Not in B 18 sparrowes 1614, 1623: sparrowe, 1605

When king Henry the second was at S. Davis in Wales, and from the cliffes there in a cleere day discovered the coast of Ireland, that most mighty Monark of this realme, saide; I with my shippes am able to make a bridge thither, if it be no further: which speach of his beeing related to Murchard king of Lemster in Ireland; he demaunded if hee added not to his speech (with the grace of God:) when it was answered, that hee made no mention of God: Then saide hee more cheerefully, I feare him lesse which trusteth more to himselfe, than to the helpe of God. [Giraldus Cambrensis.

Owen of Kevelioc Prince of Powis admitted to the table of king Henry the second at Shrewsbury, the king the more to grace him, reached him one of his owne loaves, which he cutting in small peeces, and setting them as farre off as he could reach, did eate very leasurely. When the king demaunded what he meant thereby, he aunswered, I doe as you my Soveraigne, meaning that the king in like manner tooke the fruition of offices and spirituall preferments, as long as he might. [Giraldus.

The same king Henry returning out of Ireland, arrived at saint Davis in Wales, where it was signified vnto him, that the Conqueror of Ireland returning that way, should die vpon a stone called Lech-laver neere the churchyard: whereupon in a great presence

he passed over it, and then reprooving the Welsh-Britans credulity in Merlins Prophecies, said; Now who will heereafter credite that liar Merlin? Giraldus.

Gilbert Foliot Bishop of London disliking Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, woulde say oftentimes, Ad Zachaeum non divertisset Dominus nisi de sicomoro iam descendisset: That Zachaeus had never entertained and lodged Christ, vnlesse he had come downe from the figge tree: As though Christ could never like the lofty, vntill they would humiliate themselves, and come downe. [Anonymus Ms. //

2C3[v] The same king would often say, The whole world is litle enough for a great Prince. [Girald. in Distinct.

In the time of this Henry the second, the See of Lincolne was so long voyde, as a certaine Convert of Tame prophecied, that there would be no more Bishoppes of Lincolne: But he prooved a truthlesse prophet, for Geffrey the kings base sonne was preferred after sixteene yeeres vacancie thereunto, but so fitte a man, as one saide of him, That he was skilfull in fleecing, but vnskilfull in feeding. [Vitae Episcoporum Eboracensium.

This gallant base Bishoppe would in his protestations and othes alwayes protest, By my faith, and the King my father. But

9 would 1614, 1623: should 1605 14 would 1614, 1623: should 1605

Walter Mapes the kings Chaplan told him, You might doe aswel to remember sometimes your mothers honesty, as to mention so often your fathers royaltie. [Mapes de Nugis Curialium. This Bishop Geffrey in all his Instruments passing from him, vsed the stile of G. Archiepiscopus Eborum; but in the circumference of his Seale, to notifie his royall parentage, Sigillum Galfredi filii Regis Anglorum, as I observed in his Seales.

SAvage a Gentleman which amongst the first English, had planted himselfe in Vlster in Ireland, advised his sonne for to builde a castle for his better defence against the Irish enemy, who valiantly answered; that hee woulde not trust to a castle of stones, but to his castle of bones, Meaning his body. [Marlebrigensis.

Robert Blanchmaines Earle of Leicester was wont to say Soveraigne Princes are the true types or resemblances of Gods true maiestie, in which respect, saieth mine Author, treason against the Princes person was called Crimen maiestatis. [Polycraticon.

Pope Adrian the fourth an English man borne, of the familie of Breakespeare in Middlesex, a man commended for converting Norway
C4r to christianity, before his Papacie, // but noted in his Papacie, for vsing the Emperour Fredericke the second as his Page, in holding his stirroppe, demaunded of Iohn of Sarisbury his countryman what

opinion the world had of the Church of Rome, and of him, who answered: The Church of Rome which should be a mother, is now a stepmother, wherein sit both Scribes and Pharises; and as for your selfe, whenas you are a father, why doe you expect pensions from your children? &c. Adrian smiled, and after some excuses tolde him this tale, which alboit it may seeme long, and is not vnlike that of Menenius Agrippa in the Romane historie, yet give it the reading, and happly you may learne somewhat by it. All the members of the body conspired against the stomacke, as against the swallowing gulfe of all their labors; for whereas the eies beheld, the eares heard, the handes labored, the feete traveled, the tongue spake, and all partes performed their functions, onely the stomacke lay ydle and consumed all. Hereuppon they ioyntly agreed al to forbeare their labors, and to pine away their lasie and publike enemy. One day passed over, the second followed very tedious, but the third day was so grievous to them all, that they called a common Counsel; The eyes waxed dimme, the feete could not support the body, the armes waxed lasie, the tongue faltered, and could not lay open the matter; Therefore they all with one accord desired the advise of the Heart. There Reason layd open before them, that hee against whome they had

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7 in the Romane historie 1614, 1623: in Livie 1605

proclaimed warres, was the cause of all this their misery: For he as their common steward, when his allowances were withdrawne, of necessitie withdrew theirs from them, as not receiving that he might allow. Therfore it were a farre better course to supply him, than that the limbs should faint with hunger. So by the perswasion of Reason, the stomacke was served, the limbes comforted, and peace re-established. Even so it fareth with the bodies of Common-weales; for albeit the Princes gather much, yet not so much for themselves, as for others: So that if they want, they cannot supply the want of others; therefore do not repine at Princes heerein, but respect the common good of the whole publike estate. [Idem.

Oftentimes would he say, All his preferments never added any one iote to his happinesse or quietnesse. [Idem. // 204v

He also (that I may omitte other of his speeches) would say, The Lord hath dilated me by hammering me vpon the anvild; but I beseech him he would vnderlay his hand to the vnsupportable burthen which he hath layde vpon me. [Idem.

When it was signified vnto king Richard the first, son to

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2 as] is 1623 3 from 1614, 1623: fro 1605

the foresaide King Henry sitting at supper in his pallace at Westminster (which we call the old pallace now) that the French king besieged his towne of Vermoil in Normandie: he in greatnes of courage protested in these wordes, I will never turne my backe vntil I have confronted the French: For performance of which his princely word, hee caused the wall in his pallace at Westminster to be broken downe directly towardes the South, posted to the coast, and immediately into Normandie, where the very report of his sodaine arrivall, so terrified the French, that they raised the siege, and retired themselves. [Ypodigma.

The same king Richard purposing an expedition into the holy land, made money at all handes, and amongst other things solde vnto Hugh Pudsey Bishop of Durham the Earledome of Northumberland, merrily laughing when he invested him, and saying; Am not I cunning, and my craftes-maister, that can make a yoong Earle of an olde Bishoppe? But this Prelate was fitte to be an Earle, for the worlde (as one of that age saide of him) was not crucifixus to him, but infixus in him.. [Lib. Dunelm.

11-12 The same...made money] But Kinge Richarde his sonne preparinge to perfourme that which his father had promised, made mony B 13 Hugh Pudsey Bishop of] Hugh the Bishoppe of B 13 Earledome] Earedome 1614 13-16 Northumberland...Bishoppe?] Northumberlande for a greate masse of mony: and laughinge merely when he inuested him saied: am not I a wonderfull workeman that can make an olde Bishoppe, a younge Erle? B 16-18 But this...Dunelm.] Not in B

One Fulke a Frenchman of great opinion for his holinesse tolde this king Richard that hee kept with him three daughters, that would procure him the wrath of God, if he did not shortly ridde himselfe of them. Why hypocrite (quoth the king) all the worlde knoweth that I never hadde childe, Yea (saide Fulke) you have as I saide, three; and their names are Pride, Covetousnesse and Lechery. Is it so (saide the king) you shal see me presently
2D1r bestow them: the Knightes // Templers shal have Pride, the white Monkes Covetousnesse, and the Cleargy Lechery; and there have you my three daughters bestowed among you.

When there was a faire opportunitie offered vnto this king Richard, and to Hugh duke of Burgundie for the surprise of Ierusalem, they marched forward in two battalles from Acres. The king of England led the first, the Duke of Burgundie the other; when they approched, the Duke of Burgundie envying the glory of the English, signified to the king of England, that he would retire with his companies, because it should not be said, that the English had taken Ierusalem. While this message was delivering, and the King grieving that so glorious an enterprise was so overthwarted by envie; one amongest the

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1-2 One Fulke...that hee] Vppon a time ther came vnto him one fulke a frenche man reputed for a man of great holie life, and toulde him that he B 4 ridde...them] marry them awaie B 5 never...Yea] haue neuer a childe; yet B 6 saide...are] saied before: three, and there names be B 7 Is it so] ho is it so sir B 8-9 bestow them...Lechery] bestowe them before youre face: To the temples I giue pride, to the white monckes couetousnesse, and to the seculiar clergie lechery. B 70.9-71.17 and there...heere?] Not in B 16 companies] companie 1614, 1623

English companies cryed alowde to the King and said, Sir, Sir, come hither and I will shew you Ierusalem. But king Richard cast his coate of armes before his face, and weeping vttered these wordes with a lowde voice; Ah my Lord God, I beseech thee that I may not see thy holy Cittie Ierusalem, whenas I am not able to deliver it out of the handes of the enemies. [Ian Sire de Ionville in the life of Saint Lewes. cap. 70. This Author also giveth this testimony of the saide king, in the eight chapter of the saide Booke. This Prince was of such prowesse, that he was more feared and redoubted amongest the Sarazens then ever was any Prince Christian. Insomuch that whenas their little infants beganne to crie, their mothers would say to make them holde their peace; King Richard commeth, and wil have you, and immediately the little children hearing him named, would forbeare crying: And likewise the Turkes and Sarazens, when their horses at any time started, they woulde putte spurre to them and say; What you iades, you thinke King Richard is heere?

When the same king Richard had fortunately taken in a skirmish, Philippe the Martiall Bishop of Beavoys a deadly enemy of his, hee cast

6 Sire de 1614, 1623: Sire Signeur de 1605 · 18 When...Richard] When Richard B 19 Martiall] Added in 1614 ✓ 19 of...cast] of his, and one that he mistrusted had caused him to be the worse handeled, when he was prisonner, with the emperour: he cast B

him in prison with boltes vpon his heeles, which being complained of vnto the Pope, he wrote earnestly vnto him, not to detaine his
2D1[v] deere sonne, an Eccle- // siasticall person, and a sheepheard of the Lordes, but to send him backe vnto his flocke. Whereuppon the King sent vnto the Pope the armour that he was taken in, and willed his Ambassadour to vse the words of Iacobs sonnes vnto their father, when they had solde away their brother Ioseph, Hanc invenimus, vide vtrum tunica filii tui sit, an non; This wee found, see whether it be the coate of thy sonne, or no. Nay (quoth the Pope) it is not the coate of my sonne, nor of my brother, but some impe of Mars, and let him procure his deliverie if he will, for I wil be no meane for him.

When the French king and king Richard the first beganne to parlee of peace, his brother Iohn, who had falsely and vnnaturally revolted vnto the French king, fearing himselfe, came in of his owne accord, and suppliantly besought Richard brotherly to pardon his manifolde offences, that he had vnbrotherly committed against him, hee rehersed the straight league of brotherly piety, he

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1 vpon] one B 2-3 his deere sonne] Not in B 5 sent...the] sent him backe the 1623 8 non; 1614, 1623: non? B non 1605 10-11 it is not...let him] it is the coate neither of my sonne nor brother, but of Mars his [bro] man, and let him B 12 wil...him.] will not make nor meddle with it. B 13-14 and king...peace] and he began to parle of a peace B 15 fearing...came in] fearinge lest he shoulde be lefte in the lashe, came in B 16-17 pardon his] perdon these B 18 rehersed] rehersethe B

recounted the many merits of his brother, he bewailed with teares that hitherto he had beene vnmindefull of them, as an vnnaturall and vnthankefull person. Finally, that hee dooth live, and shall live, hee dooth acknowledge that hee hath received it at his handes. The king being mollified with this humble submission, saide: God graunt that I may as easily forget your offences, as you may remember wherein you have offended.

IN the wofull warres with the Barons, when king Iohn was viewing of the Castle of Rochester held against him by the Earle of Arundel, he was espied by a very good Arcubalister, who tolde the Earle thereof, and saide, that hee would soone dispatch the cruell tyrant, if he would but say the word; God forbid, vile varlet (quoth the Earle) that we should procure the death of the holy one of God. What (saide the souldier) he would not spare you if hee had you at the like advantage. No matter for that (quoth the Earle) Gods // good wil be done, and he wil dispose thereof, and not the King. [Math: Paris.

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1 recounted...teares] recountethe the many merits of his brother ⟨to⟩ wardes him, he bewailethe with trickelinge teares B 5-7 saide...offended.] saied: that he did pardon him, and did hartely desire of god, that he might be one daie also able quite to forget all the iniuries that he had doone him. B 8 with the...was] with his Barons, as he was B
12 tyrant] Tyrannie B 14 What] but B 17 Math: Paris.] Not in B

When one about him shewed him where a noble man, that had rebelliously borne armes against him, lay verie honourably intoombed, and advised the king to deface the monument, he said; No, no, but I would al the rest of mine enemies were as honourably buried. [Idem.

When diverse Greekes came hither, and offered to proove that there were certaine errours in the Church of England at that time, hee reiected them, saying, I will not suffer our faith established to be called in question with doubtful disputations. [Fragm: antiquum aeditum à P. Pithaeo.

Yet when the saide king Iohn sawe a fatte Bucke haunched, he saide [profanely] to the standers by, See how faire and fatte this Bucke is, and yet hee never heard Masse all his life long. But this may be forged to his disgrace by the enuious. [Math. Paris.

IN a solemne conference betweene king Henry the third of England, and Saint Lewes king of France, the onely devout kings of that age, when the French king saide, He had rather heare Sermons, than heare Masses. Our king replied, which some will smile at now, but according to the learning of that time, That he had rather see

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2 borne] boren B 3 No, no, but] no: but B 5-14 Idem....Math.Paris.] Not in B 12 profanely] Added in 1614 ✓ 74.15-75.5 In a solemne... Rishanger.] See Commentary

his loving friend (meaning the reall presence / of Christ _/ in the Sacrament) than to heare never so much good of him, by others in sermons. This I note, because it was then thought facetious, which I doubt not but some wil now condemne as superstitious. [Guil: Rishanger.

Pecham that Opticall Archbishop of Canterbury, who writte Perspectiva Communis, when Pope Gregorie the tenth, who had created him Archbishop, commaunded him to pay foure thousand markes within foure moneths, vnder paine of excommunication, hee that came vnto the See then deepely indebted, saide; Beholde, you have crea- //
202[v] ted me, and as a creature doth desire to be perfected by his creator, so I doe in my oppressions flie vnto your Holinesse to be recreated. Archiep. Cantuar.

Sewall Archbishop of Yorke much agrieved with some practises of the Popes collectors in England, tooke all patiently, and saide; I will not with Cham discover the nakednes of my father, but cover and conceale it with Sem. As Constantine the Great saide, that hee would cover the faults of Bishops and Fathers of the Church with his Imperiall robe. [Mat. Paris.

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1 of Christ] Added in 1614 6 Pecham] Perckham 1614, 1623 6-10 Pecham that...saide] See Commentary 12 I doe] do I B 75.13-76.13 Archiep. Cantuar....Idem.] Not in B

Pope Innocentius the fourth when he offered the kingdome of Sicil and Naples to Richard Earle of Cornewall with many impossible conditions, You might as well (sayde the Earles Agent at Rome) say to my Lord and Maister, I sell or give you the Moone, climbe vp, catch it, and take it. [Anonymus qui incipit. Rex Pictorum.

Alexander successor to Innocentius sent vnto the saide Earle Richard to borrow a great masse of money; but the Earle answered, I wil not lend to my superior, vpnon whome I cannot distraine for the debts. This Richard is reported by the saide Author, to have had so great treasure, that hee was able to dispend for tenne yeeres an hundred markes a day, which according to the Standard of that time was no small summe. [Idem.

In the raigne of king Henry a Bishop of London stowtly withstoode the Popes Nuncio, that would have levied exactions of the Cleargie: Whereupon the Nuncio complained vnto the king, who shortly menaced the Bishop, and tolde him he would cause the Pope to plucke his peacockes taile: but the Bishop boldely answered the King, that the Pope and he being too strong for him, might

14 king Henry] Kinge Henrie the thirde B 17 tolde him he] toulde him that he B

bereave him of his bishoprick, by might, but never by right; and that although they tooke away his Mitre, yet they would leave him his Helmet. [Lib. Cantuar.

Wicked rather than wittie is that of a Deane high Treasurer of England, that had demeaned himselfe so well in his office, that when he died he made this wicked will; I be- // queathe all my goodes and possessions vnto my liege Lorde the King, my body to the earth, and my soule to the divell. [Idem.

WHen Edward the first heard of the death of his onely sonne, hee tooke it grievously as a father, but patiently as a wise man. But when hee vnderstoode shortely after of the departure of his father king Henry the third, he was wholy deiected and comfortlesse: whereat when Charles king of Sicile, with whome he then soiourned in his returne from the holy land, greatly marvelled, He satisfied him with this, God may send more sonnes, but the death of a father is irrecoverable. [Walsingham.

This is that king Edward the first, who as in lineaments of

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3 Lib. Cantuar.] Not in B 4-5 Wicked rather...himselfe] About this time was there also a Deane of Pawles: that [was] was highe treasurer of Engelande, and had demained him selfe B 6 he died] he shoulde die B 77.8-78.20 Idem....gabbardine? Idem.] Not in B

body he surpassed all his people, being like Saul, higher than any of them; so in prudence conioyned with valour and industry, he excelled all our Princes, giving thereby sure ankerholde to the governement of this realme, waving vp and downe before most vncertainely. Which hee effected not so much by establishing good lawes, as by giving life vnto his lawes, by due execution. And as my Author saith, Iudices potissimum iudicans quos constituit iudices aliorum. Who addeth also this of him; Nemo in consiliis illo argutior, in eloquio torrentior, in periculis securior, in prosperis cautior, in adversis constantior. [Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu Regis Edw: primi.

Whereas the kings of England, before his time, vsed to weare their Crowne vpon all solemne feast dayes, he first omitted that custome, saying merrily, That Crownes doe rather onerate, than honour Princes. [Idem tractatus.

When a simple religious man seeing him meanely attired, wondering thereat, asked him, why hee beeing so potent a Prince ware so simple a sute, he answered, Father, Father, you know how God regardeth garments, What can I doe more in royall robes, than in this my gabbardine? [Idem. //

2D3[v] When the Cleargie pretending a discharge by a canon lately

made at the Councell held at Lyons in France, would contribute nothing to the temporall necessities of King Edward, hee saide vnto them in parliament, Seeing you doe refuse to helpe me, I will also refuse to help you, &c. If you deny to pay tribute to me as vnto your Prince, I will refuse to protect you as my subiects; and therefore if you be spoyled, robbed, maimed, and murthered, seeke for no succour nor defence of me, or mine.

The Pope sent an Iniunction vnto the same Edward, the which was delivered vnto him in one of his iornies against the fautors of Iohn Balliol king of Scotland, the tenour of it was, that he should surcease to disquiet the Scottes, which were an exempt nation, and properly appertaining to the Roman Chappell, wherefore the citty of Ierusalem could not but defend her Cittizens, and helpe them that did trust in the Lord, like mount Sion. Hee hadde no sooner read it, but rapping out an othe, saide; I will not holde my peace for Syon nor Ierusalems rest, as long as there is breath in my bodie, but wil prosecute my iust right knowne vnto all the world, and defend it to the death. [Tho: Walsingham.

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3 Seeing you] that seinge you B 4-5 pay tribute to me] paie me tribute B 7 or] nor B 8 vnto the same Edward] vnto Edwarde the firste B 9-10 the fautors...Scotland] the rebellious Scots B 13 her] Inserted to B 14-15 Hee hadde...but] Not in B 15 saide] quoth the Kinge B 16 nor Ierusalems rest] nor the rest of Hierusalem B 18 Tho: Walsingham.] Not in B

When Iohn Earle of Atholl nobly descended, who had with other murthered Iohn Comin, was apprehended by king Edward the first, and some intreated for him, The king answered, The higher his calling is, the greater must his fall be; and as he is of higher parentage, so he shalbe the higher harged: which accordingly was performed, for he was hanged on a gallowes fiftie foote high. [Florilegus.

Whenas in siege of the Castle of Strivelin in Scotland, king Edward the first, by his over-forwardnesse was often endaungered, some advised him to have more regarde to his person, hee aunswered them with that of David in the Psalme, A thousand shall fall at my side, and tenne thousand at my right hand, but it shall not come neere me. [Florilegus.

When the learned Lawyers of the realme were consulted in a cause by him, and after long consultation did not satisfie him, hee saide, (as kings impatient of delayes may // be bolde with their Lawyers,) My Lawyers are long advising, and never advised. [Florilegus. As for other speeches of his I wittingly and willingly overpasse.

Eleanor wife to king Edward the first, and most vertuous and wise woman, when hee tooke his long and dangerous voyage into

the holy land, would not be disswaded to tarrie at home, but woulde needes accompany him, saying; Nothing must part them whome God hath ioyned, and the way to heaven is as neare in the holy land, (if not nearer) as in England, or Spaine.

This worthy Queene maketh mee remember Eubulus a scoffing Comicall Greeke Poet, which curseth himselfe if ever hee opened his mouth against women, inferring albeit Medea were wicked, yet Penelope was peerelesse: if Clytemnestra were naught, yet Alcestes was passing good: if Phaedra were damnable, yet there was an other laudable. But heere saith he I am at a stand, of good women I finde not one more, but of the wicked I remember thousandes. Beshrew this scoffer, yee good wives all, and let his curse fall vpon him, for of your kinde may many a million bee found, yea of our owne country, and that I may reserve other to a fitter place, I will shew vnto you a rare example in this Queene of England, a most loving and kinde wife, out of Rodericus Sanctius not mentioned by our Historians.

When king Edward the first was in the holy land, hee was stabbed with a poysoned dagger, by a Sarazen, and through the rancor of the poyson, the wound was iudged incurable by his Physitions. This

14 our 1623: your 1605, 1614

good Queene Eleanor his wife, who had accompanied him in that iourney, endangering her owne life, in loving affection saved his life, and eternized her owne honour. For she daily and nightly sucked out the ranke poyson, which love made sweete to her, and thereby effected that which no Arte durst attempt; to his safety, her ioy, and the comfort of all England; So that well woorthy was shee to be remembred by those Crosses as monuments, which in steade
!D4v of Statues were // erected by her husband to hir honour at Lincolne, Grantham, Stanford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Dunstaple, Saint Albanes, Waltham, and Westminster called Charing crosse, all adorned with her Armes of Castile, Leon, / and the County of Pontiue, which by her right was annexed to the crowne of England. _/

Robert Winchelsey the Archbishop of Canterbury was banished by king Edward the first, but afterward restored againe by him, and all the rents that had beene sequestred during his absence, repayed him: whereby he became the richest Archbishop that had been in that seate before him: Wherefore often recording his troubles hee woulde say; Adversitie never hurteth, where no iniquity overruleth. ⌜Liber Cantuar.

11-13 and the...England.⌉ Added in 1614 16 sequestred⌉ receiued B
17 Archbishop⌉ Bishoppe B 19-20 iniquity...Cantuar.⌉ iniquitie reignethe. B

William de March Lord Treasourer vnto king Edward the first, caused all the treasure throughout all the land, that was layed vppe in the Monasteries and Churches, to be at one instant violently taken away by military men, saying, It is better that money should be mooving, and according to the name be currant, and goe abroad to the vse of the people, than resting in chests without fruite and occupation: concurring in this last poynt with a Maxime of the Vsurers hall.

Of king Edward the second I finde nothing memorable, but that which griefe and great indignitie wreasted from him, when Corney and his rascall rabblements after his deposition, would needes shave him on the way, lest he should be knowne and rescewed. They enforced him to sit downe vpon a mole hil, and the knave Barber insulting, told him that cold water taken out of the next ditch should serve for his trimming at that time. Hee answered, Whether you will or no, there shall be warme water: and therewithall hee shedding teares plentifully, verified his words. [Thom: de la More.

After the battell of Poitiers Iames Lorde Audley was brought
2E1r to the Blacke Prince in a Litter most grievously // wounded, for

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1 vnto king Edward] vnto Edwarde B
3 instant 1614, 1623: iustant 1605 and souldioures: saienge that it B Not in B
12 he] her 1623
2 all the land] the whole lande B
4 away by...It] awaie by the Capteines 83.7-84.13 concurring in...Frossard]

hee had carried himselfe most valiantly that day. To whome the Prince with due commendations, gave for his good service foure hundred markes of yeerely revenews. The which hee returning to his tent, gave as franckely to his foure Esquiers, that attended him in the battell: whereof when the Prince was advertised, doubting that his gift was contemned as too little for so great good service: the Lord Audley satisfied him with this answer; I must doe for them who deserved best of me. These my Esquiers saved my life amiddest the ennemies. And God bee thanked, I have sufficient revenews left by my Auncestours to maintaine me in your service. Whereupon the Prince praising his prudence and liberalitie, confirmed his gift made to his Esquiers, and assigned him moreover sixe hundred markes of like land in England. [Frossard.

William Wickham after Bishoppe of Winchester came into the service, and also into the great favour of King Edward the third, by beeing overseer of his great woorke at Windesor, wheras before he served as a poore parish priest. Wherfore he caused to be written in one of his windows, This worke made Wickham. Which being

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14–16 Wickham...third,-by] This Wickam came into the Kinges seruice and also into his greate fauoure by B 16–17 wheras before he served] where he serued B 18 his] the B 18 Which] The which B

tolde vnto the King, hee was offended with Wickham, as though hee had gone about to robbe him of the glorie of that magnificent worke. But when Wickham tolde him that his meaning was, that that worke had beene his making, and advauncement, the King rested content and satisfied, [Vita Wiccami.

When the said William Wickham (as it is commonlie saide) sued vnto Edward the third for the Bishoppricke of Winchester, the King tolde him that he was vnmeete for it, because he was vnlearned, but hee saide, In recompence thereof I will make many learned men. The which he performed indeed. For he founded New Colledge in Oxford and another in Winchester, which houses have affoorded verie many learned men, both to the Church and to the Common wealth.

When Henry of Lancaster surnamed the Good Earle of //

2E1[v] Darby had taken in 1341. Bigerac in Gascoigne, hee gave and graunted to every souldier, the house which every one should first seaze vpon, with all therein. A certaine souldier of his brake into a Mint-maisters house, where hee found so great a masse of money, that hee amazed therewith, as a prey greater than his desert or desire,

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5 Vita Wiccami.] Not in B 6-7 When the...sued] When William Wickam sued B 8-9 vnlearned...saide] not lerned, but saied B 10 New Colledge] the newe colledge B 11 and...Winchester] Not in B 11-12 which houses...wealth.] the which house hath yeilded as many lerned men vnto the Churche and Court as any colledge within this lande. B 85.13-86.3 When Henry...Walsingham.] Not in B 14 taken in 1341. Ed.: taken 1341. EDD. 15 should first seaze] should seize 1623

signified the same vnto the Earle, who with a liberall minde aunswered, It is not for my state to play boyes play, to give and take; Take thou the money, if it were thrice as much. [Walsingham.

When newes was brought vnto king Richard the second, that his vnkles of Yorke and Gloucester, the Earles of Arundell, Warwicke, Darby, and Nottingham, with other of that faction, who sought to reforme the misorders of the King, or rather, of his wicked Counsellors, were assembled in a woodde neere vnto the Court; after hee had asked other mens opinions, what was to be done in so weightie and doubtfull a case. At length hee merrily demaunded of one sir Hugh a Linne, who had beene a good militarie man in his dayes, but was then somewhat distraught of his wittes, what he would advise him to doe: Issue out (quoth sir Hugh) and let vs set vppon them, and slay them every mothers sonne; and by Gods eyes, when thou hast so done, thou hast killed all the faithfull friendes that thou hast in England. Anonymus.

KIng Henry the fourth, a wise Prince, who full well knew

4 vnto...Richard] vnto Richard B 6 faction] fashion 1614 7 wicked] 1614, 1623 omit 11 Hugh a Linne] High Linne B 11 militarie man] souldiour E 12 distraught] distract 1623 15 so] thus B
16 Anonymus.] Not in B 86.17-87.4 KIng Henry...motion] In M2

the humour of the English, in his admonition to his sonne, at his death, saide; Of Englishmen, so long as they have wealth and riches, so long shalt thou have obeysance; but when they be poore, then they be alwayes ready to make insurrections at every motion. [Hall.

King Henry the fourth, during his sickenes, caused his Crowne to be set on his pillow, at his beds head, and sodainely
E2r his paine so sore troubled him, that hee lay as // though his vitall spirites had beene from him departed: Such chamberlaines as had the care and charge of his bodie thinking him to be dead, covered his face with a linnen cloth. The Prince his sonne being thereof advertised, entred into the chamber, and tooke away the Crowne, and departed. The father being sodainely revived out of his traunce, quickely perceived that his Crowne was taken away: and vnderstanding that the Prince his sonne had it, caused him to repaire to his presence, requiring of him for what cause he had so mis-used himselfe. The Prince with a good audacitie answered: Sir, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed dead in this world, wherefore I, as your next and apparant heire tooke that as mine owne, not as yours. Well faire sonne, (saide the King with a great

1 in] with M2 2 Of] Not in M2 3 but] and M2 4 to make... motion.] at euerye motion to make insurrections, M2 87.6-88.9 King Henry...Anglice.] Not in B 8 paine 1614, 1623: pangue 1605 17 a good] 1623 omits

sigh) what right I had to it, and how I enioyed it, God knoweth. Well (quoth the Prince) if you die King, I will have the garland, and trust to keepe it with the Sworde against all mine enemies, as you have done. [Hall.

KIng Henry the fift, when he prepared warres against Fraunce, the Dolphin of Fraunce sent him a present of Paris Balles, in derision: but hee returned for answere, That he would shortly resend him London Balles, which should shake Paris Walles. [Anonymus Anglice.

When King Henry the fift had given that famous overthrowe vnto the French at Agincourt, hee fell downe vpon his knees, and commaunded his whole armie to doe the same, saying that verse in the Psalme, Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam: Not vnto vs (O Lord) not vs, but vnto thy name give the glorie. //

2E2v HEnry the sixt did take all iniuries, whereof he received plenty so patiently, that he not only did not seek to revenge them,

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10 King] Not in B 10 famous] renowned B 13 Psalme] psalmes B
13 da] do B 14 not vs] not vnto vs B 15 whereof he] of whome
when] whome he B 16 not only did not seek] did not onlie not seeke B

but Gave God thankes that hee did send them to punish his sinnes in this life, that hee might escape punishment in the life to come. [Vita Henrici Sexti. As the Emperor Fredericke the third, when he heard of the death of a great noble man of Austria, who lived ninety three yeeres most wickedly in fleshly pleasures, and yet never once afflected with griefe or sickenes, saide; This prooveth that which Divines teach, that after death there is some place where wee receive reuarde or punishment; when wee see often in this worlde, neyther the iust rewarded, nor the wicked punished.

The same King Henry having in Christmasse a shew of yoong women, with their bare breasts layde out, presented before him, hee immediately departed with these wordes, Fie, fie for shame, forsooth you be too blame. [Idem.

He receiving on a time a great blowe by a wicked man, which compassed his death, hee onely sayde, Forsooth, forsooth yee doe fowly to smite a King annoynted.

Not long before his death, being demaunded why hee had so long held the Crowne of England vniustly, hee replied, My father was King of England, quietly enioying the Crowne all his raigne,

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2-3 hee might...come.] he might immediatly flie into felicitie after death. E 3 Vita Henrici Sexti] Not in B 3-9 As the...wicked punished.] See Commentary 89.10-93.9 The same...in Ypodigmate.] Not in B

and his father my grandsire was also king of England, and I even a childe in cradle was proclaimed and crowned King without any interruption, and so held it for fortie veeres, wel-neere all the states doing homage vnto mee, as to my Auncestors. Therefore wil I say with King David, My lot is fallen in a faire ground, I have a goodly heritage, my helpe is from the Lord which saveth the vpright in heart. [Idem.

Thomas Montacute Earle of Sarisbury, when hee besieged Orleans, and had so enforced it, that the Inhabitants were willing to articulate, and to yeelde themselves to the Duke of Burgundie, then being in his company: he highly disdaining it, saide in the

 English proverbe; I wil not // beate the bush, and another shal have the birdes. Which proverbiall speech so offended the Burgundian, that it wholy alienated his minde from the English, to their great losse in all the French warres following. [Paulus Aemilius Lib. 10.

Iohn Lorde Talbot first Earle of Shrewsbury of that familie, surprised vppon the sodaine by the French army at Chastilion, farre from cowardly feare of death, and fatherly affected to his sonne the Lorde Lisle, who woulde not forsake him in that danger, advised

3 held it for fortie 1614, 1623: held it fortie 1605 8 Sarisbury] Salisbury 1623 17 surprised 1614, 1623: supprised 1605

him to flie, saying; My death in respect of my former exploites can not be but honourable; and in respect of thy youth, neither can it be honourable for thee to die, nor dishonourable to flie. But this yong Lord in height of courage, nothing degenerating from so worthy a father, lost his life with his father in the field, and with them a base sonne, and a sonne in lawe of the sayde Earles. [Paulus Aemilius Lib. 10. & Commentarii Pii PP.2.Lib.6.

After this battell, when the flames of inward warre beganne to flash out in England, the martiall men of England were called home out of Fraunce, to maintaine the factions heere: at which time a French Captaine scoffingly asked an English-man when they woulde returne againe into Fraunce. He answered feelingly, and vpon a true ground: When your sinnes shal be greater and more grievous in the sight of God, than ours are now.

Vntill this time, from the beginning of King Edward the first, which was about an hundred and sixtie yeeres, whosoever will with a marking eie consider the comportment of the English Nation, the concurrent of martiall men, their Councells, military discipline, designs, actions, and exploites, not onely out of our owne Writers, but also forraine Historians; cannot but acknowlege, that they were men of especiall worth, and their prowesse both great and glorious.

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1 flie 1614, 1623: flle 1605

Why afterward it should decay, as all other professions, which even like plants have their times of beginning, or in-rooting,
2E3[v] their growing vp, their // flourishing, their maturitie, and then their fading, were a disquisition for the learned. Whether it proceedeth from celestiall influence, or those Angelles which Plato makes, or the Secundei which Trithemius imagined to have the regiment of the world successively, or from the degenerating of numbers into summes, which I confesse I vnderstand not, being an ignorant in abstruse learning. Onely I have read in Paterculus,[1] that when either envie, or admiration hath given men an edge to ascend to the highest, and when they can ascend no higher, after a while they must naturally descend. Yet I relie vpon that of Ecclesiastes, as I vnderstand it, Cuncta fecit bona in tempore suo Deus, & mundum tradidit, disputationi eorum, vt non inveniat homo quod operatus est Deus ab initio vsque ad finem. But pardon mee, I cannot tell how I have beene by admiration of our Progenitours diverted from my purpose.

In the yeere of our Lord 1416. when a fifteene hundred

1 Velleius Pateroulus.li.I. Naturaliter quod procedere non potest, recedit.

4 then their 1623: than these 1605, 1614

English vnder the conduct of I: Beaufort erle of Dorset were encompassed betweene the sea, and fifteen thousand French. The Erle of Arminac generall of the French, sent to the Earle, advising him to yeelde himselfe, but hee answered, It is not the manner of the English, to yeelde without blowes, neither am I so heartlesse that I will deliver my selfe into their handes, whom God may deliver into mine. And accordingly God gave him the honour of the day, to the great confusion of the enemy. (Walsingham in Ypodigmate.

WHen Elizabeth the widow of sir Iohn Gray was a suter vnto King Edward the fourth (against whome her husband lost his life) for her ioynture: the kinde King became also a suter vnto her for a nights lodging: But she wisely answered him, when hee became importunate, That as she did account her selfe too base to be his wife, so shee did thinke her selfe too good to be his harlot. // 15

2E4r When love grew so hote in this K. Edward the fourth, that hee would needes marry the saide Elizabeth, widow of sir Iohn Grey, to the great discontent of his Counsell, but especially of

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10 Elizabeth] Not in B 11 her...life] Iohn had been slaine in the feilde B 12 suter vnto her B: suter to her vnto her EDD. 13 nights] night B 16-18 When love...especially] But afterwarde when loue grewe so hott, that the Kinge woulde neades marie her vnto the greate discontentment wheras of all the Councell, then specially B

his mother, who alleaging many reasons to the contrary, saide, That onely hir widowhood might be sufficient to restraine him, for that it was high disparagement to a King, to be dishonoured with bigamy in his first marriage. The King merrily aunswered; In that shee is a widdow, and hath already children; by Gods blessed Lady I am a batcheller, and have some too: and so each of vs hath a proofe, that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore Madam, I pray you be content, I trust in God she shal bring you forth a yong Prince; that shall please you. And as for the bigamy, let the Bishop hardly lay it in my way when I come to take Orders: for I vnderstand it is forbidden to a Priest, but I never wist it yet that it was forbidden to a Prince.

His hote love neverthelesse was partable among three other of his Mistresses, of whome hee was woont to say, The one was the fairest, the other the merriest, and the third the holiest, for she had wholy devoted her selfe to his bedde and her beades.

When Lewes the eleaventh French King entertained diverse

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1 reasons...saide] reasons why he shoulde not take her to wife, amonge other she saied B 2 onely hir widowhood 1614, 1623: onely widowhood 1605 2-3 That onely...dishonoured] that her only widdowehedde seamed sufficient to restraine him from her mariage, seing it was vnfittinge thing, and a verie blemishe, and highe disparagement to the sacred maiesty of a Kinge, that ought as nighe to approche preisthoode in clenes, as he doeth in dignitie, to be defowled B 4 merrily] merely B 7 isB: are EDD. 11-12 to...to] Not in B 94.13-96.7 His hote... Warwicensis.] Not in B

Councellors of king Edward the fourth with large pensions to steede him in England, hee sent Peter Cleret one of the maisters of his housholde vnto the Lorde Hastings the Kings Chamberlaine, to present him with twoo thousand crownes. Which when he had received, Petre Cleret did pray him, that for his discharge he would make him an acquittance; The Lorde Chamberlaine made a great difficultie thereat. Then Cleret dooth request him againe that hee would give vnto him onely a letter of three lines for his discharge to the King, signifying that hee had received them. The Lord Chamberlaine answered; Sir, that which you say is very reasonable, but the gift comes from the goodwill of the King your Maister, and not at my request at all: If it please you that I shall have it, you shall put it within the pocket of my sleeve, and you shall
E4v have no other acquittance // of me. For I will never it shalbe saide for mee, that the Lorde Chamberlaine of the King of England had beene Pentioner to the King of Fraunce: Nor that my acquittances shal be found in the Chamber of accompts in Fraunce. The aforesaid Cleret went away male-content, but left his money with him, and came to tell his message to his King, who was very angry with him. But thence forth the Lord Chamberlaine of England was more esteemed with the French, and alwayes payde without acquit-

tance. [Philippe de Commines.

KIng Richard the third, whose monstrous birth fore-shewed his monstrous proceedings, for he was born with all his teeth, and haire to his shoulders, albeit hee lived wickedly, yet made good Lawes, and when diverse shires of England offered him a benevolence, hee refused it, saying, I know not in what sence; I had rather have your hearts, than your money. [Ioannes Roffus Warwicensis.

Iohn Morton then Bishoppe of Elie, but afterward of Canterbury, being solicited by the Duke of Buckingham, then alienated from Richard the third, to speake his minde frankely vnto him, in matters of State: the Bishoppe aunswered him; In good faith my Lord I love not much to talke with Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, although the words be without fault. Forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the partie meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I thinke on AEsopes tale, that when the Lion had proclaimed, that on paine of death, there should no horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his forehead a bounch of flesh, fledde away a great pase. The Foxe that sawe him

6 I know...sence] 1623 omits 13 the 1614, 1623: tho 1605

runne so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste: hee answered; In faith I neither wote nor recke, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts. What foole (quoth the Foxe) thou mayest well enough abide, the Lion // 11r. meant not by thee, for it is no horne that is vpon thy head: No Mary (quoth hee) that wote I well enough, but what an hee call it an horne, where am I then? [Tho: Moore.

Sir Thomas Rokesby being controlde for first suffering himselfe to be served in treene Cuppes, answered; These homelie cuppes and dishes pay truly for that they containe: I had rather drinke out of treene and pay golde and silver, than drinke out of golde and silver, and make woodden pavment.

WHen Richard the third was slain at Bosworth, and with him Iohn Howard Duke of Norffolke, King Henry the seaventh demaunded of Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey the Dukes sonne and heire then taken prisoner, how he durst beare Armes in the behalfe of that tyranne Richard. He answered; He was my crowned King and if the

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1-2 hee answered] and he aunswered B 4 mayest...abide] maiest abide well enoughe B 5 vpon] one B 7 Tho: Moore.] Not in B 8 first 1614, 1623: Not in B, 1605 97.13-98.5 WHen Richard...Anonymus.] Not in B

Parlamentary authority of England sette the Crowne vppon a stocke, I will fight for that stocke. And as I fought then for him, I wil fight for you, when you are established by the said authoritie. And so hee did for his sonne King Henry the eight at Flodden field. Anonymus.

When Margaret the widdow of Charles the Hardie Duke of Burgundie, and sister to king Edward the fourth, envying much the happy estate and raigne of Henry the seaventh descended of the adverse family of Lancaster, had at sundry times suborned two rascalles to counterfeit the persons of her two brothers sonnes, thereby to withdrawe the hearts of his subiects, and raise vproares in his realme, the king sent over vnto Philippe the Duke of Burgundie doctour Warrham afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, to informe him of her treachery. This Doctour in the latter end of his Oration thus nipped the seditious Dutchesse, That within few yeores after shee was past three-score yeeres of age, she had brought foorth two monsters, Lambert and Peter, and not in the nine and tenth moneths, as women naturally doe, but in the hundred

6 the widdow] the [daughter]\widdow/ B 6 the Hardie] the [mightie]\hardye/ B 7 Burgundie] Burgonge B 8 estate] state B 10-11 sonnes, thereby] sonnes, Edwarde, and George, thereby B 13 Burgundie] Burgoigne B 14 to informe] for to enforme B 15 nipped] [finely fruped]\nipped/ B 18 tenth] ten B 18 doe] 1614, 1623 omit

2F1[v] and fourescore moneth, // (for they were both about fifteene yeeres of age when shee brought them abroade, as it were, out of her belly:) neither were they Crisomers, but such childe-choppers, that as soone as ever they were borne, they were able to wage warre with a mighty King. [Th: More.

The earle of Kildare being charged before king Henry the seaventh for burning the Metropolitane Church of Cassilles in Ireland, and many witnesses procured to avouch the trueth of the Article against him, hee sodeinely confessed it to the great wondring and detestation of the Counsell. Then it was looked how he should iustifie that fact. By Iesus (quoth hee) I would never have done it, if it had not beene tolde me that the Archbishop had beene within it. And because the Bishop was one of the busiest accusers present, merrily laughed the king at the plainnesse of the man, to see him alledge that intent for excuse, which most of all did aggravate his fault.

When among many articles exhibited by the Irish against that Earle of Kildare, the last was: Finally, All Ireland cannot

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4-5 were borne...More.] came forthe, were able to wage warres ageinst mightie Kinges. B 7 Cassilles] Cassehell B 14 merrily] merely B 17 articles exhibited 1614, 1623: articles the last article exhibited 1605 17-18 When among...Finally] When the last article before mentioned in the bill, exhibited by the Irishe ageinst the Erle of Kildare was: finally B

rule this Earle. Then (quoth the King) shall this Earle rule all Ireland; and shortly after hee made him Deputie thereof.

When one reprooved King Henry the seaventh for his slownesse in making warres on those that wronged him, he answered, If we Princes should take every occasion that is offered vs, the worlde should never be quiet, but wearied with continuall warres.

When a Gentleman, none of the wisest, tolde King Henry the seaventh, that hee found sir Richard Croftes, who was made Banneret at the battell of Stoke to be a very wise man. The King answered, Hee doubted not that, but marvelled much how a foole could knowe a wiseman.

It happened that there was fallen in communication the story of Ioseph, how his maister Putiphars wife, a great man with the King of AEgipt, would have pulled him to her bed, and he fled away. Now Maister Maio (hee was the Kings Almoner)
2F2r quoth king Henry the seaventh, You // be a tall strong man on the one side, and a cunning Doctor on the other side, what would

2-12 and shortly...wiseman.] Not in B 15 her] Not in B 18 the one] thone B 18 side] 1614, 1623 omit

you have done, if you had not beene Ioseph, but in Iosephs steade? By my troth sir (quoth he) and it like your Grace, I cannot tell what I would have done, but I can tell you what I should have done. {Tho: Moore.

The Lady Margaret Countesse of Richmond mother to king Henry the seaventh, a most worthy Patronesse of good Letters, would often say, On the condition that Princes of Christendome would combine themselves, and march against the common enemy the Turke, shee would most willingly attend them, and be their Laundresse in the campe.

There was a poore blind man in Warwick-shire, that was accounted verie cunning in prognosticating of weather: vpon a day, Empson a great lawier, as hee road that way, sayd in scorne of his cunning; I pray you tell me father when doth the Sunne change? The chafed old man that knew his corrupt conscience, answered: when such a wicked Lawier as you goeth to heauen.

Doctor Collet the Deane of Paules said, that if the Clergie were naught, the Laitie were worse, for it could not otherwise be,

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3 tell what I] tell you what I B 4-10 Tho: Moore....campe.] Not in B 11 There was...Warwick-shire] Ther was within oure memory a certeine poore blinde man in warwicke shire B 12-13 weather...scorne] wether, and tellinge of him vppon a daye did a great lawer as he roade that waye aske in skorne B 14 doth] dost B 15 The chafed] whome the chafed B 16 when such...heauen.] when a great lawyer goeth to heauen. B

but the laye men must ever be one degree vnder the Clergie: for surely it can be no lie that our Sauiour sayth himselfe, who sayth of the Cleargie, that they be the salt of the earth, and if the salt once appall, the world must needes waxe vnsauerie: and he sayeth that the Clergie bee the light of the world; and then sayeth he, if the light bee darkened, how darke will then the darkenesse be? that is to wit, all the world beside, whereof he calleth the Clergie onely the light.

Cardinall Wolsey, his teeth watering at the rich Bishopricke of Winchester, sent one vnto Bishop Foxe (who had advaunced him vnto the kings service) for to move him to resigne the Bishopricke, because extreame age had made him blind: the which message and motion Foxe did take in so ill part, that he willed the messenger to tell the Cardinall thus from him: that although olde age bereaving me of sight, I know not white from blacke, yet I can
2F2v // discerne truth from falshoode, and right from wrong: yea, and that now I am blind I haue espied his malicious vnthankfulnesse: the which I could never before perceive when my eie sight was at the

1 but the laye] but that the laye B 3 who] which B 7 be?] bee: B
18 my] mine B

best. And let my lord Cardinall take heede, that his ambition and covetousnesse, bring him not into a worse blindnesse then I have, and make him fall before he feare.

At sir Thomas Moore his first comming to the service of King Henrie the eight, the King gave him this godly lesson. First looke vnto God, and then after vnto me.

He would also wish, as I have heard of an ancient man of that age, that his Councellers would commit simulation, dissimulation, and partialitie, to the Porters lodge, when they came to sit in councell.

The same King Henrie the eight, finding fault with the disagreement of Preachers, would often say; Some are too stiffe in their olde Mumpsimus, and other to busie and curious in their new Sumpsimus. Happly borrowing these phrases from that which Master Pace his Secretarie reporteth in his booke De Fructu doctrinae, of an olde Priest in that age, which alwayes read in his Portasse, Mumpsimus Domine, for Sumpsimus: whereof when he was admonished, he said that he now had vsed Mumpsimus thirtie yeares, and would not leave his olde Mumpsimus for their new Sumpsimus.

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3 feare.] See Commentary 5-6 First looke] first to looke B 6 then] Added in 1614 7-10 He would...councell.] Not in B 11 The same... fault] Kinge Henrie the eight in the last parlament that he helde, findinge fault B 12 of Preachers...are] of the preachers saied: that some were B 103.14-104.14 Happly borrowing...contractum, &c.] Not in B

A noble man of this time, in contempt of learning sayd, that it was for noble mens sonnes enough to winde their horne, and carrie their Hauke faire, and to leave studie and learning to the children of mean men. To whom the fore-saide Richard Pace replied. Then you and other noble men must be content, that your children may wind their hornes, and keepe their Haukes while the children of meane men do manage matters of estate. [R. Pacaeus De fructu doctrinae.]

Iohn Fisher Bishop of Rochester, when the King would have translated him from that poore Bishopricke to a better, he refused, saying: He would not forsake his poore little olde wife, with
2F3r whom he had so long lived. Happly thinking // of the fifteenth canon of the Nicene Councell, and that of the Canonistes, Matrimonium inter Episcopum, & Ecclesiam esse contractum, &c.

There was a Nobleman merry conceited, and riotously given, that having lately sold a Mannor of an hundred tennements, came ruffling into the Court, in a new sute, saying: Am not I a mightie man, that beare an hundred houses on my backe? Which Cardinall Wolsey hearing, said: You might have better emplcyed it in paying your debts. Indeede my Lord (quoth he) you say wel; for my Lord

11 little olde] ould little 1623 18 backe?] backe: B 19 hearing... might] hearinge tolde him, he might B 20 your debts.] of his dets: B

my father, owde my maister your father three half pence for a Calfs head, hold, here is two pence for it. As Skelton iested at the Cardinal, that he was descended of Sanguilier, hee was cast out of a Butchers stall, for his father was a Butcher of Ipswich.

When Stephen Gardiner was advaunced vnto the Bishopricke of Winchester, and sent over as Ambassadour into Fraunce with great pompe, hee saide vnto an old acquaintance of his that came to take his leave of him; Nowe I am in my Gloria Patri: Yea (saide his friend) and I hope, Et nunc & semper. Or (replied the Bishop) if it please the king my maister, sicut erat in principio, A poore Scholler of Cambridge againe.

When sir Thomas Moore was Speaker of the Parliament, with his wisedome and eloquence, hee so crossed a purpose of Cardinall Wolseys, that the Cardinall in a chafe sent for him to White-Hall: where when he had daunced attendaunce long, at length the Cardinall comming out, saide in the presence of many; Maister Moore, I woulde you had beene at Rome, when you were made Speaker of the Parliament house. Hee immediately replied: And if it pleased

1 half pence] halpences B 2 here is two] here two B 2-3 As Skelton...hee] Nowe as Skeltone iested at the Cardinall he was discended of the sange royall, he B 4 for his father] His father B 6 the Bishopricke] the riche Bishoppricke B 7 as] Not in B 105.13-106.13 When sir...Idem.] Not in B

your Grace, so would I, for then I should have seene a famous Cittie, whereof I have heard much, / and read much, / but never sawe. [Vita Tho: Mori impressa.

The same cardinal at a ful Counsel table, when sir Th: Moore was first made privie Counseller, moved that there might be a Lievtenant generall of the Realme chosen for certaine consider-
2F3v ations; and the body of the Counsell in- // clined thereunto. Sir Thomas Moore opposed himselfe. Whereuppon the Cardinall in a chafe saide; Are not you ashamed who are the meanest man heere, to dissent from so many honourable and wise personages: you proove your selfe a plaine foole. Whereunto maister Moore foorth-with aunswered; Thankes be to God that the Kings maiestie hath but one foole in his right honourable Counsell. [Idem.

When hee was Lorde Chauncellour, hee inioyned a Gentleman to pay a good round summe of money vnto a poore widdowe whome he had oppressed; and the Gentleman saide: Then I doe hope your Lordeship will give mee a good long day to pay it. You shall have your request (saide sir Thomas) Munday next is Saint Barnabas day, the longest day in all the yeere, pay her fee then, or else you shall kisse the Fleete.

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2 and read much] Added in 1614 14 When hee...inioyned] When he beinge Lorde Chauncelour had inioyned B 16 saide] had sayed B 18 saide] quothe B 18-19 is...day] is the Saint Barnabas his day B
19 fee Ed.: me B, EDD.

When hee had no lust to growe greatly vpward in the worlde, neyther would labour for office of authoritie, and over that, forsake a right worshipfull roome when it was offered him, his wife fell in hand with him, and asked him; What will you do, list you not to put forth your selfe as others doe? Will you sit still by the fire, and make goselings in the ashes with a sticke, as children doe? Woulde God I were a man, and you should quickly see what I would doe. What? By God goe forward with the best; for as my mother was wont to say, It is ever more better to rule than to be ruled, and therefore I warrant you, I would not be so foolish to be ruled, where I might rule. By my trueth wife (quoth he) I dare say you say trueth, for I never found you willing to be ruled yet.

He vsed, when hee was Lord Chauncellor, vpon every Sonday, when he was at home, to sitte in the Quire in his surplice and sing the Service: and being one day espied in that attire by the Duke of Norffolke, The Duke beganne to chafe, crying, Fie, fie, my Lorde, the Lord Chauncellour of England a parish priest, and a paltrie singing man, you dishonour the King, you dishonour the

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4-5 list you not 1614, 1623: that you list not B, 1605 5 others doe?] other folkes do? B 5 sit] set B 7-8 and you...would doe. 1614, 1623: and looke what I would doe. B, 1605 9 say, It] saye (god haue mercy one her soule) it B 10 therefore I] therfore by god I B 11 trueth] tr[]u[]ht B 11 I dare] in this I dare B 13 vsed, when] vsed ye when B 14 sitte] set B

King. No my Lord (quoth sir Thomas) it is no shame for the
2F3v King, if his // servant serve his Soveraigne and Saviour, who is King of kings.

During the time of his Chancellourship of England, he vsed to send his Gentleman-Vsher to his wifes pew, after divine service was done, to tell her that he was gone: but the next Sonday after hee gave vp his Chancellourship of England, he came himselfe to her pew, and vsed the vsuall words of his Gentleman-Vsher, Madame, my Lorde is gone.

His latter wife was a widdow, of whom Erasmus writeth, that hee was wont to say, that shee was, nec bella, nec puella: who as shee was a good huswife, so was shee not voyde of the fault that often followeth that vertue, somewhat shrewd to her servants: Vppon a time sir Thomas found fault with her continuall chiding, saying; if that nothing else would reclame her, yet the consideration of the time (for it was Lent) should restraine her. Tush, tush, my Lord (saide shee) looke, heere is one steppe to heaven-ward, shewing him a Friers girdle. I feare mee (quoth sir Thomas Moore) this one steppe will not bring you vppe a steppe higher.

2-3 who...kings.] Not in B 5 his wifes] her B 8 to] vnto B
11 puella: who] puella, neither maide nor milde who B 17 saide] quoth B 18 I feare] but I feare B 18 Moore] Not in B

One day when shee came from shrift, shee saide merrily vnto him, Be merry sir Thomas, for this day was I well shriven, I thanke God, and purpose now therefore to leave off all my olde shrewdnesse; Yea (quoth hee) and to beginne afresh.

When he was sent prisoner vnto the Tower, and the Lievtenant, his olde friend, received him with a heavy cheere, hee sayde; Is this the entertainement and good countenance you give your guests when they come to you? Why looke man, heere are twenty angell nobles (shewing him his purse) and when this is spent, turne me out at doores, as a bare gamester, and not able to pay for that he takes. Hitherto may bee referred his silent answere, when at his entring into the Tower, one of the Officers claimed for a fee, his vpper garment, (meaning his gowne or his cloke) he offred him his cappe. //

F4v Being asked after his condemnation, and before his execution, whether hee had changed his minde, hee saide: Yea, for I thought to have beene shaven, but now seeing I shall die so shortly, I will let my beard growe.

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1 merrily merely B 4 and...afresh. and begine euen afreshe? B 7 countenance you countenaunce that you B 10 out at...not] out of the doores ageine, as a bare gay< > not B 11 Hitherto...when] Not in B 12 Officers] officer B 17 thought] had thought B

His daughter Roper one day as shee repaired vnto him into the Tower, counselled him to recover the Kings favour, and his owne former libertie, by doing I know not what, the which shee saide one of the greatest States of this Realme, and a man learned too, and his tender friend, saide he might doe, without scruple of conscience, as most of the Nobilitie of the Realme hadde doone, not one sticking thereat, save onely himselfe, and one other man. This speach of her hee aunswered with a pleasaunt tale. At a Bartholomew faire at London, there was an Escheator of the same city, that had arrested a Clothier that was outlawed, and had seized his goodes, which he had brought into the faire, tolling him out of the faire by a traine. The man that was arrested was a Northerne man, which by his friendes made the Escheator to be arrested within the faire, vppon an Action I wot neere what, and called a Court of Pipowders. Now had the Clothier, by friendship of the Officers, found the meanes to have all the Quest almost made of the Northerne men, such as had their Boothes standing in the faire, who were no sooner departed from the barre, and come

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5-7 might doe...doone] might without scruple of conscience do, as all of the nobilitie of the realme, and almost all other menn to haue boldely doone B 7 one 1614, 1623: once B, 1605 10 Clothier] man B 11 which] that B 13 Northerne] northen B 17 Northerne] northen B

into the house, but the Northerne men were agreed, and in effect all the other, to cast our London Escheator. They thought they needed no more to proove that hee did wrong, than even the name of his bare office alone. But then was there amongest them, as the Divell woulde, an honest man of another quarter , called Company. And the fellow seemed but a seely soule, and sate still, and sayde nothing; they made no reckoning of him, but saide, We be agreed now, come, let vs goe and give vp our verdict. Then when the poore fellow sawe that they made such haste, and his minde nothing gave him that way that theirs did (if that their mindes gave them that way they saide,) hee prayed them to tarry and talke vpon the matter, and tell such reason therein, that hee might thinke as they did, and when he should so doe, he would // be glad to say with them; or else hee saide they must pardon him: For sith hee had a soule of his owne to keepe, as they had, he must say as he thought for his soule, as they must for theirs. When they heard this they were halfe angry with him, What good fellow, (quoth one of the Northerne men) whare wannes thou? Be not we eleaven heere, and thou but one all alene, and

G1r

1 into] in B 1 Northerne] northen B 6 seely] silly 1614, 1623
10 if that their] if ther B 11 that way they] that waye that the( ) B
13 when he B: when they EDD. 14-15 hee saide...pardon him] they saied he must pardon him B 18 Northerne] northen B 19 eleaven] a leuen B

al we agreed, whereto shouldst thou sticke? Whates thy name gud fellow? Maisters (quoth he) my name is called Company. Company (quoth they) now by my troth good felow, play then the gud companion, come thereon foorth with vs, and passe even for gude company. Would God good maisters (quoth the man againe) that there lay no more weight thereon. But now, when we shall hence, and come before God, and that hee shall send you vnto heaven for doing according vnto your conscience, and me to the divell, for doing against mine, al passing at your request heere for good company now. By God Maister Dickenson (that was one of the Northerne mens names,) If I then shall say vnto you al againe; Maisters, I went once with you for good company, which is the cause that I goe now to hell, play you the good felowes now againe with mee, as I went then for good company with you, so some of you go now for good company with me: would you goe maister Dickenson? Nay, nay, by our Lady, nor never a one of you all. And therefore must you pardon me for passing as you passe; for the passage of my poore soule passeth all good company.

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1 name B, 1623: mame 1605, 1614 3 troth] trought B 11 Northerne] Northen B 12 once] one B 16 a] Not in B 18 passe; for the] passe, but if I thought in the matter as you do, I dare not in such a matter for good company, for the B

In the like sence he vsed often to say, That he would never pinne his soule at another mans backe, not even the best man that he knew that day living; for he knew not whither he might hap to carry it.

When one came to him, to signifie that hee must prepare himselfe to die, for hee coulde not live, he called for his vrinall, wherein when hee had made water, hee cast it, and viewed it (as Physitions vse) at last hee saide soberly, That hee saw nothing in that water, but that he might live, if it pleased the King.

When he was in prison, and his bookes and papers taken from him, he did shutte his chamber windowes both // day and night, saying; When the wares are gone, and the tooles taken away, we must shut vp shop.

When he went to death, a certaine woman offered him a cuppe of wine, which he refusing, saide; Good woman, Christ in his passion drunke gall, and no wine.

When he was to mount the scaffold, hee saide to one of the Sheriffes men, I pray thee helpe mee vp, as for comming downe I take no care.

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1 In the...to say] He vsed to say B 3 whither]whether B 4 carry] carue B 5-16 When one...wine.] Not in B 17 scaffold... to one] fatall scaffolde, he desired one B 18 Sheriffes B, 1614, 1623: Shiriffes 1605 ✓ 18 men...vp] Officers to helpe him vp B

When the hangman (according to his manner) desired him to pardon him his death, hee answered, I doe forgive thee with al my heart: but one thing I wil tel thee, thou wilt never have honestie in cutting off my head, my necke is so short.

NOw we have done with sir Thomas Moore his owne Apothegmes which have come to my handes, I will transcribe out of his workes, a few Tales, or call them what you please.

"A poore man found a priest over familiar with his wife, and because he spake it abroad, and could not prove it, the priest sued him before the Bishops Officiall for defamation, where the poore man in paine of cursing was commaunded, that in his parish Church hee should vppon the Sonday, at high Masse, stand vp, and say, Mouth thou liest: Whereuppon for fulfilling of his penaunce, vp was the poore soule set in a pew, that the people might wonder at him, and heare what hee sayde: and there all aloude (when hee had rehearsed what hee had reported by the priest) then hee sette

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1 his] the B 5-7 NOw we...please.] Now there followe such Apothegines of Englishmen as Sir Thomas More doeth mention of in his workes. B 8 found] had founde B 10 defamation] diffámation B 11 in paine] vppon paine B

his handes on his mouth, and sayde; Mouth thou liest: And by and by thereupon, he sette his handes vpon both his eyes, and sayde; But eyne (quoth hee) by the Masse yee lie not a whit.

"When sir Thomas Moore had told one whom hee tearmeth in his Dialogue the Messenger, how he might yeerly have seene a myracle done at the Rhodes, if he would have gone thither, So G2[r] farre, quoth the Messenger? nay, yet I // had rather have Gods blessing to beleeve that I see not, then to go so farre for it. I am well apaid (said sir Thomas) thereof, for if you had rather beleeve, then take the paine of a long pilgrimage, you will never be so stiffe in any opinion, that you will put your selfe in ieopardie for pertinacy, and stubborne standing by your part. Nay Marie said the Messenger, I warrant you that I will never be so madde, to hold, till it waxe too hot, for I have such a fond fantasie of mine owne, that I had rather shiver and shake for colde in the Summer, then be burned in the mids of Winter.

"It happened that a yong Priest verie devoutly in a Procession, bare a Candle before the Crosse for lying with a Wench, and bare it light all the long way, wherein the people tooke such

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2 eyes] eyen B 3 eyne] eyen eyen B 13 Marie] marry B, 1614, 1623
13 said] quoth B 16 mids] middest 1614 midst 1623

spirituall pleasure and inward solace, that they laughed apace. And one merrie Marchant sayd vnto the Priests that followed him, Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, Thus let your light shine before the people. But a lewde Priest in later time, being reproved of his loose life, and told that he and other of the Clergie ought to bee the Lanthornes of light, How can we (saide the shamelesse Priest) be Lanthornes of light, when as ye Lay men have all the hornes?

"When a lustie gallant saw a Frier going barefoote in a great frost and snowe, hee asked him why hee did take such paine. Hee aunswered, that it was a verie little paine if a man would remember hell: Yea Frier (quoth the Gallant) but what and if there be no Hell? Then arte thou a great foole: Yea Maister (quoth the Frier) but what if there be hell, then is youre maistership much more foole.

"A Frier as he was preaching in the Countrey, espied a poore wife of the parish, whispering with her Pew-felow, and he falling angrie thereat, cried out vnto her aloude, Holde thy babble I bid thee, thou wife in the red hoode, which when the huswife heard,

4 before] afore B 4 But] Not in B 4 in later time] longe agoo B
8 hornes.] hornes. but that sturrill excuse will not serue oure ministers nowe; since they are enabled by statute, to holde by cornage as well as the Laietv: and like enough that the lacke therof in olde time made the light of good life in the clerkv the oftenner to go out: so that they coulde not accordinge to theire office light the lavetv to heauen by good example. B 11 Hee] And he B 11 a verie] very B 12 if] Not in B 14 if] & B 14 youre B, 1614, 1623: 1605 omits

she waxed as angrie, and sodainly she started vp, and cried vnto the Frier againe, that all the Church rang thereon; Mary sir, I beshrew his heart, that babbleth most of vs both, for I do but
2G2v whisper // a word with my neighbour here, and thou hast babled there a good large houre.

"King Ladislaus vsed much this maner among his servants, when one of them praised any deed of his, or any condition in him, if he perceyved that they sayde nothing but the truth, he would let it passe by vncontrolled: But when he saw that they did set a glose vpon it for his praise, of their owne making beside; then would he shortly say vnto them, I pray thee good fellow, when thou saist grace, never bring in Gloria patri, without a Sicut erat. Any act that ever I did, if thou report it againe to mine honour, with a Gloria patri, never report it but with a Sicut erat. That is to wit, euen as it was, and no otherwise, and lift not me vp with lies, for I love it not.

"Frier Donalde preached at Paules Crosse, that our Ladie was a virgin, and yet at her pilgrimages, there was made many a foule meeting. And loude cried out, Ye men of London, gang on

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1 angrie] angry ageine B 2 rang thereon] wrange therone B 4–5 babled there] bableth here B 11 pray] pay 1623 12 grace, never] grace [at my Lorde], neuer B 12 a] 1623 omits 15 it] it it B

your selves with your wives to Wilsdon, in the Divils name, or else keepe them at home with you with a sorrow.

"Sir Iohn Moore was wont to compare the choosing of a wife vnto a casuall taking out at all a verie ventures of Eles out of a bagge, wherein were twentie Snakes for an Ele."

Sir Iohn Fineux, sometime chiefe Iustice of the Kings bench, was often heard to say: Who so taketh from a Iustice the order of his discretion, taketh surely from him more than halfe his office.

Wise was that saying of Doctor Medcalfe: You yong men do thinke vs olde men to be fooles, but we olde men do know that you yong men are fooles.

Katherine wife to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke; when her husband at a feast, willed everie Ladie to take to sit by hir, him that shee loved best, provided hee were not her husband, she tooke Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, saying: Seeing she might not have him whom she loved best, she would take him whom she loved worst. //

13r KIng Edward the sixt when three swordes were delivered at

1 Wilsdon] Willesdon B 5 an] one B 7 Who] that who B
10 Wise was] Wise also was B 10 You] Ye B 12 you] ye B
16 Stephen...of] Not in B 118.19-119.11 KIng Edward...Gallica.] Not in B

his coronation vnto him, as king of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, sayd, There was yet another sworde to be delivered vnto him. Whereat when the Lords marvelled, he sayd: I meane (sayd he) the sacred Bible, which is the sworde of the spirit, without which we are nothing, neither can do any thing. [Balaeus in Centuriis.

When Sir Ralfe Fane was condemned to die by the practise of the Duke of Northumberland, he said no more, protesting his innocencie, but, My blood shall be the Dukes bolster, as long as he liveth: Meaning, as I thinke, that his conscience affrighted with shedding innocent blood, shoulde enioy little quiet, but passe restlesse nights. Relatio Gallica.

Thrilby Bishop of Elie, when he was Ambassador at Rome, one of his men negligently laying downe his livery cloake in his lodging, lost it: wherewith the Bishop being angrie, rated the fellow roughly, who told him that hee suspected nothing in so holy a place as Rome was, but did take them all for true men. What knave (quoth the Bishop) when thou commest into a strange place, thinke all men there to be theeves, yet take heede thou doe not call them theeves.

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6 Sir 1614, 1623: sit 1605 12 Thrilby...Rome] Thirbby / Him shall one of his owne coate accompany a man as I haue heard greatly benefitted by nature to aunswere wittily vppon a s⟨o⟩deine, although it hath not been my happe to hitt vppon any man that coulde pleasure me with any plenty of his merimentes. In his iourney to Rome B 13 of his B, 1614, 1623: of hir 1605 14 angrie, rated] angered (for some say he was somewhat prone to that passion) rated B 15-16 in so...was] Not in B 19 them theeves.] them so. B

When hee was prisoner in the Tower, he was searched by the Lievetenaunt, and five hundred French crownes found in his purse, and in his doublet about him: whereat when the Lievetenant wondering, asked him, what hee meant to carry so much money about him: hee answered, I love to have my friends still neere about mee, and can not tell how I should be vsed if I lacked them.

In the rebellion in the Weast, during the raigne of king Edward the sixt, sir Anthony Kingston marshall of the field, hanged vp a fellow that was servant to a rebellious Miller, whome he affirmed himselfe to be, vntill hee came vnto the gallowes, and then his deniall would not be allowed. Afterward the matter being better knowne, sir Anthonie was tolde that hee had executed the 203[v] man for the maister. // It is well enough (quoth sir Anthony) hee coulde never have doone his maister better service, than have hanged for him.

THese following are taken out of the life of Cardinall Poole Archbishop of Canterbury, written by a learned man, and Printed at

1 When hee was] One a daye whilest he was B 3 and...doublet] Not in B 6 lacked them.] lacked him; but I am sure ill-enoughe. B 7 king] Not in B 12 had] Not in B 120.16-121.1 THese following... Venice.] Not in B

Venice.

When one asked counsell of Cardinall Poole, what methode and way was best to be taken, to vnderstand the obscure places in Saint Paules Epistles: he answered him he thought the best and shortest way was, to reade first the latter parte of those Epistles, which dooth intreate of Christian manners, and vnderstand it, and expresse it in life and good manners; and then to go vnto the first part, where the matters of faith are subtily and exactly handled, saying: That God wil give his spirite of vnderstanding soonest vnto those, that with al their whole hearts seeke to serve him.

He was wont to say, That he and all other Bishops ought to consider that they were ordained, not onely Iudges over those of their Dioceses, but father Iudges.

In communication when mention hapned to be made of a certaine Bishoppe, who was woont to blame the Bishops that lived at Rome, and neglected their charge, and yet he himselfe was resident at Rome, He (quoth Poole) doth like vnto those that cannot abide the smel of garlicke, for if they have to do with them that have eaten

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3 to vnderstand] for to vnderstande B 3 obscure places] obscure, and harde places B 5 shortest way was] the shortest waye [to be] B 9 saying; That] [signifienge] sayi ⟨n⟩g/ that B 17 resident] conuersaunt B

garlike, they eate some too themselves, that they may not perceive their stinking breaths.

Speach was heard of a yoong man that was learned indeede, but too bolde, and ready to censure. Learning (quoth Poole) doth worke almost that in yong men, that wine doth in the fatte; there it worketh, there it boileth vppe, and swelleth. But as soone as it is purged, and put in the vessel, having gathered his forces together, it is quiet and stil.

When one very skilfull in Astrologie tolde him, that hee had very exactly calculated his nativitie, and found that great matters were portended of him: Poole aunswered, Perhaps it may

204r be as you affirme, but you must [F4v]ember // that I was borne againe by baptisme, and that day of nativitie wherein I was borne againe, doth eclipse the other before.

When one had saide, that we must be so wholy busied in the studie of the Scriptures, that no time should be left for other studies: and another man had added, that the studies of other learnings were to be vsed as Wayting-maides, and Bond-women, What do you not know (quoth Poole) that Agar was cast out of the doores,

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5 that wine] [as]\that/ wine B 7 vessel] hodge/heade B
11 Poole] Pole B 13 that day] that that daye B

because shee was a bond-woman?

When Sadolet adhorted him vnto the studie of Philosophy, giving to it the price above all other studies: Poole answered him, While al the worlde was overwhelmed with the darkenesse of Paganisme, it did excel al other Artes: but since that thicke mist was chased away, by the bright beames of the preaching of Christ and his Apostles, and their successours; the study of the sacred Scriptures and divinitie had gotten the palme and chiefe praise, adding, that Philosophy was now as Tenedos, of whome Virgil writeth:

...notissima fama
Insula dives opum Priami dum regna manebant,
Nunc tantum sinus & statio malefida carinis.

A famous Isle of riches great while Priamus kingdome stoode,
Now nothing but a baggage bay, and harbour nothing good.

He vsed friendly to admonish a certaine Bishop, not to forsake his sheepe, but rather leaving Rome to repayre home and

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1 bond-woman?] bondwoman. B 2 adhorted] had adhorted B 3 to] vnto B 3 Poole] Pole B 4 While] that while B 9 praise... Tenedos] praise: [it] fearinge [with] \that/ philosophy \was now/ as [it did with] Tenedos B 10 writeth:] writeth thus. B 13 sinus] simus B

execute his office. This Bishop vpon a time came vnto him, and tolde him that hee was minded to goe out of the cittie, for one moneth, and to visite his sheepe, and therefore hee did desire that hee might departe with his good leave and liking: Poole answered, I shal take this comfort by your departure, that you shal bee beaten the lesse.

When Letters were shewed vnto him very artificially penned, which one had sent vnto a great man, to comfort him for the death of his friendes, and to that intent had vsed all the places of Rhethoricke, hee read them, and then saide; That hee never in al his life had ever read Letters, that could bring greater comfort;

G4v for they were such, that no man // that shoulde reade them, could be able to keepe himselfe from laughing.

Having heard a certaine Preacher of great name, who arrogated much to himselfe, and did passingly please himselfe; he was asked what hee thought of the man. Poole aunswered; Well, but I would that hee would first preach vnto himselfe, and then afterward to other.

When a Nobleman of Rome tolde him, that hee did trust that

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3 to visite] to go visite B 5 Poole] Pole B 6 lesse.] (lesse) lesse. B 7 vnto] Not in B 16 Poole] Pole B 19 of] at B

he should come to his pleasaunt gardines, which hee had sumptuously made, yea thirtie yeeres after, and wonder at the beauty of them. Poole answered, I hope I have not deserved so ill of you, that you should wish me so long a banishment from my heavenly country.

While he was in the Low countries, and one day would have gone vnto Charles the Emperour, but hee could not be admitted to his speach: but two dayes after the Bishop of Arras was sent vnto him by the Emperour, to excuse his long stay, and desire him to come vnto him: Poole sayde, that hee had strange happe, That whereas he spake daily vnto God for the Emperour, yet he was not admitted vnto the Emperour, to talke with him about a matter belonging to God.

There was one that was very curious in keeping of his beard, and it was reported that hee bestowed every moneth two duckats vpon the trimming of it. If it be so (said Poole) his beard wil shortly be more woorth than his head.

After the death of Paulus Tertius when many Cardinals came vnto him, and tolde him, that if hee liked of it, they would make him Pope: He desired them to looke well to it, that they were

3 Poole] Pole B 4 wish me] wishe. [or abode] me B 9 Poole] Pole B 9 strange] a straunge B 15 said Poole] quoth Pole B 17 Cardinals] of Cardinals B

swaved by no passion of the minde, or did aught for favour, and good-will, but referre all their cogitations wholie vnto the honour of God, and the profite of his Church; the which only they all ought especially to have alwaves before their eyes.

When one of the Cardinalls of the adverse faction did one day charge him with ambition, and saide that hee did vntimely
H1r and over-hastily seeke the Popedome: He an- // swered gravely, That he thought not the burthen of that great office to be so light, but that he was of the minde, that it was rather to be feared, than desired. As for them which vndersfood not, and thought more basely of so great a place, hee lamented their case, and was sory for them.

When the Cardinall Farnesi, and diverse other of his friends came vnto him, at midnight, to make him Pope, by adoration, he repelled them saying; He would not have so weighty a matter tumultuously and rashly done, but vsually and orderly, that the night was no convenient time therefore, that God loved the light more than darkenesse, wherefore they should deferre it vntill the next

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1 passion of] passion and effect of B 1 aught] ought B, 1614, 1623 3 which only] which [thinge] onely B 4 ought] [th]ought B 7 the] for \the/B 8 he thought...office] he did not thinke the burdeine of that great preisthoode and sacred office B 10 As for...vnderstood] [ ]\as for them/ which vnderstoode B 11 a place] a[thinge] \place/B 13 When the...other] When one eueninge Cardinall farnesi, and other B 15 He] that he B 17-18 more than] and not B 18 deferre] differre B

day, and that then if it pleased God, it might very well be done. But this his pious modesty lost him the Papacie.

He vsed often to say, Those which would betake them vnto the study of the holy Scriptures, (which was as though they would goe into the inner and secret parte of the Temple) must passe thorow a lowe and a narrow doore: For that no man can attaine to the vnderstanding of the Scriptures, that is prowde and puffed vp with the sharpenesse of his wit, or excellencie of humane learning: but he that bringeth lowlinesse of minde, and contempt of himselfe, and yeeldes his vnderstanding (as the Apostle saith) captive vnto faith.

Of this also did hee often admonish those that woulde study the sacred Scriptures, That they should specially beware that they never went to the reading of them with this intent and minde, that they might dispute of them to shew their learning, and by that knowledge to get them honors and riches: for both purposes were very contrary to this kind of studie, Wherevnto ought to be adhibited, first fervent prayers, then a lowely minde, and finally an heart voyde of all ambition and greedy desire. Thus farre of this

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2 his pious modesty] Not in B 6 For that no] that is to witt that no B 8 the sharpenesse...excellencie] the [goodnes/sharpnes/ of his witt and greatnes/, or excellency B 14 to] vnto B 14-15 that they] that either they B 127.19-128.1 Thus farre...Cardinall.] Not in B

good Cardinall.

William Marques of Winchester, being asked how hee continued of the counsell in the troblesome times of divers Princes, aunswered, By being a Willow, and not an Oake. Hee woulde also
H1[v] often say, that he found great ease in this: // That I never sought to rule the roste, and to be the director of others, but alwayes suffred my selfe to be swaved with the most and mightiest. As another Courtier of former times saide he had borne off many court-stormes in dangerous times, By suffering iniuries and giving thankes for them.

A lusty gallant that had wasted much of his patrimony, seeing master Dutton a gentleman in a gowne, not of the newest cut, tolde him that hee had thought it had beene his great grandfathers gowne, It is so (saide maister Dutton) and I have also my great grandfathers lands, and so have not you.

A reverend man my first teacher would often say in the middest of his mirth, Sorrowe is good for nothing save sinne onely.

2-10 William Marques...them.] See Commentary 12 master Dutton] Not in B 14 It...Dutton)] ye quoth thother B 15 and...you] Not in B 16-17 A...mirth] A wiseman was wont to save that B 17-18 save sinne onely.] but for synne. B

NOw we draw to an end, have a few sayings of merie M. M. Heiwood the great Epigrammatist. When Qu: Mary tolde this Heiwood, that the Priests must forgoe their wives. Hee merrily aunswered, Your Grace must allow them Lemmans then, for the Cleargie can not live without sawce.

He being asked of the saide Queene Mary, what winde blew him to the Court, answered her, Two specially, the one to see your Maiestie, We thanke you for that, said Queene Mary; But I pray you, what is the other? That your Grace (saide he) might see me.

When one told him, that Pace being a maister of Arte had disgraced himselfe with wearing a fooles coate, he answered, It is lesse hurtfull to the common weale, when wisemen goe in fooles coates, than when fooles goe in wise mens gownes.

When hee sawe one riding that bare a wanton behinde him, hee saide; In good faith sir, I would say that your horse were overloaden, if I did not perceive that the gentlewoman you carry were very light. //

12r When a man of worship, whose beere was better hopped than

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1-2 Now...Epigrammatist.] Not in B 3 merrily] merely B 4 Your] then youre B 4 then] Not in B 6 He] Iohn Heywoode B 6 the saide] Not in B 7 Two specially...to] to speciall causes: the one for to B 8 said] quothe B 11 told...Pace] told Pace that he was sorry to see him B 11-12 had...a] < > and disgraced with a B 13 weale, when] wealth, for B 13 goe] to go B 14 than...gownes.] then fooles in wisemens. B 15 When...that] One other riding in company of one that B 16 hee] Not in B 17-18 you carry were] that you carry is B

maulted, asked him at his Table, how hee liked of his beere, and whether it were not well hopped: Yes by the faith of my body (saide hee) it is very well hopped: but if it had hopped a little further, it had hopped into the water.

When one saide, that the number of Lawyers woulde marre the occupation; hee aunswered, No, for alwayes the more spaniels in the field, the more game.

This vsuall speech of sir Th: Moore, both of himselfe & other Book breeders, which is also extant in an Epistle of his, I have reserved to close vp this part. Booke-makers are ful wise folke who paine and pine themselves away by writing, to subiect themselves to the censure of such which in Ordinaries and in Ale-benches will pill and pull them by their wordes, phrases, and lines, as it were by the beards: when some of them are so pilld themselves, as that they have not one haire of honestie; or to vse his owne wordes, Ne pilum boni hominis. But these he resembleth to those vnmanerly guests, which when they have bin well and kindely entertained flinch away never giving thankes, but depraving and dispraising their curteous entertainement.

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1 him...Table] a mery gentleman that satt at the table with him B
2 not] 1614, 1623 omit 3 (saide hee)] Not in B 3 it is] is yt B
5 one] an other B 10 reserved] resolued 1614, 1623

COMMENTARY

BRITAINE

1.10-13 For the ayre is most temperate ... Southerne and Northerne are. In Brit. (1586, pp. 2-3 = 1695, pp. ii-iii) Camden discusses the "temperate state" of Britain, borrowing passages from Cicero, Caesar, Tacitus, Strabo, and Minucius Felix.

1.14-17 For water, it is walled and garded ... shipping and Saylers. Cf. Brit. (1586, pp. 1-2 = 1695, p. i) where Camden repeats the standard allusions to Britain's insularity from Virgil, Livy, Fabius Rusticus, Tacitus, Caesar, Julius Solinus, and Aristides.

2.1-5 The earth fertile ... plentifully wooded. Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, Hist. Angl., chapt. i, and Brit. (1586, p. 4 = 1695, p. iv).

2.10 faire Colleges, as well in other places, as in the two Vniversities. In Brit. (1607, p. 118 = 1695, p. clxxii) Camden speaks of ninety-six colleges besides those in the universities. By college Camden meant anything from a public school, to the religious houses at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and the Inns of Court.

3.1-18 Britaine, thou art a glorious Isle ... to all Christian Kingdomes. No source found.

4.2-10 O happy Britaine ... and lightsome nights. From an anonymous panegyric to Constantine, delivered at Treves; date uncertain. Cf. XII Panegyrici Latini, ed. Mynors, 1964, p. 192.

4.13-14 called by Charles the Great, The Store-house, and Granary

of the whole westerne world. Cf. Higden, Polychronicon, Rolls, ii, p. 6:

> Anglia Britannica alter orbis appellatur; quam olim Carolus Magnus prae omnium bonorum copia cameram suam vocavit.

Camden's marginal reference to Ailred of Rievaulx was a guess; Higden referred to his source only as "Alfridus".

4.16-5.1 As good gods honoured throughout the whole world. Cf. XII Panegyrici Latini, (1964), p. 192:

> Di boni, quid hoc est, quod semper ex aliquo supremo fine mundi noua deum numina, universo orbi colenda, descendunt?

5.1-12 That if ever, as it was lately ... name of BRITAINE. Camden's panegyric on Queen Elizabeth; M1 and M2 preserve versions written before her death.

6.1-3 true Christian Religion ... Sophronius. These legendary accounts of the early establishment of Christianity in Britain were often repeated especially by Tudor historians anxious to prove that Christianity flourished in Britain before Rome became all powerful. Camden has probably based his comments on Archbishop Matthew Parker's De Antiquitate Britannica ecclesie, 1572, pp. 2-5. For recent discussion see Hugh Williams, Christianity in Early Britain, 1912, chapter three, "Legendary accounts of the coming of Christianity". They are also summarized by Haddan & Stubbs, i, pp. 22-26.

6. 1-2 Ioseph of Arimathia. St. Joseph of Arimathea; fl. c. A.D.

30. A thirteenth century interpolation in William of Malmesbury's De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae, chapt. i, relates that St. Joseph went to Glastonbury as head of a mission sent by the apostle Philip. Even Polydore Vergil accepted the story of Joseph of Arimathea; see H. Williams, Christianity in Early Britain, 1912, pp. 57-65.

6.2 Simon Zelotes. Cf. Dorotheus, De septuaginta domini discipulis, in Migne, PG xcii, 1074:

> Simon Zelotes, universa Mauritania percursa, Christoque in ea praedicato, postmodum in Britanniam profectus martyr effectus, ibi sepelitur.

But according to the martyrologies, he died in Persia.

6.2 Aristobulus. Probably the Aristobulus mentioned in Romans 16:10; alleged to have been sent to preach in Britain by St. Paul and to have been martyred there. Cf. Dorotheus, De septuaginta domini discipulis, in Migne, PG xcii, 1063:

> Aristobulus, cujus pariter in Epistola ad Romanos meminit Apostolus, qui Britanniae fuit episcopus.

6.2 saint Peter. Alleged to have spent time in England and to have converted many to the faith of Christ, to have built churches and ordained bishops and presbyters. **The legend derives from a misinterpreted passage in an anonymous work attributed to Simeon Metaphrastes (c. A.D. 900); see Haddan & Stubbs, p. 23.**

6.3 saint Paul. Cf. Theodoretus, Interpretatio epistolae II ad

Timotheum 4:17, in Migne, PG lxxxii, 855:

> Quando appellatione usus Romam a Festo missus est, defensione audita fuit absolutus, et in Hispaniam profectus est, et ad alias gentes excurrens, eis doctrinae lucem attulit.

6.3 Dorotheus. Bishop of Tyre; fl. c. A.D. 290.

6.3 Theodoretus. Bishop of Cyrrhus, in Syria; fl. c. A.D. 450.

6.3 Sophronius. Patriarch of Jerusalem; d. 638. A "Serm. de Natal.SS.Petri et Pauli" is quoted as bringing St. Paul in person to Britain but there is nothing in Sophronius to that effect and his authority is worthless. (Haddan & Stubbs, p. 23)

6.4-5 Tertullian ... Britaine inaccessa Romanis. Cf. Tertullian, Adversus Iudaeos, vii. 4.

6.8-9 helde of God alone ... in no vassalage to Emperour or Pope. Anti-papal legislation in England begins with the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164) or even earlier with the laws of William Conqueror, but Camden is probably thinking here of the statute of praemunire (1393), Statutes of the Realm ii (1816), p. 84; quoted here from English Historical Documents, vi (1969), p. 661 (original in French):

> and so the crown of England, which has been so free at all times, that it has had no earthly lord, but is immediately subject to God in all matters touching the regality of the same crown, and to none other, would be subjected to the pope and the laws and statutes of the realm would be defeated by him ... at his will.

The so-called "great statute of praemunire" (the last of three, 1353;

1365; 1393) minimized papal authority in England as far as it could be minimized. Much later it provided Henry VIII with his strongest weapon with which to oppose the pope and establish a national church.

The marginal reference is to Thomas More's The Debellacion of Salem and Byzance. In the Debellacion More discusses the respective jurisdiction of civil and ecclesiastical courts of law and at one point (Works, 1557, p. 1024, sections A-D) he touches on the question of a bishop's authority (whether derived directly from God or from God through the king) but he does not deny, nor is it likely More (of all people) would deny papal supremacy.

6.9-14 The power of the Kings ... Orkney & Schetland. B was clearly written before the accession of James I as King of England. For publication, Camden removed the reference to Scottish vassalage. He treats James I and VI as two kings in one. The kings of England were effectively lords of Scotland and Wales from the time of Edward I, of Ireland from the time of Henry II, and kings of France from the time of Edward III.

6.12-13 de iure, Kings of all France by descent. Cf. the parliamentary statute of the Close Roll, 43 Edward III, m. 18d (1369); reprinted in English Historical Documents, vi (1969), p. 114. By this statute Edward III resumed his claim to the arms and title of King of France. Edward first assumed the title King of France in 1340 (English Historical Documents, vi, p. 66).

In all editions the marginal reference "Parl.43.Edw.3" appears to be part of the reference to More's Debellacion. I have separated them and attached "Parl.43.Edw.3" to the appropriate statement in the text.

7.2-6 which manner beganne among the Iewes ... brought to vs and the other kingdomes. It was a matter of the greatest importance, considering James I's recent coronation, for Camden to side-step Rome in order to establish that the ceremony of royal unction pre-dates papal authority. Royal unction derives from Old Testament prototypes, as the anointing of David (1 Regum 16:12-13) and especially Melchisedech, the typus Christi (Genesis 14:18-20; Psalmus 109:4; and Hebraeos 7:1-28). Pipin was annointed king of the Franks in 751 and shortly after in England Offa had his son Ecgferth annointed in 787 (Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, p. 218 + note, p. 219). The first Byzantine emperor for whom there is certain evidence of his annointing is considerably later -- Michael IX, crowned in 1295 (Marc Bloch, Les rois thaumaturges, 1924, p. 473). See also Walter Ullman, Growth of Papal Government, 1955, p. 149.

7.3-5 with this word at the annoynting...Be worthie. From an account of the coronation ceremony for Byzantine emperors in the anonymous De officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani et officiis magnae ecclesiae, wrongly ascribed to George Codinus, "Georgios Kodinos Curopalates". See edition of Jean Verpeaux, Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices, Paris, 1966, pp. 258-259 (with French translation).

7.7-9 Kings are capable of spirituall Iurisdiction ... spiritualis iurisdictionis capaces. Not in Statutes of the Realm, available Year Books, or records of the Exechequer as "Term Hilarii, 33.Edw.3" would suggest, nor in early legal treatises (Brook, Bracton, Lynwood, Fortescue, Littleton, Coke, Novae narrationes, etc.). It could ultimately derive from the York Tracts (sometimes referred to as The Norman Anonymous) written c. 1100 by an anonymous monk who boldly defends the king's right of spiritual jurisdiction. Archbishop Matthew Parker possessed the only extant manuscript of the York Tracts. (E.H. Kantorowicz, King's Two Bodies, 1957, p. 42).

The author writes that a king anointed is two persons in one, priest and king, and as such becomes the vicar of Christ (York Tracts, MGH, p. 664, lines 12-13). But particularly, by virtue of this duality (York Tracts, MGH, p. 665, lines 21-23):

> Habet itaque rex et sacerdos communem olei sancti unctionem et sanctificationis spiritum et benedictionis virtutem et Dei et Christi commune nomen et rem communem, cui merito debetur hoc nomen.

Hugh Broughton (1549-1612) in his Treatise of Melchisedek, (1591), dedicated to William Cecil, attempts to establish the identity of Melchisedech and he elaborates on the theme of the divine right of kings. George Saltern resorted to the laws of Edward the Confessor to say much the same thing as the York Tracts, though he did not stress the significance of anointing, see his Of the Antient Lawes of great Britaine, 1605, folios C1^{v} and D1^{v} to D2^{r}. Camden owned copies of both these books.

7.10-11 annoynted Princes of this Realme, in curing the Kings Evil. By virtue of his unction the king became a vicar of Christ on earth and hence capable of healing disease as Christ did. It was thought that Edward the Confessor was the first English king to exercise the power and there are numerous references in the chronicles to that effect, but William Tooker (Charisma, 1597, p. 84) boldly referred the British prerogative back to the time when Joseph of Arimathea is supposed to have brought Christianity to Britain.

In the Office of Healing for the reign of Elizabeth I, the chaplain recites the scripture from Mark 16:14-18 while the queen lays her hands on the sick. Both Elizabeth I and James I took an active interest in curing the sick. See further, Raymond Crawfurd, The King's Evil, 1911; and Marc Bloch, Les rois thaumaturges, 1924 (for the European tradition).

7.12 learned Discourse. William Tooker's Charisma sive donum

sanationis, London 1597. Tooker was Queen Elizabeth's chaplain. William Clowes, her surgeon and later surgeon to James I, wrote another treatise five years later on the same: A right Fruteful and Approved Treatise, London, 1602.

7.15-16 two large Provinces ... severall Legati nati. Legantine powers were regularly granted to the archbishops of Canterbury from Stephen Langton (1220) until Cranmer (1534) and to archbishops of York from 1352 onwards, though earlier individual archbishops of both provinces had been granted the power. Legatus natus is the least of three degrees of papal legate. (Ollard and Crosse, Dictionary, 1919, p. 321.)

7.17-8.2 Scotland ... a Peculiar ... to the Roman Chappell. A bull of Clement III in 1188 established that Scottish bishops were immediately subject to the Roman see (Haddan and Stubbs ii, 273-274). Camden's reference is to the letter of Boniface VIII in 1300 to Edward I reminding Edward of the special status of Scotland. This is the letter delivered to Edward by Winchelsey; see below 79.8-10.

The marginal reference to "Bonif. sept." is not necessarily an error. Discounting the anti-pope Boniface Franco (who occupied the chair as Boniface VII), Boniface VIII was in fact the seventh by numerical sequence.

8.3-4 Counsell of Constance ... Anglicana Natio. At the Council of Constance (1414-1418) the usual method of personal vote was changed

to a vote by "nations": England, Germany, France, Italy, and later, Spain. (ODCC)

8.11-14 And howsoeuer the Spaniard since Charles the 5. time ... time of King Henrie the seuenth. The meaning seems to be that although Charles V (1500-1558) had since claimed priority of place, yet before his time Julius II (1443-1513) gave the precedence to England. Camden presumably means Henry VIII (not Henry VII) who joined the Holy League of Julius II in 1511.

8.14-16 Archbishops of Canterbury ... stiled Archbishoppes of Britaine. Cf. Brit., 1586, p. 174 = 1695, p. 199.

8.16-17 tanquam alterius orbis Pontifices Maximi. When Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Urban II at Rome in 1097 the pope greeted him as "alterius orbis apostolicum et patriarcham" (Eadmer, Vita Sancti Anselmi, 1962, p. 105). William of Malmesbury states (Gesta Pontificum, Rolls, p. 100) that Urban II used a similar phrase with reference to Anselm at the Council of Bari: "Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, quasi alterius orbis papam". But R.W. Southern notes (Eadmer, Vita Anselmi, 1962, p. 105 note) that the:

> idea of an 'alter orbis' comes from the ancient doctrine that the inhabitable world, comprising Europe, Africa and Asia, was surrounded by an Ocean belt in which were Islands, and chief among them Britain 'insula interfuso mari toto orbe divisa' (Isidore, Etymologiae xiv, 6, 2).

8.18 Defensor fidei. Or, Fidei Defensor, the title conferred on Henry VIII in 1521 in recognition of his treatise (Assertio septem

sacramentum) defending the doctrine of the seven sacraments against Martin Luther. Parliament recognized the style as part of the official title of the English monarch in 1544. (ODCC)

9.3-8 Brithwald ... God himselfe will provide. Birhtwald was first Abbot of Glastonbury and then promoted to bishop about 995 or 1005. The story, in which Birhtwald foretells the birth of Edward the Confessor, occurs in the anonymous Vita Aedwardi Regis, 1962, pp. 8-9. Mr. Barlow's edition provides, in Appendix A, pp. 85-86, a comparison of three texts for this story: the anonymous Vita, William of Malmesbury, and Osbert of Clare. Camden recalls the story again below, 54.18.

9.7-8 The kingdome of England is Gods ... God himselfe will provide. Cf. Vita Aedwardi Regis, 1962, p. 9:

> "Regnum," inquit, "Anglorum est dei; post te prouidit sibi regem ad placitum sui."

Cf. Danielis 4:28-29.

9.17-10.2 Insula praedives ... Octavianus opes. M2, folio 294^{r}, contains the missing first verse (see apparatus) which Camden dropped because it refers only to England rather than Britain. The verses have been attributed to Richard of Cluny (by Trithemius), to Alfred of Beverley, and to Henry of Huntingdon. However, the earliest known witness is an anonymous and possibly composite poem in British Museum Additional MS 11, 983, folio 46^{v} (vellum 11th century), quoted from

Neues Archiv, i (1876), pp. 601-602:

Anglia, terra ferax, et fertilis angulus orbis,
Fertilior cornu, Copia sacra, tuo!
Anglia, dulce solum, quod non aliena recensque,
Sed sua dulcedo pristina dulce facit.
Anglia, plena iocis, gens libera, nata iocari,
Tota iocosa, velim dicere: tota iocus.
Que nichil a Gallis, sed Gallia mutuat inde,
Quicquid letitie, quidquid amoris habet.
Insula praedives, quae toto non eget orbe,
Et cuius totus indiget orbis ope.
Insula praedives, cuius miretur et optet
Delicias Salomo, Octavianus opes.
Insula quam quondam fecere sibi specialem
Divitieque sinum delicieque larem.

This version seems to be the parent. Verses were often borrowed from it and repeated verbatim or slightly altered. See Walther, Initia Carminum, 1022. (N.B. Walther's entries 1021 and 1022 are transposed. The witnesses listed for 1021 (Anglia terra ferax et fertilis angulus orbis) apply to 1022 (Anglia terra ferax, tibi pax diuturna quietem), and vice versa.) Besides the one printed witness Walther lists (Bartholomaeus, De proprietatibus rerum, quoted in Histoire littéraire de la France, xxx, p. 362), the verses also occur in: British Museum MS Stowe 66, folio 2; Higden, Polychronicon, Rolls, ii, pp. 18-20; and the Eulogium Historiarum, Rolls, ii, pp. 140-141.

Fragments from the same poem, quoted above, occur in four other poems in the Remains; see also 11.8-17; 12.12-15; and 27.5-7. The first two verses appear in Brit., 1587, p. 58 = 1695, p. cxxvi.

10.5-9 Quis tibi frugiferae ... communia commoda gentes? . The first of two excerpts (see also below, 26.15-27.2) from George Buchanan,

"Francisci Valesii, et Mariae Stuartae Regum Franciae & Scotiae, Epithalamium" in Franciscanus, 1594, p. 101. Camden has altered the first verse from:

Nec tibi frugiferae memorabo hic iugera glebae

10.12-11.4 Terra, foecunda, fructibus ... cunctorum salutarium. The first of two poems (see also below 19.9-20) from Higden's Polychronicon, Rolls, i, pp. 396-398; repeated in the Eulogium Historiarum, Rolls, ii, p. 133. There are minor verbal differences.

11.8-17 Anglia terra ferax ... vel aliunde tibi. In M2, folio 295^{v}. This is the second of four related poems; see also 9.17-10.2; 12.12-15; and 27.5-7. N.B. In Walther, Initia Carminum, the witnesses erroneously listed for 1021 in fact apply to this poem. The verses are from a poem by Hildebert of Lavardin (1056-1133; Bishop of Le Mans and Archbishop of Tours) addressed to Matilda, first wife of Henry I, praising England and her king. Camden's marginal reference to "Hildebertus Bishop of Main" is an error. On the authenticity of the poem see Notice et Extraits, xxviii, part 2 (1871), p. 382. Camden has made certain minor changes; compare readings from M2 (in apparatus) with A. Brian Scott's edition of Hildebert's Carmina minora (Teubner), 1969, p. 24.

12.4 Divitiisque sinum, deliciisque larem. Cf. Dialogus de Scaccario, 1950, p. 55:

> Insula nostra suis contenta bonis, peregrinis
> Non eget, hanc igitur merito dixere priores
> Diuitiisque sinum deliciisque larem.

12.6-7 Divitias Londini, & delicias Westmonasterii. The phrase occurs in a letter from an unnamed cardinal to Henry III in 1245 urging Henry to invite the pope to England. Matthew Paris quotes it in Chronica Majora, Rolls, iv, p. 410:

> "Recolimus etiam eum dixisse, unde gaudemus, quod gratanter videret delicias Westmonasterii et divitias Londoniarum."

An earlier description of the noble city of London was made by William Fitzstephan in his Life of Thomas Becket; see J.C. Robertson, ed., Materials for the History of Becket, Rolls, iii (1877), pp. 2-13.

12.7-9 That England was a Paradise ... much might be had. According to Matthew Paris, the pope's greed was excited by the sight of English orphreys, Chronica Majora, Rolls, iv, pp. 546-547 (anno 1246):

> Eisdemque diebus, dominus Papa videns in aliquorum Anglicorum ornamentis ecclesiasticis, utpote in capis choralibus et infulis, aurifrisia concupiscibilia, interrogavit ubinam facta fuissent. Cui responsum est; "In Anglia." At ipse, "Vere hortus noster deliciarum est Anglia. Vere puteus inexhaustus est; et ubi multa abundant, de multis multa possunt extorqueri."

Compare the proverb: Much would (should) have more. ODEP, p. 550; Tilley M 1287.

12.12-15 Anglia dulce solum ... quicquid amoris habet. In M2, folio 294^{v}. This is the third of four related poems; see also 9.17-10.2; 11.8-17; and 27.5-7. Camden repeats these four verses in the section "Poems", Remains, 1605, p. 9(B).

12.16 Merry Michael. Michael of Cornwall (Blaunpayn) fl. c. 1250. On his controversy with Henry of Avranches see J. C. Russell in Speculum. iii (1928), p. 34.

12.19-13.4 Nobilis ... serua. From Michael's poem against Henry of Avranches, ed. A. Hilka in Mittelalterliche Handschriften 1926, p. 147. Repeated in Remains, 1605, p. 21(B).

13.7-12 Anglia terrarum decus ... bona pacis habet. Walther, Initia Carminum, 1023. The verses are part of an anonymous poem of uncertain date; see Neues Archiv, iv, (1878), p. 25. In Thomas Otterbourne, Chronica, pp. 6-7, the verses appear as part of an even longer composite poem which also contains lines from "Anglia terra ferax, & fertilis angulus orbis" (above 9.17).

13.16-14.7 England is a well good ... it is to seene. Robert of Gloucester, Metrical Chronicle, Rolls, i, pp. 1-2. Camden has adopted modern spelling and word-forms and has altered the phrasing in a number of verses, usually after the caesura.

14.10-18 In the countrey ... of fairest sight Rochester. Robert of Gloucester, Metrical Chronicle, Rolls, i, pp. 10-11.

15.1 Montes, Fontes, Pontes, Ecclesia, Foemina, Lana. Cf. Archbishop George Abbot, A Briefe Description of the whole worlde, 1600, folio $F4^{r}$:

Anglia, Mons, Pons, Fons, Ecclesia, Foemina, Lana.

15.4 our Lucan. Lucan's poem Pharsalia is an account of the civil wars of Caesar and Pompey just as Daniel's Civil Wars is an account of the War of the Roses. Edward Guilpin (Skialetheia, 1598, satire II) was the first to compare Daniel with Lucan.

15.5-7 The fairest Land ... with wonders blest. Cf. Samuel Daniel, Civil Wars, 1609, vi. 42. N.B. Both entries in Margaret Crum, First-Line Index, T 553, derive from Camden.

THE INHABITANTS OF BRITAINE

16.2-5 created by the Almightie ... and reasonable creature.

Cf. Cicero, De legibus, I.vii.22; Loeb edition, 1928, p. 320:

> animal hoc providum, sagax, multiplex, acutum, memor, plenum rationis et consilii, quem vocamus hominem, praeclara quadam condicione generatum esse a supremo deo

16.5-6 Greekes call ὍΑνθρωπος , for his vpright looke.

Probably from ὀρθος (upright) and ἄνθρωπος (man).

16.6 Latines Homo, for that he was made of Molde. Probably from humus + mollio (mollire); man is molded (pliable) earth.

16.6-7 we with the Germaines ... the mind. Not found in the likeliest works of Pieter Nanninck (1500-57) Dutch philologist. S..

16.15-17.1 naturall inclination ... martiall and couragious. Cf. Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos ii.3; trans. by F.E. Robbins, Loeb edition, 1940, pp. 133 and 135:

> Under this arrangement, the remainder of the first quarter, by which I mean the European quarter, situated in the north-west of the inhabited world, is in familiarity with the north-western triangle, Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius, and is governed, as one would expect, by the lords of the triangle, Jupiter and Mars, occidental. In terms of whole nations these parts consist of Britain, (Transalpine) Gaul, Germany, Bastarnia, Italy, (Cisalpine) Gaul, Apulia, Sicily, Tyrrhenia, Celtica, and Spain. As one might expect, it is the general characteristic of these nations, by reason of the predominance of the triangle and the stars which join in its government, to be independent, liberty-loving, fond of arms, industrious, very warlike, with qualities of leadership, clearly, and magnanimous.

17.8-10 could not gaine ... in thirtie whole yeares ... Thames

to Striviling. This appears to be a misinterpretation of Pliny, Naturalis Historia iv.102, Loeb edition, 1942, ii, pp. 196 and 198:

> xxx prope iam annis notitiam eius Romanis armis non ultra vicinitatem silvae Calidoniae propagantibus.

17.10 Striviling. Stirling.

17.12 Romanes levied ... Cohorts. Cf. Notitia Dignitatum; but, more conveniently, the portions of this work relating to Britain are assembled together in MHB, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

17.15-16 those Britans ... called Picts. In Brit., 1586, p. 30 = 1695, p. cix, Camden reviews the conflicting theories of the origin and identity of the Picts, and asserts that:

> Illos nimirum Britanos existimarem, qui ante Romanorum aduentum Borealem insulae partem inse-derunt, quique ad hos, seruitutis iugum repellentes (vt est natio seruitutis impatientissima,) postea confluxerunt.

17.17 still painted themselues. Cf. Pliny, Naturalis Historia xxii.2.

18.5-8 The Welsh nation ... pawne their life for praise.

Giraldus Cambrensis, Descriptio Cambriae, Rolls, vi, p. 181:

> In quadam insulae parte sunt gentes, quae Walenses dicuntur, tantae audaciae et audacitatis, ut nudi cum armatis congredi non vereantur; adeo ut san-guinem pro patria fundere promptissimae
> "Vitamque velint pro laude pacisci"

Cf. Virgil, Aeneid, v.230.

18.11-19.5 Protinus extremis Anglorum ... fusoque cruore. Cf. Guillaume le Breton, Philippidos, ed. H.-F. Delaborde, Paris, 1885,

p. 135. There are minor verbal differences.

19.9-20 Mores antiqui Britonum ... quam phaleratus ditior. The second of two poems (see also above, 10.12-11.4) from Higden's Polychronicon, Rolls, i, pp. 410-412; repeated (with variant readings) in Eulogium Historiarum, Rolls, ii, p. 136. There are minor verbal differences. Camden has altered the first verse removing the reference to the barbaric manners of the Welsh:

19.9 Mores antiqui Britonum iam ex conuictu Saxonum. Cf. Higden:

> Mores brutales Britonum
> Jam ex convictu Saxonum

19.19-20 Cantat portatur vacuus coram latrone tutior. Cf. Juvenal, Satire x.22.

20.7-9 those Britans, which ... with-drew themselves into ... Armorica. Cf. Brit., 1586, p. 28 = 1695, pp. cv-cviii.

20.15-19 the Scottishmen ... established a kingdome. Bede, Hist. Eccl. i.1; Colgrave & Mynors ed., 1969, p. 18:

> Procedente autem tempore Brittania post Brettones et Pictos tertiam Scottorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit, qui duce Reuda de Hibernia progressi uel amicitia uel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes quas hactenus habent uindicarunt

By Scotti, Bede always meant the Irish, whether in Scotland or Ireland (Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, Mynors & Colgrave ed., 1969, p. 16, note 1).

20.16 Cluid. Bede wrote Alcluith, meaning Dumbarton, but Camden has mistaken it for the river Clyde.

21.8-11 Angles, Englishmen or Saxons ... inhabiting Iutland. Cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl., i.15. Bede says nothing about Holstein or the Rhine.

21.11-12 Holsten ... to the river Rhene. **Cf. Aethelweard, Chronicle, ed. A. Campbell, 1962, pp. 6-9. Apart from Bede, Aethelweard is Camden's major source of information about the Saxons.**

21.14-15 absolute Lords ... as farre as Orkeney. This much is wishful thinking. The early settlement of northern Scotland and the Scottish isles by the Anglo-Saxons has no basis apart from Camden's over-riding desire to prove that Scotland and England were once united and ought to be united again under James I.

21.15-19 their English tongue ... also call vs the English. This much is both cautious and justifiable. Camden's evidence is chiefly linguistic and he states it more fully in the section on languages (1605, p. 14) and in the Brit. twice, 1586, pp. 35 and 42 = 1695, p. cxiii and p. cxxviii.

22.6-16 Gregorie the Great ... with the Angells in heaven. In B, folio 53^{v}. The source is Bede, Hist. Eccl., ii.1. Camden repeats the story in the section "Allusions", Remains, 1605, p. 141. See also the Brit., 1607, p. 97 = 1695, p. cxxxi.

23.9 Winfrid. Wynfrith (680-754); see story below, 43.16.

23.11 Willebrod. St. Willibrord (658-739) "Apostle of Frisia", a native of Northumbria. (ODCC)

23.12 Nicholas Brakspere. (c.1100-1159) born at Langley, near

St. Albans; pope from 1154-1159 as Adrian, or Hadrian IV. See stories below, 66.17.

23.13-14 Thomas of Walden. Thomas Netter (c. 1377-1430) a Carmelite, born at Saffron Walden. Henry V sent Thomas on a mission to Poland in 1419. He allegedly converted Vitovt, Duke of Lithuania. (ODCC & DNB)

23.18-24.2 twice beene schoolemaisters to France ... Vniversitie of Paris. In Brit. (1594, p. 80 = 1695, cxxxii) Camden refers to Pierre de la Ramée (1515-1572) for this statement. In his Regii eloquentiae et philosophiae professoris, liber de moribus veterum Gallorum, Frankfort, 1584, pp. 73 and 78-79, Ramée twice acknowledges the influence of the Druids in Gaul (expanding on Caesar, De Bello Gallo vi.13), but he does not mention Alcuin, or the University of Paris. In his Harangue ... touchant ... l'Universite de Paris, 1557, p. 12^{r-v}, Ramée refers to the (fictitious) founding of the University by Charlemagne, but again does not mention Alcuin. The legend probably stems from Einhard, Vita Caroli Magni, iii.25 and Notker the Stammerer, De Carolo Magno, i.2.

24.3-4 lawes which the Parlament of Paris and Burdeaux have now in vse. This passage and the passage concerning "Kitchen-skill" below (30.2-3) are from a single sentence in Paolo Giovio (Paulus Iouius), Descriptio Britanniae, Venice, 1548, p. 15^{v}:

> Ferunt Anglos totius culinae disciplinam, epularumque apparatum, quum in Gallia late imperarent, Gallis &

> Belgis tradisse, quod nec probro eis cesserit, quandoquidem insigni cum laude, eas quibus Parisiorum senatus tot ciuitates feliciter gubernet, belli, pacisque leges sapientissime constitutas in Gallia reliquerint.

24.6 Alexander of Hales. (1170-1245) celebrated theologian. Cf. Brit., 1586, p. 194 = 1695, p. 239. The Summa Theologiae which earned him the title of "Doctor Irrefragabilis" has been shown to be a later compilation made by Franciscans. Alexander had died by the time Thomas Aquinas came to Paris to study, but Camden may be thinking of "Schoolemaster" in a metaphorical sense. (ODCC & DNB)

24.8-11 one Colledge in Oxford ... Baconthorpe the Resolute. Camden's source of information about Merton College was probably his friend, Sir Henry Savile (elected Warden of Merton in 1585).

24.9 Scotus the Subtile. Joannes Scotus Duns (c. 1265-1308), medieval philosopher. The tradition that he was a fellow of Merton College is not confirmed by the college records. (ODCC & Emden) Cf. Brit. 1600, pp. 728-729 = 1695, pp. 860-861.

24.9 Bradwardine. Thomas Bradwardine (c. 1290-1349); held numerous church offices before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 1349. His De causa Dei contra Pelagium (edited by Henry Savile) earned him the title "Doctor Profundus". (ODCC) And see Emden.

24.10 Okham the Invincible. William of Occam (c. 1300-c. 1349) nominalist philosopher; studied at Oxford probably as a member of the Franciscan house and not as a fellow of Merton. His association with Merton rests entirely on the authority of Sir Henry Savile who cited

an entry in a college manuscript which has not subsequently been found. (ODCC & DNB)

24.10 Burley the Perspicuous. Walter Burley (1275-1345?) commentator on Aristotle. Fellow of Merton by 1301. (Emden)

24.11 Baconthorpe the Resolute. John Baconthorpe, d. probably 1348; probably lectured at Oxford in 1344. (Emden)

24.18-25.1 Cypres, which King Richard the first gave frankly to Guie of Lusignian. Richard I took Cyprus from Isaac Commenus, then sold it to the Knights Templars, who resold it to Guy de Lusignan, titular king of Jerusalem. Guy ruled from 1192 till his death in 1194. (EB)

25.1-2 and lately with a maidens hand, mated the mightiest Monarch in his owne Countries. The mightiest monarch is Philip II of Spain and the maiden, Elizabeth I of England. The allusion may be to the sack of Cadiz by Essex, Howard, and Vere in 1596.

25.3 twice compassed the whole globe. Sir France Drake in 1577-1580, and Thomas Cavendish in 1586-1588.

25.4 which the Spaniards have yet but once performed. Ferdinand Magellan in 1522.

25.11-26.13 Quo versu Anglorum ... perflant altissima venti. Camden has altered at least two verses of this poem and apparently the four lines 25.15-26.1 are his addition as they do not occur in M2 nor

in the original poem. M2 preserves the original version of the first verse, which corresponds with Walther, Initia Carminum, 15,120. The poem or cento is attributed to Alexander Neckham and was printed by M. Esposito for the first time in Eng. Hist. Rev. xxx (1915), pp. 456-457 from MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. 11,867 (13th cent.) fol 216^{r}:

> Qualiter Anglorum possem describere gentem
> Sepe michi dubiam traxit sententia mentem.
> Sunt in amicitie percusso federe ueri.
> Non minor est uirtus quam querere parca tueri.
> Quid sit auaricie pestis gens Anglica nescit.
> Crescit amor dandi quantum pecunia crescit.
> Etas prima studet dare, large dando uirescit.
> Sincerum est nisi uas quodcumque infundis accessit
> Lautior est illis cum mensa diuite cultus.
> Accedunt semper hilares super omnia uultus.
> Non ibi Damethas pauper dicit Melibee:
> In cratere meo Thetis est sociata Lieo.
> Gratius ingenium datur hiis et gratia morum.
> Sic norunt quam sit dulcis mixtura bonorum.
> Anglica ne cures gens queuis inuida genti
> Summa petit liuor, perflant altissima uenti.

Five other parts of the cento can be identified:

25.12 Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem. Cf. Walther, Initia Carminum, 17,034. Attributed to Geoffrey of Vinsauf.

26.2 Quid sit avaritia pestis gens Anglica nescit. Cf. Walther, Initia Carminum, 15,902.

26.3 Crescit amor dandi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit. Cf. Juvenal, Satire xiv.138.

26.9 In cratere meo Thetis est sociata Lyaeo. Cf. Walther, Initia Carminum, 8870. Hugh Primas (Hugh of Orleans).

26.13 Summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti. Cf. Ovid,

Remedia Amoris, 369.

26.15-27.2 Illa pharetratis est ... mores non munus amare. The second of two excerpts (see also above 10.5-9) from George Buchanan's "Francisci Valesii, et Mariae Stuartae Regum Francicae & Scotiae, Epithalamium" in Franciscanus, 1594, p. 101.

27.5-7 Anglia plena iocis ... liberiorque manus. The last of four related poems; see also 9.17-10.2; 11.8-17; and 12.12-15. Camden repeats these three verses in the section "Poems", Remains, 1605, p. 9(B). This poem occurs in M2 folio 294^{r}; immediately below it, Camden has written a second version in two verses:

> Anglia plena iocis, gens libera; et apta iocari
> Tota iocasa, velim dicere tota iocus:

27.11-12 Scire Anglis sitis ... crescentibus annis. Cf. Walther, Initia Carminum, 6276. Hauréau, Notices et extraits, vi (1893), p. 124 prints the two lines, slightly different, from MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. 18,522, folio 149, column 2:

> Francis scire, sitis Anglis, nescrie Britannis,
> Faustus Normannis, crescit crescentibus annis.

27.13-15 English men were fit ... and vnsetled lightnesse. Cf. John of Salisbury, Polycraticus 1909, ii, p. 54:

> Beatus Eugenius eam, ad quaecumque uellet applicari dixit esse idoneam et praefarendam aliis nisi leuitas impediret.

27.19-28.1 Englishmen The Popes Asses, willing to beare all burdens whatsoeuer. Cf. Adam of Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum,

Rolls, p. 175:

> Unde inter curiales sedis apostolicae vertitur in proverbium quod Anglici sunt boni asini, omnia onera eis imposita et intolerabilia supportantes.

Compare 2 ad Corinthios 11:20. The pope was Clement VI in 1345.

28.1-4 In this respect another Pope ... Pecora campi. No source found.

28.5-7 Salt and sharpe ... and Italians doe not meane as they speake. No source found. Cf. Walther, Proverbia, 10,147a:

> Gallica sillabica, logicalia construe dicta,
> Et propriam partem pertinges raro per artem.

And Whiting, Proverbs, F616:

> Spell (speak) French and construe art and you shall seld come to your part.

28.8 Iulius Scaliger. Camden may mean Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609); he was notorious for sarcasms about his fellow scholars and gibes against other countries, including England.

28.12-16 Camerarius ... trading, busie, and painfull. Not found in the Bodleian's holdings of Camerarius the elder (1500-1574).

28.18-19 England is the paradise of woemen ... the hell of horses. Proverbial: ODEP, p. 222; Tilley E147; and Stevenson Proverbs, 691.2. Stevenson quotes an Italian version, but gives no source.

29.1 Lewes Regius. Louis le Roy, called Regius (d. 1577); humanist. In 1572 he became professor of Latin and Greek at the

Collège Royal. (NBG)

29.2-4 Spaniards commonly are haughtie ... Scots lustie and stout. Cf. Louis le Roy, De la vicissitude, p. 21^{r}. STC 15,488 is an English translation made in 1594, but Camden's reference is clearly to the French:

> Plus les eaux, les vens, l'air enuironnant, & y auoir grande difference es lieux qu'on habite. Ainsi estre communement les Espagnols hautains, Egyptiens legers, Affricains desloyaux, Anglois & Escossois fiers, Grecs cauteleux & subtils, Italiens aduisez, François hardis: n'y auoir eu entre les Scythes qu'vn Philosophe, & en Athenes plusieurs.

29.6-9 The Bridges of Poleland ... like vnto like. No source found.

29.10-15 A certaine Italian ... by right or wrong. No source found. Possibly Paolo Giovio, as above 24.3-4 and below 30.2-3.

29.18-20 As welshmen do loue ... lands and traficke. No source found. Not in the Welsh Triads, as Camden's reference to the "Brittish old booke of Triplicities" might imply.

29.20-30.2 This good cheare ... receiued from the Danes. No source found.

30.2-3 we first taught the French all their Kitchen-skill and furnishing their Tables. Paolo Giovio; see above 24.3-4.

30.10-31.23 I am an Englishman ... here is thine and mine. Cf. Andrew Borde, Introduction of Knowledge, Furnivall ed., EETS, pp. 116-117. There are minor verbal differences.

GRAVE SPEECHES AND WITTY APOPHTHEGMS

32.5 I: Bishop. Probably John Bishop (d. 1597), author of Beautiful Blossomes (STC 3091). He took an M.B. from Caius College, Cambridge in 1576 and lived principally in London thereafter. (Athenae Cantab.) His brother may be the George Bishop whom Camden acknowledges in his preface to Britannia, 1607, for having helped prepare the maps.

An alternative, remote possibility is John Bishop (or Bisshope), fellow or scholar of New College in or before 1564, that is, when Camden was at Oxford. (Alumni Oxon.) See also in the textual introduction for discussion of authorship.

32.16 diversitie of tastes, as was among Horaces guests. Probably an allusion to Satires II.viii.

32.20-33.2 It was no marvel ... at so great a child-birth. Cf. Cicero, De natura deorum, ii.69 (not Book i, as Camden suggests). Cicero's source is Timaeus.

33.3 Plutarch. Cf. his life of Alexander, iii.3.

The Plea of Caratacus (33.13)

Camden gives the story but not the speech twice in Brit., 1586, p. 334 and 1607, p. 31 = 1695, p. xlvii and p. 541.

33.13-17 Caratacus ... this speech. A much condensed version of Tacitus, Annals xxxiii.17 - xxxiv.8. The actual speech is a close

translation.

33.13 Caratacus ... withstood. After the death of his father, Cymbeline, in 43, Caratacus ruled jointly with his brother Togodumnus. This divided rule only served to hasten their defeat and Caratacus's capture in the year 51.

33.14 was ... vanquished. In fact, Caratacus was betrayed to the Romans by the Brigantian queen Cartimandua, to whom he had fled for protection. She put him in chains and sent him to Ostorius, head of the Roman forces in Britain. (Collingwood & Myres, Roman Britain, 1961, p. 96.)

33.17 delivered this speech. Furneaux states that the speech "is, no doubt, merely a composition; and, though Latin is used on British coins, probably few barbarians spoke it" (Furneaux, ed., Annals, 1907, ii, p. 105, note 13). Ronald Syme (Tacitus, ii (1958), p. 529) suggests that the speech is Tacitus's muffled denunciation of Pax Romana -- what they called Empire was in fact murder, rapine and profit.

34.11-12 conquering ... Paulus. Tacitus was referring to Livy (xxx.45 and xlv.7-9) for the stories of Siphax and of Perseus; Livy relies on Polybius (xvi.23). Either analogy flatters Caratacus; Britons fought valiantly but they were no match for the Roman legions. Making much ado over an obscure British chieftain would, of course, exaggerate the importance of Ostorius's victory and reflect favourably

on Claudius.

Roman Palaces and British Cottages (34.13)

Camden gives this speech in Brit., 1586, p. 377 = 1695, p. 641. The source is Dio (through Zonaras), Roman History lxi.33; Loeb edition viii (1925), p. 23. Fergus Millar states (A Study of Cassius Dio, 1964, p. 3) that Zonaras is less prone than Xiphilinus to transcribe Dio literally.

Roman Hares and British Dogs (34.17)

Camden gives the story of Boudicca's revolt in Brit., 1586, p. 251 = 1695, p. 365, but the speech does not appear. The occasion for this speech is the same as that reported by Tacitus, Annals, xiv.35: a call to arms raised by Boudicca in 61 to avenge the rape of her two daughters and throw off Roman suppression altogether; see Collingwood & Myres, Rom. Brit., 1961, pp. 99-104. Tacitus gives no apophthegm. In Dio-Xiphilinus Boudicca's message is a very great speech, in tone and substance much like John of Gaunt's prophetic speech in Richard II. The apophthegm comes near the end of her lengthy exhortation and is intended to be an impromptu demonstration of divine will. I quote from Ernest Cary's translation; Dio, Roman History lxii.5; Loeb edition, viii (1925), pp. 91-93:

Vita Agricolae, 29-32; otherwise he is wholly unknown. Tacitus speaks of him simply as one among many leaders, but distinguished by his birth and his courage. Furneaux notes that the name may be connected with a Celtic (Irish, "Calgach") word for sword (Furneaux, ed., Vita Agr., 1898, p. 131, note 8) or simply crafty. Calgacus is probably preparing for the battle of Mons Graupius in 83.

35.5 Britan. Here and at line 9 Camden pointedly chooses to ignore the more proper translation of Caledonian.

35.8-9 You are ... posteritie. The apophthegm Camden gives is only the last sentence of a lengthy harangue which is certainly a composition of Tacitus even though "he speaks as if he were following some tradition of its purport" (Furneaux, ed., Vita Agr., 1898, p. 131, note 9). The speech is the strongest example of what Ronald Syme in his Tacitus, ii (1958), p. 529 calls Tacitus's denunciation of Roman imperialism.

35.9-11 for the Britans ... slaverie. Camden's version of Vita Agr., 30. Calgacus is appealing to the Caledonian sense of national pride: they of all Britons have held out the longest and their efforts will form the last hope of freedom for all Britain.

Severus on Social Status (35.12)

This and the next speech of Severus appear together but in reverse order in the popular collection of biographies of the Roman

emperors usually called Scriptores Historiae Augustae. The apophthegm appears in the life of Severus (xviii.11) attributed to Aelius Spartiani, but the date and authorship are unsolved problems. The biographies have been called "little more than literary monstrosities" (Magie, ed., S H A, 1953, i, p. xxiv) but they contain a wealth of personal detail and anecdotal material which maintained their popularity.

35.12-13 Severus ... Isle. Lucius Septimius Severus, emperor from 193 to 211, set out for Britain in 208 to subdue the Caledonians; he settled for a temporary peace in 210. He inhabited and he ruled Britain but he was no Briton. Camden is stretching the point to include Severus; it is particularly incongruous to put him after Calgacus.

35.13 from meane estate. Severus was a provincial, a native of Leptis, but his ancestors had been Roman knights.

The Head that Wears the Crown
(35.15)

The source for this apophthegm is the same as for the preceding one. This incident is also related almost word for word in the Liber de Caesaribus of Aurelius Victor, xx.25-26. David Magie states that "either it has been taken directly from Victor or it is a parallel excerpt from his source, the 'Imperial Chronicle'." (Magie, ed., S H A, 1953, i, p. xxiii). Camden is using the Scriptores Historiae

Augustae.

The dramatic situation of this speech strongly recalls Shakespeare, 2 Hen. IV, IV.v.

35.15 When hee lay sicke. The year is 210.

35.16 his sonne. Antoninus Bassionus.

35.17-18 got him vppe ... pardon. Camden condenses a lengthy and dramatic passage in which Severus summons all the offenders before a tribune and orders all but his son to stand up and receive punishment.

36.1 ended his life ... Yorke. Severus died at York 4 February 211, but his remains were carried to Rome.

The Peace of Severus
(36.1)

The sole authority for this apophthegm is again the Scriptores Historiae Augustae biography of Severus, xxiii.3. It appears in a section of very doubtful authenticity.

36.1-3 I found ... the Britans. This much of the speech appears in Brit., 1586, p. 409 = 1695, p. lxxi and again at p. 718.

36.2-3 the State ... the Britans. This faithfully renders the Latin and is just as ambiguous. The object of Severus's campaign was to punish the defective northern province; the outcome was more a stalemate than a victory, but there was peace in Britain for over 100 years thereafter (Collingwood & Myres, Roman Britain, 1961, p. 159).

36.3 the Empire ... to my Children. After his death, both of

Severus's sons returned promptly to Rome.

36.4-6 A Prince ... action. Camden's statement. Testimonies of Severus's character appear in all three contemporary historians: Dio, Herodian, and Aelius.

36.6-7 And is ... now This speech appears only in Dio-Xiphilinus, Roman History, lxxvii.17.

British Women and Roman Whores
(36.8)

The source is Dio through Xiphilinus Roman History, lxxvii.16. Cary observes (Loeb edition, i (1954), p. xiii) that it is unlike Dio to give personal anecdotes. On the other hand, Fergus Millar argues (A Study of Cassius Dio, 1964, p. 149) that while Dio probably did not accompany Severus to Britain still what he says about Britain is from persons serving in the country or with the imperial household. The story is given by Dio as happening while he was Consul. Severus had enacted laws against adultery and it was under these laws that three thousand were entered on the docket at Rome. The wife of Argetocox is reported to have made the witty remark to Empress Julia while she was with Severus in Britain, about the year 211. Camden gives the speech in Brit., 1586, p. 483 = 1695, p. 928.

36.9 Iulia the Empresse. Julia Domna, born in Syria, second wife of Severus. She was greatly esteemed as a beautiful woman and a witty patroness of learned men.

36.10 the wife of Argetocox. Both otherwise unknown. She would be Caledonian but, as with Calgacus (above 35.5), Camden prefers to call the Scots British.

36.12-13 for then ... among them. Camden's addition.

36.14-15 Wee accompany ... secretly. Cf. Dio-Xiphilinus, Roman History, lxxvii.16; Ernest Cary's translation, Loeb edition, ix (1955), p. 275:

> "We fulfill the demands of nature in a much better way than do you Roman women; for we consort openly with the best men, whereas you let yourselves be debauched in secret by the vilest." Such was the retort of the British woman.

The retort may be the invention of Julia's traducers -- a general comment hiding a direct slander -- for Julia was under suspicion of adultery and even incest with her son Antoninus (Script. Hist. Aug.: Severus xviii.8; Caracalla x.1-4; and Aurelius Victor, Caesaribus, xxi). This might also account for the anonymity of the British lady.

Common Wealth
(36.16)

A, folio 42^{v}, contains an earlier version closer to the source in Eusebius than the version printed in 1605.

> Constantius Chlorus the emperour beinge blamed of his consort in the empire Dioclesian, because he had not great heapes of monny horded vp ageinst all hapes:

requested his subiectes to helpe him with a releife of monny to furnishe an exploite, the whiche they vppon a sodeine supplied in such abondaunce that Dioclesians Ambassodoures were amased therat: & then Constantius willed them to tell Dioclesian that he thought that it was better & more safer that the publicke wealth should be kept by priuate men & let lie in those mens handes of whome it is leuied, then reserued in the emperoures cofers: beinge of the minde of the emperour Traian, who compared the Princes purse vnto the splene, which being great all the limmes of the boddy do wast./

This story of Constantius and the five following stories of Constantine are from the Life of Constantine by Eusebius Pamphili of Caesarea (A.D. 260?-?340). (References are to ed. and trans. of E.C. Richardson, vol. i (1905) of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.) Camden's stories show a greater degree of independence from their originals than do any other apophthegms up to this point. The Life is neither history nor biography but panegyric and the stories as they appear in Eusebius would need revising and condensing to suit Camden's purposes. The first story is found in the Life, i.14.

36.16 Constantinus Chlorus. Flavius Valerius Constantius Chlorus was made Caesar of the West by Diocletian in A.D. 293. He

restored rebellious Britain to the empire and when Diocletian abdicated in A.D. 305, he was left senior Augustus. Died at York 25 June 306.

36.17 Dioclesian. Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus was emperor (senior Augustus) from 285, and shared the empire with Constantius Chlorus from 293; abdicated in 305.

36.18-20 Hee thought ... coffers. Camden has composed this apophthegm from a rather lengthy story. Eusebius relates that Diocletian is dismayed at the over-indulgence Constantius shows for his subjects; he is no less alarmed at the virtual bankruptcy such indulgence brings upon the imperial treasury. Constantius replies by calling together the wealthiest of his subjects and informing them that he is in want of money. They, as it were in the twinkling of an eye, respond with cheerful alacrity and fill the coffers to overflowing, each vying with the other to demonstrate by generosity his love for Constantius. After Diocletian is suitably amazed, the monies are returned, and Eusebius concludes by offering the story as proof of Constantius's generosity.

Camden may have seen a similar contrast in the economic policies of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Henry kept finance "under the constant and precise surveillance" (Mackie, The Earlier Tudors, 1952, p. 564), and his massive war taxes atrophied the economy. Elizabeth's policies were less stringent, and her subjects could feel the blessing. Elizabeth I spoke before a deputation of Parliament on 30 November

1601. The burning issue of the day was the question of patents and monopolies; argument had come to a crisis and the Queen took matters into her own hands (quoted from J.B. Black, Reign of Elizabeth, 1959, p. 233):

> Of my self I must say this, I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good ... Yea mine own properties I count yours to be expended for your good.

37.1-2 Traiane ... lesser. Marcus Ulpius Traianus, emperor A.D. 98-117. Trajan was noted for progressive and humane financial policies (see OCD and Cambridge Ancient History, vol. xii), but I have not found a source for this speech. The closest comment appears in Pliny the Younger, Panegyric 37-41, especially 41.

The Birth-place of Constantine (37.4)

37.4 Constantine. Flavius Valerius Constantinus (about A.D. 274-337), known as the Great, born at Naissus (Nish) in present day Yugoslavia, son to Constantius Chlorus by his concubine Helena. Emperor from 306 to 337.

37.5 a Britan borne. Camden can hardly be blamed for repeating this popular error; it was one of a half dozen false theories including Tarsus, Treves, Rome, Roba, and Gaul. Eusebius gives neither date nor place of birth, and only one primary source printed

before 1605 (Stephen of Byzantium, Greek Cities, Aldine ed. 1502) contains the correct reference to Constantine's birth place. (See E.C. Richardson's edition of Eusebius for a survey of source material on Constantine.) The British theory derives from an erroneous reading of the panegyric of Nazarius (Migne, PL, viii, 581-608) delivered at Rome in 321 but in the absence of Constantine. It is repeated and amplified by numerous English chroniclers, especially Waurin, who makes Helena the daughter of "Choel" or "Coel", a minor English chieftain. This is Old King Cole, the merry old soul, which would make Constantine the grandson of a Mother Goose hero (see Hayden ed., Eulogium Historiarum, Rolls, p. 45).

37.5 Nicephorus. Nichephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (fl. 1341), Historiae Ecclesiasticae, Migne,PG, cxlv, 1242.

37.6 Lipsius deceived. Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). A dispute began after Camden inserted a reference to Constantine's birth place in the fourth edition of Britannia (1594, pp. 49-50; 1695, col. lxxv; also 1600, p. 627 - 1695, col. 719). In his Admiranda (Antwerp, 1598, p. 249) Lipsius follows Julius Firmicus in putting Constantine's birth place "apud Tharsum". In a subsequent edition (Rome, 1600, p. 236) Lipsius adds a note in which he rejects Camden's theory of a British birth place. Camden thereafter sets forth his argument in a letter to Lipsius dated 18 August 1604 (Camdeni Epistolae, 1691, p. 64). Briefly, his argument is that the text of Firmicus which Lipsius is

using is corrupt; it reads "apud Naissum" in earlier editions and in the two manuscripts of Firmicus he has examined (Lincoln Col., Oxon, MS. 114, fol. 142^{r}, and another belonging to Thomas Alan, an Oxford mathematician). Good so far. Unfortunately Camden goes on to argue that it was Constantine's son, not Constantine himself, who was born at Naissus. Lipsius replies on 10 October 1604 (Camdeni Epistolae, 1691, p. 67) that he is aware of British claims on Constantine but that his own evidence forbids him to agree. And anyway, if it were so, he asks, why does it not appear in Bede? Camden is wrong, but so is Lipsius, and an impartial glance at the two letters leaves little doubt that Camden went to greater pains and is aware of nearly all the source material on Constantine -- all but the crucial.

37.7 Iul. Firmicus. Julius Firmicus Maternus (fl. 345). His Matheos, I.x.15-16. The book was falsely printed, as Camden puts it, several times. The critical edition is by **W. Kroll and F. Skutsch, Leipsig, 1897 and 1913.**

37.9 His fellow servants and brethren of the Church of God. Apparently the phrase is Camden's. No such speech appears in Eusebius but he often dwells on Constantine's humility and quotes him as using the terms "servant" and "brother" in reference to himself (see Life of Constantine, ii.29, 31 and iii.8, 17, 18, and 20). If we believe Eusebius, humility was the key to Constantine's success.

The Modesty of Constantine (37.10)

The source is as above (36.16) Eusebius, Life of Constantine, iv.48. Eusebius states that the incident happened during the second synod convened by Constantine at Jerusalem in the thirtieth year of his reign for the purpose of dedicating the Church of the Sepulchre.

37.14-17 Fie, Fie ... servant. Camden puts the expression into the first person. Editors have already pointed out the irony that Eusebius should record a comment that might as well be levelled against himself. In both the Life and in his Oration in praise of Constantine, Eusebius is guilty of excessive flattery.

Constantine, a Secular Bishop (38.1)

As above (36.16) the source is Eusebius, Life of Constantine, iv.23-24. With this story Eusebius brings to a close his long list of Constantine's enactments concerning the Church. Constantine is said to let the expression fall while entertaining a company of bishops, presumably sometime near the end of his reign. It is modest understatement from one who remodeled and reunified the Church as an adjunct to his vast empire.

38.1-5 When hee ... privately. Camden's condensation of Eusebius, Life, iv.23; the apophthegm itself is in iv.24.

38.7-8 As ye ... Church. The statement caused much exegesis.

Constantine's relationship with the Church, i.e. his strong independence in all but spiritual matters, was used as an argument against the English papists by John Bishop (same as above, 32.5) in A Courteous Conference with the English Catholics, 1598, p. 56:

> And if that no man can excommunicate the Pope because no man is his superiour, neyther can any man depose a king because no man is his superiour. But the objection out of Ruffinus his contination (i.e., continuation) of Eusebius, that Constantine the great said vnto the Bisshoppes assembled in the counsell of Nice. God hath constituted you priestes, and hath giuen you power to iudge also of vs, and therefore iustly are we iudged by you. But what is the vttermost that can be inferred of these wordes then a spirituall iudgement ....

You Can't Take it With You
(38.9)

The source is as above (36.16) Eusebius, Life of Constantine, iv.30. Camden's version is a free rendition. In Eusebius it appears that Constantine is extemporising to no one in particular about the vanity of this life. He then asks a courtier (Life of Constantine, ed. and trans. E.C. Richardson, 1905, p. 548):

> 'How far, my friend, are we to carry our inordinate desires?' Then drawing the dimensions of a human figure with a lance which he happened to have in his hand, he continued: 'Though thou couldst obtain the whole wealth of this world, yea, the whole world itself thou wilt carry with thee at last no more than this little spot which I have marked out, if indeed even that be thine.'

Constantine's anti-Semitism (38.12)

As above (36.16), the source is Eusebius, Life of Constantine, iv.27. The apophthegm is Camden's composition though it fairly represents Eusebius's text, Life of Constantine, ed. and trans. E.C. Richardson, 1905, p. 547:

> He also passed a law to the effect that no Christian should remain in servitude to a Jewish master, on the ground that those whom the Saviour had ransomed should be subjected to the yoke of slavery by a people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself. If any were found hereafter in these circumstances, the slave was to be set at liberty, and the master punished by a fine.

The Conversion of Ethelbert (38.17)

A somewhat different story appears in B, folio 53^{r}:

When Augustine came into this lande to preache the gospell of Christe vnto the Saxons: he saied vnto Ethelbert the Kinge of Kent, wher he landed that he was sent from Rome vnto him with a verie ioyfull message: the which if he would accept, itt would assuredly get and gaine him without all doubt: euerlastinge felicitie, and a Kingedome with the liuinge true god, for euer and euer withoute ende. To whome the Kinge aunswered: These are verie faire wordes, and goodly promises that you bringe, but

because they are newe, and vncerteine, we can not giue oure consente vnto them, and leaue those which we with the whole nation of the Englishmen haue so longe time helde, but because you are straungers that haue come farre, and as methinkes I se, that ye are desirous to impart also vnto vs those thinkes [sic], which ye do beleaue to be most true and very good, we will not molest you, but rather enterteine you with all curteous hospitalitie, furnishinge you with all necessaries, neither do we enioyne, but that ye may by by [sic] preachinge winne as many as ye can vnto the faith of youre religion.

This story is from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, i.25. The part from "These are verie faire wordes" to the end is straight translation of the passage in Bede beginning "pulchra sunt quidem verba". The story that Camden prints is from an amplification of Bede in Goscelin's life of St. Augustine (Migne, PL, lxxx, 64), the passage beginning "eamus, inquit, et nos ad magnum principem regnum". Camden had to use a manuscript, possibly one in Cotton's library. See Hardy, Catalogue, i, p. 192. Goscelin (see below, 39.6) claims his work is based on older records but Hardy states (Catalog., i, p. 193) that all of his Life entitled to credibility is from Bede.

38.17 Ethelbert. (d. 616); acc. King of Kent in 560; he was baptized after Augustine's arrival in 597.

38.18 perswasion of Augustine. Bede (Hist. Eccl., i.25, 26, 30 and ii.5) recounts that Ethelbert was under pressure not only from Augustine but from his wife Bertha, daughter of Haribert king of the Franks. She and bishop Liudhard came over with the understanding that they could practice their religion without interruption.

39.6 Ioscelinus. Goscelin or Gotselin (fl. 1099), a monk at Canterbury. According to William of Malmesbury, who makes use of Goscelin's work, Goscelin went through the libraries of the abbeys and cathedrals in search of material, but Malmesbury also commends him for polishing up the older writers and supplying their lacunae (Gesta Regum, Rolls, p. 521).

The Flight of a Robin
(39.7)

This is perhaps the most famous and charming of Bede's stories in the Historia Ecclesiastica, ii.13. Sir Roger Mynors states (Hist. Eccl., 1969, p. 182, note) that although Bede "does not mention his source, it is clear that it was based on tradition". I feel that Camden's curious departures from Bede's Latin are probably due not to the use of a corrupt text or Stapleton's translation (Antwerp, 1565) but to his own free rendering.

39.7-11 When Paulinus ... King. Camden's introduction. In

Bede, Paulinus has just been debating the virtues of Christianity with Coifi, chief of Edwin's pagan priests.

39.7 Paulinus. Consecr. Bp. of York 625; d. 644. He was sent to England by Pope Gregory to reinforce the mission of Augustine. The scene of this incident, the conversion of Edwin and his chiefs, is presumably at the assembly of Goodmanham in 627. (ODCC)

39.7 Edwin. (584-632) acc. 616 as King of Deira and Bernicia; see also below, 40.8.

39.12-40.5 We may ... hereafter. The unnamed thegn and his beautiful speech are probably the invention of Bede, based on tradition. It is most unlikely that Latin was the language spoken by Coifi, or Edwin, or his fellow Northumbrians. Camden's version is a free rendering; in Bede the emphasis is not upon the unknown, the after-life, but upon the brevity of life on earth.

39.13 Robbin-redbrest. We expect a swallow, but the Latin can mean any small bird: "unus passerum".

40.3-5 Wherefore ... heereafter. Cf. Bede, Hist. Eccl., 1969, p. 184:

> Vnde, si haec noua doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito esse sequenda uidetur.

A King is No Trader of Faith
(40.6)

Logically, chronologically, and in Bede this story comes before

the preceding one (39.7). It is from the Hist. Eccl., ii.12. The story suffers somewhat by Camden's abridgement; in Bede, Edwin's fate and his promise to embrace Christianity are the outcome of Paulinus's diplomatic machinations.

40.6 Rodoald. Redwald (d. between 616-627); King of East Anglia. He slew Ethelfrith in 616 and thereby restored Edwin to his rightful throne. (HBC & Stenton, p. 78)

40.7 Edelfride. Ethelfrith (d. 616), called Flesaurs, King of Northumbrians; ruled both Bernicia and Deira. (HBC) And see Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, p. 75.

40.8 the innocent Prince Edwin. (see above, 39.7); he may have reigned briefly in Deira before his expulsion by Ethelfrith. Regained his rightful throne in 616 at death of Ethelfrith. (HBC)

40.11-15 It stood not ... life. As in the preceding story, the speech is most likely the work of Bede. The queen's statement is reported to Edwin, second-hand, by an unnamed friend, the same friend who earlier in the same chapter warns Edwin about Ethelfrith's treacherous change of heart. The mysterious friend appears to be the pawn of Paulinus. Camden's translation looses the subtle appeal to Ethelfrith's ego.

Bede's story strongly echoes the story of Wilfrid's treatment by King Dagobert in the life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus,

(see ed. by B. Colgrave, Cambridge, 1927, chapters 27 and 28).

The Story of King Leir
(40.16)

The version in B (folio 53^{r}) is considerably longer; it is a free rendering of Polydore Vergil, Anglica Historia, 1533, p. 20. The text (transcribed below) of the manuscript is written in the unknown hand common to all of B; the three corrections to the first line, "Ina", "Kerdotch" and "Westsaxons" are in Camden's hand. It is interesting to note that neither the title "King Leire" nor "Leyre" in the first line has been scratched out although "Ina" has been written above "Leyre" as a substitute and then "Kerdotch" (above "Ina") has at first been added as a third possibility then scratched out. "Kerdotch" is a calculated guess on my part as some of the letters are nearly blotted out. It might be "Kendritch"; see below for further discussion.

Kinge Leire

Leyre\ Ina/\ [Kerdotch]/ the Kinge of [Britanes] \ Westsaxons/
had three daughters of whom vppon a time he demaunded
whether they did not Loue him, & so woulde do duringe ther
liues aboue all other: the two elders sware deepelie they 5
woulde: the youngest but the wisest Cardilla, tolde her
father flatlie witheout flatterie, that albeit she did Loue,

honor, and reuerence him, & so would whilest life did last, as muche as nature, and daughterlie dutie at the vttermost coulde exact: yet she did thinke that one daie it woulde come to passe that she shoulde affect[ion] an other more feruently: meaninge her husbande, when she were married: Whome being made one fleshe with her as god by commaundement had tolde, and nature by instinct had tought her to cleaue fast vnto forsakinge father and mother kiffe & kinne. But the foolishe father Whose soft eares could endure no other wordes, but ye for soothe, was so offended with this wise aunswere, that he cast of Cardilla as a chaungelinge, vntill suche time as he founde her sage saienge to be true in his two elder daughters, who bereft him of crowne and kingedome, that ther husbandes might swaie the riall scepter, forcinge him to flie ouer into Fraunce vnto his abandoned daughter, who wonne her mightie husbande, to whose mariage her vertues voide of dowre had aduaunced her to restore him vnto his former state & dignitie.

This follows Polydore but it is by no means a literal translation. Those details in Polydore which do not strictly pertain to the central story of love-test have been dropped and other phrases supplied to fill the gaps. The passage from "when she were married" to "kiffe &

kinne" (above, lines 12-16) including the paraphrase of Genesis 2:24 is original. So are the passages "as muche as nature ... vttermost could exact" (9-10) and "Whose soft eares ... for soothe" (16-17). The last part from "that he cast of Cardilla" (18) to the end has been rewritten (rather unsuccessfully) to omit the business of Cordelia's marriage to a prince of France. The series of confused and dangling clauses beginning "who wonne her mightie husbande" (23) to the end suggests that the translator suddenly realised that he could not after all omit mentioning Cordelia's husband if he wanted to get the story straight. In fairness it should be said that Polydore is abrupt and vague at this point; by his version it appears that Cordelia herself restores Lear to power:

> Ad Cordillam confugere coactus est, a qua in regnum restituitur, interfectisque generis, triennium regnat.

Camden's inclination to accept the story but reject the attribution to Leir is better understood in the light of certain passages of the Britannia. He is well aware that the story comes from Geoffrey of Monmouth (Hist. Reg. Brit., R.E. Jones ed., 1929, pp. 262-270). That in itself is enough to render the story suspect for Monmouth was the inventor of the Brutus legend by which Britain was first settled by the descendants of noble Trojans. No small part of Camden's fame as an historian was achieved by exploding this myth: see Brit., 1586, pp. 4-7 = 1695, pp. v-ix. But there were more specific reasons for rejecting Leir. Camden's own information as a

topographer and as an etymologist forbade him to accept the popular derivation for the name of Leicester (Brit., 1586, p. 292 ; 1695, p. 446):

> What name Leicester bore in the times of the Romans does not appear. I think it is called in the catalog of Ninnius, Caer Lerion; but that it was built by the fabulous King Leir, let who will believe for me.

Yet Camden accepts and prints the story which everyone else attributes to Leir. He could hardly do otherwise; some version or fragment of it appears in nearly all the chronicles from Henry of Huntingdon to Holinshead. The story was far too current to be entirely false. But a simpler reason probably applies as well: it is too good a story to leave out. It was Polydore Vergil, not Camden, who first attacked Geoffrey's historicity, but not even Polydore (Camden's source here) could omit the story of Leir.

Wilfrid Perrett suggested that Camden "coolly transferred" the story to the daughter of Ina perhaps because Ina was renowned for his piety. Perrett states that while this is by no means on a scale with the interpolation of Asser regarding the foundation of Oxford, still it is a "small literary fraud" (Wilfrid Perrett, The Story of King Leir, 1904, p. 123). That Camden "transferred" the story is undeniable fact, but I think Mr. Perrett oversimplifies the reasons and misinterprets the purpose. What I have already said above should indicate that Camden was acting out of scholarly duty: he knew that his information about Leicester was superior to the fabulous topography of

Geoffrey. Yet, if Leir was a fabulous invention, it might well be that the story was not. After all it is an excellent story and however Geoffrey may have mismanaged the details the high moral tone and the meaning of it are timelessly true. Geoffrey's manner of writing "history" was reprehensible but there could be facts among the fictions, he could have and probably did take incidents and names from other, more recent histories. Who might it have been? There is another, rather stronger reason for choosing Ina than Mr. Perrett suggests. Ina was a pious king but especially he was a king of the West Saxons, the same general region of the supposed Leir, and what is more, Ina abdicated his throne after reigning thirty-seven years. "Kerdotch" may be a rendering of the Kenredus or Kenrick mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum, Rolls, p. 51. Kenrick was another king of the West Saxons. Holinshead (1807, i, p. 629) refers to Matthew Westminster as saying another West Saxon king called Kenwalch died in 872 and was succeeded by his wife Segburga who was subsequently removed from the government by her nobles.

40.16 Ina ... daughters. Ina (spelling varies; Fabyan calls him Iue or Iewe) died 726; he was the son of Cenred and reigned from about 688 as King of the West Saxons. (HBC) In 705 he divided the West Saxon diocese by creating the bishopric of Sherborne. Ina was renowned for his piety and benefactions to the Church; he abdicated in 725, went to Rome on a pilgrimage and died shortly thereafter. He

had two sisters (Cwenburh and Cuthburh) but apparently no children. (DNB; see also Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, p. 71.) Bede merely says that he left his kingdom to younger men (Hist. Eccl., 1969, p. 473).

41.5-6 affect another ... her husband. Perrett notes (The Story of King Leir, 1904, p. 78) that Polydore's version is the first to allude to the love Cordelia will bear toward her future husband. In Geoffrey's version she merely declines to exaggerate the natural affection a daughter holds for her father.

41.6-8 Who being made ... father and mother. The paraphrase of Genesis 2:24 was familiar also as part of the marriage service in the Book of Common Prayer. This is one of three passages I cite in the introductory discussion above as being original with Camden. Perrett (ibid., p. 239) and more recently Kenneth Muir in the Arden edition of Lear (London, 1969, p. xxxvi, note) suggest that this passage may have provided Shakespeare with the model for Cordelia's reply (I.i. 95-103).

41.8-9 kiffe and kinne. A 16th Century corruption of Kith and kin, i.e., one's friends and relatives. (OED)

41.9 Anonymus ... Leir. Perrett thinks "Anonymus" stands for Camden -- that having re-attributed the story to Ina, he could hardly give credit to either Geoffrey or Polydore. If the argument I put forward above for Camden's transfer of the story to Ina is accepted

then "One" would refer to Geoffrey of Monmouth. It may be that Camden forgot or indeed was never aware that B is a free rendering of Polydore. Presumably Camden added the line to the final copy as it is not in B. Thomas Moule's suggestion (Camden, Remains, 1870, p. 255) that "One" refers to Shakespeare has no evidence.

Theodore vs. Wilfrid
(41.10)

Camden has apparently conflated two versions of this story, the original version in Eddius Stephanus's life of Wilfrid to which he refers (see the Edition by B. Colgrave, Cambridge, 1927, chapter 24) and the version based on Eddius by William of Malmesbury (Gesta Pontificum, Rolls, p. 220). The quote from Juvenal is in Malmesbury but not in Eddius; the reference to Paul is in Eddius but not in Malmesbury. The two other major lives of Wilfrid (by Fridogodus and Eadmer; see edition of James Raine in Church Historians of York, Rolls, i (1879)) repeat the story but neither has the references to Paul or Juvenal. Capgrave's version (Noua Leg., 1901, ii, p. 433) is based on Eadmer. For Eddius Camden had to use a manuscript (possibly Cotton MS., Vesp. D.vi ff. 78-125) but for Malmesbury Camden was using a quotation in Matthew Parker's book on the Archbishops of Canterbury. The misprint "stat" for "sit" (see below, 41.13) occurs only in Parker's De Archiepiscopis, page 15 (paginated separately but published with De Antiquitate, London, 1572 -- STC 19292).

A concise account of Wilfrid's troubles and the elaborate conspiracy to unseat him is in Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, pp. 135-138.

41.10 Theodore the Grecian. Theodore of Tarsus (c. 602-690), an Asiatic Greek, was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 668. Ironically, it was Theodore's interest in reforming Church government in England which led him to his high-handed treatment of Wilfrid. (ODCC)

41.11 a poore English Bishop. Wilfrid (634-709) bishop of York (c. 664) son of a Northumbrian thegn. Theodore deprived him of his bishopric twice; this incident took place during the first of these (in 678). Wilfrid was hardly poor in any material sense; it was the splendour of Wilfrid's ecclesiastical riches and the large army of his followers which stirred the jealousy of Ecgfrith's queen (according to Eddius) and hence started the whole conspiracy.

41.11-12 Although ... we will. Cf. Eddius Stephanus, Life of Bishop Wilfrid, 1927, pp. 48-50:

> "Nullam criminis culpam in aliquo nocendi tibi ascribimus, sed tamen statuta de te iudicia non mutamus."

41.13 Sic volo ... voluntas. The quote from Juvenal is Malmesbury's insertion. The original reads: "Hoc volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas." (Juvenal, Satire, vi.223). "Stat" is a misprint; see introduction above.

41.14 Paul appealed ... Caesar. Cf. Acts 25:10-11. In Eddius

this is an authorial comment upon Wilfrid's predicament, not a speech by Wilfrid himself.

41.14-15 and I ... Christ. Purely Camden's invention. In Eddius, Wilfrid seeks the judgment of the Apostolic See, as Paul, when condemned by the Jews without cause, appealed to Caesar.

Bede's dying words (41.16)

Bede's dying words and his prayer (42.3) are from Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede (see Hist. Eccl., Colgrave & Mynors ed., 1969, p. 582). In Cuthbert, the prayer comes first. Camden may have been following Higden (Polychronicon, Rolls, vi, p. 225) who gives the two stories in the same reversed order.

41.18-42.2 I have so lived ... most gratious Redeemer. As Cuthbert states, the comment was made by St. Ambrose; cf. Paulinus Mediolanensis, Life of Ambrose, Migne, PL, xiv, 43 (sometimes erroneously ascribed to St. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola).

42.2-5 Hee yeelded vp ... trueth amongest vs. The prayer is not, as Camden suggests, Bede's last utterance, but, according to Cuthbert, part of the routine Bede performed daily during the period of his fatal illness, that is, from about a fortnight before Easter until Ascension Day, 26 May 735. The prayer is the antiphon of the Magnificat for Ascension Day, subsequently adapted in the English Book of Common Prayer as the Collect for the Sunday after Ascension Day.

(Mynors & Colgrave ed., Hist. Eccl., 1969, p. 582, note) Bede wrote a commentary on the text; see Plummer, ed., Bede, Opera Historica, i (1896), p. lxxiv, note 3.

Stupid people seek Rome (42.6)

This is a popular legend (one of many about Bede) in the advanced stages of development. If there ever was a printed source for the version here, it remains to be found. The grain of truth at the heart of it is a letter from Pope Sergius I inviting members of Bede's monastery to Rome.

42.6 Some write that hee went to Rome. The known facts of this controversy are discussed by E.E. Whiting in "The Life of the Venerable Bede" in Bede, Essays, ed. A.H. Thompson, 1969, pp. 11-14. William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Rolls, i, pp. 62-63) reproduced a letter of Pope Sergius I inviting "religiosum Dei famulum Bedam" to visit Rome. Capgrave (Nova Legenda, 1901, p. 110) quotes part of the letter from Malmesbury. Several of Bede's fellow-monks went to Rome, but we know by his own words (see his Vita Abbatum, 15 and De temporum ratione, 47) that Bede did not.

42.6-8 S, P, Q, R, ... Stultus Populus Quaerit Romam. This appears to be a modification of another story. In the earlier story, it is said that Bede, when he was in Rome, saw an arch which contained the following letters:

P.P.P.
S.S.S.
R.R.R.
F.F.F.

When asked what they meant, he thought for a moment, then replied:

Pater Patriae Perditus est;
Sapientia Secum Sublata;
Ruit Regnum Romae,
Ferro, Flama, Fame.

The Romans were amazed at this erudition and decreed that Bede should thereafter be called Venerable. The earliest occurrence I have found of this is in Caxton's translation-adaptation (The Golden Legend, Westmestre, 1483? -- STC 24873) of Voragine's Legenda Aurea. See P. Butler, A Study of Caxton's Golden Legend, 1899, p. 85. Caxton gives only the second half of the inscription (R.R.R., F.F.F.). John Caius gives the full story and inscription in his De antiquitate Cantebrigiensis Academiae, 1574, p. 104 -- STC 4345. He also refers to his source as: "Radulphus Remington de gestis regum Angliae". This is presumably the compilation now ascribed to Peter of Yckham of which a unique manuscript survives Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 339. Yet another version can be found on the title page of Bede's Opera, volume i, Basel, 1563. Here, Bede is shown interpreting an inscription over the Roman arch, the arch itself being in an appropriate state of decay. The Sybil who has apparently just finished writing the inscription kneels on one side and the Venerable Bede, rod in hand, stands on the other and points to the following:

Pater patriae potens profectus est,
Salus secum sublata est.
Venit uictor ualidus, uincet uires urbis uestrae
Aurum, argentum, aes, aufert a uobis.
Ruet regale Romanorum regnum.
Fame, ferro, frigore, flamma.

It might further be noted that Bede wrote a treatise on the Roman Sybils.

42.8 died at Genoa. Leg.Aur., Cologne, 1483, fol. 220 (interpolated edn) relates that Bede's bones were venerated at Genoa (apud Ianuam); Noua Leg. (1516; Horstman edn, 1901, p. 111) repeats the point inorder to correct it.

42.9 But certaine it is that he was sent for to Rome. This echoes the certainty in Capgrave; Noua Leg., Horstman ed., 1901, p. 109. Camden may have seen the copy of Pope Sergius's letter in Cotton's library (MS. Tiberius A.XV). It does not, unlike the letter Malmesbury reproduces, name Bede personally. See Whiting, as above, 42.6.

42.10-11 hee died at Weremouth, and ... was translated to Durham. Since Camden omits mentioning Jarrow, he is probably following Malmesbury at this point rather than Capgrave.

Bede the Saint
(42.11-18)

Camden is repeating this from an oral tradition. Fuller, in the Church History, 1655, p. 99, repeats it but in his version it is not

a French bishop but a "foreign ambassadour, some two hundred years since".

Scot or Sot?
(42.19)

B (folio 54^{v}) contains two versions of this story, both somewhat different from the printed version. The first is crossed out. Then, the scribe has begun to write the next story ("One an other time"), stopped, crossed this out, and written instead a second version.

[John Scott thelder, [that] \that/ renowned man for \ his/ lerninge, settinge at the Table with Charles the Balde Emperoure and Kinge of Fraunce: which place his rare lerning had purchased him behaved him selfe somewhat rudely (as scholers for the most part): whervppon the King asked him merely, \ what there was betweene a sott and a scott. he merely/ but perhappes malapertly, aunswered, the table, callinge, the kinge sott by crafte. If any man thinke the phrase somewhat hearde in Englishe, let him take the Latine: Which was quid interest inter Scotum et Sotum./]

[One an other time] John Scott thelder, that renowned man for his lerninge, settinge at the [tale] table with Charles the Balde Emperour and Kinge of Fraunce: which place his rare lerninge had purchased him: behaued him

> selfe some what rudelie, (as scholars for the most part do:()) whervppon the Kinge asked him merely, what there was betweene a scott and a sott: here merelie, but perhappes malepertly aunswered, the table callinge the Kinge Sott by crafte. If any man thinke the phrase some what hearde in Englishe, let him take the Latine; which was quid interest inter Scotum et Sotum./

The sole authority for both this and the following apophthegm on John the Scot is William of Malmesbury. They appear together, and in the same order, in Malmesbury's life of Aldhelm (Gesta Pontificum, Rolls, pp. 392-393). The versions Camden found in his immediate source, Roger of Hoveden (Chronica, Rolls, i, p. 46) differ little from Malmesbury even though Hoveden has them through two intermediate chronicles. The recension is: Hoveden from Simeon of Durham; Simeon of Durham from a lost northern chronicle; the lost chronicle from Malmesbury. Both stories are probably part fact and part legend. Malmesbury's sources are not known and the stories do not appear where one might reasonably expect to find them -- in the annals of Prudentius or of Hincmar of Reims, kept during the reign of Charles the Bald. It has been well established that Malmesbury confounds John the Scot with John the Old Saxon described by Asser as one of the foreign scholars at the court of King Alfred (see W.H. Stevenson, ed. of Asser, Oxford: 1907, p. 335). See also J.

Parinchef (Extract of Examples, 1572, p. 135) who takes the story from Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Giraldus Cambrensis (De principis instructione, Rolls, viii, p. 42) applies the story to Alcuin and Charlemagne.

42.19 Iohannes Erigena surnamed Scotus. John Scotus Erigena (c.810-c.877), born in Ireland. About 847 he was invited by Charles the Bald to take charge of the court school at Paris.

42.20 at the Table. i.e., in public; Hoveden states that Scotus was Charles's intimate companion both at the table and in the bed chamber. Camden is turning a lengthy story into a brief jest.

42.21-43.1 slovenly Scholler. Camden's invention; Hoveden makes no reference to scholars. The printed version is somewhat less pointed than either of the versions in B; see above.

43.2 Quid interest inter. All versions before Camden read: Quid distat inter.

43.2 Scotum & Sotum. Charles was probably asking a serious question. O.E.D. states that both Scot and sot have obscure origins; both were probably adopted from late Latin. Scottus was used from c. 400 to refer to the ancient Gaelic-speaking people who settled Ireland and Scotland; sottus was used from c. 800 to mean a fool or a blockhead. Sottus used to mean a drunkard is a late specialisation dating from about 1125 (the date of Malmesbury's version). An anonymous 14th century chronicle also written at Malmesbury (two

centuries after William) relates the two words thus:

> Ex illis duabus nationibus inter se unam loquelam colligentes, quod nec fuit Aquitannicum nec Hispannicum sed Britonibus videbatur ridiculosum; unde longo tempore vocabant eos Sottos, sed per additionem c litterae vocabant illos Scottos, quod nomen tenent usque in hodiernum diem. (Eulogium Historiarum, Rolls, ii, p. 263)

And again bishop Theodulfus Aurelianensis (died 821) refers to

> Hic Sottus, Scottus, cottus trinomen habebit.
> (lib.Carm.3)

A third word, Sotum from Spanish Soto, appears in 1302 to refer to the inhabitants of France and Navarre; see Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (1886 edition) for fullest discussion. Du Cange also states that Charles the Simple was properly known as Carolus Sottus, but vulgarly as Carolus Simplex. That Scot derives from sot by the addition of a c is fanciful etymology, but this and the other examples provide ample evidence to indicate there was confusion about the meanings of all three words. Since Malmesbury's version of the story is based upon a misinterpretation of sotum, then we can postulate that the original witticism was of a rather higher order: an Irishman's reply to a Frenchman over a question of their ethnic (amd linguistic) proximity.

An Indifferent Divider
(43.5)

The origin and manuscript tradition for this apophthegm are the same as for the preceding one; see commentary above. Camden follows

Hoveden closely.

43.7-8 Maister Iohn. Scotus is referred to only as minister in the Latin versions.

43.10-12 Which when ... divider. Camden's dramatization; the king's reaction is only implied in Hoveden. The play on the word indifferent is Camden's.

Golden Chalices but Wooden Prelates (43.16)

The story is not in any early life of Wynfrith. The earliest occurrence is in the Acta et Decreta of the Council of Trebur (895) first published in Acta de decreta concilii Triburiensis, Moguntiae, 1525. Camden's source is Beatus Rhenanus, Rerum Germanicarum, Basel, 1531, p. 94.

43.16 Winefridus. Wynfrith (680-754) was born at Crediton in Devon; he converted many in Frisia, Bavaria and Thuringia to Christianity and reformed the Frankish Church. Founded the abbey of Fulda c. 743. (ODCC)

43.18-44.1 In olde ... golden Chalices. The sentiment accurately epitomizes several recurrent themes in Wynfrith's letters: decay of the clergy and the need to abjure ostentation and return to the strict simplicity of holy life. These are strongly expressed in several letters (1 and 70 in edition of Ephraim Emerton, The Letters of Saint Boniface, New York, 1940). The speech itself was presumably composed

by someone at the Council of Trebur in 895 who used the story (based probably on an oral tradition) to support a decree concerning the sanctity of the holy vessels. The point of the story was woefully misapplied.

Ethelwold Feeds the Starving People (44.3)

This story is from the life of Ethelwold attributed to his disciple Wulfstan and probably written soon after Ethelwold's death in 984. For recent discussion of date and authorship see D.J.V. Fisher, "The Early Biographies of St. Ethelwold" in English Historical Review, 67 (1952), 381-391. There are three manuscripts of the life in the Cotton library (see Hardy, Catalogue, 1, pp. 587-588), but Camden probably used the abridged version of Capgrave (Nova Legenda, 1901, i, 435) or that in Surius (De probatis, Cologne, iv (1579), p. 494).

44.3 Ethelwold. (c. 908-984) Abbot of Abingdon from about 954; Ethelwold's charity is spoken of in several contemporary accounts. He gave away his own wealth first and then the Church's to relieve the poor.

44.3 Edgar. (943-975) Younger son of Edmund the Magnificent; acc. 957 as King Mercians and Northumbrians, and as King of England in 959 (but crowned in 973). (HBC)

44.3-4 time of ... great famine. Wulfstan is not clear about the

date, but this could only be the famine of 976, the year after Edgar's death. See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the years 975-976.

Kinnad and Edgar
(44.9)

Camden's reference is to page thirty-three of Savile's edition of Malmesbury in the Rerum Anglicarum (1596). This is Malmesbury's Gesta Regum, Rolls, i, p. 177. Malmesbury gives no date nor source; his phrase "fama est" suggests it is a story he has heard. If there was a written source, it has not survived. The story probably derives from attempts by Norman chroniclers to demonstrate English supremacy in Scotland. According to E.W. Robertson (Scotland Under Her Early Kings, Edinburgh, 1862, II, 385) these attempts by the chroniclers to prove Scottish dependance upon the Anglo-Saxon monarchy before the Conquest are either outright forgeries or popular exaggerations. But, see also Stenton (Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, pp. 369-370) who accepts as trustworthy the cession of Lothian to Kenneth, in return for which Kenneth did Edgar homage.

44.9 Kinnad. Kenneth II (d. 995) son of Malcolm I; succeeded to the Scottish Pictish throne in 971. (DNB) See also W. F. Skene's introduction to Chronicles of the Picts, 1867, pp. cxliv-cxlvii, and W. C. Dickinson, Scotland, from the earliest times to 1603, London, 1965, p. 52. Kenneth's identity

and parentage are uncertain.

44.10-11 That it stood ... Eadgar. In Malmesbury, the insult is reported to Edgar, with considerable amplification, by a malevolent minstrel who chances to hear a comment from Kenneth during a banquet. Kenneth's original statement was relatively mild. It is therefore with confusion (confusus ille) that Kenneth reacts to Edgar's challenge later on. Kenneth falls at the feet of Edgar and asks pardon for what was merely a joke; Edgar grants it immediately.

Edgar and the Eight Kings
(45.2)

Camden's reference to Marianus Scotus as his source is a curious error; he has apparently confused two separate works. Neither Kenneth nor Edgar is mentioned in any edition of Marianus that I have examined. The story does appear, sub anno 973, in the chronicle of Florence of Worcester, compiled about 1118 and first printed by Camden's friend, Lord Howard, as Chronicon ex chronicis, London, 1592, p. 359. Florence's chronicle is in part based upon Marianus and it is the knowledge of this that, presumably, has caused the confusion. But in fact, Camden is following Malmesbury, the only version which describes Mac-cuis as an arch-pirate (Gesta Regum, Rolls, i, p. 165). The story but not the apophthegm appears in Brit., 1586, p. 343 = 1695, p. 558.

This incident, like the preceding story, involves the much larger

question of the extent of English supremacy before the Conquest. It is said to take place shortly after Edgar's coronation in Bath on 11 May 973. The king and all his fleet sail round to Chester and it is here that the other British kings pledge their allegiance as Edgar's "fellow workers by sea and by land". Robertson (as above, pp. 386-7) considers it a forgery, and, indeed, according to the Pictish Chronicle, Kenneth was making successful raids upon the English about the time he is supposed to be pledging allegiance. More recently, Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, p. 370, accepts the core of the story as likely enough -- the acknowledgement of Edgar's supremacy -- despite the "legendary accretions (which) may have gathered around it".

The story appears in at least two works predating that of Florence. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno 972, gives a version with six kings (none named); here the incident is recorded but not Edgar's speech. And a nearly contemporary reference appears in Aelfric's Life of Saint Swithhun (lines 444-453; p. 469 in Skeat's edition of Aelfric's Lives of Saints, 1881). Here there are eight kings (none named) as in the tradition of Florence and Camden.

45.3-5 Kinnad ... Iudethill. There has been much debate over the identities of these princes stemming partly from the variant forms in which they appear and partly from the general lack of adequate Welsh and Scottish histories for the period. Stenton offers the most recent attempt to identify all but two (Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, p. 369).

The Death of Edmund
(45.9)

Most accounts of the death of Edmund follow Abbo of Fleury, Passio Sancti Eadmundi (printed in Corolla Sancti Eadmundi, ed. Francis Hervey, 1907). Abbo relates that Edmund was seized, tied naked to a tree, and shot with arrows, then finally beheaded. Camden's story follows a variant legend in Geoffrey Gaimar's L'estorie des Engles.

45.9 Hinguar. Or, Hingwar. Along with Halfdene and Ubbe, Hingwar lead the Danish invasion of Britain in 870.

45.9 Edmund. The martyr and saint (c. 841-870); acc. King of East Anglia in 855. Legends of Edmund are discussed by Dorothy Whitelock (Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch., vol. 31, 1969), and J. I. Miller (Literature and History, ed. I. E. Cadenhead, Tulsa, 1970).

45.13-15 Even now when I ... onely God knoweth. Cf. Gaimar, L'estorie des Engles, lines 2880-2894, Rolls, ii, p. 93 (translation of T.D. Hardy):

> O God! What a loss was the lord,
> The King Eadmund, who was driven
> To a castle where his seat was,
> And the heathen pursued him.
> Eadmund came out to meet them;
> The first who met him
> Took him and then asked,
> 'Where is Eadmund? tell us.'
> 'Willingly, and at once;
> 'When I was in flight
> 'Eadmund was there, and I with him.
> 'When I turned to flee, he turned,
> 'I know not if he will escape you.
> 'Now the end of the king rests with God,
> 'And with Jesus, whom he obeys.'

45.15-17 But so soone ... pittifully martired him. Camden's addition.

Feed me, Feed my men
(45.18)

This is a curiously garbled version of Liber Eliensis, Cam. Soc., 1962, p. 135. The original story is of Brithnoth or Birhtnoth, the hero celebrated in the Old English poem The Battle of Maldon. According to the story in Liber Eliensis the incident occurs while Birhtnoth is marching toward Maldon. I quote from a translation by W.J. Sedgefield in his edition of The Battle of Maldon, Cambridge, Mass., 1904, p. xix; see Blake's edition, p. 135 for the Latin.

> On his way he came near the Abbey of Ramsey and asked the Abbot Wulfsige to grant him and his men shelter and entertainment. To this a reply was given that the abbey could not furnish so great a multitude, but that, in order that he might not thus depart unsatisfied, entertainment would be provided for himself and seven of his people. 'Tell the lord Abbot,' he is said to have answered, 'that I care not to dine without my men, inasmuch as I cannot fight without them.' And so departing he came to the church of Ely, and sent word to Abbot Aelfsige that he would pass the island with a small troop on his way to battle, and would dine with the Abbot if it were his pleasure,bringing with him his army. The Abbot, with the full consent of his society, made answer that in a work of charity he was deterred by no immensity of numbers but rejoiced rather at their coming. Thus was Brithnoth received and with his army entertained with royal hospitality, and he was moved by the unremitting attention of the monks to a great affection for the place.

The story goes on to describe the liberality with which Birhtnoth bestows rewards upon Ely and not upon Ramsey. Substantially the same

story appears in the anonymous history of Ramsey Abbey (Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis, Rolls, p. 116) compiled about the same time but independently from the Ely book. E.A. Freeman states (History of the Norman Conquest, i (1877), p. 636, note) that both the Ely and Ramsey versions are largely fable or monkish dilations upon the very brief mention of Birhtnoth in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (under the year 991; 993 in Parker manuscript). Mr. Blake suggests (as above, p. 136, note) that the Ely version was compiled to "form part of an account of the benefactors of Ely". Neither Ely nor Ramsey is on the way to Maldon from any part of Birhtnoth's domain. The whole story strongly echoes Gideon's reply to the elders of Succoth in Judges, 8:5-9.

Camden's version is so scrambled that it would appear he is either recalling it from memory as a last minute insertion (it is not in B) or else using an intermediate source that only refers to the Ely book. The book was not printed until 1687 so that he must have used a manuscript (see Hardy, Catalog., ii, p. 104 for the Cottonian copies) if he used one at all.

45.18 Brithwald. Read Birhtnoth. Camden may have confused the name with Brithwald the monk, see 9.3. E.V. Gordon gives a concise account of this prominent warrior in his edition of The Battle of Maldon, London, 1937; reprint of 1963, p. 15. He was an ealdorman of Essex (not Northumbria as in the Liber Eliensis) from 956 until his death at Maldon in 991. The account of Birhtnoth in the Old English

poem, and not in the histories, is, in so far as it can be checked, "accurate in every particular" (E.V. Gordon, ed., The Battle of Maldon, 1963, p. 4).

Cnut at the Sea Side
(46.3)

The printed text of this story is a considerable improvement over the version in B, which is mere clumsy translation from Polydore:

> Kinge Cnute walkinge one daie one the sea sandes not farre from South hampton, was extolled by one of his flatteringe souldioures vnto the starres: and tolde that he was a Kinge of all Kinges the mightiest that reigned farre and nere ouer men, the sea, & the lande. But this speache of puissaunt power did put the godlie kinge in minde of \the/ immesurable might of god, thorough whose onelie benefitt kinges haue and enioye ther small power, and made him to deuise this demonstration to refell there flatterie. He tooke of his cloke, and wrappinge it rounde together, sat downe vppon it close to the sea, that then began to flowe: saienge Waue I commaunde thee, that thou touche not [b] my feete. but he had not so soone spoken the Worde but the surginge waue wett him ouer and ouer. Then he risinge vpp and goinge backe, saied, Ye se nowe my

Lordes what good cause you haue to call me a Kinge, that am not able by mine empire and commaundement to restraine or staie this little waue? No mortall man doubtlesse is worthy of suche an name: there is but one kinge, and that is the father of oure Lorde Jesus Christe, withe whome he doeth raine, at whose becke all thinges are ruled: him let vs honor, him let vs call Kinge, him of al kinge[ ] \s/, him of all nations to be the Lorde, him of the heavens, of thearthe, of the sea, to be the ruler, let vs not onlie confesse, but also professe, but besides him none. \Polydorus and others/

Camden gives this story in Brit., 1587, p. 149 = 1695, p. 117, where he cites Henry of Huntingdon as his source. Huntingdon's (Hist. Angl., Rolls, p. 189) is the earliest occurrence. He wrote about 1129, or 93 years after the death of Cnut. He probably composed the story and certainly the speech out of the ingredients of an oral tradition; it is offered as one among other memorable acts of Cnut. Nearly all later historians repeat it, but Polydore (Camden's source here) may have taken it directly from Huntingdon; in any case the versions in both Polydore (Angl. Hist., 1533, p. 135) and Camden differ little.

46.3 Canutus ... Knute. The English form closest to the Danish is Cnut (c. 995-1035), younger son of Sweyn of Denmark. Testimonies

of Cnut's piety begin to appear after his acceptance as sole king at the death of Edmund Ironside in 1016.

46.17-18 Let vs honour him ... all nations. The first of Cnut's laws expresses a similar conviction (quoted from A.J. Robertson, ed. Laws of the Kings of England, 1925, p. 155):

> The first provision is, that above all else they would ever love and honour one God and unanimously uphold one Christian faith, and love King Canute with due fidelity.

The Death of Edric: A Head for a Head (46.21)

E.A. Freeman has traced the origin and development of this story (Norman Conquest, i (1877), p. 740); it is a case where each succeeding writer had more to say than the previous one. In chronological order, the succession leading to Camden is: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (anno 1017); Encomium Emmae, 1949, pp. 30-33;

1 Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Rolls, i, p. 219), Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris (Chron. Maj., Rolls, i, pp. 500-501), and the Flores, or Florilegus as Camden calls it. The Chronicle merely records the year and place of Edric's death; the encomiast (whom Florence follows) provides us with a motive for Cnut's swift action -- his fear that Edric should eventually kill him as he had killed Edmund. It is Malmesbury who provides most of the details that eventually appear in Camden. Malmesbury's additions probably derive from an oral tradition which

he may well have heard from the abbot Wulfsige who was a contemporary of Cnut (see W. Stubbs, ed., Ges. Reg., Rolls, i, p. xviii). I identify the sources of other details as they occur below.

46.21 Edric the extorter. Edric, called "Streona", died 1017. The Old English is more literally translated as the gainer, or the acquirer. He was made ealdorman of Mercia in 1007 and in 1009 he married a daughter of king Aethelred. He joined forces with Edmund when Cnut invaded England in 1015. Accounts differ over whether Edric himself killed Edmund but he certainly deserted to Cnut after it became clear which side was winning.

46.21-47.1 was deprived ... of Mercia. This motive for Edric's actions is an amplification by Roger of Wendover. After his victory over Edmund, Cnut put Edric in charge of all Mercia for a few months before executing him in 1017 (see Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, p. 398). Cnut's duplicity is hardly less culpable than Edric's desertion although all accounts ignore the point.

47.2-3 revolted from ... dispatched him. The encomiast is the first to report Edric's speech which all later accounts follow more or less. The encomiast does not quote Edric probably because he is arranging the story to suit the best advantage of Cnut, whose virtues he was hired to extol. Edric may have been playing both sides against the middle, but he may also have quarrelled with Edmund before he deserted him.

47.6-7 His bloud ... annoynted. This allusion to David's judgement upon Amalekite for slaying Saul (2 Samuelis 1:16) is Malmesbury's insertion:

> **Sanguis tuus super caput tuum, quia os tuum locutum est contra te quod misisti manus in christum Domini.**

Camden's awkward translation is probably from reading suus for tuus.

47.7-10 Some reporte ... London. This is the author of the Flores, not Camden, faithfully recording a variant legend that stems from Henry of Huntingdon (Hist. Ang., Rolls, p. 186).

That it was done to Edric is probably an ironic twist invented by Huntingdon, for it is Huntingdon who originates the story of Edric and the head of Edmund. According to this story, it is Edric who, frightened by the success of the English forces at the Battle of Assundune, raises up the head of a man very like the king Edmund. He brandishes the head crying, Fly, you English, fly -- Edmund is Dead! (Hist. Ang., Rolls, p. 184). The more common version, deriving from Malmesbury, is that Cnut had Edric suffocated and his body thrown out the window into the Thames.

Edward the Confessor and the Thief in the Treasury (47.11)

This story and two others (One Brother Helps Another, at 49.1 and Edward's Last Words, at 49.10) are from Ailred of Rievaulx's Vita Sancti Edwardi. Camden apparently used two different versions of

Ailred as he refers to the work by two means; title (48.7 and 49.9) then author (49.17); he may not have been aware that he was using the same book. For this first story (and probably the second) he must have used a manuscript (for Cotton's copies, see Hardy, Catalogue, i, p. 638). The reference to Christian lenity at lines 48.5-6 is clearly based upon lines in Ailred which do not appear in either of the two printed versions available at the time (Capgrave, Nov. Leg., or Surius, De Prob., Jan. 5). The third story, Edward's Last Words (49.10), was probably written at a later date (it is not in B) and probably taken from the edition in Surius, which is clearly identified as Ailred's.

Ailred's was the official biography of Edward and the only one to gain wide circulation. He is the first to record this legend (Migne, PL, cxcv, 746); it is one of the four legends Ailred adds in rewriting an earlier life of Edward by Osbert de Clare. (For the literary tradition, see Frank Barlow, ed. of the anon. Vita Aedwardi Regis, London, 1962, pp. xxx-xli.) It is not possible to say how much of the story is legend and how much is Ailred's but it is possible to note how Ailred stresses Edward's generosity and to note how in another work (Speculum Caritatis / The Mirror of Charity, ed. G. Webb & A. Walker, London: 1962, pp. 25-28) he deals with this same rather simplistic variety of Christian charity.

47.12 Courtier. puer pauperculus (Ailred); the reading in B

is "mate". Camden is sacrificing the closer translation in order to create agnomination in the sentence.

48.3 was greatly moved. Camden condenses from Ailred:

> pallor vultum, tremor corpus invasit. Angustiam cordis et furorem mentis clamor et suspiria prodiderunt.

48.4-5 For ... wee have. Compare Ailred:

> Tace, inquit, forte ille qui cepit plus his nobis indiguit; habeat sibi, nobis sufficit quod remansit.

48.5-6 This ... lenitie. Camden echoes Ailred's comment on the speech:

> quid tali mente lenius, qui sua furari vidit et tacuit, insuper furi consuluit ad salutem? Migne PL, cxcv, 740.

Edward More Saintly than Brave (48.8)

The source is the De Rebus Gestis Francorum of Paolo Emilio (Paulus Aemilius); there were numerous editions and several translations into French available to Camden. I use the last Latin edition of Basel, 1601, i, p. 101. Emilio gives no date for the incident but it is apparent he has confounded two separate stories; both occur in William of Jumièges, the second occurs also in William of Poitiers. Jumièges writes (Gesta Normanorum ducum, vi.9) that some time near the end of Cnut's reign, about 1033-35, Robert, duke of Normandy and younger son of Richard II, set out from Fécamp to invade England and recover it for Edward, the rightful heir. The wind blew contrarily forcing the fleet toward Jersey and the whole attempt

failed. Jumièges adds that they were frustrated by the special providence of God whose will it was that Edward should succeed without the shedding of blood (in futuro regnare sine sanguinis effusione). Jumièges says nothing to suggest that Edward was on board but Robert Wace in his Anglo-Norman verse history, Le Roman de Rou (line 7941), mentions both Robert and Edward. In 1036, the year following Cnut's death, another attempt was made to recover England for the two exiled athelings, Alfred and Edward. Accounts of this invasion vary but according to Jumièges (Gesta Norm. duc., vii.5), it was Edward himself that sailed with forty ships to Southampton, fought a great battle, and then retreated after reconsidering how small was his force by comparison with the enemy; see Poitiers, Gesta Guillelmi, i.2.

Camden has not given much thought to the question of date or he would have realised that this story should certainly precede the thief in the treasury story. See F. Barlow, Edw. the Conf., 1970, pp. 38 & 45.

48.8-9 Edward hasted ... Ethelred had fled. Ethelred took his two sons, Edward and Alfred, to Normandy in 1013. This supposed invasion by Edward would have to be in 1036 but there is not sufficient evidence to prove that Edward returned to England before 1041 when Harthacnut adopted him as heir to the throne. But see Barlow, op. cit. p.45.

48.10 the Danes. Emilio refers only to "the enemy", which betrays his confusion and weakens the story. Jumièges and Poitiers record that it was a force of his fellow Englishmen which Edward encountered.

48.13-16 God forbid ... boutcherie. Emilio's invention

48.16-18 And therewithall.... blood. Camden's addition. Emilio comments that Edward's retreat was considered more saintly than brave (magis pia quam fortis) but that often what man condemns is what God approves (ab hominibus damnata, a numine probabitur).

One brother helps another (49.1)

Freeman has traced the origin and development of this legend in Norman Conquest, ii (1877), p. 656. As in other cases, the earliest mention is in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Abingdon MS.) -- a bare account of the facts. The story as it appears in Camden is the composition of Ailred of Rievaulx, Vita Sancti Edwardi regis. Ailred has taken half the ingredients from Malmesbury. The stumbling cup-bearer and Godwin's proverb are from William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, Rolls, i, pp. 156-157 -- i.e., the legend of King Ethelstan. It should be noted that Camden gives only part of a larger story -- the wretched death of Earl Godwin. As the story goes on, Godwin protests that he is not guilty of killing Edward's brother, Alfred, and prays God to let him choke on the next morsel of food he eats if he is lying. Godwin promptly chokes and dies, and Edward orders his men to "drag the dog out" and bury him in the highway. Ailred gives no date, but according to the Abingdon MS., the incident occurs at Easter, 1053 at Winchester, or 1054 at Windsor, in other accounts.

49.1 Harold. Godwin's son and, as Harold II, king after Edward's death. In most accounts Harold is mentioned as being present along with his brother Tostig, but in no account is Harold the cup-bearer. Camden's eye has presumably fallen on Harold's name as it occurs in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph.

49.4-5 Godwyn ... smiling said. In Ailred (and Capgrave, who condenses Ailred) the actual exchange of words between Godwin and Edward is given as hearsay: De hoc eventu pluribus inter se loquentibus.

49.5 Now one brother did helpe another. Cf. Ailred, Vita Sancti Edwardi regis, quoted from Twysden, Scriptores, 1652, col. 395:

Sic est frater fratrem adjuvans

Edward's Last Words
(49.10)

These two speeches appear together in Ailred but in reverse order (see Twysden, Scriptores, 1652, col. 401). Ailred's source is Osbert de Clare's life of Edward (first printed in Analecta Bollandiana, 1923, p. 110) and Osbert has the story from the earliest occurrence in the anonymous Vita Aedwardi Regis, 1962, p. 79.

49.10 Edward passing out of this life. Edward died 5 January 1066.

49.12 wife abroad ... sister or daughter at home. In the anonymous biography Edward simply commands that she be obeyed as "your

lady and sister" (ut pro domina et sorore). Osbert gives no such description so that Ailred is either drawing on an oral tradition or a lost intermediate source. Ailred may be inventing a final, discreet explanation for Edward's childlessness.

49.14-17 If you loved ... he pleaseth. This is only half of the speech as it appears in Ailred; Camden translates it rather closely. Ailred retains the sense if not the words of Osbert, but Osbert has changed the original speech from the anonymous life. It bears repeating (Vita Aedwardi Regis, F. Barlow ed., 1962, p. 79):

> Adgrauato ad mortem eum sui starent et flerent amare,
> 'Nolite,' inquit, 'flere, sed deum pro anima mea
> rogate, michique eundi ad deum licentiam date.
> Non enim michi ne moriar propitiabitur, qui sibimet
> propitiari noluit ne non moreretur.'

A Warrior Should Die Standing
(49.18)

The earliest occurrence of this and the following story of Siward is in Henry of Huntingdon (Hist. Angl., Rolls, pp. 194-196); they appear close together (separated only by the story of Godwin's death, see above, 49.1) but in reverse order, as logically and chronologically they should. Huntingdon may have heard them from an old retainer of Siward's, or through popular legend. Camden gives Huntingdon as his source (50.7) for the second story which follows Huntingdon more closely. For this first story he has taken greater liberties. The speech is considerably condensed and reveals no

specific debt to Huntingdon. Huntingdon's story reflects the Nordic spirit, and could be compared with the story of the death of King Hake in the Heimskringla (Samuel Laing, ed., London 1889, vol. i, p. 299). Camden's account is more indebted to Suetonius; see below, 50.2. Camden inserted a reference to Siward's manner of death in the fifth edition of Brit., 1600, p. 734 = 1695, p. 866.

49.18 Sywarde. Siward, a Dane, became earl of Northumberland **in or before 1041;** died at York in 1055, the year after defeating Macbeth. Siward is always spoken of as having great strength and nearly gigantic height. His behaviour and speech fit the model of a stern warrior in the Norse sagas. He is often called "Digera" (the strong one). **See also Wright, Saga, pp. 129-133 & 135.**

49.20-50.1 That it became ... like a beast. In Huntingdon the speech is longer and contains a wish to have died in battle rather than like a "sick cow" (ut vaccarum morti cum dedecore reservarer). Siward then makes a touching appeal to be dressed in his armour so that he might at least die in a soldier's garb. The distinction between lying and standing is only implied. Higden, Fabyan, and Holinshed have him sitting up in a chair, in full armour. Camden's stress between lying and standing is picked up from Suetonius; see below, 50.2.

50.1. like a beast. Huntingdon's phrase "like a cow" may be deliberate comparison with Siward's ancestry; by legend he was

descended from a white bear and a lady. (DNB)

50.2 spoken ... by Vespasian. Suetonius (Vespasian, xxiv) and Dio-Xiphilinus (Roman History, lxvi.17) tell the story of Vespasian's death. Cf. Suetonius:

> imperatorem ait stantem mori oportere

Wounded Before or Behind?
(50.3)

The source is the same as above, 49.18. Camden follows Huntingdon closely this time.

50.3 his sonne. This is Osbeorn, the elder son of Siward, though Huntingdon does not name him; Siward's nephew, also named Siward, and Osbeorn were both killed in the same battle against Macbeth (1054). The son is not named in Holinshed and Shakespeare calls him merely young Siward.

50.6-7 I am right ... or mine. Shakespeare (Macbeth V.vii. 74-79) follows Holinshed, but he may have known Camden's version which is equally brief.

Other Times, Other Manners
(50.8)

The earliest occurrence which I have traced is in Higden, Polychronicon, Rolls, vii, p. 183. Higden follows Malmesbury (Gesta Pontificum, Rolls, pp. 35-37) for the outline story of Stigand's illiteracy and covetousness, but Higden has added this story and the

Latin verse either on his own or through another tradition. Camden's failure to name Stigand, his attribution of the story to "anonymous", and the fact that it does not occur in B might at first glance suggest that Camden either heard the story or that he used a version which gave no source. But his version follows Higden's too closely to be accidental and he has placed the story correctly "in this age" -- a detail not likely to survive by word of mouth. Rather, I think that Camden chose to omit the source and the name in order to throw emphasis on the essential truth in a story of doubtful authenticity: Higden is too late to be authoritative, but Stigand's corruption is well documented by Malmesbury and other early chroniclers. Omitting a specific date and name might also bring the story up to date, and make the moral strike home in Camden's own time when pluralism and illiteracy must have seemed as widespread as before.

50.8 a Bishop. In no version is the bishop named, but it is Stigand whose faults Malmesbury enumerates and it is Stigand whom Higden clearly has in mind though he is cautious enough not to ascribe the actual speech to him. According to Higden, the saying simply sprang up and was commonly used by the lazy, greedy bishops of the day as the standard reply to criticism. Stigand was the classic example of the prevailing evil: he was uneducated and he held the bishoprics of Winchester and Canterbury concurrently. Stigand was deposed by the Synod of Winchester in 1070 and died in 1072.

50.9 conversation. I.e., manner of conduct.

50.11-12 Nunc aliud ... mores. Part of a couplet in a poem of 22 lines attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin (c. 1056-1133); the full couplet goes (Migne, PL, clxxi, 1407 and 1456):

Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores:
Nunc odium virtus, sceptra merentur opes.

The poem is apparently about Bishop Odo (c. 1036-1097) but Hildebert praises Odo and the couplet refers to the corrupt clergy of the poet's own day. The verses occur again in two late twelfth century manuscripts; see Jakob Werner, Beiträge, Aarau, 1905, pp. 92 and 95. By Higden's time the couplet must have been a common catch phrase, but Higden may well have found the verse in Giraldus who uses it twice (Gemma ecclesiastica, Rolls, ii, p. 360; Speculum ecclesiae, Rolls, iv, p. 223), both times giving only the single verse. As Geraldus does not refer to Odo in either case, Higden could freely pick up the shoe and put it on Stigand's foot. Much later, Fabyan (who follows Higden and whose version Camden very likely knew) translates the single verse into seven lines of doggerel (Chronicle, H. Ellis ed., 1811, pp. 227-228). **For the proverb, cf. ODEP, p. 600.**

Gyrth Advises Harold
(50.13)

This story first occurs in Jumièges, Gesta Normanorum ducum, vii. 35; Harold's reaction is described but there is no speech. It has **been established** that the passage in Jumièges is an

interpolation by Orderic Vitalis; it agrees nearly word for word with the story in Vitalis's own Ecclesiastical History (Chibnall ed., ii (1969), pp. 170-172). Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 301) gives the story possibly using a copy of Jumièges with Vitalis's interpolation. Matthew Paris gives it twice (Chronica Majora, Rolls, i, p. 540; Flores, Rolls, i, p. 592) and repeats Malmesbury almost word for word. Chibnall states (p. xxiv) that the original source is not known but there is in my opinion a remarkably similar story about Duke William (the Conqueror) in Poitiers (Gesta Guillelmi, ii.10; Foreville's ed., p. 171) which may have supplied Vitalis with a model. In any case, the story was probably first modelled on a similar exchange between Memnon and Arsites in Arrian, Anabasis, I.xii.9-10.

Camden's failure to name his source is curious since we know he was familiar with this story for some time; it appears in the third edition of Brit. (1590, 85-86 = 1695, p. clix) as part of an essay he wrote "when raw and young" (Brit., 1695, p. clv). The version printed here is a condensation of the youthful essay as it closely translates some passages and repeats certain features not present in any source. If the youthful essay could be said to follow any one source more than another that would be Jumièges (i.e., Vitalis's interpolation) whose history of the Norman dukes Camden printed in his anthology.

50.13-15 When the fatall ... of England. Camden's addition. Chronologically the story is out of place as this passage reveals. In

the chronicles it comes after the story of William's landing (51.12). It may be given here to keep it apart from the stories about William but Camden may have been uncertain of the sequence; there is nothing in his earlier essay or in Jumièges to help place it.

50.15 Girthe Haroldes younger brother. Gyrth (d. 1066) was the fourth son of Earl Godwin. He was younger but not so young in 1066 as Malmesbury makes him.

50.17-19 that the successe ... affaires. This translates the passage in Brit., 1590, p. 85:

> victorias saepius esse a fortuna quam virtute,
> cunctationem maturam maximam esse disciplinae
> militaris partem

Not in any source.

50.20-51.2 for no force ... their terrour. This follows Brit., 1590, p. 85:

> vtique nullis copiis contra conscientiam muniri posse,
> Deum de violata fide paenas expetiturum, nec quicquam
> magis terrori Normannis fore, quam si novum conscriberet
> exercitum quo nouis denuo praeliis exciperentur

51.7-9 But the King ... base minde. This follows the substance if not the words of Brit. and has no apparent source. Camden has wisely rejected the absurd version in Jumièges/Vitalis in which William reacts to Gyrth's entreaty by flying into a violent rage and kicking his mother.

51.9-11 Wel, then ... occasion. Not in Brit. or any version of the story I have seen. The proverb echoes Galatians, 6:5.

William Seizes England
(51.12)

Malmesbury's is the earliest version (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 300). He has either invented it or remodelled a legend to imitate the story of Caesar's first landing in Africa; the verbal echo with Suetonius (Julius, lix) is unmistakeable. Wace (Rou, 6597-6616) expands and dramatises the incident. Matthew Paris gives the story twice: in his Chron. Maj. (Rolls, i, p. 539) he repeats Malmesbury's brief account nearly word for word, but he has apparently used Wace or the tradition of Wace as a basis for the version he gives in Flores Hist. (Rolls, i, p. 591). If we accept Richard Vaughan's recent argument (Matthew Paris, 1958, pp. 173-176) then Paris is the author of the version in the anonymous Estoire de Saint Aedward le rei, which also follows the tradition of Wace.

Camden has used more than one source. He follows the Flores Hist. up to 51.17 (see below) with possible influence from Fabyan and the anonymous Life of Edward. But the "livery and seisin" passage could only be based on a tradition stemming from Wace. The Roman de Rou was not available in print and it is unlikely that Camden either saw or would have used, had he seen, a manuscript copy of the epic poem in Norman French. There was, however, an anonymous thirteenth century prose rendition of Wace printed under the title Cronicques de Normendie, which, unlike the poem, would appear to be a serious work of history.

Brunet (Manuel du libraire, i, 1871-1875) lists five editions, the last in 1581. I have not been able to find a copy of this book, but Bouquet prints most of it in the Recueil (from a manuscript), including the pertinent passages. It seems certain that Camden used this prose rendition of Wace (what he refers to as "Hist. Normanca") rather than Wace's poem itself. This and the next two stories appear in Wace and in the prose Wace; the second of the three, the story of the wizard (52.3) occurs in no other work that I am aware of. Also the sequence here follows that of the author of the prose rendition who for some reason has reversed the order of Wace, giving the livery-of-seisin story first and then the wizard story.

51.13 graveled ... stacke ... in the sand. Possible verbal echoes occur in the anonymous Estoire de Saint Aedward le rei, Rolls, p. 153:

> Li ducs Willame al ariver
> Chei suvin sur le graver
> As meins se prent a la gravele
> (4529-31)

and in Fabyan (H. Ellis ed., 1811, p. 235):

> one fote slode, and that other stacke faste in the sande.

But all similarity with Camden's version ends here.

51.14-17 Wherewithall ... in England. This follows Matthew Paris's Flores closely in that it is an attendant who helps William to his feet and reassures him. Camden omits the attendant's greeting to

William as "rex future". In Wace (following Malmesbury) it is the duke himself who gives the bad omen a favourable interpretation.

51.17-52.1 and then espying ... Country. This occurs only in Wace, who is clearly alluding to the ceremony of land conveyance and investiture. In the prose Wace, the attendant replies (from Bouquet, Recueil, xiii, p. 228):

> Sire, je vous baille la saisine de ce royaume, & vous promets que ançois qu'il soit ung an, je vous en verray, seigneur, ou je serai mort.

According to Bloch (Dictionnaire étymologique, 1964, p. 570) 1136, the time of Wace, is the earliest usage of saisine as a legal term in French but the English custom of delivering a piece of sod as the symbolic transfer of property from one owner to another dates from Anglo Saxon times (see Poole, Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, p. 412). Camden's "livery and seisin" is both inaccurate and anachronistic. The correct term is livery of seisin (Anglo-French, livery de seisin). It occurs considerably later and probably indicates a formalisation of the ceremony; OED gives 1475 as the earliest recorded usage as a legal term in English.

Wizard, Know Thyself
(52.3)

See above, 51.12. The story occurs in Wace (Roman de Rou, 6559-6596) immediately before the livery of seisin story, and in the prose rendition of Wace (Bouquet, Recueil, xiii, p. 228) immediately after

the livery of seisin story, that is, in the order Camden follows. There are certain differences in Camden's version which suggest he used some other tradition based more loosely on Wace, but I think these can easily be seen as the result of Camden's revisions. In Wace the incident is an episode of thirty-seven lines; the prose translator condensed it slightly without changing the sense. Camden has condensed it a bit more.

52.3 A Wizard. Wace and his translator call him a clerk of astronomy who knew necromancy.

52.4-5 told William ... Harold. The original prophecy is more elaborate: (a) William will cross the channel safely, (b) Harold will surrender without fighting and (c) will offer him the kingdom, (d) and finally the ambiguous phrase:

que il le tendroit du Duc

meaning presumably that duke will become king and king will become duke -- which echoes nicely with the reversed hauberk story (52.12) that follows on a few lines later.

52.7-8 that ship ... miscarried. This agrees with Wace (6584) who seems to forget that earlier (6485) he stated two ships would perish. The prose translator remembers there were two:

la nefs où il estoit & une aultre estoient peries

Camden's agreement with Wace at this point is probably accidental: reducing the number to one ship emphasises the point of the story.

52.8-11 He would ... owne mishap. This follows the prose translator (from Bouquet, Recueil, xiii, p. 228):

> Par foi dit le Duc, il n'est pas sage qui mieulx pense d'aultrui profit, que du sien: toutesvoies suis je passé, Dieu sait ce qui sera du surplus.

Changing from Duke to King (52.12)

All versions of this story derive from Poitiers, Gesta Guillelmi, ii.14. His account is a brief mention in two sentences; the duke laughs at the mistake but his comment is only implied. Poitiers's reputation as a chronicler and the fact that he was William's chaplain lead historians to credit this incident, of all the legends about the Conqueror, with some authenticity. Poitiers's brief allusion is developed by the author of the Brevis relatio de origine Willelmi, Giles ed., 1845, p. 7, and by Wace (Roman de Rou, 7521-7552) who seems to follow the Brevis. Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 302) follows Poitiers and is equally brief. Nearly all the chronicles after Malmesbury give some version, usually with Malmesbury's phrase turning a dukedom into a kingdom ("Vertetur," inquiens, "fortitudo comitatus mei in regnum."). Camden could hardly fail to know more than one version but the version here clearly echoes the prose rendition of Wace.

52.12 That morning ... with Harold. In single combat; the point is clearer in Poitiers than in Wace.

52.12-15 his armorer ... that day. This dramatisation occurs only in the Brevis Relatio, in Wace, and the prose translation of Wace. Camden's wording follows the prose Wace (Bouquet, Recueil, xiii, p. 232):

> quant l'en arma le Duc, son haubergon lui fut baillié à vestir ce de devant derrière, & l'avoit ja presque endossé quand il s'en perceut: dont aucuns distrent que c'estoit mauvais signe; & que se autant il leur en estoit advenu, ilz ne se combatteraient de la journée.

52.16-18 I force not ... to a King. This follows the prose Wace in substance if not always in words. The play on South-saying/in sooth is Camden's, but the last line is straight translation:

> que j'en lairay le nom de Duc, & auray le nom de Roy.

Odo Seeks Rome
(53.1)

This is not effectively a story but a collection of incidents sharing the common theme of foolhardy credulity. Camden has composed the paragraph chiefly from passages in a work he chooses to call "Liber Cadomensis" because the manuscript was found at Caen. Camden thought of it as a separate tract and published it in his Anglica (1603, pp. 29-35) as a "Fragmentum ex antiquo libro monasterii S. Stephanii Cadomensis, de Guilelmo Conquestore". A MS. found in the monastery which the Conqueror had built and in which he was buried would certainly inspire confidence, but the "Liber Cadomensis" is in fact two fragments from Book vii of Orderic Vitalis's Historia Ecclesiastica

(see Hardy, Catalogue, ii, p. 41). Camden presumably discovered this for himself after the first edition of Vitalis in 1619 as Nicholas Peiresc wrote to inform him of the publication (Camdeni Epistolae, 1691, p. 217). Malmesbury refers to Odo's designs on the papacy (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 334) but it is not possible to establish that he wrote before Vitalis.

53.1-3 Magike ... a verity. Camden is apparently making a general comment, with no apparent specific allusion.

53.3-4 Hildebrand ... commonly practised. Legends of Hildebrand (c. 1021-1085; Pope Gregory VII from 1073) were well publicized by Aeneas Sylvius, by O. Gratius, and by Baronius, but Camden's mild scepticism is probably a reaction to Malmesbury's enthusiastic credulity (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, pp. 322-326). Hildebrand's whole pontificate, it seems, was fraught with miracles and portents.

53.5-8 Valens ... Theodosius did. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIX.i. 29-33) tells the story of this classic hoax but Camden appears to repeat it from common knowledge. In any case he tells only the essential trick in a far more elaborate plot.

53.8-14 So when Hildebrand ... restrained. Cf. Vitalis, Hist. eccl., vii.8. Camden selects, condenses, and rewrites a much longer account.

53.8 like curiosities. Vitalis does not specify beyond stating that sorcerers applied their art to discover who should succeed

Hildebrand. The magical playing on letters as a means of prophecy was commonplace throughout the middle ages; compare Hugh the Cantor's account of the election of Thurstan to Archbishop of York in 1117 (J. Raine, ed., Historians of Church of York, Rolls, ii, p. 128).

53.9 Odo. William the Conqueror (his uterine half brother) made Odo (c. 1030-1097) Bishop of Bayeux in 1050 and Earl of Kent in 1067. Stenton (Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, p. 616) doubts that Odo had serious ambitions for the papacy; Vitalis and Malmesbury are the only ones to make a definite accusation. William imprisoned Odo in 1082 but he was released after William's death in 1087.

53.14 Offensive ... restrained. Camden's rendering of Vitalis Hist. Eccl., Prévost ed., Paris 1845, iii, p. 191:

> Noxia temeritas semper comprimenda est, nec uni ad detrimentum reipublicae pro aliquo favore parcendum est. Hunc ergo virum, qui terram turbat, comprehendite; et, ne in deterius praevaleat, solerter custodite.

This is only part of a much larger speech William makes to a council he has summoned on the Isle of Wight in 1082 to try Odo for treason and desertion. In Vitalis, it leads immediately into the next story (53.16) of Odo's arrest.

Arrest the Earl, not the Bishop (53.16)

Marjorie Chibnall states in her edition of Vitalis (Hist. Eccl., ii (1969), p. xxiv) it is not possible to establish who wrote earlier, Vitalis or Malmesbury, or even to establish that the one knew of the

other. But if the agglutinate theory of legend-building obtains in this case, then Malmesbury's briefer version is probably the parent of Vitalis's (Hist. Eccl., vii.8) fuller treatment. Malmesbury has consciously modelled (not to say based) his story on a classical parallel in Persius Flaccus (Satire i.85). Camden follows Malmesbury.

53.16-19 When the same ... his Lords. Camden's summary.

53.19-54.2 Lanfranc ... of Kent. Malmesbury forgets himself and tells the story twice. In the first (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 334), as in Vitalis, Lanfranc has no part. In the second (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 361), which Camden follows here, the witty distinction is made by Lanfranc. It is in the second also that Malmesbury refers to the rhetorical device of antithesis used by Persius. The distinction was not uncommon; see also Malmesbury's Historia Novella, ii.473.

The Two Faces of Pope Julius III (54.2)

Roger Ascham relates this story in his Report and Discourse, London, 1570 (STC 831), p. 10^{v}. He states that Piramus made the remark "openly at the table" to Sir Philip Hoby and the Bishop of Westminster (then Thomas Thirlby) -- presumably in April, 1553, when Hoby and Thirlby were sent to Brussels to negotiate peace between Spain and France. Piramus was apparently referring to the pope's behaviour over the emperor's claim to Sienna:

> Piramus is a Papist for his life: & beyng asked how he could excuse the Popes vnkyndnes agaynst his

master the Emperour: Hee aunswered smilyng Iulius tercius is a knaue but the Pope is an honest man, which saying is common in this court.

54.3 Piramus. Otherwise unknown. Charles V had a jester by the name of Perico and the poet Petrus Carmelianus worked for a time as Charles's secretary.

54.3 Charles the fift. (1500-1558) King of Spain as Charles I and emperor as Charles V from 1519. Charles was at war with Henry II of France for possession of Italian states, including Sienna and Parma.

54.4 in late yeares. I.e., recently.

54.4 Iulius the second. Read: Julius III (pope from 1550-1555). He at first supported Charles V then, as a consequence of imperial reverses, confirmed Parma to Ottavio Farnese, the ally of France. Camden's error is understandable: Julius II (pope from 1503-1513) was if anything even more of a knave in the eyes of Elizabethans and a favourite object for gibes. He was satirized by Erasmus in The Praise of Folly (1511), by Gringore in Prince des Sots (1512), and by Richard Pace in De Fructu (1517).

54.6-7 saying, that the Pope ... Iulius a very kn. 1614 corrects the compositor's omission of 1605. Lack of space induced the abbreviation "kn.".

A Thousand Lights in France
(54.8)

The source is Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 336) who may

have invented the story to typify the antagonism that developed between William and Philip of France in the years following the Conquest. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that William fell ill after burning the town of Mantes in 1087 and died shortly thereafter. The chronicler then produces a resumé of William's life, stressing the treasure and riches William had amassed as an example of his greed. This pre-Mantes "sickness" is the invention of Malmesbury. It is a semi-allegorical story which both gently satirises William's excesses (gluttony and/or avarice) as well as demonstrates his valour. As history, the story is probably groundless, but as an imaginative portrayal of William's character and disposition toward the end of his life it is fair enough (see Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971, pp. 620-621).

The story was repeated by nearly every chronicler after Malmesbury. Camden follows the version of Fabyan (or Grafton who copies Fabyan) and even repeats several phrases verbatim. He improves on Fabyan's clumsy, old-fashioned wording. By omitting the cause of William's "sickness" Camden weakens the point of Philip's gibe and shifts the emphasis to William's retort.

54.8-10 sicknes ... childe-bed. According to Malmesbury, William retired for a short time (aliquantiser se continuit) as a remedy for his overweight. Philip's witticism is directed at William's fat belly (jocatus in eius ventrem quem potione alleviarat).

As Fabyan translates it: "Wyllyam laye in childbedde and norysshed his fatte wombe". William's great seal seems to bear out the point about a large belly; see Allan Wyon, Great Seals of England, 1887, p. 7 and plate II, 14.

54.10-11 Which when ... William. The version in B is closer to Fabyan:

> The which wordes whan they were blowen to kynge Willyams erys

54.11-12 a thousand lights. As in Wace, Roman de Rou, the prose Wace, Fabyan, and Grafton. In Malmesbury and all other versions I have seen, it is one hundred thousand (centum milia).

54.12-13 alluding ... churched. Camden's addition.

54.13-14 and that hee ... sword. A condensed reference to the following paragraph in Fabyan.

England Belongs to God
(54.15)

The source is Orderic Vitalis Hist. Eccl., vii.15; it is part of a long autobiographical speech William supposedly makes on his death bed. The speech is certainly the composition of Vitalis, written as an apologia in which William is made to regret the manner of his life and the brutalities he has committed while king. Camden follows Vitalis, or rather the "Liber Cadomensis" as above (53.15) which is the fragment he published in the Anglica. The story also appears in the second edition of Brit. (1587, 85 = 1695, p. clv) where Camden

refers to his source as the "History of St. Stephen's monastery at Caen".

54.15-17 I appoint ... thinges are. This translates Vitalis closely, as far as it goes. But Camden omits the second part of the comment which would have completed the sense Vitalis had in mind, namely that William will appoint no heir because he did not achieve the throne by hereditary right but took it by force with great loss of blood. Camden, however, desires to present William's comment as fulfillment of Brithwold's prophecy; see 9.3 of this edition.

A Crowned Ass (55.1)

The story occurs in Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 467; I am unable to identify Camden's first reference, the "Annales Ecclesiae Cant.". It was probably a manuscript written at Canterbury, but Malmesbury is probably the earlier version if not the original. The version here does not follow Malmesbury in any point except the proverb itself.

55.1-3 This king ... saying. In Malmesbury it is Henry himself not William who speaks the proverb; Henry supposedly often repeats it in his father's hearing (patre quoque audiente).

55.3 An vnlearned ... crowned Asse. Rex illiteratus, asinus coronatus (Malmesbury); cf. Walther, Proverbia, 26,852. Singer states (Sprichwörter, iii, p. 102) that the proverb can be traced to the tenth

century, but this is taking at face value the story in an anonymous twelfth century work, the Gesta consulum Andegavensium (as printed in Lucas d'Achery, Spicilegium, Paris, 1671, vol. x, p. 437). In this work it is Fulk II, Count of Anjou (d. 958) who applies the proverb to Charles the Simple (879-929); this rather charming story can be found in the Nouvelle Biographie Générale, Paris, 1856 under Foulques. In John of Salisbury (Polycraticus, iv.6) the proverb is applied to Henry I (?876-936) of Germany.

55.3-5 Which speech ... fine Scholler. Not in Malmesbury.

55.4 Henry. (1068-1135), fourth son of William the Conqueror; king as Henry I from 1100.

55.5 Beauclearke. Vitalis, Hist. Eccl., xi.9, refers to Henry as "literatus rex". Thomas Wykes (Chronicon, as printed in Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, London 1846-49, iv, 11) describes him, about 1290, as "quem vulgus Clericum nuncupabat". "Beauclerc" first occurs in the second half of the fourteenth century in the anonymous Brut or Chronicles of England (ed. F.W.D. Brie, London, 1906 EETS, i, 137, 138, and 140). Henry's reputation as a man of letters has been exaggerated; see C.W. David in Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History, ed. C.H. Taylor, Boston, 1929, p. 95.

Food For Kings
(55.7)

Most chronicles refer to Rufus's habit of keeping bishoprics and

abbies to himself but I have not found this speech in any account. Camden presumably has it from the "Liber Cantuar." (56.2) he gives as a source for the next story. The rendition in B has the appearance of an unpolished translation.

55.7 William Rufus. William II, the Red (c. 1056-1100), third son of William the Conqueror; king from 1087.

55.7-8 to keep ... in his handes. Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 380) states that at his death, Rufus held three bishoprics and twelve abbies. Freeman (William Rufus, ii, p. 564 et seq.) discusses Rufus's dealings with vacant bishoprics.

Rufus and Simony (55.10)

I have not found Camden's source, the "Liber Cantuar.". It was probably, like the "Annales" above (55.6), a manuscript written at Canterbury and possibly the same manuscript. The earliest version I have found is in Higden (Polychronicon, Rolls, vii, p. 414) who seems to be following an oral tradition. The story resembles one told of Charlemagne by his biographer Notker the Stammerer, De Carolo Magno, i.4. Higden is conspicuously vague, does not name the abbot in question and gives no source. The story is repeated from Higden by Fabyan (H. Ellis ed., 1811, p. 253) and Grafton (H. Ellis ed., 1809, i, p. 178). Holinshed (H. Ellis ed., 1807, ii, p. 31) is the first to record the third monk's reply to the king.

Camden seems willing to accept on the authority of his one source a story which is not only highly suspect but contradicts all other accounts of Rufus's behaviour, including that in the preceding story (55.7). See also Freeman (William Rufus, ii, pp. 564-567) discussing Rufus's notorious dealings with vacant bishoprics and abbies. It may be Camden was pleased with the idea that so wicked a king could speak so fair a speech. It is interesting to note that Camden does not include any of the numerous unfavourable stories about Rufus.

55.10-11 port-sale. Public sale to highest bidder. OED first cites in 1494.

55.11-13 when twoo Monkes ... for an Abbey. Not in any version I have seen. Higden simply states that two monks gathered a great sum of money and offered it to the king (duo monachi collecta magna pecuniae summa regem adeunt).

55.11-12 drop-vied. Or drop-vie; to drop pieces of coin in competition, hence a competition in which each tries to outbid the other. OED first cites in 1598.

55.12 Bezantines ... of that age. Camden has corrected the anachronistic error of B. The Bezant was current in England until the reign of Edward III; the Angel or more fully the Angel-noble was first coined in 1465 (OED). Camden discusses the Bezant in "Money", cf. Remains, 1614, p. 201.

55.14-56.1 Not one ... more sincerely. Holinshed (H. Ellis ed., ii, p. 31) is the first to record the third monk's reply:

> (he) made answere, that he would giue nothing at all for anie such purpose, since he entred into that profession of meere zeale to despise riches & all worldlie pompe, to the end he might the more quietlie serue God in holinesse & puritie of conuersation.

56.1-2 Then (said ... have it. Cf. Higden, Polychronicon, Rolls, vii, p. 414:

> Accede, inquit rex; tu solus dignus es tam sacrum onus subire

Rufus on Royal Impunity (56.4)

Freeman (William Rufus, ii, pp. 645-652) has traced this highly popular story. The earliest occurrence is Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 373; the version in Vitalis (Hist. Eccl., x.9) is similar but lacks the speech. The version in Jumièges (Gesta Norm. ducum, viii.8) is the work of Robert of Torigni; somewhat later and probably based on Malmesbury, it includes both story and speech. Malmesbury's model is the story of Caesar's crossing from Apollonia to Brundisinia (48 B.C.). Later in the same paragraph Malmesbury denies that Rufus is imitating Caesar because Rufus was not a learned man and could not have read the story in Lucan (Pharsalia, v.578-593). He says it is merely that great men think and act alike in any era; it is the transmigration of the soul from one great man to another.

Caesar's crossing is described by Plutarch and Suetonius besides

Lucan; the story was well-known throughout the late middle ages and renaissance and accounts for some of the exceptional popularity of Malmesbury's story about Rufus: history was repeating itself, England's kings were as bold as the Caesars. I have found some version of the story in nearly every chronicle after Malmesbury; Holinshed tells it twice (H. Ellis ed., ii, p. 39 and p. 70). Camden may be repeating it from common knowledge; the version here betrays no specific source.

56.4-5 When newes ... cittie of Constances. Read: Le Mans. The error (probably a mistranslation of Malmesbury's "Cinomannis") occurs in Grafton but Camden probably picks it up from the popular oral tradition of the day. Le Mans was besieged by Hélias of La Flèche and Rufus made his headlong rush across the Channel in 1098-9. See Poole, Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, p. 112.

56.8-10 Hoise vp ... to vs. Cf. Malmesbury: Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 373:

> Atqui, inquit rex, nunquam audivi regem naufragio interiisse. Quin potius solvite retinacula navium, videbitis elementa jam conspirata in meum obsequium.

The latter portion, Quin potius ... obsequium, about the conspiring elements tends not to appear in versions after Malmesbury. Since it does not appear in B either, the suggestion is that Camden went back to Malmesbury to complete the story before handing it to the printer.

56.10-13 Answerable to ... fortunam vehis. Camden's addition. It provides further evidence that he is repeating the Rufus story largely from memory. Malmesbury specifically alludes to Caesar's

crossing as told by Lucan; Camden is repeating, somewhat faultily, the same story as told by Suetonius (Julius, 38). The correct form is: "Caesarem vehis, Caesarisque fortunam".

56.13-17 And as couragiously ... great shot. Camden's addition, presumably a popular story of the day.

56.14 Charles ... Tunis. Charles V (1500-1558) Roman emperor and as Charles I, King of Spain. He personally led the conquest of Tunis against the French in 1535. William Robertson describes the incident (Hist. Emp. Charles, ed. W.H. Prescott, London 1887, p. 341).

56.15 Guasto. Alfonso d'Avalos, Marquis del Guasto (or Vasto); was in charge of the landing operations at Tunis.

56.16-17 thou never ... great shot. Stevenson (Proverbs 1307.7) states that Charles spoke the proverb at the battle of Pavia in 1525, but gives no source.

Rufus and the Pair of Hose
(57.1)

The story first occurs in Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 368, who has based much of it on Cicero, De officiis, ii.15. Robert of Gloucester, Metrical Chronicle, Rolls, ii, pp. 575-576, put the story in verse and John Stowe (using a transcription of Gloucester) printed the lines "Fie a dibles" to "other ne serve me not" in his Summarie, 1565, fol. 56. W.A. Wright states (Robert of Gloucester, Metrical Chronicle, i, p. v and p. xl) that Stowe's copy of Gloucester was apparently

Cotton Caligula A.xi, fol. 3-168. Camden no doubt saw the same manuscript; he is clearly familiar with the whole chronicle and refers to Stowe's copy as his source for another story. Camden's text here is apparently based on Stowe's transcription for he adopts Stowe's modern word forms and repeats certain readings peculiar to Stowe's printed text, readings that do not appear in Wright's textual apparatus.

57.2-3 the good and historical ... Glocester. Camden probably knew the story in Malmesbury; he offers us Gloucester's version as a means of attaining two objects at once, telling the story and sampling the verses of that time.

57.4 Princes pride ... private pride. The point of the story has undergone some changes. Cicero was talking about Beneficence and Liberality (beneficentia et liberalitate). Malmesbury was attempting to distinguish two kinds of givers, the liberal and the prodigal, and to explain why Rufus was the latter: he simply had no sense of the value of things. It is Gloucester who turns it into a story of human vanity.

57.11 so vile a cloth. As in Stowe; "eny cloth" in all MSS.

57.12 for a marke. As in Stowe; "of a marc" in all MSS.

57.12 ha cory fore. Read acorie sore; i.e. suffer sorrow.

57.14 he them. As in Stowe. Not in any MS.

The Death-dream of Rufus (57.17)

Camden's source is an anonymous fragment of uncertain date entitled "Fragmentum historiae Francicae a Roberto rege ad mortem Philippi regis ex veteri exemplari Floriacensi" as printed by Pierre Pithou in his Historiae Francorum, 1596, p. 92. It is noteworthy that Camden chose this story of Rufus's dream above other stories and above the obvious choice of Malmesbury's often repeated, considerably more elaborate and portentous account in Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, p. 377. Rather, Camden chose an early manuscript of Norman composition published recently by a reputable scholar. It is the first occurrence in English of this variant story, to my knowledge. It is also the one version that reflects favourably on Rufus's character.

57.17-21 Hitherto also ... contrary answering. Camden's paraphrase follows the Latin fragment closely but for omitting that Rufus dreamed the dream

> in nocte prothomartyris Stephani quae solemnitatem reuelationis præcedebat

St. Stephen's day is 26 December; Rufus died 2 August.

57.19-20 he dreamed ... his sides. In Malmesbury's story, of which this may be a variant, Rufus dreams he is bled by a surgeon and that his blood, streaming toward heaven, blots out the light of day.

57.21-58.1 They are ... regard dreames. Cf. Pithou, ed., Historiae Francorum, 1576, p. 92:

Non esse rectae fidei, qui somnia obseruarent.

The Character of Henry I
(58.4)

Camden has combined and paraphrased passages in Henry Huntingdon (Hist. Ang., Rolls, pp. 255-256), Higden (Polychronicon, Rolls, vii, p. 476 et seq.), and Jumièges/Torigni (Gesta Normanorum ducum, viii.10). The reference to the number of Henry's bastards and to his strict justice are probably from current popular opinion. The order in which Camden cites his sources (58.10-11) is not chronological by date of composition but it may indicate the order in which he consulted them.

58.5-7 He was ... and lechery. This follows Huntingdon and Higden closely. Not in Jumièges/Torigni.

58.7-8 Of which ... sixteene bastards. None of Camden's sources specifies the number of Henry's bastards.

58.8-10 But it seemeth ... Lion of Iustice. Not in Camden's sources. Jumièges/Torigni (Gesta Norm. ducum, viii.10) praises Henry for the ardent manner in which he punished thieves and miscreants. Camden may still be thinking of the "crudelitate" Huntingdon applies to the manner in which Henry dealt with the earl of Morton by plucking out his eyes.

58.9-10 for the learned ... Lion of Iustice. Camden seems unaware or has forgotten that the epithet comes from Merlin's "prophecy"

as quoted in Monmouth (Hist. Reg. Brit., vii.3):

> Succedet leo iusticie. ad cuius rugitum gallicane turres & insulani dracones tremebunt.

He could not, however, have known the same "prophecy" as quoted by Orderic Vitalis (Hist. Eccl., xii.47), who interprets the "prophecy" and identifies Henry as the lion.

Henry II and the Two Spice Cakes (58.12)

The version here is a slightly condensed, somewhat garbled paraphrase of the story as Map tells it in De nugis curialium, v.6. Some phrases are literal translation but Camden omits a crucial part of Adam's self-defense (59.1-4) and thus makes nonsense of the king's final judgement (59.13-15). In the original story both parties have legitimate and approximately equal complaints. Adam claims that he received guests, presumably into the court, and sent a messenger to Thurstan asking for two cakes from the royal stores, but Thurstan refused them. Afterwards, when Thurstan wanted his bill (breue suum) Adam refused it to spite him. The king judges Thurstan guilty, i.e. he who said no first. The alterations here may derive from a faulty manuscript (it was not in print and Camden probably used a recent copy) or, more likely, Camden over-condensed in his rush to get to the final speech. It is conceivable but unlikely that Camden was trying to white-wash the Spencer family name.

58.12-13 King Henry the first. Read: Henry II (1133-1189).

Map did not specify.

58.15-17 Turstane ... L. Spencers came. See also Remains, 1605, pages 104, 109, and 133. Camden's derivation for the Spencer family is more etymological than genealogical. There is, however, something obviously missing in Map's text, which reads simply:

Turstinus filius dispensator erat

J.H. Round (The King's Sergeants, 1911, p. 192) supplies Simonis after filius thus making the steward Thurstan Fitz-Simon. Map was a colleague of Thurstan. On the fictitious descent of the Spencers from house of Le Despenser, see Round, Studies in Peerage, p.279 ff.

58.20-21 commending the old ... his booke. In Map, Thurstan does not speak. What we know of his side of the argument is only what Adam tells us.

59.1-4 The Clarke ... his Booke. Adam's self-defense reads (Map, De nugis, Wright ed., 1850, p. 231):

> Susceperam hospites et misi qui precaretur dominum Turstinum quod mihi duo liba de vestris dominicis daret. Qui respondit, Nolo. Cum autem postea vellet breve suum, memor illius Nolo, similiter dixi, Nolo.

59.5 that negative. I.e. Thurstan's "Nolo" to Adam, which Camden has omitted. The omission appears to be an error rather than a deliberate alteration of the story.

59.12-15 adding this speech ... neede shall require. Camden has put the speech into the first person (cf. Map, De nugis, Wright ed., 1850, pp. 231-232):

> et adjecit, ut non tantum sibi deberent invicem ministri subvenire de suo proprio uel de fisco, sed etiam singulis domesticis, et quos necessitas urgeret alienis.

Henry I and the Two Pottles of Wine (59.16)

Source is as above (58.12), Map's De nugis curialium, v.5.

Camden's paraphrase follows the substance of Map closely this time though the arrangement and expression are largely his own. The few changes are minor ones. Camden has, contrary to his habit, put this story into the third person. Camden makes no attempt to reproduce Map's characteristic punning and word-play.

59.16 a pottle ... everie night. Cf. Map: singulis noctibus singula sextercia.

60.1-2 Paine Fitz-Iohn. Map calls him Paganus filius Johannis; a prominent baron and itinerant justice, killed in 1137 (DNB).

60.6-7 who asked ... for livery. Cf. Map: Quid hoc? nonne semper vinum habetis vobiscum?

60.8-9 to say the ... of pardon. Camden's insertion.

60.13-14 This I note ... and clemencie. Camden's addition. Map states (De nugis, ed. T. Wright, 1850, p. 211):

> Sic Pagani justum timorem absolvit et regis mitigavit iram vera confessio, fuitque tam regiae facetiae quam largitatis loco rixarum et irae laetitiam ei lucrumque refundere.

The Charity of Matilda
(60.16)

The source is Ailred of Rievaulx, De Genealogia Regum Anglorum (printed in Twysden, Scriptores, 1652, col. 368). Ailred, who was a dispenser of King David, claims that the story was told him by David himself (ex ore ... David regis audiui). Matthew Paris (Chron. Maj., Rolls, ii, p. 130) - Camden's chief source here - follows Ailred in most details except for David's age; see below, 60.19. Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, pp. 493-495) speaks at some length about Matilda and his comments provide the basis for Camden's introductory remarks, but Malmesbury does not give the story. By an independent tradition the story appears also in an excerpt of Turgot, a prior of Durham (see Surtees Society edition of Simeon of Durham, vol. 51, p. 265), and in Fordun, Chronica in Historians of Scotland, W.F. Skene ed., 1871, i, p. 228. In Robert of Gloucester (Metrical Chron., lines 8959-8978), whose version Camden probably had read, David's part is taken by an unnamed knight. Camden gives us only the essential part of a much longer story.

Joinville (Histoire de Saint Louis, i.4 and ii.139) twice tells a similar story in which St. Louis asks him to help wash the feet of lepers on Maundy Thursday.

60.16-17 Queene Mawd ... of Scotland. Camden's insertion. Eadgyth took the Norman name Matilda after her marriage with Henry in 1100; it was from her popular name "good Queen Mold" that "Maud"

developed.

60.17-19 was so devoutly ... of charitie. Camden's paraphrase of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum, Rolls, ii, pp. 494-495; not in Paris.

60.19-20 when David ... to visite her. Ailred states that the incident occurred while David was a young man serving at court (adolescens in curia regia seruirem). This would have to be the court at Westminster in 1105 where Matilda had settled. Paris (whom Camden follows) puts it somewhat vaguely as "eodem tempore David ... venit in Angliam". David (c.1085-1153) king as David I of Scotland from 1124; he would have been twenty in 1105.

61.1 poore peoples feete. She washes and kisses the ulcerating feet of lepers in all accounts before Camden. Ailred was comparing Matilda with the piety of Esther.

61.1-2 Verily if ... his lippes. This translates Paris as far as it goes but Camden has removed all the repulsiveness and toned down David's remark. In both Ailred and Matthew Paris, David, as a young man, is emphatically horrified at what he sees; cf. Paris, Chron. Maj., Rolls, ii, p. 130:

> "Quid est quod agis, o domina mea? Certe si rex sciret ista, nunquam dignaretur os tuum, leprosorum pedum tabe pollutum, suis labiis osculari."

Matilda replies, smiling:

> "Pedes," inquit, "Regis aeterni quis nescit labiis regis morituri esse praeferendos?"

Matilda then bids David join in, but he cries out for mercy and flees back to his fellows.

Salt Among Quick Eels
(61.5)

Camden's source is the original, Henry of Huntingdon's Epistola ad Walterum de contemptu mundi, 6. Camden used a manuscript and probably the sixteenth-century copy made for his friend and fellow antiquarian Roger Daniel (see Thomas Arnold's description of this manuscript in the Rolls edition of Huntingdon, Hist. Angl., p. xliii). The story is first-hand: Huntingdon was archdeacon of Lincoln under Simon's father Robert Bloet and was brought up in the same household. Camden tells the story in his own words, omitting much of Huntingdon's comments about Simon's fate, but the speech of Simon is a straight translation.

61.5 Simon Deane ... became a favourite. Huntingdon states that Simon was born to Bloet while he was chancellor to William the Conqueror and that he was made dean while he was very young.

61.7-8 I am ... quicke Eeles. Huntingdon is quoting Simon: "Ego curialibus interponor quasi sal anguillas viventibus". To Huntingdon, Simon's pungent wit was the cause both of his rise to favour and of his downfall. The circular path of his fortune is brought out more clearly in the original: cf. Huntingdon, Epistola ad Walterum, Rolls, p. 305:

> Ex superbia crevit invidia, ex invidia odium, ex odio detractiones, jurgia, delationes.

61.10-11 The salt ... the dunghill. Camden has composed this

speech from Huntingdon's comments on Simon's fate, especially two fragments:

Sicut sal anguillarum destruitur humore

and the sentence explaining how Simon escaped from prison through a sewer:

et in carcerem positus, per latrinam aufugisse dicitur

Huntingdon's story ends with the proverb:

Qui in ::croceis nutriebantur, amplexati sunt stercora.

Numbers Without Discipline are Nought (61.14)

I have not identified Camden's source, the "Historiola de Standardo". It was probably a manuscript whose age and authority Camden misjudged. Camden's introductory remarks contradict the known facts and bear little resemblance to any account of the battle that I have read, either in the contemporary chronicles or in recent historical research. But the aphorism itself is an accurate translation of a sentence in Henry of Huntingdon.

61.14-15 When the Scottes ... invaded England. The Battle of the Standard was fought at Allerton in 1138. Camden discreetly omits naming David I who led the Scottish forces; see Poole, Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, pp. 271-273.

61.15-16 the Northerne people ... in his cradle. William de Blois, called Le Gros, had command at the Battle of the Standard and

was afterwards created Earl of Albemarle by King Stephen for his part in the battle. Camden must have been aware of the accepted story of William's part in this battle for it is mentioned in numerous chronicles. The suggestion is that the "Historiola" was a manuscript which Camden thought to pre-date other accounts of the battle.

61.16 **respective.** Cf. OED definition 5-a.

61.18 Ralph Bishop of Duresme. A clue to the date of Camden's source. Ralph Nowel was Bishop of the Orkneys (episcopum Orcadum) but subject to the See of Durham. The error of calling him Bishop of Durham occurs first in the Flores Historiarum of Roger of Wendover - the same speech is applied to Walter of Espec in Ailred of Rievaulx, Descriptio de Bello Standardi, in Twysden, Scriptores, 1652, 339-341. The Norman-French "Duresme" is presumably from Camden's source.

61.19-21 Assure your selves ... easily discomforted. The sentence is from a lengthy speech Ralph supposedly delivers to the English on the battlefield. It occurs first in Huntingdon, Hist. Angl., Rolls, p. 263:

> Multitudo enim disciplinae insolens ipsa sibi est inpedimento in prosperis ad victoriam, in adversis ad fugam.

Roger of Hoveden (Chron., Rolls, i, p. 194) repeats it verbatim.

How To Feed Hawks
(62.2)

Camden's source is the original, Map, De nugis curialium, v.6.

62.2-4 Mawd the ... the second. Camden's introduction.

62.3 stiled her selfe Lady of the Englishmen. Matilda is called "Angliae Normaniaeque Domina" in Malmesbury (Hist. Nov., iii.42, 44; or 491) and "Matilda Imperatrix, Henrici Regis filia, et Anglorum Domina" in a charter in Rymer (Foedera, i.14). Queen ("Cwen") to mean a reigning monarch had not yet caught on. See also Poole, Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, p. 3, note.

62.4-6 Be hasty ... the longer. Map's version is longer and in the third person; as he puts it Matilda's advice might as well have come from the mouth of William Rufus (cf. Map, De nugis, T. Wright ed., 1850, p. 227):

> Matris suae doctrinam audivimus hanc fuisse, quod omnia protelaret omnium negotia, quod quaelibet in manum suam excidentia diu retineret, et fructus inde perciperet, et ad eas suspirantes in spe suspenderet, parabola crudeli sententiam hanc confirmans, hac scilicet: Accipiter insolens carne sibi saepius oblata, et retracta vel occulta, fit avidior, et protinus obsequens et adhaerens.

62.7-8 Others Maximes ... a Prince. I have not identified the "In arte Regnandi" Camden refers to.

A Time for Love and a Time for War
(62.9)

As above, Camden's source is the original, Map, De nugis curialium, v.4. He has condensed the story without loosing the sense; he omits Map's scorn for Robert's homosexual love and an irrelevant description of a battle.

62.9 Robert. (d. 1147) eldest son of Henry I; on the question of his illegitimacy see Freeman, Norman Conquest, i. pp. 851-854.

62.10 Stephen Beauchampe. Not identified.

62.14-16 Pardon mee ... vppon you. The full speech in Map is perhaps more touching; the contrast between Venus and Mars is explicit (cf. Map, De nugis, T. Wright ed., 1850, p. 205):

> "Miseremini mei, nec sitis ad ignoscendum difficiles confitenti; homo multae libidinis ego, cum me vocat domina mea Venus, voco servum ejus Stephanum ministrum ad hujusmodi promptissimum, cum vero Mars, alumnos ejus vos consulo, quod autem ei mea fere semper auris adhaeret, os loquitur, et verum vobis hinc est, quod Veneri voluntarius servio, Marti milito coactus."

Henry II Waits on His Son (62.18)

The story of Henry's coronation occurs in numerous chronicles, but I have found this story only in Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum, Rolls, i, p. 353. As it does not occur in his Chronica Majora the suggestion is that it came to his hand late and possibly through an oral tradition. Some verses about the same incident were inserted in the margin of a manuscript (Cotton Claud. B.vii) of Roger of Hoveden written in a hand the same age as the text, twelfth century; see Stubbs' edition of Hoveden, Chronica, Rolls, ii, p. 4; and Hardy, Catalogue, ii, p. 252. The Historia Anglorum was not in print in Camden's day and its authorship was uncertain. At one time or another Stowe, Cecil, Cotton and Archbishop Parker possessed copies

any one of which Camden could have seen. For the speeches, Camden follows Paris closely, but he omits Paris's preliminary description of the banquet scene.

62.18 eldest sonne ... be crowned. Henry (1155-1183) was the second son of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine; their first was named William (1153-1156) (HBC). Henry's coronation in June 1170 by the Archbishop of York was an infringement on the prerogative of Thomas Becket; see Poole, Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, p. 213.

63.2 Archebishop of Yorke. Roger of Pont l'Évêque (d. 1181) was consecrated archbishop in 1154; Roger sided with the king throughout his controversies with Becket.

63.6-7 onely by his mother. Henry II was the son of Matilda, Queen of England, and Geoffrey IV, count of Anjou.

63.10-11 I repent ... vntimely advauncements. The echo of Genesis 6:7 is clearer in Paris: Poenitet me fecisse hominem. Camden omits Henry's final comment, supposedly spoken to some bystanders. It is a paraphrase of Isaiae 1:2: Filium enutrivi et exaltavi, ipse autem jam sprevit me. Both comments are probably the embellishment of Paris for they omnisciently foreshadow the young king's revolt from his father in 1173.

Wimund's Blind Boast
(63.12)

Camden's source is the original, William of Newburgh, Historia

rerum Anglicarum. Newburgh claims that Wimund himself and a follower of Wimund are his sources of information: Quem nimirum ego postmodum apud Bellalandam nostram saepius vidi, actusque ejus insolentissimos cum casu dignissimo didici.

The story is out of chronological order. As Camden states (63.12) the incident occurred during the reign of Stephen, probably in 1151, and ought therefore to come before the story of Henry II waiting on his son. It is the first of fourteen stories (63.12 to 69.10) not in B. They were presumably added late and possibly handed to the printer on a separate addenda sheet.

63.12 Wimund. Little is known of him outside the remarkable account in Newburgh. Howlett states (p. 73, note) he was a son of Angus, the Maarmor of Moray, and seems to have been known as Malcolm McHeth. J. Dowden (The Bishops of Scotland, 1912, p. 272) proposed that he was the same as Hamond, son of Iole, a pretender to the Scottish throne.

63.14-15 some English ... apprehended him. Newburgh is rather vague, Hist. rerum Angl., Rolls, i, p. 75:

> Nactique tempus opportunum, cum praemissam ad hospitium multitudinem lento pede et raro stipatus satellite sequeretur, comprehensum vinxerunt

63.15-16 gelded him ... of heaven. The allusion to Matthaeus 19:12 is Newburgh's.

63.18-19 Had I ... scot-free. The pun is Camden's. Newburgh writes:

si vel passeris oculum haberet, inimici ejus de actis
in eum minime exsultarent.

A Bridge of Ships to Ireland
(64.1)

This and the following two stories are from the Itinerarium Cambriae of Giraldus Cambrensis. Giraldus also tells this first story in his De principis instructione, iii.25, but this was not in print and manuscripts were rare. The present story appears in the Itinerarium Cambriae, Rolls, vi, pp. 109-110.

It was William Rufus, not Henry II as Camden has it, who made the boast, hence this story also is out of chronological order. The error probably derives from eye-slip as the story of Henry II and the Lech-laver stone (64.18) comes immediately before in the same paragraph. Moreover, Henry II had indeed been to Ireland; Rufus had not. In the Britannia (1586, p. 375 = 1695, p. 632) Camden correctly attributes the story to Rufus.

64.1 Henry the second. Read: William Rufus. If Rufus reached St. David's at all it would have been during his campaigns of 1095-1097; see Poole, Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, p. 286.

64.3-4 I with ... bridge thither. Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis:

> Ad terram istam expugnandam, ex navibus regni mei huc convocatis, pontem adhuc faciam.

64.5 Murchard king of Lemster. Freeman states (William Rufus, ii, p. 93, note) that this is an error for Murtagh of Connaught, head

king of Ireland.

64.7 no mention of God. The story is probably ironic. Rufus, of all kings, was least likely to call upon God's help. Eadmer (Vita Sancti Anselmi, ii, 46) reports that the sentence of damnation was passed on him for his blasphemies.

64.8-9 I feare ... of God. Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis:

> "Quoniam," inquit, "homo iste de humana tantum confidit potentia, non divina, ejus adventum non formido."

More Food for Kings
(64.10)

The source is as above (64.1), Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Cambriae. Camden omits a description of Owain and condenses the story into his own words.

64.10 Owen of Kevelioc. Owain Cyveiliog, or Owain ab Gruffydd (d. 1197). Giraldus states that Owain had favoured the royal cause and opposed the measures of his own chieftains.

64.12-14 which he ... very leasurely. The comparison was to an almoner distributing bread which is in turn plucked up bit by bit and eaten, cf. Itin. Camb., Rolls, vi, pp. 144-145:

> ipse statim in regio conspectu elemosynaria panem in frusta concidit; et elemosynarum more primo remotius exposita, deinde singulatim retracta, comedit universa.

64.15 I doe ... Soveraigne. Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis:

> "Domino," inquit, "meo morem in hoc gero."

Henry II and the Lech-laver Stone (64.18)

As above (64.1) the source is Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Cambriae. Giraldus tells the story in his earlier work Expugnatio Hibernica, Rolls, v, p. 285 which Camden also printed in his anthology. Camden relates only Henry's boast, which is but a small part of a lengthy story. He omits Giraldus's explanation of the Lech-laver legend and, and of more note, he omits the encounter Henry has with an irate Welsh woman. Henry, dressed as a pilgrim, is approaching the church of St. Andrew and St. David when the woman stops him and demands to be heard. Because her petition is ignored she invokes the prophecy of Merlin upon Henry. When Henry passes by the stone unharmed, she consoles herself by asserting that obviously Henry is not the king in the prophecy. It is curious that Camden should omit such a lively story unless he thought it was more seemly to let Henry have the last word. More likely, he was choosing the one part of a long story which interested him the most: discrediting the prophecies of Merlin. The time of the story is 1172.

64.20 Conqueror ... should die vpon a stone. The "vulgar fiction", as Giraldus calls the prophecy, was that (Itin. Camb., Rolls, vi, p. 108):

> Angliae regem Hiberniae triumphatorem, ab homine cum rubra manu in Hibernia vulneratum, per Meneviam redeundo super Lechlavar moriturum.

64.21 Lech-laver. The stone bridges the river Alun and the name,

as Giraldus tells us, signifies "speaking-stone" in the British tongue so called, he says, by an ancient superstition that the stone once spoke when a corpse was being carried over it.

65.1 reprooving ... credulity. Camden's addition.

65.2-3 Now who ... liar Merlin. Cf. Giraldus:

Merlino mendaci quis de cetero fidem habeat?

"Zacchaeus, make haste and come down."
(65.4)

Foliot makes the comment at the end of his most celebrated letter, Multiplicem nobis, in which he refutes the outrageous behaviour of Thomas Becket at the Council of Northampton in 1166. The letter survives in several copies, one in the Cotton library (Claudius B.iv) could be the anonymous manuscript Camden refers to.

65.4 Gilbert Foliot. Abbot of Gloucester 1139-1148, Bishop of Hereford 1148-1163, Bishop of London 1163-1187. For an account of Foliot's part in the controversy see Morey & Brooke, Gilbert Foliot, Camb., 1965, pp. 166-187; for a briefer account of the council and Becket's outrageous behaviour, see Poole, Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, pp. 207-209.

65.5-6 Ad Zachaeum ... iam descendisses. The allusion to Lucas 19:2-10 is part of a longer sentence in Foliot's letter, Foliot, Letters & Charters, ed. Morey & Brooke, 1967, p. 243:

> Quod si placet aduertere, ad Zacheum non diuertisse Dominum, nisi cum de siccomoro iam descendisset,

> descenderetis forsitan, et quem minis exasperastis, uerbis alloquendo pacificis mitigare studeretis, non solum <non> exigendo, sed et satisfactionem humilem etsi forte iniuriam passus, offerendo.

None of Camden's variant readings correspond with those given by Morey and Brooke.

The World is Small Enough for a Great Prince (65.10)

Camden has apparently composed this aphorism from a chapter in Giraldus Cambrensis's Topographia Hibernica, Rolls, v, pp. 189-190. He puts the words of Giraldus into Henry's mouth, and slightly exaggerates them but it more or less accurately distils the sense of what is in fact unblushing panegyric on the part of Giraldus. The chapter is short enough to quote in full:

> Certant enim cum orbe terrarum victoriae vestrae: cum a Pirenaeis montibus usque in occiduos et extremos borealis oceani fines, Alexander noster occidentalis, brachium extendisti. Quantum igitur his in partibus natura terras, tantum et victorias extulisti. Si excursuum tuorum metae quaerantur, prius deerit orbis quam aderit finis. Animoso quippe pectori cessare possunt terrae, cessare nesciunt victoriae; nec deesse poterunt triumphi, sed materia triumphandi.

A Fleecing Shepherd (65.12)

William of Newburgh gives the story in Historia rerum Anglicarum, ii.22. It does not occur in any of the collected lives of the archbishops of York that I have seen nor in the life of Geoffrey written

by Giraldus Cambrensis. Camden's story is in his own words but it follows Newburgh closely in all but one minor point, the number of years the bishopric was vacant. It is probable that Camden used more than one source, but the chief source was almost certainly Newburgh or a version based on Newburgh. Perhaps Camden referred to a manuscript copy of Giraldus as a double-check on the facts.

65.12-13 In the time ... long voyde. Newburgh tells us that after the death of Robert de Chesney in 1167 the king seized the revenues of Lincoln and the bishopric remained vacant for seventeen years (per annos fere decem et septem).

65.13-14 as a certaine ... of Lincolne. As Newburgh puts it, Hist. rer. Angl., Rolls, i, p. 154:

> maxime propter verbum cujusdam conversi de Tama a decessu praenominati episcopi constanter pronuntiantis, nullum ulterius fore ecclesiae Lincolniensis episcopum.

65.17-18 That he ... in feeding. Camden has composed the remark from part of a longer sentence in Newburgh, Hist. rer. Angl., Rolls, i, pp. 154-155:

> Cum autem ille amplissimis contentus redditibus, ut liberius vacaret deliciis, canonicae consecrationis tempus protraheret, ovesque dominicas nesciens pascere, et doctus tondere, multo tempore Lincolniensi ecclesiae sub electi nomine incubaret, memorati viri verbum in multorum animis ad fidem coepit reserpere.

Honesty Above Royalty
(65.19)

The aphorism is Camden's, based on a story in Map's De nugis

curialium, v.6. Map and Geoffrey were always arguing, as Map himself reports. The particular argument which gave rise to this exchange came after Map, as curate of Ashwell, refused to pay an exorbitant tax which Geoffrey, as bishop-elect of Lincoln, levied upon him. Map pleads his case to the king and the king decides in Map's favour. Afterwards, when they happen to meet, Geoffrey swears, as was his custom, in the king's name to have revenge. Map models his reply on St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians 5:1, that is: we should be imitators of God as beloved children just as the Lord so often speaking of himself as the son of man, said nothing about his divine father. Then comes the reference to Geoffrey's mother which Camden has translated with such a free hand; see below, 66.1-3.

65.20 By my ... my father. Camden's dramatisation; not in Map.

66.1-3 You might ... fathers royaltie. Camden's rendition misses the cutting irony in the reference to Geoffrey's mother, De nugis, ed. Wright, 1850, p. 236:

> utinam et tu consimili velles humilitate jurare
> secundum matris officium aliquando celata patris regalitate.
> Sic decet imitari Deum qui nil egit arroganter.

Camden also omits, as perhaps unseemly, the rest of their exchange in which Map likens Geoffrey's threats to so much passing of wind. Map has the last word, needless to say.

66.3-7 This Bishop ... his Seales. Camden was probably prompted to add this information by Map's reference, a few lines later, to Geoffrey's seal: sigillumque suum appendit collo gratulantis.

A Castle of Bones
(66.8)

The story first occurs in an anonymous work usually referred to as Annales Hiberniae under the year 1352. Camden printed this work, the first complete edition, in an appendix to the sixth edition of Britannia using Bodleian MS. Laud 526. He states (Brit., 1607, p. 794) that his friend and fellow antiquarian Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563-1640) sent him the manuscript while the new edition of the Britannia was at the press, i.e. two years after the first edition of Remains.

Camden's reference to Henry of Marlborough (66.12) as his source is a curious error. Camden printed a portion of Marlborough's chronicle in the same appendix, immediately following and as a continuation of the Annales Hiberniae (Brit., 1607, 832-836; 1695, appendix unpaginated), but the story does not occur in Marlborough. The evidence suggests that Camden is recalling the story from memory: it is well out of chronological order, and he seems unable to specify which member of the Savage family made the remark. The story was well known as Holinshed printed it in Chronicles of Ireland, 1808, vi, p. 256. Holinshed identifies him as Henry Savage and gives a date, though the wrong date, 1350.

Camden was obviously fond of the story as he gives it again in Britannia (1607, p. 768 = 1695, p. 1016) in his own words.

66.8 Savage. Henry Savage. DNB states (under Roland Savage)

that an ancestor by the name of Sir William accompanied De Courcy to Ireland in 1176 and settled in the Ards, county Down, holding his lands by baronial tenure.

66.11-12 that hee ... his body. The original is somewhat fuller; and the writer gives the proverb in both Latin and vernacular, cf. Annales Hiberniae, in Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin, Rolls, ii, p. 392:

> Ubicunque fuerint homines fortes, ibi est castrum vel castellum, juxta illud: filii castrametati sunt, id est, fortes ordinati sunt ad bellum, ideo, semper ero inter fortes homines, sic ero in castro, et dixit in vulgari melius est castrum de bones quam de stones, scilicet, de ossibus quam de lapidibus.

For proverbial equivalents see: ODEP, p. 525; Tilley M555; and Stevenson, Proverbs, 2441.13 (gives Greek and Latin equivalents).

Lese-majesty
(66.13)

Camden's source for this and the four following stories is the Polycraticus of John of Salisbury, or Polycraticon as Camden calls it and as it is called in early editions. Salisbury (c. 1115-1180) wrote as a contemporary; the Polycraticus was completed about 1159 and dedicated to Thomas Becket.

66.13 Robert Blanchmaines. (d. 1190) He was chief justiciar for Henry II about the time Salisbury finished writing Polycraticus. Since Robert joined the rebellion against Henry II in 1173 in favour

of Prince Henry, his speech might be called untimely.

66.13-14 Soveraigne Princes ... true maiestie. The aphorism is Camden's, but the idea is present in Salisbury who is talking more generally about the interdependence of sovereign and state (quoted from Polycraticus, vi.25; Webb ed., ii, p. 73):

> Ceterum quod aduersus caput aut uniuersitatem membrorum dolo malo malitia praesumit, crimen est grauissimum et proximum sacrilegio, quia, sicut illud Deum attemptat, ita et istud principem, quem constat esse in terris quandam imaginem deitatis. Et ex eo quidem maiestatis dicitur crimen

66.16 Crimen maiestatis. The concept derives probably from a crime against the people in Greek law. For the Roman precedent, see Digesta, 48.iv.1. Lese-majesty was the legal term used in England from about 1430. (OED) Threats to the life of Elizabeth I were probably uppermost in Camden's mind at the time of writing this.

The Church of Rome is Full of Scribes and Pharisees (66.17)

As above (66.13) the source is John of Salisbury, Polycraticus, vi.24, for both the speech of Salisbury and Hadrian's fable. I treat them as separate aphorisms.

66.17-21 an English man ... his stirroppe. Camden's addition.

66.18 converting Norway. Nicholas Breakspeare (c. 1100-1159) founded an archiepiscopal see at Drontheim and succeeded in conciliating the clergy. He was hailed as Apostle of the North when he returned to

Rome in 1154 and made pope as Hadrian IV the same year. (ODCC)

66.20-21 Emperour Fredericke ... his stirroppe. Frederick I, called Barbarossa (c. 1125-1190). The story is told by Boso, Hadrian's contemporary and English apostle (see L. Duchesne, Lib. Pont., ii (1889 fascicle), pp. 391-392). When they met at Nepi in 1155, the emperor did not come forward to take the bridle of the pope's horse so the pope refused him the kiss of peace. Later, after Hadrian's pertinacity had won the day, the emperor received the pope anew and led his horse before the German army. The story was probably well known in Camden's day. Camden refers to Hadrian's conversion of Norway and his treatment of Frederick in Brit., 1607, 206-207 = 1695, p. 302.

67.2-3 The Church ... and Pharises. The somewhat mixed metaphor is Salisbury's, as is the echo of Matthaeus 23:2 (quoted from Polycraticus, Webb ed., 1909, ii, p. 67):

> Romana ecclesia, quae mater omnium ecclesiarum est, se non tam matrem exhibet aliis quam nouercam. Sedent in ea Scribae et Pharisei

67.4-5 whenas you ... your children. This occurs two pages later (Webb ed., ii, p. 71):

> Si ergo pater es, quare a filiis munera et retributiones expectas?

The Fable of the Stomach and the Body (67.5)

As above (66.17) the source is John of Salisbury, Polycraticus,

vi.24.

67.5 Adrian smiled. Camden makes it appear to be his immediate reply, but he has left out a number of Salisbury's further accusations and complaints.

67.6 it may seeme long. Long as it may seem, Camden's version is much condensed. He follows Salisbury closely but leaves out much of his amplification which tended to drive the point into the ground.

67.7 Menenius Agrippa. Agrippa's speech to the plebians on the Sacred Mount, B.C. 494. Salisbury borrowed the fable from Livy, ii.32 (without acknowledging a source) but the analogy of the stomach and the body was timelessly popular: cf. Xenophon, Mem., II.iii.18; Cicero, De off., II.v.22; Florus, i.17; St. Paul, 1 Corinthians 12:12 and 11:7; Quintus Serenus Sammonicus, Liber Medicinalis, 300-305; and Shakespeare, Coriolanus, I.i.101-160.

The Pontificate Burdens Hadrian IV (68.13)

As above, the source is Polycraticus, vii.23. It is also recorded by Helinandus, Chron., xlviii, under the year 1154 (Migne, PL 212, 1058).

68.13-14 All his ... or quietnesse. The aphorism is Camden's, based on Salisbury (quoted from Webb ed., 1909, ii, p. 410):

> Dominum Adrianum, cuius tempora felicia faciat Deus, huius rei testem inuoco, quia Romano pontifice nemo miserabilior est, conditione eius nulla miserior.

Let the Lord support Whom He has raised.
(68.15)

As above, Polycraticus, vii.23 (Webb ed., 1909, ii, p. 411).

Camden follows Salisbury closely; though the echo of Psalmus 4:2 is lost:

> Et, ut uerbis eius utar (nichil enim, cum praesens sum, sui gratia uult apud se absconditum esse ab oculis meis): In incude, inquit, et malleo semper dilatauit me Dominus; sed nunc oneri quod infirmitati meae imposuit, si placet, supponat dexteram, quoniam michi importabile est.

Richard I Confronts the French
(68.19)

Camden's source is the Ypodigma Neustriae of Thomas Walsingham. Walsingham copied the story nearly word for word from the Annales of Nicholas Trevet (Hog ed., 1845, p. 154). Trevet's story is probably an elaboration of Ralph de Diceto's brief account in Imagines (Rolls, ii, p. 114).

This is the last story of the group not in B (63.12 to 69.10) which may have been given to the printer on a separate sheet. It is also out of chronological order and ought to appear as it does in Diceto, Trevet and Walsingham, immediately before the story of John's reconcilation with Richard I; see below 72.13.

68.19 Richard the first. (1157-1199; reigned from 1189) Richard embarked for Normandy on 12 May 1194 with a hundred ships and within a few weeks forced Philip II to abandon Verneuil (Poole,

Domesday to Magna Carta, 1955, pp. 373-374).

69.1-2 his pallace at Westminster. Walsingham and Trevet say it was "apud Westmonasterium, in aula sua, quae dicitur Parva".

69.3-8 he in greatnes ... into Normandie. Camden has changed very little; he puts the speech into the first person and emphasises Richard's speed (Walsingham, Ypodigma, Rolls, p. 118):

> quo audito, jurasse fertur, se nunquam aversurum faciem, quousque Regi Francorum occurreret, pugnaturus. Unde effracto muro e directo, per aperturam factam, cujus usque hodie vestigium ostenditur, egressus, acceleravit ad mare, et in Normanniam transfretavit.

The legend portrays the king's valour in the same way and strongly recalls the story of Rufus's bold crossing (56.4).

To Make a Young Earl from an Old Bishop (69.11)

The story occurs in two contemporary chronicles: William of Newburgh, Historia rerum Anglicarum, and Richard of Devizes (Cronicon, 1963, p.6). In Camden's day it was printed by Fabyan (1811, p. 299) and Holinshed (1807, ii, p. 207). Other accounts (without the speeches) occur in: Gesta regis Ricardi, Rolls ii, p. 90 and Geoffrey of Coldingham, in Historiae Dunelmensis scriptores tres, ed. J. Raine, 1839, p. 14. Camden's version, though it is shorter, differs little from Newburgh and Camden very likely used Newburgh for the sentence not in B; see below 69.16.

69.11-12 Richard purposing ... things solde. Richard I began

selling offices and preferments in the year of his coronation, 1189, to finance the third crusade.

69.13 Hugh Pudsey. Hugh de Puiset (d. 1195), Bp. of Durham from 1154. For details of his purchase of Northumbria in 1189, see G. V. Scammell, Hugh de Puiset, 1956, p. 50.

69.14-16 Am not ... olde Bishoppe. Newburgh's account is considerably fuller and includes the appropriate quotation from Isaias 5:8 (Vae qui conjungitis domum ad domum, et agrum agro copulatis), but the speech itself follows Newburgh closely (Hist. rer. Angl., Rolls, i, p. 305):

> De vetusto episcopo novitium comitem mirus ego artifex feci.

69.16-18 But this ... in him. This follows Newburgh, v.10, and occurs nowhere else to my knowledge (Hist. rer. Angl., Rolls, ii, p. 436):

> nostri autem temporis episcopis, quibus mundus non est crucifixus sed infixus

Richard I Disposes of Three Daughters (70.1)

The story is told by Giraldus Cambrensis twice (Itin. Cam., i.3; Rolls, vi, p. 44 and Spec. Ecc., ii.12; Rolls, iv, p. 54) and by Roger of Hoveden (Chronica anno 1198; Rolls, iv, pp. 76-77). Hoveden's version is a more consciously literary treatment and includes a quotation from Juvenal (Sat., i.160), but it is not possible

to say who wrote earlier. Giraldus and Hoveden were both living at the time and each may have obtained the legend independently. Holinshed (1808, ii, p. 271) repeats the story from Hoveden.

Dimock states (in Itin. Cam., Rolls, vi, p. 44, note) that the story does not occur in some manuscripts of the Itinerarium and suggests that Giraldus added it to his "second edition" (see also introduction p. xli). It does occur in Camden's edition of the Itinerarium (in Anglica, 1603, p. 831) and that would be the obvious source to suggest for the version Camden uses here were it not for the high number of verbal echoes of Holinshed, particularly in B. The version Camden printed betrays no certain debt to Giraldus but he may have trimmed and polished it to follow Giraldus more closely, especially the passage 70.7-10.

A variant story appears in Walter of Guisborough, Chronica, ed. H. Rothwell, 1957, pp. 142-143, which takes place at the king's death bed and in which Walter of Constances is the priest.

70.1 Fulke. Foulques de Neuilly (d. 1201) a religious zealot, renowned for his predictions and his preaching for a fourth crusade. The encounter with Richard I is said to take place in 1198. (NBG)

70.7-10 Is it ... among you. This follows Giraldus closely (Itin. Cam., Rolls, vi, p. 44):

> "Jam," inquit, "maritavi filias istas, et nuptui dedi; Templariis superbiam, nigris monachis luxuriam, albis vero cupiditatem."

King Richard's Lament over Jerusalem (70.11)

Camden's source is Joinville's Histoire de Saint Louis. His chapter references for this and the two following legends correspond to the edition of 1547 and he repeats the error in Joinville's name (see below 71.6) from the title page of the 1547 edition.

70.11-13 When there ... from Acres. In July 1191 Acres surrendered. Then Philip II returned to France and Hugh III (c. 1150-1193), duke of Burgundy, was placed in command of the French forces. They reached Beit-Nuba, about twelve miles from Jerusalem in December but foul weather dissuaded Richard from attempting a siege. (DNB) And see S. Runciman, History of the Crusades, iii, p. 63.

70.13 battalles. I.e., battalions.

70.15-17 signified to ... taken Ierusalem. Hugh retreats in order to force Richard to retreat; the text of 1547 is bad:

> il fut mande de l'ost du Duc de Bourgongne, au Roy d'Angleterre, que le Duc s'en retournoit seulement, affin que l'on n'eust peu dire, que les Anglois eussent prins Hierusalem: qui luy procedoit de grand enuye.

The text as reconstructed by de Wailly (1874, p. 304) reads:

> on li manda de l'ost le duc que il n'alast avant; car li dus de Bourgoingne s'en retournoit ariere, pour ce, sanz plus, que l'on ne deist que li Anglois eussent pris Jerusalem.

71.4-6 Ah my ... the enemies. The edition of 1547 reads:

> Ha Sire Dieu, ie te prie que ie ne uoye point ta Cité de Hierusalem, puis que ie ne la puis deliurer des mains de tes ennemys!

The text of de Wailly (1874, p. 304):

> Biaus sire Diex, je te pri que tu ne seuffres que je voie ta sainte citei, puisque je ne la puis delivrer des mains de tes ennemis.

For another lament of Richard, see Richard of Devizes, Cronicon, 1963, p. 82.

71.6 Ian Sire de Ionville. Jean, sire de Joinville (1224-1317) Seneschal of Champagne; he completed his history of St. Louis in 1309. The superfluous "Signeur" in B and 1605 is copied from the 1547 title page of Joinville.

Richard, Terreur des Enfants (71.7)

As above, Camden's source is Joinville; Joinville took the two legends of Richard's prowess from l'Histoire de Eracles empereur (see Historiens Occidentaux, ii, p. 182 in "D" text and p. 183 in "C" text). Again, Camden's version is little more than a translation of Joinville:

> Et tant estoyt remply de prouesse ice-luy Roy Richart, qu'il fut plus craint & redoubte des Sarrazins, que ne fut oncques prince Chrestien: en sorte que quant les petits enfans des mescreans se prenoient a pleurer, les meres (pour les faire taire) leur disoyent: taisez uous, uoicy le Roy Richart qui uient pour uous querir: & incontinent les petitz enfans, oyans nommer ledict Roy Richart, se taisoient, sans plus plourer. Et semblablement les Turcz & Sarazins (si leurs cheuaulx auoyent paour de quelque umbre) en les picquant leur disoient, & cuydes tu que ce soyt le Roy Richart?

The text as reconstructed by de Wailly reads (p. 44):

li roys Richard demoura en la sainte Terre, et fist tant de grans faiz que li Sarrazin le doutoient trop, si comme il est escrit ou livre de la Terre sainte, que quant li enfant aus Sarrazins braioient, les femmes les escrioient et lour disoient: "Taisiez-vous, vez-ci le roy Richart!" pour aus faire taire. Et quant li cheval aus Sarrazins et aus Beduins avoient poour d'un bysson, il disoient à lour chevaus: "Cuides-tu que ce soit li roys Richars?"

Is This Your Son's Coat, or Not?
(71.18)

Most chronicles of the period report the capture of Philip, but the earliest occurrence that I have found of this story is in Matthew Paris (but not in Wendover). Paris tells the story three times (Hist. Angl., Rolls, ii, pp. 59-60; Chron. Maj., Rolls, ii, p. 422; Flores Hist., Rolls, ii, p. 115) under the year 1196. Camden follows closely the Hist. Angl.; compare below. This appears to be another instance of Camden using a manuscript rather than a printed source. He could easily have used Parker's editions of the Chron. Maj. or the Flores; for the Hist. Angl. he had to use a manuscript, see above 62.18.

71.18-72.5 When the ... taken in. Camden's introduction.

71.18 a skirmish. One of the territorial wars with Philip II. According to Newburgh (Hist. rer. Angl., v.31) Richard stormed the castle of Milly in 1196 and the bishop of Beauvais, hearing of the attack, took up arms to oppose him. The bishop was captured and brought before Richard who had him imprisoned. This, from the English

point of view, was a case of divine justice for it was the bishop of Beauvais who had caused Richard to be captured on his way home from the Holy Land (see Richard of Devizes, Cronicon, Appleby ed., 1963, p. 80).

71.19 Philippe. Philippe de Dreux (d. 1217), Bishop of Beauvais.

72.1-2 being complained ... he wrote. Hoveden (Chronica, Rolls, iv, pp. 21-24) quotes two letters, very likely fictitious, one from Philip to his father, Pope Celestine, and Celestine's reply. Celestine supposedly says, in effect, that Philip got what he deserved. In Matthew Paris, it is the canons of Beauvais who write to the pope.

72.6-8 willed his ... Hanc invenimus. Camden's addition. He completes, identifies, and translates the quotation from Genesis 37:32.

72.8-12 vide vtrum ... for him. Camden follows Matthew Paris closely (Hist. Angl., Rolls, ii, p. 60):

> "Vide, si tunica filii tui sit, an non?" At papa subridens respondit, cum vidisset loricam magnam et rebigine jam tinctam, "Vere, non est tunica vel fratris vel filii mei, immo nec filii pacis vel ecclesiae, sed potius filii Martis; liberentur igitur talis episcopus et sui, qui armati inveniebantur, per redemptionem ad regis voluntatem."

Richard I forgives John
(72.13)

Camden has combined two versions of this story. His introductory

remarks follow the substance of Newburgh (Hist. rer. Angl., v.5) and Holinshed (H. Ellis ed., ii, 254). There are a certain number of verbal echoes of Holinshed, especially the repetition of "brother" and "brotherly", but these could easily be coincidental, for they occur in Newburgh. Richard's speech pardoning John is taken from Walsingham (Ipodigma, Rolls, p. 118) who took it word for word from Trevet (Annales, Hog ed., 1845, p..154).

72.13-14 When the ... of peace. As mentioned earlier (68.19) Diceto, Trevet, and Walsingham treat this story as part of Richard's siege of Verneuil in 1194. John submits to Richard well before Richard begins peace talks with the French king. Newburgh, Holinshed, and Camden have it backwards.

72.15 revolted vnto the French king. John did homage to Philip II in 1193, while Richard was in a German prison.

72.16-73.4 suppliantly ... his hands. This follows Holinshed closely, but Holinshed treats this part of the story as a speech in the third person.

72.5-7 God graunt ... have offended. A translation of Trevet and/or Walsingham:

> Utinam apud me delictum tuum in oblivionem transeat,
> ita quod apud te permaneat in memoria quod fecisti.

Let God Dispose
(73.8)

The story occurs in the Chronica Majora of Matthew Paris, but not

in Wendover's recension.

73.9 Rochester. The siege of Rochester, October 1215.

73.9-10 Earle of Arundel. Camden's error. Paris calls him "Willelmi de Albineto". William de Albini (d. 1221) was Earl of Arundel and remained faithful to John until 1216. Another William de Albini, or Aubeney (d. 1236) held Rochester castle against the king in 1215; see Poole, Doomsday to Magna Carta, p. 479, note, and HBC.

73.10 Arcubalister. Camden uses the form closer to the Latin, "arcubalistarius" of Paris; the more common form for a cross-bowman was arbalester. (OED)

73.12-17 God forbid ... the King. Camden follows Paris closely (Chron. Maj., Rolls, ii, pp. 626-627):

> 'Non, non, absit, gluto pessime, ut in sanctum Domini mortem procuremus.' Et ille; 'Non parceret tibi in consimili casu.' Et W(illelmus); 'Fiat Domini beneplacitum. Dominus disponet, non ille.'

But Camden omits the analogy which Paris drew between this story and 1 Samuel 26:9-11 where David spares the life of Saul.

Let all my enemies be well buried
(74.1)

No source found. It seems unlikely that Matthew Paris (the source Camden indicates) would record such a story; his view of King John was unsympathetic in the extreme. Paris records at length the devastation England suffered under his reign. (See also Vaughan,

Matthew Paris, 1958, p. 146) Both this and the next story of King John demonstrate again what care Camden takes to put an unpopular king in the best possible light.

74.3-4 No, no ... honourably buried. Camden records a similar remark supposedly made by Charles VIII of France when he saw the tomb of John, Duke of Bedford at Rouen; cf. Brit., 1695, p. 290, and again in the Remains, 1605, p. 47(B).

John Defends the Established Faith (74.6)

Not in Pithou's anthology, Historiae Francorum, or his other two works, Historia controversiae veteris de processione Spiritus sancti, or Adversariorum subsecivorum. One suspects the story was invented to off-set the ignominy John suffered from the visit of Pandulph, the papal legate in May, 1213. John not only submitted but surrendered his crown, an act that was too odious to recall in Camden's day. Holinshed treats the story with obvious regret and Shakespeare skips over it in four lines, King John V, i.1-4.

A Fat Buck that Never Heard Mass (74.11)

Matthew Paris, Chron. Maj. anno 1213, Rolls, ii, p. 565; not in Wendover. Holinshed (H. Ellis ed., ii, p. 339) repeats Paris. Paris states that about the year 1213 King John conceived evil thoughts about the resurrection of the dead and other Christian beliefs which

were better left unsaid, but he feels it is proper to offer just this one.

74.12-13 See how ... life long. As in Paris:

O quam prospere vixit iste, nunquam tamen missam audivit!

74.13-14 But this ... the envious. Camden's comment.

Henry III prefers the Sacrament to Sermons. (74.15)

The version in B is somewhat different:

Henry the thirde was a man muche giuen to praier,
and vsed to heare euery daye three masses: nowe Lewes
the Saint the Frenche Kinge muche frequented sermons,
and preferred this kynde of deuotion before the other.
But [H] Henry aunswered <something inserted> him: [that]
he had rather often see and talke with his freinde
<insertion mark but no insertion> then heare one
speakinge of him neuer so muche good. But in trueth
bothe ioyned together make a perfecte man.

The story occurs in Trevet, Annales, Hog ed., 1845, pp. 279-280, and in Rishanger, Chronica, Rolls, pp. 74-75, with few verbal differences. They wrote at approximately the same time but it is generally thought that Rishanger copied Trevet. Both put the story under the year 1272 (when Philip III was king of France) but say that the incident took place in the time of Louis IX. This may have been in January 1264

when Henry submitted to Louis's arbitration in his dispute with the English barons.

74.15 Henry the third. (1207-1272; reigned from 1216), called Henry of Winchester. The reference in B to hearing mass three times a day occurs in Trevet and Rishanger and is generally regarded as true. Henry was Roman rather than English in his religion. B contains a story referring to his indiscreet habit of granting bishoprics to foreigners.

74.16 Saint Lewis. Louis IX (1214-1270; reigned from 1226).

74.17 French king ... heare Sermons. As in Rishanger:

> Quod non semper missis sed frequentius sermonibus, audiendis esse vacandum.

74.19-75.3 That he ... in sermons. As in Rishanger:

> Cui faceta urbanitate respondens, ait, se malle amicum suum saepius videre, quam de eo loquentem, licet bona dicentem, audire.

Let the Creator perfect his Creatures.
(75.6)

The version in B has somewhat different wording but is no less inaccurate. It is one of two stories in B which should be seen together because they are taken from the same passage in Matthew Parker's De Archie. Ecc. Cant. (in De Antiq. Brit. Ecc., 1572, p. 197).

> In the reigne of Henrie the thirde Gregorie the Pope the tenthe of that name, aduaunced Robert Kilwarby vnto the

Archebishoppricke of Canterburie, not verie cannocallie: whereof he beinge mindefull when anone after the Pope required of him, and the rest of the clergie of his prouince and the rest of there lyuinges: he aunswered I am youre creator, and the worke of youre handes, and my churche is youre churche, and my goodes is [good] youre goodes, wherfore dispose of my Churche and my goodes, as of youre owne.

But whenn the same Gregory had requested of an other of his creatures, John Peaham, who succeded Robert in the Bishoppricke of Canterburie iiii thowsande markes to be paied him within foure monethes vnder paine of excommunication: he made him, that lately came vnto the sea, then deepely indetted, to singe an other songe: and he thus wrote vnto the Pope: Behoulde you haue created me, and as a creature doeth desire to be perfected by his creator, so do I in my oppressions flie vnto youre holines to be recreated.

Camden wisely omitted the first story as being, probably, unsalvageable and without authority. He improved the wording of the second story, but failed to check the facts. If he had checked the facts he would have had no story to tell because it appears to be the fabrication of Matthew Parker. Robert Kilwardby was elected to

Canterbury in 1272 by Pope Gregory X. When Kilwardby left Canterbury in 1278 to become cardinal in Rome, Edward I nominated Robert Burnell to replace him, but his nomination was over-ruled by Pope Nicholas III who chose Peckham. Peckham was seriously in debt and wrote to Nicholas in July 1279 asking for a loan of 5,000 marks to pay his Italian creditors. The letter survives and Parker almost certainly knew of it as he refers to Peckham's Register several times. But for the letter containing this supposed request from the pope, Parker refers to a letter "in Arch." meaning presumably in the archives of Canterbury. At best, Parker was guilty of neglecting to check a primary authority which he clearly knew of; at worst, he wilfully misconstrued the contents of a letter in order to produce a version more palatable to the English reader in 1572. Camden, alas, was gulled for once. **See also Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., p.469.**

75.6 Pecham. John Peckham (c. 1225-1292) elected Archbishop of Canterbury in 1279 by Pope Nicholas III.

75.7 Perspectiva Communis. Peckham's treatise on optics, first printed at Milan, 1482.

75.7 Pope Gregorie the tenth ... commaunded him to pay.

Camden's error from misreading the line in Parker:

> Hic frater Iohannes, vt Robertus Kylwarby in concilio Gregorii decimi ante fecit, subinde se papae creaturam, papamque suum creatorem agnoscit.

This sentence also appears to be the only basis for the story in B (above) about Robert Kilwardby.

75.8-9 commaunded him ... of excommunication. This follows Parker:

> Sed dirus ille creator, suam creaturam in primo Archiepiscopatus ingressu exactis quatuor marcarum millibus diripuit peneque destruxit.

75.10-13 Beholde, you ... be recreated. This translates the passage in Parker:

> Ecce me creatis, & quanto creatura a suo naturaliter appetit perfici creatore, sic in meis oppressionibus censeo per vos recreandum.

In fact, Peckham wrote to Nicholas (Peckham, Registrum, Rolls, i, p. 17):

> et ad vos, pater sanctissime, qui eidem et universali ecclesiae sanctae Dei feliciter praesidetis, in meis oppressionibus censeo recurrendum, quanto creatura a suo naturaliter appetit perfici creatore, et in eo reponit congeriem fiduciae atque refugii singularis.

The Nakedness of Noah
(75.14)

Camden's source is Matthew Paris, Chron. Maj. under the year 1258. He condenses the story but translates the speech.

75.14 Sewall. Sewall de Bovill (d. 1258) Dean of York from about 1240, Archbishop of York from 1255.

75.15 Popes collectors. When Sewall was raised to archbishop the pope claimed the right to appoint the new dean and an Italian by the name of Jordan was fraudulently installed. When Sewall objected, the pope suspended Sewall from office and excommunicated him. Sewall

was popularly regarded as a martyr. (DNB)

75.16-17 I will ... with Sem. Sewall will hold his tongue rather than expose the malpractices of Jordan; cf. Paris, Chron. Maj., Rolls, V, p. 692:

> Conquestus est insuper graviter, quod impetus quorundam clericorum, auctoritate papali protervientium, praecipue magistri Jordani, ad decanatum hiantis, aegre sustinuerat sed patienter, ut probra patris, non ut Cham revelando deridere(t), sed ut Sem absconderet et velaret, hoc breviloquium ad memoriam saepius revocando
> "Et Cham pandendo patris es, Sem probra tegendo."

Cf. Genesis 9:21-23.

75.17-19 As Constantine ... Imperiall robe. Camden's addition. No source found.

Richard of Cornwall turns down Sicily. (76.1)

This and the next two stories occur in the Chron. Maj. of Matthew Paris. It is unlikely that Camden's sources, the anonymous MS. beginning "Rex Pictorum" or the "Lib. Cantuar." predate the versions in Paris. Matthew Paris was the contemporary and official chronicler for Henry III. For the first two stories his information was probably from Richard of Cornwall himself (see Vaughan, Matt. Paris, p. 13). In any case, the versions here follow Paris with only minor differences.

76.1 Pope Innocentius the fourth. Sinibaldo Fiesco, pope from 1243-1254. He offered Sicily in turn to Richard of Cornwall, Charles of Anjou, and Henry III. Henry accepted it for his second son Edmund.

See Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, p. 121.

76.2 Richard. (1209-1272) Earl of Cornwall, and King of the Romans (1257-1272), second son of King John and Isabella of Angoulême.

76.2-3 many impossible conditions. According to Matthew Paris, it was the earl who laid down the terms. He would not accept the crown of Sicily without sureties including hostages from the pope's own family, money, and certain fortresses on the frontier. See also Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, 1947, p. 81.

76.3-5 You might as well ... catch it, and take it. Richard's terms are delivered to the pope in Rome by Master Albert. Richard has instructed him that if the pope should turn them down then Albert is to give the pope this reply (Paris, Chron. Maj., Rolls, v, p. 457):

Vendo vel do tibi lunam ascende et apprehende eam.

76.5-6 Anonymus ... Pictorum. Possibly the manuscript noted by Bale as belonging to William Carye, beginning "Rex Pictorum Rodricus de Sithia veniens" (John Bale, Index Britanniae Scriptorum, ed. R.L. Poole & M. Bateson, 1902, p. 477).

Richard of Cornwall refuses a loan to the pope. (76.7)

As above, the story occurs in Matthew Paris, Chron. Maj., anno 1255. Paris probably had the story from Richard himself.

76.7 Alexander. Alexander IV (Rinaldo), pope from 1254 to 1261.

76.8 a great masse of money. According to Paris the pope asked

for a loan of 5,000 marks to advance the cause of Richard's nephew Edmund, meaning in effect, to finance the pope's campaigns against the German influence in southern Italy.

76.9-10 I wil ... the debts. Cf. Paris, Chron. Maj., Rolls, v, p. 524:

> Nolo thesaurum superiori commodare, quem non possum destringere.

76.10-13 This Richard ... small summe. This information also appears in Paris, though under the year 1257 (Chron. Maj., Rolls, v, p. 607). 350,000 marks is probably not greatly exaggerated; Richard never lent without solid security (Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall, 1947, p. 65).

Take away the Mitre, the Helmet will remain.
(76.14)

As above, the story occurs in Matthew Paris, Chron. Maj. Camden's source probably derives from Paris. Camden's failure to name either the bishop or the nuncio is presumably the failure of his source; Paris names both. Otherwise Camden's version follows the substance of Paris closely.

76.14 a Bishop. Fulk Basset (d. 1259), consecrated bishop of London in 1244. By 1246 he had joined the number of English clergy, including Grosseteste, who resisted the pope's taxations.

76.15 Popes Nuncio. Rostand, the papal tax collector, tried to

enforce the pope's demands for money to finance the Sicilian enterprise.(Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, p. 503). According to Paris, Basset published a proclamation nullifying Rostand's authority. Henry III heard of it and threatened Basset with the promise to procure the pope's censure upon him.

76.17-18 and tolde ... peacockes taile. Probably Camden's language. In Paris, the king accuses the bishop and his fellow clergymen of never having loved their king.

76.19-77.3 that the Pope ... his helmet. Cf. Paris, Chron. Maj., Rolls, v, p. 526:

> Auferant episcopatum, quem tamen non possunt de jure auferre, Papa et rex, qui me fortiores sunt. Tollant mitram, galea remanebit.

Compare the similar reply of Cardinal Pompey in Hall, Chron., H. Ellis ed., p. 717.

The Dean's Wicked Will
(77.4)

No source found. Again, Camden's failure to name the dean is presumably the failure of his source.

77.4-5 a Deane ... of England. John de Sandale, or Sendale (d. 1319). Appointed treasurer in 1312; dean of St. Paul's 1313-1314; chancellor in 1314; consecr. Bishop of Winchester 1316. He is referred to as "vir cunctis affabilis et necessarius communitati" in Flores Historiarum, anno 1316, Rolls, iii, p. 174.

77.6 wicked will. The will doesn't survive, but it is known that John de Heydene and John de Cokermuthe were executors. See Sandale's Register, ed. F. J. Baigent, 1897, p. xlvi.

New sons can be born; a Father's death is Irrecoverable. (77.9)

The story and speech in this form occur in Trevet Annales (Hog ed., 1845, p. 284), in Rishanger, Chronica (Rolls, ii, p. 78), and in two of Thomas of Walsingham's works, Hist. Anglicana (Rolls, i, p. 10) and Ypodigma (Rolls, p. 167), with few changes. Trevet or Rishanger may have borrowed and modified an earlier story in the anonymous Opus Chronicorum (Rolls, pp. 33-34) in which Edward's lamentation is modelled on David's lament for Absolom, 2 Samuel 18:33. Camden follows the Hist. Angl. of Walsingham.

77.9 Edward the first. (1239-1307; reigned from 1272-1307) Edward was at Trapani in 1272 in the company of King Charles when he learned of the deaths of his father Henry III, of his uncle Richard, and of his first son John. Cf. Powicke, Hen.III and Lord Edward, 1947, chapt..

77.13 Charles. Charles II (1250-1309) King of Naples and Sicily.

77.15-16 God may ... is irrecoverable. Cf. Walsingham, Hist. Angl., Rolls, i, p. 10:

> Jactura, Domine Rex, filiorum facilis est, cum cotidie multiplicentur: parentum vero mors irremediabilis est, quia nequeunt restaurari.

The Laws and Eloquence of Edward I (77.17)

Camden has taken this and the next two stories from the panegyric or funeral sermon on Edward I entitled Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu magni regis Edwardi. It was written shortly after Edward's death in 1307 and is attributed to John of London. Stubbs (Rolls edition) describes five manuscripts, of which the MS. of the College of Arms, Arundel 20 may have been the one Camden used. All three of Camden's stories appear in the first section of the Commendatio, entitled "Descriptio corporalis regis Edwardi", but in reverse order. The writer of the Commendatio has borrowed whole phrases from Peter of Blois's description of Henry II; see below.

77.17-78.6 This is ... due execution. Camden's introduction, mostly condensed from the Commendatio. The passage "giving thereby ... of this realme" is his insertion.

78.1 like Saul ... of them. Cf. 1 Samuel 9:2.

78.4-5 waving vp ... most vncertainly. Possibly a faulty translation of the Commendatio, Rolls, pp. 5-6:

> et ut palma erectus, "in ascendendo equum vel excurrendo levitatem adolescentiae continuavit; ac per assiduos labores naturae superflua resecans rarissime aegrotavit."

78.7-10 Iudices potissimum ... adversis constantior. Cf. the

Commendatio:

> sed excaecatos a muneribus judices potissimum judicans, quos constituerat judices aliorum. Nemo illo argutior in consiliis, in eloquio torrentior, securior in periculis, in prosperis cautior, constantior in adversis

Peter of Blois (Petrus Blesensis), speaking of Henry II, wrote (Epistola 66, quoted in Migne, PL ccvii, 198):

> Non enim, sicut alii reges, in palatio suo jacet, sed per provincias currens explorat facta omnium illos, potissime judicans, quos constituit judices aliorum. Nemo est argutior in consiliis, in eloquio torrentior, securior in periculis, in prosperis timidior, constantior in adversis.

The Crown is a Burden, not an Honour
(78.12)

Camden has taken this and the next speech from a passage in the Commendatio describing Edward's moderation in dress.

78.12-13 Whereas the ... first omitted. Camden's introduction.

78.14-15 That Crownes ... honour Princes. Camden has composed the speech from the passage in Commendatio, Rolls, p. 5:

> A prima die coronationis suae nequaquam deinceps corona redimiri passus est, librans ipsius onus amplius quam honorem.

A King can Dress Simply
(78.16)

As above, the source is the Commendatio. The story comes immediately after the preceding reference (78.14-15) to Edward's not wearing the crown. Cf. Commendatio, Rolls, p. 5:

> Non purpura utebatur aut cocco bistincto, sed sicut unus ex plebeis roba et furrato collobio et unicolori incessit. Unde quadam die affatus simpliciter a quodam coenobita, cur non uteretur regalibus vestimentis, respondit "Deus haec attendit et ridet. Quid amplius in illis valeo quam in istis?"

Edward I withdraws his protection from the Clergy (78.21)

Most chronicles of the period give some account of this incident, but none specifically resembles Camden's. He may have composed it from passages in several chronicles including Walsingham, his source for the next story. Conflation would account for his error about the council of Lyons.

78.21-79.1 Cleargie pretending ... at Lyons. Camden has confused the papal bull "Clericis laicos" (of Boniface VIII issued in 1296) with the Council held in 1274 at Lyons for the purpose of acting on new canons of reform; see Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, pp. 232 and 674-675. The clergy were acting in accordance with the papal bull when they refused to give Edward money, as contemporary chronicles clearly indicate, but Camden and Holinshed (H. Ellis ed., ii, 520) maintain that the bull was a pretence.

79.1-3 would contribute ... in parliament. Probably based on two passages in Rishanger, Chronica (Rolls, pp. 165 and 168) repeated word for word twice by Walsingham in Hist. Angl. (Rolls, i, pp. 61 and 63) and in Ypodigma (Rolls, p. 204). I quote from Walsingham, Hist. Angl., Rolls, i, pp. 61-62:

> Clerus ob Constitutionem Bonifacii Papae, hoc anno editam, quae prohibet, sub poena excommunicationis, ne talliae vel exactiones a clero per saeculares principes quocunque modo exigantur, vel eis solvantur de rebus Ecclesiae, Regi pro werra sua petenti subsidium denegavit. Rex autem, ut de meliori responso deliberarent, negotium in aliud Parliamentum, tenendum Londoniis in crastino Sancti Hilarii, distulit.

And, slightly later (p. 63):

> Parliamentum coactum est Londoniis, post festum Sancti Hillarii, in quo, clero in denegatione persistente subsidii, Rex ipsum a sua protectione exclusit.

79.3-7 Seeing you ... or mine. This may derive from Bartholomew Cotton, Hist. Angl. (Rolls, p. 318) who states that when Edward was told of the clergy's refusal to pay the subsidy demanded of them, he answered:

> "Ex quo homagium et juramentum pro baroniis vestris mihi praestitum non tenetis, nec eo teneor vobis in aliquo."

Bartholomew continues, a few lines later, to describe the effect of the clergy being put out of the king's protection:

> videlicet ut nullus archiepiscopus, episcopus, archidiaconus, nec quisquam alius de clero pro aliqua injuria eis facta, in curia sua audiretur, nec etiam breve aliquod impetraret, et quod omnia laica feoda archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, religiosorum omnium, ac clericorum quorumcumque, cujusve status seu conditionis existerent, in manum suam caperet et seysiret, et si quis ex laicis religiosum vel quenquam de clero obvium haberet equ(u)m habentem suo meliorem, illum pro suo caperet et abduceret.

Camden discreetly ignores accounts of the seisure of church properties by the king's men.

Edward I defends his Right to Scotland (79.8)

Camden's source is Walsingham, Hist. Angl. The story also occurs in the earlier compilation generally referred to as the St. Alban's Chronicle; this work has been recently attributed to Walsingham (see V.H. Galbraith, ed., the St. Alban's Chronicle, 1937, p. v and p. xxvi).

79.8-10 The Pope ... of Scotland. Camden's introduction. In 1300 Boniface VIII sent a command for Edward to stop fighting in a country which belonged to the Holy See. It is Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury who delivers the letter to Edward at Sweetheart Abbey in Galloway and it is with the archbishop that Edward has this exchange. See also Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, p. 229.

79.10-18 the tenour ... to the death. Camden follows Walsingham closely; cf. Hist. Angl., Rolls, i, p. 82:

> Ostendit ei igitur papale mandatum, cujus tenor fuit, ut Rex desisteret Scotos inquietare de caetero, quorum regio et personae exemptae specialiter suae capellae, ut asseruit, pertinebant. Neque, prout dicebat, esse poterat quin civitas Ierusalem suos cives protegeret, et confidentes in Domino, sicut mons Syon, confoderet. Rex, autem, intellectis hiis apicibus, mox allata voce respondit: "Per sanguinem" inquit "Dei, propter Syon non tacebo, et propter Ierusalem non quiescam, dum spiritus fuerit in naribus meis, quin jus meum, toti mundo cognitum, toto posse defendam."

79.13-14 Ierusalem could not ... mount Sion. Cf. Psalms 125:1-2.

79.15-16 I will not ... Ierusalems rest. Cf. Isaiah 62:1.

Neither B nor the EDD translates "propter Ierusalem non quiescam" correctly as "for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest".

The Higher His Calling, the Greater His Fall (80.1)

Camden's source for this and the next two stories is the Flores Historiarum. All three stories appear in Matthew Parker's edition of 1570.

80.1 Iohn Earle of Atholl. John of Strathbogie (d. 1306), ninth Earl of Athol. His part, if any, in the murder of Comyn is not known. He assisted at the coronation of Rubert Bruce in 1306; was taken prisoner to London and executed 7 November 1306. His body was burnt and his head fixed on the Tower of London (Gibbs, Complete Peerage, 1910, i, p. 306).

80.2 Iohn Comin. John Comyn, the younger (d. 1306) of Badenoch, surnamed The Red. Accounts of his murder vary; the Flores, Trevet, and the Chronicler of Lanercost agree that he was murdered because he would not assent to Bruce's plan of insurrection. (DNB) See also Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, pp. 713-714.

80.3-5 The higher ... higher hanged. As in Flores Hist., Rolls, iii, p. 135:

> Quanto gradus altior, tanto lapsus gravior esse constat. Si caeteris parricidis generosior in sanguine, altius caeteris suspendatur pro scelere.

Walther (Proverbia, 23,589) notes the proverb in a thirteenth century

manuscript.

80.5-6 which accordingly ... foote high. As in Flores Hist., Rolls, iii, p. 135:

> verum quia de regali sanguine fuerat oriundus, non est tractus, sed ascenso equo in equuleo quinquaginta pedum suspensus est.

Compare with the fate of Edric the extorter, above 47.7-10.

The Impunity of Edward I (80.8)

As above (80.1) the source is Flores Historiarum. This is one of the passages occurring only in Eton College MS. 123, called the Merton manuscript by Luard, which is the manuscript used by Matthew Parker.

80.8 siege of ... Strivelin. The battle at Stirling castle in 1304. It marks the end of Edward's campaigns in Scotland.

80.8-11 Whenas in ... the Psalme. Camden's introduction, much condensed from the Flores.

80.11-13 A thousand ... neere me. The speech in Flores is fuller and contains allusions to two more Psalms, Flores Hist., iii, p. 318:

> Cadent a latere meo mille, et decem milia a dextris meis, ad me autem nocendum non approximabunt. In nomine Domini suscepimus bellum justum, propterea non timebimus, quid faciat nobis homo, quoniam a dextris nobis est, idcirco minime commovemur.

Cf. Psalmi 99:6-7, 55:11, 15:8.

Lawyers long advising, and never advised
(80.14)

As above (80.1) the source is Flores Historiarum.

80.14-15 learned Lawyers ... by him. The trial of Nicholas de Segrave the younger (d. 1322), lord of Stowe. During the Scottish campaigns of 1303-4, Segrave quarrelled violently with a fellow soldier. He disregarded the king's command and challenged his opponent to adjourn and do battle in France. Edward had Segrave arrested and tried in parliament at Westminster in 1305. See Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, pp. 331-332.

80.16-17 As kings ... their Lawyers. Camden's addition.

80.17 My Lawyers ... never advised. The apophthegm is part of a longer reply, Flores Hist., Rolls, iii, p. 122:

> Quibus rex, "O diu consultati, sed inconsulti, equidem meum est posse et velle conferre gratiam et cui voluero miserebor, nec propter vos amplius quam pro cane."

Cf. Exodus 33:19.

80.18-19 As for ... willingly overpasse. B contains one further apophthegm of Edward; see Appendix. Camden noticeably omits the well-known oath Edward swore on God and the swans to subdue Bruce and regain control of Scotland.

Eleanor accompanies Edward I to the Holy Land
(80.20)

No source found. Agnes Strickland gives Camden's as the earliest known occurrence. (Lives of the Queens of England, London, 1854, i,

pp. 424-425).

80.20 Eleanor. Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290); married Edward I in 1254 and accompanied him on his crusade in 1270.

Camden explodes the Myth of Evil Women (81.5)

The insertion of this paragraph (it is not in B) may have been prompted by the recent death of Elizabeth I and the urge to praise the virtues of England's queens in particular, beginning with Boudicca (above 34.17).

81.5 Eubulus. Greek middle comedy poet; flourished around 375 B.C. His work survives only in fragments.

81.7-11 albeit Medea ... remember thousandes. Camden's paraphrase of Eubulus, Chrysilla (Fragments 116, 117 in edition of J.M. Edmonds, Fragments of Attic Comedy, 1959, ii, pp. 135-137). The fragment was printed several times before 1605. I quote the English translation of Edmonds:

> I bear no grudge to the man who married first,
> It's the man who did it second should be cursed;
> The one was ignorant of married life,
> The other knew of it. Is it then the wife,
> Great Zeus, that I must blame? O Heaven forbid!
> I should crab our best possession if I did.
> Medea a shrew? Penelope, my lad,
> Was worth it; d'you call Clytemnestra bad?
> Alcestis cancels her; Phaedra a sinner?
> There must be some good wife to set agin her -
> But Lord! Who is it? Good wives have run out
> While I've still lots of bad to talk about.

Eleanor sucks the poison from Edward's wound
(81.18)

The story is told by the Dominican, Ptolomaeus Lucensis (d. 1327?) in his ecclesiastical history (xxiii.6) and is apparently untrustworthy. Walter of Guisborough (Cronica, H. Rothwell ed., 1957, p. 210) notes that she was asked to leave the room by Edward before the operation on his wound began. **Not found in the Speculum vitae humanae of Sancius of Arevalo ("Rodericus Sanctius", 81.16) nor in his history of Spain, nor in the history of Spain by Rodericus, Abp. of Toledo, with whom he is sometimes confused.**

Camden added the story to the sixth edition of Britannia (1607, p. 311 = 1695, pp. 320-321).

82.1-5 Queene Eleanor ... durst attempt. Cf. Ptolomaeus Lucensis, quoted from Muratori, Rerum Italicarum, xi (1727), col. 1168:

> Tradunt autem, quod tunc uxor sua Hispana, & soror Regis Castellae ostendit in viro suo magnam fidelitatem, quia plagas ipsius apertas omni die lingua lingebat, ac sugebat humorem, cujus virtute sic attraxit omnem materiam veneni, quod, integratis cicatricibus vulnerum, sensit ulterius se plenissime curatum.

82.6-13 So that ... of England. Camden notes the crosses erected to Queen Eleanor in Britannia, each under the appropriate location. On Eleanor's rights to the county of Ponthieu, see Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, p. 235.

Adversity does no harm when iniquity does not prevail
(82.14)

The source is Adam of Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum.

Camden's source "Liber Cantuar." may be the excerpt about Winchelsey in Wharton, Anglia Sacra, 1691, i, p. 51. According to Wharton, this was taken from a MS. chronicle of Christ Church, Canterbury. It was probably copied from Murimuth; there are only minor differences. Camden omits all but essential details.

82.14 Robert Winchelsey. Robert of Winchelsey (d. 1313), elected to Canterbury in 1293. Edward I was angered by Winchelsey's refusal to contribute church monies for his wars and about his attitude toward the Scottish campaigns. He had Clement V suspend him from office in 1306. Winchelsey left England and the province and diocese of Canterbury were entrusted to the new papal collector William Testa. Edward II had Winchelsey reinstated in 1308 (Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1953, p. 718).

82.15 restored againe by him. Camden's error. He may have confused the restoration of Winchelsey's estates by Edward I in 1297 after Edward had confiscated them for five months.

82.19-20 Adversitie never ... over-ruleth. As in Murimuth, Contin. Chron., Rolls, p. 13:

Nihil nocebit adversitas, ubi nulla iniquitas dominatur.

Money should be moving
(83.1)

No source found. William de la Marche, or de Marchia (d. 1302) was appointed lord treasurer in 1290. The Annales Edwardi Primi (in

Rishanger, Rolls, p. 473) and the Flores Historiarum (Rolls, iii, p. 274) record that Archbishop Winchelsey complained to Edward I in 1295 that half the treasure of the churches had been confiscated. The king put the blame on Marche and he was removed from office shortly thereafter. See Powicke, Thirteenth Cent., 1962, p. 628.

Warm tears of Edward II
(83.9)

The story occurs in Geoffrey le Baker, Chronicon (E.M. Thompson ed., 1889, p. 31) and in the extract from Geoffrey ascribed to "Thomas de la More", Vita et mors Edwardi Secundi. Camden printed the Vita et mors in Anglica. John Stowe also tells the story in his Annals, 1592, p. 350?.

83.9 Edward the second. Called Edward of Carnarvon (1284-1327), king from 1307. The incident is given under 1327, shortly before he was murdered and takes place while Edward is being moved from Kenilworth to Berkeley castle.

83.11 Corney and ... rabblements. Thomas Gurney ("Gorney"), William Ogle, and Sir John Maltravers (May McKisack, Fourteenth Cent., p. 94).

82.15-17 Whether you ... his words. As in "Thomas de la More", Vita et mors Edwardi Secundi, Rolls, p. 317:

> "Velitis, nolitis, habebimus pro barba aquas calidas," et ut promissum consequeretur veritas, coepit profuse lacrymare.

Cf. Marlowe, Edward II, V.iii.27-37.

The magnanimity of Lord Audley
(83.18)

Camden has composed this story from passages in three separate chapters of Froissart's Chroniques. Camden used a French edition rather than Berners's translation. References below are to the standard edition by Siméon Luce, Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1874, vol. 5.

83.18-84.3 After the battell...yeerely revenews. Based on Froissart, Chroniques, 1874, pp. 58-59.

83.18 James Lorde Audley. (1316?-1386) one of the original knights of the order of the Garter; fought at the battle of Poitiers in September 1356. (DNB) Audley made a vow (Froissart, p. 34) that if ever he fought for Edward III or the Black Prince he would place himself and his four squires at the head of the attack.

84.2-3 foure hundred. The sum is five hundred in all editions I have seen.

84.3-5 The which hee... in the battell. Based on Froissart, Chroniques, 1874, p. 62.

84.7-11 I must doe ... in your service. Camden has composed this speech from the substance of Froissart, Chroniques, 1874, p. 67.

This made Wykeham
(84.14)

This and the next story of William of Wykeham occur in Matthew Parker, De Arch. eccl. Cant. (1572). Camden first used the story in

Brit., 1586, pp. 144-145 = 1695, pp. 146-147, repeating many of Parker's phrases. Thomas Martin repeats the story in his life of Wykeham, Historia descriptio complectens vitam, ac res gestis beatissimi viri Gvilielmi Wicami, London, 1597, folios $C2^{v}$ to $C3^{r}$. This is presumably the "Vita Wiccami" (85.5) Camden refers to, though he is careless to do so as Martin acknowledges that he took the story from Camden! Camden has in fact used Parker for both stories. Martin's book was printed too late -- i.e., after probably compilation of B. Both stories are probably popular legends. They do not occur in either of the two contemporary biographies of Wykeham (printed in an appendix of Moberley, Life of William Wykeham, London, 1893) and Parker fails to name any source.

84.14 William Wickham. William of Wykeham (1324-1404), Bishop of Winchester from 1367 and Chancellor of England. In 1359 he was appointed chief warden and surveyor of the royal castles, including Windsor and soon after supervised the building of new royal apartments. See McKisack, Fourteenth Cent., 1959, pp. 226-227.

84.15-17 the great favour ... parish priest. Cf. Parker, De Arch eccl. Cant., 1572, p. 285:

> Willihelmum Wickam rex de paupere clerico assumens constituit superuisorem operum suorum, & ad eius dispositionem omnia eius aedificia tunc temporis erant peracta.

84.18 written in one of his windows, This worke made Wickham. The inscription is supposedly written on an inner wall of Winchester Tower at Windsor Castle; cf. Parker, De Arch., 1572, p. 286:

> extructa Arce Windsorina in interiori quodam pariete haec verba (quae latine tam apposite et facete exprimi nequeunt) insculpsisse. This made Wickam, i. Hoc fecit Wickam.

The phrase may have been a popular expression. See Collins, Peerage of England, London, 1812, vol. vii, p. 118: Roger Lord Clifford in the time of Edward I rebuilt part of Brougham Castle in Westmorland and supposedly caused the inscription "This made Roger" to be cut in the stone. The phrase also echoes Wykeham's motto: "Manners Makyth Man".

84.18-85.5 Which being tolde ... and satisfied. This follows the substance of Parker, p. 286 (which Camden repeated nearly word for word in the Britannia):

> Hoc regi a calumniatoribus quibusdam in eius inuidiam ita delatum est, vt quasi Wickamus omnem extructi aedificii laudem sibi arroganter vindicarit. Quod cum rex iniquo animo tulisset eique probrose obiecisset: non sibi tam magnificae regiaeque structurae laudes, sed structurae suas dignitates commoditatesque ascripsisse dixit. Nec ego (inquit) hanc arcem, sed haec Arx me effecit, & ab ima conditione, ad regis gratiam, opes atque dignitates euexit. Cum hoc responso aduersariorum calumniam vitasset, opibus & potentia creuit indies.

Wykeham will make learned men (85.6)

As above (84.14) the story occurs in Parker, De Arch. eccl. Cant., 1572, p. 286, a few lines after the preceding story about "This made Wykeham". Parker was probably repeating a popular legend.

85.6-12 When the said ... another in Winchester. This follows

the substance of Parker, p. 286, though Camden has in effect composed the speech:

> Cum Wintoniensem episcopatum cupide ambiret, quidam ferunt regem ipsum doctrinae exilitatem tenuitatemque ei exprobasse, Wickamumque respondisse, etsi indoctus fuerit, se tamen faecundum faetum parturire qui doctorum hominum maximam copiam procrearet. Id de amplissimis illis collegiis quae Oxonii ac Wintoniae extruxit postea subintellectum est.

85.6 as it is commonlie saide. The insertion, not in B, may indicate Camden had second thoughts about Parker's source of information or that he is repeating the story from popular legend himself.

85.8 King tolde him that he was vnmeete. Wykeham was in fact so high in favour with Edward that he might have chosen Canterbury, but preferred Winchester. The first evidence we have of Wykeham's intentions of building the colleges is in 1375, well after he became bishop. See Moberley, Life of William of Wykeham, pp. 56-57 and 116.

85.10-11 New Colledge ... another in Winchester. Cf. Brit., 1586, p. 203 = 1695, p. 261, Camden mentions the founding of New College, and Brit., 1586, p. 130 = 1695, p. 121, the founding of Winchester College.

The liberality of Henry, Earl of Derby (85.13)

The source for this and the next story is Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, under the year 1345. Taken from the earlier St. Alban's

Chronicle. Camden has abridged the story slightly.

85.13 Henry of Lancaster. (1299?-1361) Created Earl of Derby by Edward III in 1337 and then Duke of Lancaster in 1351. His capture of Bergerac was only one of several military successes in Gascony.

85.14 taken in 1341. Read 1345. Camden printed the date correctly in Anglica, p. 165. The false date and the omission of in in all EDD. are probably compositor's errors.

86.2-3 It is not ... thrice as much. Cf. Walsingham, Hist. Angl., Rolls, i, p. 266:

> "Non," ait, "decet me dare et donum revocare, more puerorum; volo quod tibi permaneant quae concessi, etsi foret pecunia triplo major."

Kill the enemy and you have killed your friends
(86.4)

The source is as above (85.13), Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, and in the earlier St. Alban's Chronicle.

86.4 Richard the second. (1367-1400) This incident is given by Walsingham under the year 1387. Richard has retired to London from Nottingham and the lords have gathered at Harringay, north of London.

86.7-8 wicked Counsellors. Richard's favourites: Suffolk, DeVere, Neville, Tresilian, and Bembre.

86.8 in a woodde. Cf. Walsingham: in sylva de Harynggeye.

86.11 Hugh a Linne. I have not traced him. Walsingham describes him as:

> miles exercitatus, sed sensu vacuus, Dominus Hugo de Lynne, qui eo quod stultus erat et sensum perdiderat, eleemosyna Dominorum plurium sustentabatur.

He may be fictitious and the story a popular legend intended to reflect the attitude of Londoners who had already failed the king saying, as Professor McKisack (Fourteenth Cent., 1959, p. 451) puts it, they would fight his enemies but not his friends.

86.13-16 Issue out ... in England. Cf. Walsingham, Hist. Angl., Rolls, ii, p. 165:

> "Exeas," inquit, "et aggrediamur eos, et cujuslibet matris filios perimamus; et per oculos Dei, hoc completo, peremisti omnes fideles amicos quos habes in regno."

Camden omits the final authorial comment of Walsingham:

> Quod responsum, etsi stulte prolatum, sapientes quam maxime ponderant.

86.16 Anonymus. Camden perhaps forgot the source, or failed to jot it down; he could hardly fail to have seen the story when he was editing Walsingham.

An Englishman is obedient so long as he has wealth (86.17)

The speech first occurs in the anonymous First English Life of Henry V written in 1513; it does not occur in Tito Livio (Titus Livius Forojuliensis). The anonymous author claims to have the story on "credible report of my saide Lorde and M^{r} the Earle of Ormond" (First English Life, 1922, p. 13), i.e. James Butler, fourth Earl of

Ormonde, c.1390-1452. Stowe repeats it verbatim, adding only a single word ("always") and Camden repeats Stowe with a slight verbal rearrangement (87.4) that is probably accidental and not deliberate. Camden's reference to Hall as his source is an error.

The speech Camden presents here is part of the lengthy advice Henry IV makes on his death bed to Prince Henry. In the same speech, the king urges his son to practice the wholesome counsel of the psalm Non nobis, domine, etc. (see below, 88.10).

86.17-87.2 King Henry ... Of Englishmen. Camden's introduction.

86.17 Henry the fourth. (1367-1413; reigned from 1399), called Henry of Bolingbroke. The incident takes place at Westminster in 1413.

87.4 ready to make ... every motion. Cf. Stowe, Annals, fol. 2N5[r]:

readye at everye motion to make insurrections.

Prince Henry removes the crown from Henry IV's bedside (87.6)

This story rests only on the authority of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Chronique, Douet d'Arcq. ed., in Soc. de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1858, ii, pp. 338-339. It does not occur in any early English authority and, contrary to the information of A.R. Humphreys (in his edition of Shakespeare's 2 Henry IV, 1966, p. xxxix) it does not occur in the First English Life, i.e. "the 1513 translator

of Tito Livio". Jehan de Waurin (Recueil de croniques, Rolls, ii, p. 159) tells the story, slightly amplified, soon after Monstrelet though it is not possible to say with certainty that Monstrelet is his source. In English, the story is told by Hall (1809, p. 45), by Grafton (1809, i, p. 506) and by Holinshed (1808, iii, p. 57). It also occurs in the anonymous play The Famous Victories of Henry V (P.A. Daniel ed., 1887, pp. 23-24), in Samuel Daniel's Civile Wars (1595, iv, 88) and in Shakespeare, 2 Henry IV, IV.v.55-176. Departing from his usual practice Camden repeats Hall nearly verbatim for both the introduction and the speech.

London balls for Paris walls
(88.5)

A variant of the popular story of Henry V and the tennis balls. C.L. Kingsford discusses the story at length in his introduction to The First English Life of King Henry V, 1922, pp. xliii-xliv. Briefly, the story is that the Dauphin sends Henry a set of tennis balls (see below, 88.6) in derision of his courage and maturity. Henry makes a suitably threatening reply that he will soon be playing in the French streets. The story occurs in three contemporary chronicles: The Chronicle of John Strecche for the reign of Henry V, ed. Frank Taylor, 1932, p. 16; Thomas of Elmham, Liber metricus de Henrico Quinto, Rolls, p. 101; and Otterbourne, see below.

I have not identified Camden's source but the story follows the

version of Thomas Otterbourne (Chronica regum Angliae) closely enough to indicate that it is either Otterbourne or a version based on Otterbourne. If the phrase "Anonymus Anglice" (88.8-9) means an anonymous English writer rather than an anonymous work beginning Anglice then Camden may have referred to an unidentified manuscript of Otterbourne.

88.5 Henry the fift. (1387-1422; reigned from 1413) The story is out of chronological order and ought to come before the next story of Henry's prayer at Agincourt. Otterbourne states that the balls were sent to Henry at Kenilworth in 1414.

88.6-8 the Dolphin ... Paris Walles. This follows the substance of Otterbourne, but the turn of phrase is Camden's (cf. Otterbourne, Chron. reg. Angl., ed. Hearne, 1732, i, pp. 274-275):

> regis Francorum filius, Dalphinus vocatus, misit pilas Parisianis ad ludendum cum pueris. Cui rex Anglorum rescripsit, dicens, se in brevi pilas missurum Londoniarum, quibus terreret & confunderet sua tecta.

88.6 Paris Balles. "Tennis balls" is the common translation, though none of the three specifically refers to tennis balls (pila palmaria). In the version of Strecche, the Dauphin sends Henry small balls and a soft cushion (parvas pilas ad ludendum et pulvinaria mollia). Elmham is closer to Otterbourne: Parisiusque pilas misit. Oscar Emmerig ("Dariusbrief und Tennisballgeschichte", Englische Studien, xxxix, pp. 362-401) has traced a parallel in medieval romances, in which Darius sends Alexander the Great derisive presents

including a hand-ball.

Henry V's prayer after Agincourt
(88.10)

The story in this form seems to be the work of Hall. It contains elements from at least two other chronicles. In the St. Alban's Chronicle (V.H. Galbraith, ed., 1937, p. 97) and Walsingham, Hist. Angl. (Rolls, ii, p. 313), Henry orders the hymn "Te deum laudamus" to be sung after the battle. The author of the Gesta Henrici Quinti (Williams ed., 1850, p. 63) repeatedly infers that the English victory was the will of God and notes that Henry's armour bears the inscription "Soli Deo honor et gloria". Enguerrand de Monstrelet (Chronique, Douet d'Arcq. ed., iii, p. 111) and Waurin (Recueil de Croniques, Rolls, ii, p. 219) record that instead of a prayer, Henry tells the French that it is not the English who have made the great slaughter but God, as a punishment for the sins of the French. I have already noted (86.17) the advice Henry's father gave him which was to practice the wholesome counsel of the Psalm "Non nobis, Domine". This occurs in Henry IV's death-bed speech as recorded by the anonymous author of The First English Life of Henry V on the "credible report" of James Butler, Earl of Ormonde. Hall has apparently taken this death-bed advice and transferred it to the lips of Henry V at Agincourt. Hall's version of the story (1809, p. 70) is repeated by Grafton (1809, i, p. 518) and Holinshed (1808, iii, p. 82). Camden betrays no specific

debt.

88.11-13 hee fell downe ... tuo da gloriam. In Hall, followed by Grafton and Holinshed, Henry causes:

> his prelates & chapelaines fyrst to sing this psalme In exitu Israel de Egipto. &c. commaundyng euery man to knele doune on the ground at this verse. Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomine tuo da gloriam.

In the Vulgate "In exitu Israel" (Psalmus 113) includes "Non nobis, Domine", but they were separate psalms in the Anglican Psalter.

Compare Shakespeare, Henry V, IV.viii.125.

The patience of Henry VI (88.15)

Camden's source for this and the three following stories of Henry VI is the original: John Blakman, De virtutibus et miraculis Henrici VI (first printed in 1732). Blakman was Henry's chaplain. (DNB) All four stories agree with the portrayal of Henry as a pious but ineffectual king, the image Shakespeare gives him and the image popularly held by Elizabethans. Camden has composed this first story from the substance of two passages in Blakman. The primary object of Blakman was to collect evidence of Henry's piety as part of the unsuccessful attempt to have him canonised. Camden has discreetly omitted the miraculous element of the story.

88.15 Henry the sixt. (1421-1471; reigned 1422-1461 and 1470-1471) Henry was popularly regarded as a saint and martyr; hundreds

of miracles were supposedly accomplished in his name but the bid to have him canonised was rejected.

88.15-89.3 did take all iniuries ... life to come. Both the story and speech are, in effect, Camden's composition, based on two passages in Blakman. I quote from Hearne's edition 1732, pp. 302 and 303:

> Unde et famuli quondam eidem regi asserunt, quod nullam personam, quantumcunque sibi noxiam, voluit aliquoties mulctari. Quod etiam in quam multis liquet personis, quibus valde fuerat gratiosus et misericors imitator effectus illius qui ait: "Misericordiam volo, & nolo mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur & vivat."

And, a few lines later, speaking of Henry's captivity in London:

> ubi famen, sitim, obprobria, irrisiones, blasphemas aliasque injurias complurimas, ut verus Christi sequester, patienter tolleravit, et tandem mortis ibi corporis violentiam sustinuit propter regnum, ut tunc sperabatur, ab aliis pacifice possidendum. Anima autem ipsius, ut pie credimus, ex miraculorum, ubi corpus ejus humatur, diutina continuatione, cum Deo in coelestibus vivente, ubi, post istius seculi aerumnas, cum justis in aeterno Dei contuitu feliciter gaudet, pro terreno & transitorio regno hoc patienter amisso, aeternum jam possidens in aevum.

The just are rewarded after death, and the wicked punished (89.3)

A (folio 45^{v}) contains an earlier version of this story, less polished but closer to the Latin source:

> When one of the Peeres of Austria died at the age of fourescore and thirten \yeares/ who had ledde all his life in voluptuousnes and fleshly pleasure, not beinge

once sicke, or diseased all this longe time, no nor hauinge euer tasted of anie calamitie, sorowe, or greife: & this was tolde vnto federicke themperour the third of that name, hereby also saied he, maie we Judge that man<'s> soule is immortall: for if ther be a god that gouernethe this worlde, as the philosophers, & Diuines do teache, and no man doeth denie that he is iust: then doubtlesse ther be other places, wherunto soules do go after de\a/the, wher they do receiue either rewarde, or punishment, for ther workes, for we do se in this [m] \w/orlde, neither good workes haue ther iust rewardes, nor euell ther due punishment.

The story occurs in Marquard Freher, Germanicarum rerum scriptores. Freher claims to print it from the Prognosticon de Europae euersione of Antonio Arquato (Antonius Torquatus) but this may be an error. It does not occur in the Bodleian copy of the Prognosticon (1544).

Cf. Freher, Ger. rer. script., ii (1602), p. 180:

> In terra Austria cum obiisset vnus ex primoribus annos natus tres & nonaginta, qui vitam inter voluptates illecebrasque nulla vnquam valetudine offensam duxisset, ignotaque illi omnis calamitas, omnis maestitia fuisset, idque Friderico Caesari narretur; "Et hinc," inquit ille, "immortales animas censere licet. Namque si Deus est, qui hunc mundum gubernat, vt Philosophi & Theologi docent, eumque iustum esse nemo negat, profecto alia loca sunt, ad quae post mortem animae migrant, ibique pro factis, aut mercedem aut poenam accipiunt. Nam hic neque bonis sua praemia, neque malis sua supplicia reddi videmus."

89.3 Emperor Fredericke the third. Known as The Pacific. 1415-1493; emperor from 1452 and King of Germany 1440-1493.

89.4 great noble man of Austria. The story is probably a legend; Frederick's brother Albert, known as "The Prodigal", was Duke of Austria but he lived only forty-five years (1418-1463). His death relieved Frederick of a great nuisance.

The prudence of Henry VI
(89.10)

As above, the source is Blakman, De virtutibus et miraculis Henrici VI, T. Hearne ed., 1732, p. 292. Camden has condensed the story omitting all but essential details, but he repeats the speech word for word.

89.10-12 The same King ... with these wordes. Blakman describes the scene as a kind of Christmas spectacle at which young ladies of noble birth dance about stamping their feet rather in the manner of a ritual dance. The vigour of this dance and the "diabolical" enticement of their bare breasts are too much for Henry's piety. He leaves the room in a huff, pronouncing his favourite oath upon them as he goes.

89.12-13 Fie, fie ... too blame. As in Blakman, Said to be Henry's favourite oath; if exceedingly provoked, he would swear by St. John. (DNB)

Touch not a king annointed
(89.14)

As above (88.15), the source is Blakman, De virtutibus et miraculis Henrici VI. The story is brief enough to quote Blakman in full, 1732, p. 301:

> Consimilem etiam misericordiam compluribus aliis ostendit, specialiter autem duobus, mortem ei intendentibus, quorum unus collo suo grave vulnus inflixit, volens excerebrasse, vel decolasse eum, quod tamen rex patientissime tulit, dicens, Forsothe, & forsothe, ye do fouly to smyte a kynge enoynted so.

Henry VI defends his right to the crown
(89.17)

As above (88.15), the source is John Blakman. Camden has changed very little this time.

89.17 Not long before his death. Blakman states that Henry made the speech while imprisoned in the Tower, i.e. between 1465-1470.

89.18-90.7 My father ... vpright in heart. As in Blakman, 1732, pp. 305-306:

> Pater meus rex fuerat Angliae pacifice, coronam Angliae possidens per totum regni sui tempus. Et suus pater, avus meus, ejusdem regni rex fuit. Et ego puer, quasi in cunabilis pacifice, et sine omni interruptione coronatus approbatus fueram rex a toto regno, coronam Angliae gerens quasi per XL. annos, singulis mihi dominis homagium regium facientibus, et fidem michi praestantibus sicut & aliis antecessoribus meis. Vnde, et cum Psalmista dicere possum: Funes ceciderunt michi in praeclaris: etenim hereditas mea praeclara est michi. Justum enim adjutorium meum a Domino, qui salvos facit rectos corde.

89.18-90.4 My father was King ... homage vnto mee. Compare with the scene of Henry's capture in Hall's Chronicle (Ellis ed., 1809, pp. 245-247) and in Shakespeare 3 Hen. VI, III.i, especially lines 76-78.

90.5-6 My lot ... a goodly heritage. Cf. Psalms 16:6.

90.6-7 my helpe ... vpright in heart. Cf. Psalms 7:10.

One beats the bush and another catches the birds
(90.8)

The story rests only on the authority of Paolo Emilio in his De rebus gestis Francorum.

90.8-12 Thomas Montacute ... English proverbe. Camden's introduction, greatly condensed from Emilio's.

90.8 Thomas Montacute. (1388-1428), fourth Earl of Salisbury. The story is improbable. Salisbury began the siege of Orleans on 12 October 1428 but he was critically wounded and died on 3 November before he could take the city. See Jacob, Fifteenth Cent., 1961, p. 245.

90.10 Duke of Burgundie. Philip "the Good".

90.12-13 I wil not beate the bush, and another shal have the birdes. Cf. Emilio, De rebus gestis Francorum, Basel, 1601, p. 327:

cum ipse plagas feris tentenderit, capturam altere cedere.

For the English proverb, see ODEP, p. 37; for the French and Spanish equivalents, see Stevenson, Proverbs, 2178.7.

Honourable to die and honourable to fly
(90.16)

The story is first told by Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius), In Europam (printed in Freher, Germanicarum rerum Scriptores, vol. II, Frankfort, 1602, p. 687). Paolo Emilio tells the story in his own words, but repeats the speech from Pius with minor differences. Camden follows Emilio. In Britannia (1590, p. 480 = 1695, col. 550), Camden mentions the deaths of the Talbots, father and son, but does not give the speech. Compare with the version in Hall, Chronicle (Ellis ed., 1809, p. 229). Shakespeare (1 Hen. VI, IV.v) donates a whole scene to this valiant exchange between father and son.

90.16-91.1 Iohn Lorde Talbot ... flie, saying. Camden's introduction, much condensed from Emilio. The battle of Castillon (1453) was the last campaign of the Hundred Years War and marks the end of English Gascony (see Jacob, Fifteenth Century, 1961, p. 505).

90.16 Iohn Lorde Talbot. (1388?-1453) Though the story is probably a legend, it reflects the character of Shrewsbury accurately enough. He was a sort of Hotspur, a popular hero, who fought with more valour than military judgement. (DNB)

90.19 Lord Lisle. John Talbot (fourth son of John Talbot) 1426-1453; created Viscount Lisle in 1444.

91.1-3 My death ... dishonourable to flie. As in Emilio, De rebus gestis Francorum, Basel, 1601, p. 335:

"Ego," inquit, "fili, multis rebus fortiter gestis, mori

sine decore non possum te vixdum puberem, nec mors clarum, nec fuga infamen facit."

91.7 Commentarii Pii PP.2.Lib.6. Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II), Commentarii rerum memorabilium, Rome, 1584, pp. 295-297; contains the story but not the speech.

When will the English regain France?
(91.8)

More a transitional paragraph than a story on its own, added sometime after B. I have not found a source for the comment of the anonymous English soldier.

91.8-10 After this battell.... the factions heere. Emilio (De rebus gestis Francorum, Basel, 1601, p. 350) discusses the English defeat and the internecine wars in England.

On the decay of English soldiery
(91.15-92.17)

Camden's digression, more than anything else, betrays the lingering embarrassment Elizabethans felt for the loss of their French territories.

91.15-16 Vntill this time ... and sixtie yeeres. One hundred and sixty years from the accession of Edward I would be 1432, but 1453 is the date for English withdrawal from France, the date of the battle of Castillon (see above, 90.16).

92.5 celestiall influence. A supposed flowing from the stars

or heavens of an ethereal fluid acting upon the character and destiny of men (C.T. Onions, A Shakespeare Glossary, Oxford, 1941).

92.5-6 those Angelles which Plato makes. It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty what Camden is thinking of. The emphasis seems to fall on "makes" in the sense that "those Angelles", i.e., the pagan gods, are false. If he has any specific passage in mind -- and there are countless ones to choose from -- it might be Laws 899, B (translation of R.G. Bury, Loeb edition, 1961, ii, p. 349):

> Concerning all the stars and the moon, and concerning the years and months and all seasons, what other account shall we give than this very same, -- namely, that, inasmuch as it has been shown that they are all caused by one or more souls, which are good also with all goodness, we shall declare these souls to be gods, whether it be that they order the whole heaven by residing in bodies, as living creatures, or whatever the mode and method? Is there any man that agrees with this view who will stand hearing it denied that "all things are full of gods"?

But Camden could as easily be thinking of a Neoplatonic idea of causality stemming from Marsilio Ficino.

92.6 the Secundei which Trithemius imagined. Cf. De septem secundeis of Johannis Trithemius (Johann Tritheim, 1462-1516, an abbot of Sponheim), published in 1567. With the implied approbation of God, seven secondary intelligences or spirits, corresponding to the seven known planets, govern the earth by turns through successive ages. To each spirit certain actions or traits are attributed and it is the predominance of that spirit which stimulates these actions or traits in men. The fifth spirit, Samael, an angel of Mars, prevailed during

the period 1171 to 1525, encompassing both the Hundred Years War and the War of the Roses. Trithemius specifically mentions (p. 55) the devastation of France by the English and Burgundians.

92.7-8 the degenerating of numbers into summes. Camden probably has no specific reference in mind but is thinking of some current popular form of the "Pythagorean" number theory. This was first expressed, rather unsympathetically, by Aristotle, Metaphysica, A, 5 (quoted from Works, Oxford, 1940, vol. VIII, folios 985^{b}-986^{a}):

> since, then, all other things seemed in their whole nature to be modelled on numbers, and numbers seemed to be the first things in the whole of nature, they supposed the elements of numbers to be the elements of all things, and the whole heaven to be a musical scale and a number. And all the properties of numbers and scales which they could show to agree with the attributes and parts and the whole arrangement of the heavens, they collected and fitted into their scheme; and if there was a gap anywhere, they readily made additions so as to make their whole theory coherent.

Putting it in the simplest terms, a degeneration of numbers into sums would be a breakdown or reversal of order in the heavenly numerical paradigm.

92.9-12 read in Paterculus ... naturally descend. Velleius Paterculus, Roman History, I.xvii.6 (Loeb edition, p. 44). Paterculus is looking for the "reasons why men of similar talents occur exclusively in certain epochs":

> Genius is fostered by emulation, and it is now envy, now admiration, which enkindles imitation, and in the nature of things, that which is cultivated with

> the highest zeal advances to the highest perfection; but it is difficult to continue at the point of perfection, and naturally that which cannot advance must recede.

92.13-15 Cuncta fecit ... ad finem. Cf. Ecclesiastes 3:11. Minor verbal differences.

Beaufort replies to Armagnac (1416) (92.18)

The sole authority is Walsingham who tells it twice, once in Historia Anglicana and again in Ypodigma. Camden has condensed the story and omitted Armagnac's message to Dorset. The incident but not the speech is mentioned in Britannia, 1607, p. 159 = 1695, p. 52.

92.18-93.4 In the yeere ... but hee answered. Condensed from Walsingham. More accurate details of the battle can be found in E.F. Jacob, Fifteenth Century, pp. 157-158.

93.1 Iohn Beaufort. Read Thomas Beaufort (d. 1427), third and youngest son of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford; created Earl of Dorset in 1411 and Duke of Exeter in 1416. (HBC) John Beaufort (d. 1409/10), eldest legitimate son of Gaunt and Catherine, and brother of Thomas, was created Marquis of Dorset in 1397. This was revoked and by a charter of the same date he was made Marquis of Somerset (see Gibbs, Complete Peerage, xii, part 1, p. 41). Walsingham calls him merely Dorset. Camden corrected his error by the time he added a reference to the incident in Britannia, 1607 (cited above).

93.3 Arminac. Bernard VII, count of Armagnac (d. 1418).

93.4-7 It is not ... deliver into mine. As in Walsingham, Ypodigma, Rolls, p. 469:

> Renuncia sibi, qui te misit, numquam fuisse moris Anglorum hosti se reddere ante praeludia Martis et Bellonae. Nec me reperiet ita vecordem, ut manus illi dem, quem potest Deus tradere in manus meas.

Too base to be a wife, too good to be a harlot (93.10)

The source for this and the next two stories about Edward IV is Sir Thomas More's History of King Richard III (English version), written about 1514. More probably had the stories by word of mouth from informants including John Morton (1420?-1500), Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Roper, father of More's son-in-law William. More's History was published twice in 1543 as part of Hardyng's Chronicle, in 1548 and again in 1550 as part of Hall's Union of the Two Noble Families, and in Rastell's edition of the Workes of Sir Thomas More, 1557. Stowe (Chronicles, 1580) tells all three stories repeating the version in Rastell's edition. For the first two stories Camden has used either Rastell's edition of More or Stowe's Chronicles as he repeats two readings (see below, 94.10 and 12) which occur only in those editions.

Stories of Elizabeth's refusal to become just another of Edward's mistresses were current soon after 1464. See A Fragment relating to King Edward IV (in Thomae Sprotti Chronica, ed. T. Hearne, Oxford 1719,

p. 293); this was written about 1516, but is based on a much earlier account. In an Italian source written about 1468 (De mulieribus admirandis by Antonio Cornazzano), Elizabeth makes a reply to Edward's advances similar to the one below (93.14-15); see Conor Fahy, 'The Marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville: a new Italian source', EHR, lxxvi, 1961, p. 665. In another story (Dominic Mancini, De occupatione regne Anglie per Riccardum tercium, written about 1483, first published 1484, edited by C.A.J. Armstrong, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1969, pp. 60-61 and note 10 on p. 108) Edward places a dagger at Elizabeth's throat. Unperturbed and determined to die rather than become his mistress, Elizabeth refuses, whereupon Edward covets her all the more and agrees to marry her. Shakespeare (3 Hen. VI, III.ii. 84-105) combined this and the next story in one scene.

93.10-14 When Elizabeth ... became importunate. Camden's introduction.

93.10 Elizabeth. Elizabeth Woodville (1437?-1492), daughter of Sir Richard Woodville or Wydeville, afterwards Earl Rivers; she married Sir John Grey, son and heir of Edward Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby (killed in second battle of St. Albans, 1461, fighting on the Lancastrian side); she married Edward IV on 1 May 1464. See further Jacob, Fifteenth Cent., pp. 535, 546.

93.12-13 suter vnto her for a nights lodging. Camden's irony: Edward was visiting Elizabeth's mother, the dowager Duchess of Bedford.

93.14-15 That as she ... be his harlot. Camden's slight alteration has improved the expression:(from edition of More, History of King Richard III, R. Sylvester, ed., 1963, p. 61)

> And in conclusion she shewed him plaine, that as she wist herself to simple to be his wife, so thought she her self to good to be his concubine.

Edward IV marries Elizabeth Woodville (93.16)

As above (93.10) the source is Sir Thomas More's History of King Richard III. In this story, Camden has followed his source closely.

93.16-94.4 When love grew ... his first marriage. Camden's introduction based on More, Hist. of Rich. III, 1963 edition, pp. 61-62. The matter of Edward's marriage is discussed by E.F. Jacob, Fifteenth Cent., 1961, pp. 535-536.

94.5-12 In that shee ... to a Prince. Verbatim from More, Hist. of Rich. III, 1963, p. 64. I note below two readings which occur only in the edition of 1557 and in Stowe.

94.6 have some too. Edward IV's illegitimate children, Arthur Plantagenet (1480?-1542) by Elizabeth Lucy and a daughter Elizabeth who later became wife of Sir Thomas Lumley.

94.10 lay it in my way. As in Rastell's edition of 1557 and in

Stowe; laie it to my charge all other editions before 1605.

94.11-12 to a Priest ... was forbidden to. Passage missing from B. The insertion is from More, word for word, and presents strong evidence that Camden proof-read before handing copy to the printer.

94.12 wist it yet that. As in Rastell's edition of 1557 and in Stowe; wiste that it all other editions before 1605.

Three mistresses of Edward IV (94.13)

As above (93.10) the source is Sir Thomas More's History of King Richard III. I have not found Camden's source; he added the story late, after B, and presents it here out of sequence, thus making it appear that Edward was unfaithful to his wife. In More, Edward IV makes the comment before he has met Elizabeth.

94.13-14 His hote love ... woont to say. Camden's introduction.

93.14-16 The one was ... and her beades. Cf. More, Hist. of Rich. III, 1963, p. 56:

> The king would say that he had .iii. concubines, which in three diuers properties diuersly exceled. One the meriest, an other the wiliest, the thirde the holiest harlot in his realme, as one whom no man could get out of the church lightly to any place, but it wer to his bed.

The three mistresses were Jane Shore (the "merriest" as More notes), Eleanor Butler, and Elizabeth Lucy.

The pension of Lord Hastings (94.17)

Camden's source is the original: Philippe de Comines, Mémoires, vi.1. Comines was a friend of Lord Hastings (see below, 95.1-2) and presumably heard the story from Hastings himself. Camden follows Comines closely for his introduction and he translates Hastings's speech straight from the French.

94.17-95.10 When Lewes ... Lord Chamberlaine answered. Camden's introduction.

95.1-2 large pensions to steede him in England. As part of the treaty of Picquigny (29 August 1475), Louis XI agreed to pay Edward IV an annual pension of 50,000 crowns in return for a guarantee of Louis's sovereignty in France. Louis also bought off a number of Edward's chief friends including Lord Hastings. (See further, F.E. Jacob, Fifteenth Cent., 1961, pp. 577-578.) Comines states that Louis asked him to use his influence with Lord Hastings to support the treaty.

95.10-17 Sir, that which ... accompts in Fraunce. As in Comines, Mémoires, B. de Mandrot, ed., 1903, ii, pp. 5-6:

> Ce que vous dictez est bien raisonnable; mais ce don vient du bon plaisir du Roy vostre maistre, et non pas à ma requeste; si vous plaist que je le preigne, vous le mettrez icy dedans ma manche et n'en aurez lettre ne tesmoing, car je ne vueil point que pour moy on die que le grant chambellan d'Angleterre ait esté pensionnaire du roy de France, ne que mes quittances soient trouvees en sa Chambre des comptes.

Give me rather your hearts than your money
(96.2)

Camden's source is the earliest known: John Rous, Historia regum Angliae, first printed in 1716. Camden used a manuscript, possibly Rous's own: Cotton Vesp.A.xii. Rous wrote the Historia shortly after the death of Richard III, between 1485 and 1491. The work was known to both Sir Thomas More and Rous's friend, Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester. (See R.S. Sylvester, ed., Thomas More, History of King Richard III, 1963, pp. lxxi-lxxii.)

This is another example of Camden's choosing a favourable story about an unpopular king; he ignores the more popular story in Rous (1745, p. 218) which compares Richard to Antichrist.

96.2 Richard the third. (1452-1485) King of England, 1483-1485.

96.2-3 whose monstrous birth ... monstrous proceedings. Camden's addition. Rous states that Richard was born

> festo undecim milium virginum. Cujus in nativitate
> Scorpio erat ascendens, quod signum est domus Martis.

But in fact Richard was born 2 October 1452, under the sign of Libra.

96.3-4 all his teeth, and haire to his shoulders. As in Rous, Hist. regum Angl., 1745, p. 215:

> tyrannus rex Ricardus, qui natus est apud Fodrynghay
> in comitatu Northamptoniae biennio matris utero tentus,
> exiens cum dentibus & capillis ad humeros

Rous is the source for later descriptions of Richard's deformed shoulder, small stature, and his toothed and hairy birth.

96.4-5 yet made good Lawes. Not in Rous. Cf. Hall's Chronicle,

1809, p. 698.

96.6-7 I had rather ... than your money. Cf. Rous, Hist. reg. Angl., 1745, p. 216:

> oblatas respuit cum gratiarum actionibus, potius asserens eorum corda quam opes se velle habere.

The Fable of the Tyrannical Lion (96.8)

The source is as above (93.10): Sir Thomas More, History of King Richard III. The story also appears in Fabyan, Hardyng, Hall, Holinshed, and Stowe. As with the two earlier stories from More's history (93.10 and 93.16) Camden's wording repeats, with some minor differences, the wording found in Rastell's edition of More (1557) and in Stowe's Chronicles (1580).

96.8 Iohn Morton. (1420?-1500) Archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal from 1486. The conversation with Buckingham, of which this fable is only a part, takes place at Brecknock Castle in 1483 after Richard III released Morton to the custody of Buckingham.

96.9 Buckingham. Henry Stafford (1454?-1483) became second Duke of Buckingham on the death of his father in 1460; beheaded by Richard III in 1483.

96.11-15 In good faith ... to construe it. Morton's cautiousness and the application of his story to Richard III would have been clearer to Camden's reader.

96.15-97.7 And ever I thinke ... where am I then? On the fable,

I have nothing to add beyond the commentary of R.S. Sylvester, ed., More, Richard III, 1963, p. 269:

> I have not been able to find this fable in any of the collections of 'Aesop' that might have been available to More. That it is not original with him is indicated by its occurrence, in a slightly altered and considerably fuller form, in a 1604 jest book (Pasquils Iests with Mother Bunches Merriments, reprinted by W.C. Hazlitt, Shakespeare Jest-Books, 3, London, 1864, pp. 52-53) as 'A pretty tale of a Foxe and an Asse'. A somewhat distant analogue for the fable can be found in an English 'Song on the Times', written about 1308, in which the fox and the wolf escape punishment for their misdeeds while the poor ass is severely chastised by the royal lion. See The Political Songs of England, ed. Thomas Wright and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1884, 3, 48-59. The theme was no doubt fairly common in medieval literature. More's fondness for fables is well attested in other works, for example in the Dialogue Concerning Heresies (Workes, 1557, sig. p. 5).

Sir Thomas Rokesby in His Cups (97.8)

The source is as above (66.8): Annales Hiberniae, first printed as an appendix to the Britannia, 1607, p. 830. The story also occurs in the Annales Hiberniae of James Grace, edited by Richard Butler for the Irish Archaeological Soc., 1842, pp. 146-149. Both Grace's version and the anonymous version probably derive from a lost common source. The manuscript (Bodleian MS. Laud 526) from which Camden published the Annales Hiberniae clearly indicates the year was 1356 yet Camden presents the story here, far out of its proper place.

97.8 Sir Thomas Rokesby. Or, Rokeby, was appointed sheriff of

Yorkshire in 1343, then made justiciar of Ireland twice, once in 1349 and again in 1356; d. 1357. (DNB & HBC)

97.8-12 Sir Thomas Rokesby ... woodden payment. The story here differs enough from the version in the Annales to suggest that the postulated intermediate witness was a faulty translation. Camden seems to have added the first part in an effort to make sense out of the comment. The point of the story was that Rokeby was a firm justiciar yet a liberal benefactor (Annales Hiberniae, Rolls, ii, p. 392):

> Anno Domini MCCCLVI., et predicti Regis tricesimo primo, iterum Dominus Thomas Rokesby factus est Justiciarius Hibernie, qui bene expugnavit Hibernicos, et bene solvebat pro victualibus suis, et dixit: Ego volo comedere et bibere de vasis ligneis tantum, et solvere aurum et argentum pro victu et vestitu et stipendiariis.

Rokeby borrowed the phrase from a Latin-French political song current during the reign of Edward I. It is a song against the king's taxes levied to support English expeditions in Flanders. Quoted from the translation of Thomas Wright, The Political Songs of England, London, 1839 (Camden Society, Old Series, 6), p. 186:

> If the king would take my advice, I would praise him then,
> To take the vessels of silver, and make money of them;
> It would be better to eat out of wood, and to give money for victual
> Than to serve the body with silver, and pay with wood.
> It is a sign of vice, to pay for victuals with wood.

Surrey Will Serve the King
(97.13)

No source found. J.D. Mackie (Earlier Tudors, 1957, p. 12)

quotes it in full from Camden and states that although it may be apocryphal yet it expresses the conviction felt after the death of Richard III: England must have a king and he must have the allegiance of all Englishmen.

97.14 Iohn Howard. (1430-1485), Duke of Norfolk; died at Bosworth fighting for Richard III.

97.14 Henry the seaventh. Henry Tudor (1457-1509; reigned 1485-1509).

97.15 Thomas Howard. (1443-1524), Earl of Surrey, and Duke of Norfolk. The story is true in essence if not in fact: Surrey was pardoned in 1486 and was appointed successively lieutenant in the north (1489), lord treasurer (1501-1522) and earl marshal (1510). He defeated the Scots for Henry VIII at Flodden (1513).

The monstrous children of Margaret, duchess of Burgundy (98.6)

The story derives from Polydore Vergil, Anglicae Historiae. Polydore inserted the passage referring to Margaret's metaphorical childbirth sometime after 1513 (date of Polydore's holograph) and before the first edition in 1534. See Denys Hay's edition, Anglicae Historiae, 1950, pp. 70-71, to compare Polydore's manuscript version with the version he printed. Polydore's informant was probably Warham himself (see Hay, ed., 1950, p. xi); they were correspondents during the period Polydore wrote and revised the history. Hall (p. 466),

Grafton (ii, p. 195), and Holinshed (iii, p. 506) repeat the story including Warham's speech. Camden was probably aware of all these versions; he relates the story in his own words condensing the substance of Hall but still clearly echoing his phraseology, especially in the speech (98.15-99.5). Camden's attribution of the story to Sir Thomas More (99.5) is probably an error; I have not found it in any work of More, nor in any work attributing it to More.

98.6 Margaret. (1446-1503), third daughter of Richard, Duke of York; Henry VII confiscated a large part of Margaret's dowry when he came to the throne and Margaret then made her court a refuge for Yorkists. She encouraged Lambert Simnel and received Perkin Warbeck at her court as her nephew Richard. (DNB)

98.6-9 the widdow ... family of Lancaster. Camden's addition; the remaining introductory material is based on Hall.

98.6 Charles the Hardie. Charles le Téméraire (1433-1477), last reigning duke of Burgundy (1467-1477); married Margaret in 1468.

98.12 Philippe. Philip I (1478-1506), Spanish King of Castile (1506), Archduke of Austria, titular Duke of Burgundy. He was nominal governor of the Low Countries when Margaret was in exile there. His father, Maximilian I, was principal supporter of Perkin Warbeck at the time.

98.13 Warrham. William Warham (1450?-1532), archbishop of Canterbury from 1504. Warham made his speech to Philip in July 1493.

98.15-99.5 That within ... a mighty King. Later versions of Warham's speech occur in: Thomas Gainsford, The True and Wonderfull History of Perkin Warbeck, 1618, pp. 44-45; Francis Bacon, History of the Reign of King Henry VII (1622), ed. J.R. Lumby, 1876, p. 118; John Ford, The Chronicle Historie of Perkin Warbeck (1634), ed. Peter Ure, 1968, I.8.52-62 (Ford gives the speech to John de Vere, earl of Oxford).

98.16 past three-score yeeres of age. Camden's addition; Hall, Grafton and Holinshed follow Polydore in saying only that she was in her old age. Margaret was forty-seven in 1493.

98.17 Lambert and Peter. Lambert Simnel (fl. 1487-1525) posed as Edward of Warwick and Perkin Warbeck (1474-1499) posed as Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV. See J.D. Mackie, Earlier Tudors, p. 69 and pp. 116-120.

99.3 neither were they Crisomers. Camden's addition.

Simplicissimus
(99.6)

Both this and the next story on Kildare occur in Edmunde Campion, Two Bokes of the Histories of Ireland, edited from Bodleian MS. Jones 6 (preface dated 1571) by A.F. Vossen, 1963, see folio 73^{r}, Vossen, p. 117. Campion appears to have heard them from an informant, possibly Richard Stanyhurst, as they occur in his history shortly after he makes the declaration (folio 72^{v}, Vossen, p. 116) that what follows in the

narrative was taken from the "wysest and most indifferent persons that I could acquaint myselff withall in Ireland". Both stories were printed by Richard Stanyhurst, from Campion, in his Description of Ireland, published with Holinshed, Chronicles, vol. ii (1577), 1809, vi, 277. Stanyhurst printed them again in a Latin translation in his De Rebus in Hibernia gestis, libri quattuor, Antwerp, 1584, p. 51.

Camden probably used Cotton MS. Vitellius F. IX, folios 126^{v}-127^{R}, a direct transcript of MS. Jones 6. An entry in Cotton's lending book notes that Camden had borrowed the manuscript and that he had not returned it by late December 1606 (Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Roberti Cottoni, 1621, cited by Vossen, p. 96). Camden's phraseology for both stories is nearly identical with Campion's but the word order differs slightly.

99.6 Kildare. Gerald Fitzgerald, eighth earl of Kildare (d. 1513), appointed lord deputy of Ireland in 1481 and again in 1496, the date of the two stories here. His disarming simplicity and his talent for telling scandalous stories about his accusers won over Henry VII.

99.7 Metropolitane Church of Cassilles. Burned in 1495. The spelling in B (Cassehell) resembles Campion's (Casshel).

99.12-13 Archbishop. David Creagh, Archbishop of Cashel from 1484 to 1503. (HBC)

Kildare shall rule all Ireland (99.17)

The origin and development of this story are the same as for the

preceding (99.6). In addition, this story occurs in the Book of Howth (MS. completed not before 1579), 1871, p. 180. Both this and the preceding story are part of the same account of Kildare's trial.

99.17-100.2 When among ... Deputie thereof. As in Campion, Vossen ed., 1963, p. 117:

> The laste article against him they conceyved in theis termes: Fynallye all Ireland cann not rule this Earle. No? quoth the king. Then in good faythe shall this Earle rule all Ireland. Thus was that accusation turned to a jest, the Earle retourned Lord Deputye, shortly after created knight of the garter and so died.

The trial as described in the Book of Howth may be an independent translation from a common Latin source. Kildare states that the goings on of the council are above his head, whereupon Henry VII orders him to choose a counsellor to defend him. Kildare chooses Henry himself and at this (Book of Howth, edition of 1871, p. 180):

> the King laughed, and made sport, and said, "A wiser man might have chosen worse." "Well," said the Bishop, (of Methe) "he is as you see, for all Ireland cannot rule yonder gentleman." "No?" said the King, "then he is meet to rule all Ireland, seeing all Ireland cannot rule him"; and so made the Earl Deputy of Ireland during his life, and so sent him to his country with great gifts, and so the Earl came to Ireland.

J.D. Mackie (Earlier Tudors, p. 132) discusses Kildare and this story.

Henry VII slow to make war (100.3)

No source found. This, like other stories of Henry VII's

pacificism, may derive from Polydore Vergil. Polydore often mentions Henry's efforts for peace and at one point states that Henry's sole principle was to maintain friendship with all neighbouring princes and to give no occasion for war (Anglica Historia, Hay ed., 1950, p. 111).

A fool can know a wiseman
(100.8)

No source found. Shaw states (Knights of England, 1906, ii, p. 24) that a Richard Crofts was created Knight Banneret on 16 June 1487, after the Battle of Stoke-on-Trent, but he gives no source for his information.

Joseph and Potiphar's wife
(100.13)

The source is Thomas More, A Dialogue concerning Heresies (1557), 1927, p. 105. As a member of Parliament under Henry VII, More was in a position to hear court gossip from the king's almoner. Camden repeats More nearly verbatim.

100.14 story of Ioseph. Cf. Genesis, 39:7.

100.16 Maister Maio. Richard Mayew (sp. varies), fellow of New College 1459-71; first president of Magdalen College 1480; chaplain to Henry VII in 1491; d. 1516. (Emden)

The piety of Lady Margaret Beaufort
(101.5)

No source found. If Lady Margaret made any such statement, it would have been after the accession of her son as Henry VII, and probably about 1488, when Henry still had thoughts of a crusade; see J.D. Mackie, Earlier Tudors, 1952, p. 191.

101.5-6 Lady Margaret ... Patronesse of good letters. Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509), only daughter of John first Duke of Somerset. She married Edmund, Earl of Richmond in 1455 and bore a son on 28 January 1456/7, afterwards Henry VII. She founded the divinity professorships at Oxford and Cambridge in 1502 and was a patron of the printers Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde.

When a wicked lawyer goes to Heaven
(101.11)

As Camden indicates in B (see apparatus), his source is an oral tradition. In B the lawyer is anonymous, but the Empson named in the story is no doubt Sir Richard Empson (d. 1510), tax collector for Henry VII. Henry employed Empson and his associate Edmund Dudley in collecting taxes and fines (usually excessive) due to the crown. Their power became absolute and according to Polydore Vergil (Anglica Historia, Hay ed., 1950, p. 129) they vied with each other in extorting money. When Henry VII died, Henry VIII yielded to popular clamour and had them first committed then executed. See also in Polydore, Anglica Historia, Hay ed., 1950, pp. 151-153 and J.D. Mackie,

Earlier Tudors, 1952, pp. 216-217. Empson and Dudley probably gave rise to many of the Elizabethan jests about wicked lawyers.

If the light be dark, how dark will the darkness be?
(101.17)

The source is John Colet's convocation sermon delivered at St. Paul's, London in 1511 and published the following year in its original Latin, under the title Oratio habita a D. Ioanne Collet (STC 5545) 1512, folio A3r. Thomas More paraphrased the comment twice in English, once in A Dialogue concerning Heresies (1557), 1927, p. 217, and again in the Debelacion of Salem and Bizance in Works, 1557, p. 938, section A. Camden's wording follows that of More in A Dialogue concerning Heresies.

101.17 Doctor Collet. John Colet (1467?-1519) Dean of St. Paul's from 1505. Decay of the clergy was a favourite subject of Colet's, both in his sermons and in his public lectures delivered at Oxford about 1497.

101.17-102.4 that if the Clergie ... needes waxe vnsauerie. More's addition. He expanded the comment by adding another phrase from Colet's Biblical text, Matthew 5:13.

102.5 the Clergie bee the light of the world. Cf. Matthew 5:14.

102.6-7 if the light ... the darknesse be. Cf. Matthew 6:23.

The insight of Foxe and the blindness of Wolsey (102.9)

The sole authority is Matthew Parker, who was probably following a popular legend. Thomas Fowler states (in DNB) that the story is inconsistent with what we know of Foxe's relations with Wolsey, and it has an "apocryphal flavour". Camden has put the story in his own words, condensing Parker's version by half and improving the sense.

102.9 Cardinal Wolsey. Thomas Wolsey (1473?-1530); Bishop of Lincoln and Tournay, 1514; Archbishop of York, 1514; Cardinal, 1515; papal legate, 1518.

102.10 Bishop Foxe. Richard Foxe (1448?-1528); Bishop of Exeter, 1487-1492; Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1492-1494; Bishop of Durham, 1494-1501; Bishop of Winchester, 1501-1528.

102.14-103.3 that although olde ... before he feare. Cf. Matthew Parker, De Archiepis. Eccl. Cant. in his De Antiquitate Brit. Eccl., 1572, p. 363:

> Etsi ipse in senectute oculis orbatus candida & atra discernere non potuit, vera tamen a falsis, & iusta ab iniquis potuit. Qua quidem in re meliorem sensum & intuitum quam oculorum iam habere, cum caecus ingrati hominis malitiam, quam oculis ante non perspexisset, iam animo cerneret. Cauendum autem esse magis Cardinali quam sibi, ne cum pene lippus & tantae ambitionis atque cupiditatis tenebris inuolutus sit, in grauiorem caecitatem incidat, nec exitum suum prospiciat.

A Bibliographical Note on Thomas More (103.4)

A brief note here about early Lives of More will allow me to

simplify discussion of individual stories as they occur below (103.4, 105.13 to 114.1, and 130.8). There are seven extant early Lives of More. Given in order of date of composition: (1) the earliest biography is in a letter of Erasmus dated Antwerp, 23 July 1519 (Erasmi Epistolae, iv, pp. 12-23); (2) William Roper (More's son in law) wrote The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knighte about 1557; (3) Nicholas Harpsfield, The life and death of Sir Thomas Moore, completed in 1558; (4) More's nephew, William Rastell wrote a Life which survives only in fragments (referred to as The Rastell Fragments and printed in Appendix I,EETS editions of Harpsfield); (5) Thomas Stapleton, Vita Thomae Mori, printed in his Tres Thomae, Douai, 1588; (6) Ro. Ba., The Lyfe of Syr Thomas More, dedicatory letter dated 25 March 1599; (7) Cresacre More (More's great grandson), The life and death of Sir Thomas More, compiled by 1627.

Of the seven, only the letter of Erasmus and Stapleton's biography were available in print before 1605. The Lives by Roper, Harpsfield, and Ro. Ba., though not printed, were widely circulated in manuscript. Camden may have seen a manuscript copy of Roper (see below, 108.4), and one of Ro. Ba. (see below, 113.5 and 113.14). None of Camden's stories of More appear in The Rastell Fragments, nor in the French account of More's trial (usually referred to as The Paris News Letter and printed in Appendix II of the EETS edition of Harpsfield). Neither these, nor Cresacre More's Life (compiled too late for Camden

to use) need concern us further.

R.W. Chambers has discussed the historicity of the early Lives in his Thomas More, London, 1935, pp. 24-42. Briefly stated, each biographer repeats the material of his predecessor and adds some new material (or elaboration) of his own. Roper's Life was written twenty years after More's death, but still, he and his wife Margaret, were eye-witnesses to most of his account. Roper's Life was probably intended to circulate in manuscript form; Harpsfield's Life is fuller, and follows a design intended for print. He corrects many of Roper's errors and ransacks More's own writings to substantiate certain incidents in Roper. Stapleton had the benefit of documents given to him by Dorothy Colly, Margaret Roper's maid. Ro. Ba. used primarily Stapleton, but turned Stapleton's "rather jejune Latin into masterly Elizabethan English" (Chambers, Thomas More, p. 40).

In the commentary for individual stories hereafter, I will first list by date of composition, the works in which each story occurs, then state the one Camden followed or suggest which he appears to have followed. Page references (as "Roper, p. 78") are to editions cited in my bibliography.

Look first to God, then to the king (103.4)

Thomas More makes the comment in three letters: to Thomas Cromwell, dated 5 March 1534 (Correspondence of More, p. 495); to

Dr. Nicholas Wilson, his fellow prisoner in the Tower of London, dated 1534 (Correspondence of More, Rogers ed., 1947, p. 534); and to his daughter Margaret Roper, from the Tower of London, 3 June 1535 (Correspondence of More, p. 557). All three letters were printed in More's Works, 1557, pp. 1426 (numbered 1427), 1444, and 1453 respectively. The comment was also recorded by Roper (p. 50) and by Harpsfield twice (pp. 23-24 and again p. 57). Camden has followed the letter to Thomas Cromwell.

103.4 Thomas Moore. Sir Thomas More (1478-1535). More was elected to parliament in 1504; speaker in 1523; chancellor in 1529, resigned 1532.

103.5 Henrie the eight. 1491-1547; reigned from 1509-1547.

103.5-6 First looke ... vnto me. Possible echo of Mark 12:17.

Leave deceit at the door (103.7)

As Camden indicates, he heard the story from someone who lived in the time of Henry VIII, presumably an eye-witness. I have not found the story recorded elsewhere.

Mumpsimus for Sumpsimus (103.11)

The earliest reference to the story is in a letter of Erasmus dated 1516 (Erasmus Epistolae, Allen & Allen ed., ii, p. 323), but it was probably current before then. The next year, 1517, Richard Pace

wrote to Erasmus mentioning the story (Erasmus Epistolae, iii, p. 40); Pace published it the same year in his De fructu (see below, 103.15). For later English versions of the proverb, see ODEP, p. 114, Tilley M1314, and John Gough Nichols, Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, p. 141, note. By 1530, "mumpsimus" commonly meant any ignorant and bigoted opponent of reform. (OED)

A variation of this story appears in The Merry Jests and Witty Shifts of Scoggin, first published about 1565/6 and reprinted in Hazlitt's Shakespeare Jest-Books, 1864, ii, p. 19, from the edition of 1626.

103.11-14 The same King ... their new Sumpsimus. King Henry probably heard the story from Pace, see below 103.14-15. Henry made the comment as part of a speech, delivered to parliament Christmas Eve 1545, in which he appealed for Christian charity among churchmen. See also J.D. Mackie, Earlier Tudors, 1952, pp. 433-434. The speech is recorded by Hall (p. 865); Camden repeats Hall.

103.15 Pace. Richard Pace (c. 1483-1536) was well known to Erasmus by 1508. He served Henry VIII from 1513 onwards and was secretary to Wolsey in 1515.

103.16-19 an olde Priest ... their new Sumpsimus. Camden follows Pace, De fructu (1517), 1967, p. 102:

> Nam & quidam indoctus sacrificus Anglicus, eam possessione sua annis tringinta expulit, nec puduit illum tam longo tempore mumpsimus legere, loco sumpsimus. Et quum moneretur

> a docto, ut errorem emendaret, respondit se nolle
> mutare suum antiquum mumpsimus, ipsius nouo sumpsimus.

The phrase "Quod ore sumpsimus" occurs in the mass, in the prayer of purification spoken after communion.

103.16 Portasse. Or, portas. A portable breviary in the medieval church. (OED)

In defence of learning
(104.1)

The source is Pace, De fructu (1517), 1967, pp. 23-25. Camden has condensed the story by more than half and put it in his own words, following the substance of Pace. Pace states that he encountered the nobleman at a banquet he attended soon after returning from Rome (probably in the spring of 1514), but the conversation is probably imaginary.

104.2-4 it was for noble mens sonnes ... mean men. Cf. Pace, 1967, p. 22:

> Decet enim generosorum filios, apte inflare cornu, perite uenari, accipitrem pulchre gestare & educare. Studia vero literarum, rusticorum filiis sunt reliquenda.

104.5-7 Then you ... matters of estate. Cf. Pace, 1967, p. 22:

> nam si ueniret ad regem aliquis uir exterus, quales sunt principum oratores, & ei dandum esset responsum, filius tuus sic ut tu uis, institutus, inflaret duntaxat cornu, & rusticorum filii docti, ad respondendum uocarentur, ac filio tuo uenatori uel aucupi longe anteponerentur

Bishop Fisher will not forsake his church
(104.9)

No source found. E.E. Reynolds states (Saint John Fisher, London, 1955, p. 27) that although sixteen vacancies came up there is no record of Fisher's having been considered for translation, but in The earliest English Life of Fisher (edited Philip Hughes, London, 1935, p. 29) I find the following passage:

> For although he was often at one time offered the bishopric of Lincoln, and at another the bishopric of Ely at the hands of King Henry VIII, any of them both being a far greater living than Rochester was, yet would he never accept such offer in that respect.

104.12-13 fifteenth canon of the Nicene Councell. See Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, ii (1759), pp. 674-675. The Nicene Council held in 325. The fifteenth canon concerns the unauthorised or illegal translation of a priest from one parish to another.

104.13-14 Matrimonium inter ... esse contractum. See Robert L. Benson, The bishop-elect, Princeton, 1968, pp. 121-124. The idea of a matrimonium spirituale between a bishop and his church derives from the concept of marriage between Christ and his Church (Ephesians 5:22 et seq.). A bishop's consecration has included the ceremonial act of marriage since the tenth century. Camden does not appear to have a particular canonical commentator in mind but the concept was discussed at length by the twelfth century decretist Huguccio of Pisa, Summa decretorum.

Wolsey takes payment of a debt
(104.15)

No source found; possibly from an oral tradition.

105.2-5 As Skelton iested ... Butcher of Ipswich. Cf. Skelton's Why come ye nat to courte? 490-491:

> He came of the sank royall
> That was cast out of a bochers stall.

Skelton's jest was apparently well founded; see J.D. Mackie, Earlier Tudors, 1952, p. 287.

205.3 Sanguilier. Not in OED or French dictionaries. Possibly a misprint for sanguifier. Less likely but still possible, the word was a mock-French synonym for butcher, intended to rime with chevalier. "Sange royall" in B clearly follows Skelton's "sank royall".

Stephen Gardiner in his Gloria Patri
(105.6)

No source found. Stephen Gardiner (1483?-1555) was Bishop of Winchester from 1531. In December of the same year, he proceeded as ambassador to the court of France. Henry VIII used him to negotiate his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. After accession of Edward VI he was deprived of his bishopric and put in the Tower for five years. When Mary came to the throne, he was restored to his see and made Lord High Chancellor.

More crosses Wolsey
(105.13)

See: Roper, p. 19; Harpsfield, p. 33; Stapleton 1588, p. 262 = 1966, p. 124; and Ro. Ba., p. 43. Camden follows Stapleton.

105.13-15 Thomas Moore ... crossed a purpose of Cardinall Wolseys. Wolsey visited the Commons in 1523 for the purpose of bullying parliament into passing an excessive war tax. More staged a reception of dumb silence by warning Commons a moment before of Wolsey's intentions. Incensed by this reception, Wolsey departed in a huff and summoned More to Whitehall.

105.15 White-Hall. As in Roper, Harpsfield, and Ro. Ba. Stapleton calls it merely the "palatium nouum".

105.16 when he had daunced attendaunce long. Only in Stapleton.

105.17-106.3 Maister Moore ... but never sawe. Cf. Stapleton 1588, p. 262:

> Vtinam Thoma More quum Orator populi in his comitiis declarareris, ad portas vrbis Romae fuisses. Cui extemplo Morus. Illustriss. Domine, & ego certe illud quam maxime optassem. Vidissem enim profecto praeclaram vrbem de qua multa audiui nec hactenus vidi.

106.2 and read much. Added to 1614; not in Stapleton.

Thomas More will be the King's one fool
(106.4)

See: Stapleton, 1588, p. 263 = 1966, p. 125; and in Ro. Ba., p. 107. Camden follows Stapleton, omitting non-essential details.

106.5 first made privie Counseller. More was a member of the King's Council from October 1517.

106.8-13 Whereuppon the Cardinall ... honourable Counsell. Cf. Stapleton, 1588, p. 263:

> Iratus Cardinalis sic Morum alloquitur. Ante vero non pudet More quum sis omnium & loco & dignitate infimus, sic solum sapere & a tot nobilissimis ac prudentissimis viris dissentire? Ostendis te plane ineptum & stultum esse Consiliarium. Cui euestigio Morus. Enimuero magnae Deo gratiae agendae sunt quod Regia Maiestas in hoc suo supremo Senatu vnicum tantum stultum habeat.

The longest day to pay
(106.14)

No source found. A different but obviously related story appears in Francis Bacon's Apophthegms New and Old, 1626, number 118:

> Sir Thomas Moore, when the Counsell of the Partie pressed him for a longer day, said; "Take St. Barnabies day, which is the longest day in the yeere." Now St. Barnabies day was within few days following.

106.20 kisse the Fleete. Proverbial: "kiss the clink", i.e., go to (the Fleet) prison. ODEP, p. 429; Tilley, C 416; Stevenson, Proverbs, 1314.9.

Better to rule than to be ruled
(107.1)

See: More, Dialogue of Comfort, p. 169; Harpsfield, p. 95; Ro. Ba., 133-134. It is on the authority of Harpsfield we learn that More is jesting with his own wife, Dame Alice. Camden follows More, with

minor differences. It is worth noting that Camden attributes the story to More himself rather than to the anonymous fictitious character in the Dialogue of Comfort -- again suggesting Camden saw a manuscript of Harpsfield, or Ro. Ba.

107.4-5 list you not. that you list not (More).

107.6 make goselings ... with a sticke. Draw geese, i.e., doodle.

107.8 would doe. What?. Camden has omitted a line. Compare More, Dialogue of Comfort:

> "Would God I were a man, and look what I would do." "Why wife," quoth her husband, "what would you do?" "What?" [she said] "By God, go forward ...

107.9-10 It is ... better to rule than to be ruled. Proverbial: see ODEP, p. 56; Tilley, R 193; and Stevenson, Proverbs, 2013.3.

More sings in the choir (107.13)

See: Roper, p. 51; Harpsfield, p. 64; Stapleton, 1588, p. 87 = 1966, pp. 63-64; and Ro. Ba., pp. 51-52. Camden follows Stapleton.

107.16 Duke of Norffolke. Thomas Howard (1473-1554), third Duke of Norfolk; later one of More's judges.

108.1-3 No my Lord ... King of kings. Cf. Stapleton, 1588, p. 87:

> Domino meo Regi displicere non potest, quod ipsius Regis Domino obsequium impendo.

The Lord Chancellor is gone
(108.4)

See: Roper, p. 55; Harpsfield, p. 66; Stapleton, 1588, p. 266 = 1966, p. 127; and Ro. Ba., p. 85. Camden appears to follow Roper and Harpsfield, by omitting the reply of More's wife (in Stapleton and Ro. Ba.). The story also appears in Francis Bacon's Apophthegms, 1626, number 89.

Camden's wording also echoes that in Roper:

> And whereas vppon the holidayes during his highe Chauncelourshipp, one of his gentlemen, when service at the church was done, ordinarily vsed to come to my lady his wives pue, and say [vnto her], "Madame, my lord is gone," the next holiday after the surrender of his office and departure of his gentlemen, he came vnto my lady his wifes pue himself, and making a lowe curtesye, said vnto her, "Madame, my lord is gone."

Nec bella, nec puella
(108.10)

The source is a letter Erasmus wrote to Ulrich Hutten, dated 23 July 1519. This was published in J. Fichard, Virorum illustrium Vitae, Frankfort, 1536, folio 114^{v}; reprinted in Erasmi Epistolae, Allen & Allen ed., iv, p. 12. The letter is the earliest biography of More.

108.10 His latter wife was a widdow. Alice Middleton. Erasmus explains that More married a widow, more because he needed someone to care for his family than because he desired her. More's first wife was

Jane Colt.

108.11 nec bella, nec puella. Cf. Martial, Epig., I.lxiv.4.

A friar's girdle will not help you to heaven
(108.14)

No source found. This story resembles another in Roper in which Dame Alice visits More in prison in the hope of persuading More not to oppose the king. Her argument is that More's place is at home with his wife and children and she wonders "what a gods name you meane heare still thus fondly to tarye". More replies (Roper, p. 83):

> "Is not this house," [i.e., the prison] quoth he,
> "as nighe heauen as my owne?"

108.18 Friers girdle. I.e., belt.

Shriven, to begin afresh
(109.1)

The story appears in More, Dialogue of Comfort, p. 96, as part of "Mother Maud's Tale". It is Harpsfield, p. 94, who first attributes it to More's own wife; Ro. Ba., p. 133, follows Harpsfield. Camden follows More's Dialogue, but alters it by giving the last word to More himself, rather than his wife. Compare More, Dialogue of Comfort, p. 96:

> The wolf now coming from shrift, clean soiled from his sins, went about to do as a shrewd wife once told her husband that she would do when she came from shrift. "Be merry, man," quoth she now, "for this day I thank God was I well shriven. And I

purpose now therefore to leave of all mine
old shrewdness and begin even afresh."

And Harpsfield, p. 94:

This wife, [Alice Middleton] on a time after
shrifte, bad Sir Thomas be merie. "For I haue,"
saith she, "this day lefte all my shrewdnes,
and will beginne afreshe."

More and the Lieutenant of the Tower
(109.5)

This appears to be a variation on the story in Roper, p. 77; Harpsfield, p. 173; Stapleton, 1588, p. 267 = 1966, p. 128; Ro. Ba., p. 119. B contains a similar and clearly related story about More's exchange with a "plaine simple fellowe (who) was appointed to be his keeper".

109.5-11 When he was sent ... for that he takes. Cf. Roper, p. 77:

After this, master Lieutenant, cominge into his chamber
to visite him, rehearced the benefittes and freindshipp
that he had many waies receaved at his handes, and
howe much bounden he was therefore freindly to inter-
tayne him, amd make him good cheare; which, since the
case standing as it did, he could not do without the
kinges indignation, he trusted, he said, he wold accepte
his good will, and suche poore cheare as he had. "Maister
Leivetenaunt," quothe he againe, "I veryly beleeve, as
you may, so you are my good freind indeede, and wold,
as you say, with your best cheere intertaine me, for
the which I most hartely thancke you; and assure your
self, master Leivetenant, I doe not myslike my cheare;
But whensoeuer I soe doe, then thruste me out of your
doores."

109.5-6 the Lievtenant, his olde friend. As in Ro. Ba. only:

"the Lievetenant, who was his good friend and old acquaintaince". This was Sir Edmund Walsingham.

More's upper garment (109.11)

The story appears in: Hall's Chronicle, H. Ellis ed., 1809, p. 817; Roper, p. 75; Harpsfield, p. 170; Stapleton, 1588, p. 267 = 1966, p. 128; Ro. Ba., p. 119. Cf. Stapleton, 1588, p. 267:

> In vincula quum conijceretur, carcerem ingressus, iussus vt supremam vestem custodi de more tradat, pileum porrigit. (Haec enim, inquit, supremo plane loco consistit) quum togam custos intelligeret ac consuetudo flagitaret.

The fate of More's beard (109.15)

There are several beard-anecdotes. The first occurs in the early, but unreliable anonymous Latin fragment referred to as The Divorce Chronicle (edited by Charles Bemont in Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1917, fascicule 221, p. 72). In this anecdote, it is Cromwell who asks More if he has changed his mind. The next anecdote appears in Stapleton, 1588, pp. 306-307 = 1966, p. 162, and is repeated by Ro. Ba., pp. 120-123. This story takes the form of an elaborate hoax which More commits on an anonymous courtier. The foolish man pleads with More to change his opinion and be saved. At length, More says he has changed his mind and intends to act differently. The man rushes out instantly to inform the king. The

king is surprised but greatly elated at More's change of heart and tells the man to return and have More put his recantation in writing. At his return, More first asks the man how the king took the news, then reveals at last that all he meant in the first place by his comment was to keep his beard rather than have it shaved.

Camden's appears to be a free rendition of Stapleton, 1588, pp. 306-307:

> At qui quum haec mihi (vt vides) plurimum in carcere excreuerit, decreueram plane satis diu ad supplicium iturus barbam radere, re alio quasi vultu apud notos apparerem, quam solitus essem. Nunc autem mutaui plane consilium, voloque vt barba idem discrimen subeat quod caput.

Yet another beard-anecdote appears in Bacon's Apophthegms, 1626, number 15. In this story, More declines the offer of a shave, saying "the King and I have a suit for my Head, and till the Title be cleared, I will do no cost upon it".

Conscience is the Good Companion
(110.1)

The source is a letter from More's daughter Margaret Roper, sent to Alice Alington (August 1534), in which Margaret reports a dialogue she had with her father in the Tower. It was published in More's Works, 1557, p. 1437; reprinted in Correspondence of More, p. 514. See also R.W. Chambers, Thomas More, p. 310. The same letter contains the next proverb (113.1).

For the most part, Camden has copied the story verbatim, but he

also makes certain changes, most of them necessary simply in the course of transferring the story from one context to another. He omits a number of passages, rewords some others, and he identifies the "Court of Pipowders".

110.4-8 one of the greatest ... one other man. Cf. Correspondence of More, pp. 516-517, lines 89-98.

110.8 one other man. Bishop John Fisher.

110.9-113.18 At a Bartholomew faire ... all good company. Cf. Correspondence of More, pp. 522-523, lines 286-342.

110.9 Escheator. A law officer -- originally appointed to take note of lapses of property to the Crown; and so a sort of distress officer. (E.F. Rogers's note from Sampson and Guthletch.)

110.12 tolling. Enticing. (OED)

110.12 traine. Deceit, or trickery. (OED)

110.15 Court of Pipowders. A Court of Piepowders was a court of wayfarers or travelling traders. (OED) "The court at a fair, pie powder, from French pied poudré, as justice was administered without delay to all who came, dusty as they were." (E.F. Rogers, ed., Correspondence of More, p. 521, note). Margaret Roper was unable to remember the name of the court. Camden supplied the name simply by inserting Rastell's marginal note.

110.16-17 to have all the Quest almost made of the Northerne men. They rigged the jury with sympathetic Northern men, all but one.

110.18 departed from the barre. Retired to reach a verdict.

111.2 To cast. To indite.

111.18-19 whare wannes thou?. What is the matter with you? Or, more closely: where do you come from?

111.19 one all alene. I.e., one all alone. The letter retains the dialect: "ene la alene".

More will not pin his soul to another man's back.
(113.1)

The speech appears in the same letter as above, 110.1, the letter in which Margaret Roper recounts the dialogue she had with her father in the Tower. Stapleton (1588, p. 293 = 1966, p. 152) included the speech in his account of More's trial. Camden copies the letter of Margaret Roper.

113.2 another mans backe. More meant his friend and fellow martyr, Bishop John Fisher. The third charge raised against More at his trial concerned his refusal to swear to the Oath of Supremacy. Because Fisher also refused to swear, More was charged with having conspired with Fisher in the matter. More denied any knowledge of Fisher's answer; see Harpsfield, pp. 187-188.

113.2 pinne his soule at another mans backe. Proverbial: He pins his faith upon another man's sleeve. The date of Margaret Roper's letter (1534) is earlier than the earliest example (1548) in ODEP, p. 626; Tilley, F 32.

More observes his urine.
(113.5)

The story first appears in Ro. Ba., the only occurrence before Camden I have found. It provides the strongest, though not certain, evidence that Camden saw a manuscript of Ro. Ba. Camden's wording differs considerably, but this may be the result of condensing the story. Compare Ro. Ba., pp. 119-120:

> Sir Thomas More being condemned, Sir Thomas Pope was sent to him from the kinge, to bid him prepare him selfe to die, for by such an hower he should loose his heade. When maister Pope perceiued that Sir Thomas More was nothing dismaide nor altered for this message, thought that Master More did not beleeue it; Wherefore sought in earnest manner to persuade him that it was true, and said to him, "Sir, you are but a dead man. It is impossible for you to liue till the afternoone." Maister More said not a worde, called for an vrinall, and looking on his water, said: "Maister Pope, for anythinge that I cann perceiue, this patient is not so sicke but that he may do well, if it be not the kings pleasure he should die. If it were not for that, there is great possibilitie of his good health. Therefore let it suffice that it is the kinges pleasure that I must die."

The story occurs later in Cresacre More, and in the anonymous Witty Apophthegms, 1658, p. 167 (attributed to Thomas Bayly).

When the wares are gone, we shut up shop
(113.10)

See: Stapleton, 1588, p. 267 = 1966, p. 128; and Ro.Ba., p. 119. Camden follows Stapleton, 1588, p. 267:

> Quum tandem in carcere arctius custodiretur, sublatique essent libri omnes & chartae, cubiculi sui fenestras deinceps die ac nocte occ$\widehat{y}$lusit prorsus. Rogatus a custode cur sic faceret, respondit. Sublatis mercibus & instrumentis claudenda officina.

113.12-13 When the wares ... shut vp shop. Proverbial: When the wares be gone, shut up the shop windows. Cf. ODEP, p. 867; Tilley, S 394 and W 68.

More declines the cup of wine
(113.14)

See: Stapleton, 1588, p. 341 = 1966, p. 188, and Ro. Ba., p. 259. Camden follows Stapleton, 1588, p. 341:

> Transeunti mulier quaedam vinum obtulit, quod recusauit dicens; Christum in sua passione non vino sed felle potatum fuisse.

113.15-16 Christ in his passion ... no wine. Cf., Matthew 29:34.

More mounts the scaffold
(113.17)

The story appears in: Hall's Chronicle, H. Ellis ed., 1809, p. 817; Roper, p. 103; Harpsfield, p. 204; Stapleton, 1588, p. 267 and again p. 341 = 1966, p. 128 and p. 188; and Ro. Ba., p. 123. Camden follows Stapleton, 1588, p. 267:

> Theatrum supplicii locum conscensurus, manum sibi a quodam vt facilius conscenderet, porrigi petens; Iuua me, inquit, vt conscendam. In descensu nemini molestus ero.

More forgives the executioner
(114.1)

See: Hall's Chronicle, H. Ellis ed., 1809, pp. 817-818; Roper,

p. 103; Harpsfield, p. 204; twice (different versions) in Stapleton, 1588, pp. 267-268 and again p. 342 = 1966, p. 128 and p. 189; twice (following Stapleton) in Ro. Ba., p. 124 and p. 262. Camden appears to follow the first version in Stapleton, 1588, pp. 267-268:

> Denique petente veniam carnifice, vt moris est, ego vero, inquit, tui misereor qui in tam curta ceruice praescindenda vix te poteris honeste expedire.

Compare with the first version in Ro. Ba., p. 124:

> His head being laid on the block, the executioner asked him pardon, as the custome is. "I forgiue thee with all my hart," quoth he. "Marrie, my neck is so short, I feare me thou shalt haue litle honestie by thy workmanshipp. See therefore that thou acquite thyselfe well." And therewithall he gaue him an angell for his paines.

Seeing is believing
(114.8)

The source for this and the next two stories is More's A Dialogue Concerning Heresies (1529), written at the suggestion of More's friend Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London. More's chief object was to attack Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. This first story appears in the Dialogue, Campbell & Reed ed., 1927, p. 38. Camden has copied the story nearly word for word.

115.3 eyne. Camden's emendation; B preserves More's text.

Rather believe than see
(115.4)

As above (114.8), the source is More's A Dialogue Concerning

Heresies, Campbell & Reed ed., p. 50. The only significant changes Camden has made are to substitute "rather" for "liefer" throughout, and to change "said I" to "said Sir Thomas" and "quod he" to "quoth the Messenger".

115.4-6 When sir Thomas ... gone thither. Camden's introduction.

115.8 to beleeve that I see not. I.e., to believe in what I cannot see.

The light of the Clergy
(115.17)

Camden's source is as above, 114.8, More's A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, Campbell & Reed ed., p. 216. It occurs in a chapter dealing with decay of the clergy and shortly before More's paraphrase of Colet's convocation sermon, "If the light be dark"; see above (101.17).

116.3 Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus. Cf. Matthaeus 5:16.

116.4-8 But a lewde Priest ... have all the hornes? Camden's addition.

The fool hath said in his heart there is no Hell.
(116.9)

No source found. It does not occur in the obvious place - More's A Dialogue Concerning Heresies.

The Friar and the babbling wife
(116.16)

Camden's source is More's Debellacion of Salem and Bizance in English Works, 1557, p. 948, section G. An earlier and slightly longer version appears in A Hundred Merry Tales (c. 1525), reprinted in W.C. Hazlitt's Shakespeare Jest Books, 1881, p. 85.

Praise me only with the truth
(117.6)

Camden's source is More's A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation, written while More was in the Tower and first printed in 1553, reprinted in More's English Works, 1557. See the edition of Leland Miles, 1965, p. 167.

117.6 King Ladislaus. Vladislav, King of Bohemia (1471-1516) and of Hungary (1490-1516).

117.10 glose. I.e. (flattering) commentary.

117.11 shortly. I.e., curtly.

117.12 Gloria patri ... Sicut erat. Compare Stephen Gardiner's jest upon the Doxology, above 105.6.

Friar Donald to the men of London
(117.17)

The source is as above, 114.8, More's A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, Campbell & Reed ed., p. 62. No significant changes. More writes that "I heard (the story) once when I was a child (from) the

good Scottish frere father Donald".

118.1 Wilsdon. Probably Willesden, Middlesex.

John More on the choosing of a wife (118.3)

The speech appears in: More's A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, Campbell & Reed ed., p. 107; Harpsfield, p. 9; and Ro. Ba., p. 137. Camden does not follow any of these verbatim.

118.3 Sir Iohn Moore. Sir Thomas More's father (d. 1530).

118.3-5 compare the choosing ... for an Ele. Cf. More, A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, Campbell & Reed ed., p. 107:

> But now if ye were in the case that I have heard my father merrily say every man is at the choice of his wife, that ye should put your hand into a blind bag full of snakes and eels together, seven snakes for one eel, ye would I wene reckon it a perilous choice to take up one at adventure though ye had made your special prayer to speed well.

Compare also the proverb: Who has a woman has an eel by the tail. ODEP, p. 908; Tilley, W 640.

Discretion is the better part of justice (118.6)

The source is More's Debellacion in English Works, 1557, p. 1003, section A. Sir John Fyneux, or Fineux (1441?-1527) was made judge of Common Pleas in 1494 and chief justice of the King's Bench in 1495. (Foss, Biographia Juridica.) DNB quotes a similar speech of his from

British Museum MS. Sloane 1523:

> That people is beyond precedent free and beyond comparison happy who restraine not their sovereign's power to do them harm so far, as that he hath none left him to do them good.

Youth, age, and folly (118.10)

No source found. Nicholas Metcalfe (1475-1539), archdeacon of Rochester and a patron of learning. Roger Ascham describes him as "parciall to none, but indifferent to all". DNB quoting Scholemaster, ed. Mayor, p. 160.

118.10-12 You yong men ... are fooles. Proverbial: ODEP, p. 927; Tilley, M 610.

Katherine Brandon chooses Stephen Gardiner (118.13)

No source found. Katherine was the daughter of the widowed Lady Willoughby. She was the ward of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (d. 1545), for four years before their marriage in 1533. (DNB)

Edward VI and the sword of the spirit (118.19)

This anecdote occurs only in John Bale, Illustrium maioris Britanniae Scriptorum (1559). Fervent Protestantism is the likeliest motive for Bale, a contemporary writer, to record such a clearly apocryphal story. Edward was aged nine at the time of his accession

and not likely able to support a sword let alone come up with so pious a speech. Camden has turned a blind eye.

118.19 Edward the sixt. 1537-1553; King of England 1547-1553.

118.19 three swordes. The records of Edward's coronation are printed in The Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth, edited by John Gough Nichols, London 1857, pp. cclxxviii to cccv. No swords are mentioned, but Edward was crowned with three crowns (p. ccii).

119.3-5 I meane ... do any thing. Cf. Bale, Illustrium, 1559, p. 673:

> Ille liber (inquit) gladius spiritus est, et gladiis his omnibus longe anteferendus. Ille etiam nobisipsis, qui his ad populi salutem Domino disponente utemur, merito praeesse debet. Sine illo gladio nihil sumus, nihil possumus, nihil potestatis habemus.

My blood shall be upon thy bolster (119.6)

I have not found a source, nor identified Camden's reference "Relatio Gallica". Camden's friend, Francis Godwin (1562-1633), records the story in his Rerum Anglicarum (1616) 1630 edition, p. 251.

119.6 Sir Ralfe Fane. Or, Vane (d. 1552) supported the Protector of Edward VI. In October 1551, when the Duke of Northumberland had resolved on the destruction of Somerset and his supporters, Fane was one of those charged with conspiracy to murder Northumberland. He was tried in 1551-1552. DNB quotes this story from Camden.

Thirlby looses his cloak in Rome
(119.12)

No source found. Camden may have heard this and the next story from Archbishop Matthew Parker, who kept Thirlby in custody after his release from the Tower. The version in B (see apparatus) indicates an oral tradition.

119.12 Thrilby. Thomas Thirlby (1506?-1570), Bishop of Westminster 1540-1550; of Norwich 1550-1554; and of Ely from 1554. He was one of the special embassy sent to Rome in 1554-1555 to make Queen Mary's obedience to the pope.

Thirlby keeps his friends in the Tower
(120.1)

No source found. See above, 119.12; Thirlby was committed to the Tower 3 June 1560 and released in 1563 to the custody of Archbishop Matthew Parker. (DNB)

Involuntary service
(120.7)

The story appears in Grafton (H. Ellis ed., ii, p. 520) and in Holinshed (H. Ellis ed., iii, pp. 925-926). Camden's version is briefer, better expressed, and does not appear to follow them in anything but Kingston's speech.

120.8 Anthony Kingston. Sir Anthony Kingston (1519-1556), provost-marshal for Edward VI in Cornwall during the western rebellion

in 1549. His manner of administering justice was notorious: "He is said to have entertained the mayor of Bodmin at a banquet and to have hanged him after dinner on the gallows which the mayor had himself been directed to make ready." (DNB)

A Bibliographical Note on Reginald Pole (120.16)

All but two of the following eighteen stories (120.16 to 128.1) are taken from the Life of Cardinal Pole by Andrew Dudith (Andreas Dudithius), Vita Reginaldi Poli, Venice, 1563. Dudith's work is a Latin translation, with additions, from the Italian original of Ludovico Beccatelli (or Beccadelli), Vita del Cardinale Reginaldo Polo, first printed by Quirini in Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli, volume v, 1757, pp. 355-391. References below are to these editions. Both Dudith and Beccatelli were friends of Cardinal Pole, and Beccatelli was for a time his secretary.

Cardinal Pole on interpreting St. Paul (121.2)

Not in Beccatelli. Dudith states that he took the story from Girolamo Seripando's commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul (Commentarius in epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, Antwerp, 1567) but this is doubtful since Seripando's book appeared three years after Dudith's. In Dudith, the story occurs immediately before and is related to Pole's two other speeches on understanding the scriptures (127.3 and 127.12).

They all reflect Pole's exceptional reputation as an exegete.

Of all the stories in this group, Camden has modified this one most. He follows the substance of Dudith for the most part, using his own words, but shifts the emphasis by quoting not Pole's speech, but Seripando's (supposed) comment on Pole's speech.

121.4-9 he thought the best ... exactly handled. This is the substance of Pole's speech, quoted by Dudith from Seripando, who is supposedly quoting Pole.

121.9-11 That God wil ... to serve him. This is Camden's rendition of Seripando's comment on Pole's speech. Cf. Dudith, fols. 46r-v:

> Videbat scilicet puros, mundos, atque in diuinis praeceptis exercitatos animos facilius, atque procliuius obscuriora quaeque penetrare posse: contra uero, qui quae clariora, & apertiora in sanctis libris sunt, negligant, eos ab occultioribus, sanctioribusque mysteriis, tanquam prophanos a sacrarum aedium liminibus arceri.

Pole's comment on the role of bishops (121.12)

No source found.

The smell of garlic (121.15)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 385; Dudith, p. 41^{r}.

This is the first of eleven stories which Beccatelli simply appends to his biography as a set of illustrations of Pole's wit. Dudith

follows Beccatelli closely in their wording and sequence; Camden follows Dudith likewise, except that he inserts a story from Matthew Parker at 123.2.

121.18-122.2 He (quoth Poole) ... stinking breaths. Cf. Dudith, fol. 41^{r}:

> Similiter, inquit ille, hic noster facit, ut qui alii odore offenduntur. Nam si cum aliquo agendum sit, qui allium ederit, idem ipsi quoque degustant, ne grauem eius odorem sentiant.

Compare Suetonius, Vespasian, 8:3: "Maluissem alium oboluisses!"

121.19-122.2 they ... that have eaten garlike ... may not perceive their stinking breaths. Proverbial: The smell of garlic takes away the smell of onions. ODEP, p. 745; Tilley, S 556.

Too much learning and too little wisdom (122.3)

The story appears in Beccatelli, p. 385; Dudith, fol. 41^{r}.

122.4-8 Learning (quoth Poole) ... quiet and stil. Cf. Dudith, fol. 41^{r}:

> Ille uero, doctrina, inquit, in iuuenibus idem prope efficit, quod mustum in lacu solet. ibi enim feruet, atque ebullit, sed simul ac purgatum in dolium includitur, collectis uiribus conquiescit.

122.4-6 Learning ... doth worke ... and swelleth. Cf. Job 32: 18-19.

Man is born twice
(122.9)

The story appears in Beccatelli, p. 385; Dudith, fol. 41^{r}.

122.11-14 Poole aunswered ... the other before. Cf. Dudith, fol. 41^{r}:

> tum Polus, fieri quidem posse, quae ille asseueraret, sed meminisset, iterum se natum esse, atque eum quidem natalem diem, quo renatus esset, priori illi tenebras offudisse. significabat autem sacrum baptismatis lauacrum.

Compare John 3:3-5.

The sons of Hagar were slaves
(122.15)

The story appears in Beccatelli, p. 385; Dudith, fol. 41^{r-v}.

I quote Dudith in full:

> Cum quidam diceret, in sacrarum litterarum studio ita uersandum esse, ut nullum aliis studiis tempus reliqueretur, & alius quidam adiecisset, reliquis litterarum studiis, ut ancillis utendum esse; ipse, An nescis, inquit, Agar, propterea quod ancilla esset, domo eiectam fuisse?

127.19-128.1 Agar was cast out ... because she was a bond woman. Cf. Galatians 4:30-31. The allegory of Hagar and Sarah. The children of Hagar (in this case those who pursue secular studies) are slaves and shall be cast out while the children of Sarah (those who pursue sacred studies) are born free and shall reap the inheritance.

Philosophy versus sacred Scripture
(123.2)

This story is the invention of Archbishop Matthew Parker, in

De Antiquitate ecclesiae, 1572, pp. 406-407. Parker has based his story partly on a letter and partly on a passage in Dudith.

Pole wrote Sadolet on 15 November 1532 (Epistolarum Poli, i, p. 400):

> Ego certe illius verbis tecum expostulare non dubitabo, si juvenem omnibus vel naturae dotibus, vel doctrinae praesidiis, tua opera instructissimum, & plane talem, qualem tu parentum votis expetendum proponis, fluctuantem jam in Philosophiae, portu reliqueris (qui ne portus quidem jam nomine dignus, sed ut de Tenedo dixit Poeta: Nunc tantum, sinus, & statio malefida carinis) non certe nobis tantus iste in eo educando apparatus

Cf. Dudith, fol. 45^{v}:

> Adolescentulus, ut antea demonstrauimus, linguarum cognitioni, & humaniorum litterarum studiis, atque in primis eloquentiae operam dabat. Sed postquam ad philosophiae, & Theologiae studia animum adiecit, non maximam styli curam habuit ... Platonis magis, quam Aristotelis lectione delectabatur. Sed ut primum sacras attigit, utrumque de manibus deposuit, neque aliud postea studiorum genus sequutus est.

123.2 Sadolet. Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547), cardinal and Bishop of Carpentras. In 1537 he was, along with Pole, a member of the special commission for reform of the Church. (ODCC)

123.11-13 notissima fama ... malefida carinis. Cf. Aeneid, ii. 21-23. Camden has correctly quoted the passage; Parker had transposed the first and second lines.

Pole on absentee bishops (123.16)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 385; Dudith, fol. 41^{v}.

124.5-6 I shal take ... the lesse. Cf. Dudith, fol. 41^{v}:

Hoc ex tuo discessu solatii capio, quod minus uapulabis.

Pole laughs at rhetorical condolences (124.7)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 385; Dudith, fol. 41^{v}.

124.10-13 That hee never ... from laughing. Cf. Dudith, fol. 41^{v}:

> his lectis, nunquam se antea ullas litteras legisse, quae maiorem consolationem afferrent, dixit. eiusmodi enim esse, ut, qui eas legeret, a risu sibi temperare non posset.

Pole's prose, in turn, has been criticised for excessive ornamentation and too obvious imitation of Vulgate Latin.

A preacher should preach first unto himself (124.14)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 386; Dudith, fol. 41^{v}.

124.16-18 Well, but I ... afterward to other. Cf. Dudith, fol. 41^{v}:

> Bene, inquit, sed uellem sibi prius, deinde aliis concionaretur.

Cf. St. Paul 1 ad Corinthios 9:14.

Pole prefers the heavenly country (124.19)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 386; Dudith, fol. 41^{v}.

125.1 he should come. I.e., Pole should come back after thirty years.

125.3-4 I hope I ... heavenly country. Cf. Dudith, fol. 41^{v}:

> Non arbitror, inquit, ita male me de te meritum esse, ut tam longum a coelesti nostra patria exilium mihi optare, aut etiam om[illegible]ari debeas.

Compare Hebraeos 11:16.

Pole has daily access to God but not the emperor (125.5)

The story appears in Beccatelli, p. 386; Dudith, fols. 41^{v}-42^{r}.

125.5 While he was in the Low countries. Pole was appointed legate a latere to Charles V in 1537 for the purpose of securing the emperor's assistance in enforcing the papal bull of excommunication against Henry VIII.

125.6 Charles. Charles V (1500-1558), Roman emperor and King of Spain as Charles I.

125.7 Bishop of Arras. Either Eustache de Croy, d. October 1538, or Antoine Perrenot Granvella, elected December 1538. (Gams, p. 496.) Perrenot was instrumental in securing the marriage of Phillip II to Mary, d. of Henry VIII. (NBG)

125.10-12 That whereas ... belonging to God. Cf. Dudith, fol. 42^{r}:

> Mirum sibi accidisse respondit, quod, cum quotidie Deum pro Caesare interpellaret, ad ipsum Caesarem, Dei causam acturus, non admitteretur.

The beard worth more than the head (125.13)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 386; Dudith, fol. 42^{r}.

125.15-16 If it be ... than his head. Cf. Dudith, fol. 42^{r}:

> Ita, inquit Polus, barba maioris erit pretii,
> quam ipsum caput.

Pole for pope (125.17)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, pp. 370-371; Dudith, fol. 19^{r}. W. Schenk discusses the historical background of this and the two following stories of Pole's near election as pope in his book, Reginald Pole, London, 1950, pp. 116-118.

125.17 Paulus Tertius. Alessandro Farnesi (1468-1549), pope as Paul III from 1534 to 1549.

125.19-126.4 He desired them ... before their eyes. Cf. Dudith, fol. 19^{r}:

> rogabat ille, uiderent, ne quam animi perturbationem
> in consilium adhiberent; ne quid gratiae dandum
> putarent, sed omnes suas cogitationes ad Dei honorem,
> & Ecclesiae utilitatem referrent. quod unum sibi
> omnibus perpetuo ante oculos uersari in primis
> oporteret.

Pole denies that he sought the papacy (126.5)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 371; Dudith, fol. 19^{r-v}.

126.8-12 That he thought ... sory for them. Cf. Dudith, fol.

19^{v}:

> cui ille grauiter admodum respondit, maximi illius sacerdotii, & sacrosancti magistratus onus non tam sibi leue uideri, ut non id pertimescendum potius, quam appetendum putaret. quod qui non intelligerent, & humilius de tanta re existimarent, eorum se uicem uehementer dolere.

His attitude is also reflected in a letter to Francisco Navaretto dated 17 June 1550; cf. Epis. Poli, ed. Quirini, v, p. 53 seq.

Pole refuses the papacy at midnight (126.13)

The story appears in: Beccatelli, p. 372; Dudith, fol. 20^{v}.

126.13 Cardinall Farnesi. che'l Cardinale Farnese (Beccatelli); this could be either Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese (brother of Paul III) or Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (son of Pier Luigi).

126.15-127.1 He would not ... well be done. Cf. Dudith, fol. 20^{v}:

> nolle se, tantam rem tumultuose, ac temere, sed recte, atque ordine agi: alienum esse nocturnum tempus: lucis Deum, non tenebrarum amantem esse. quare in posterum diem rem differrent; tum etiam, si Deo placeret, facile confici posse.

127.2 But this ... the Papacie. Camden's comment.

How to read the Scriptures (127.3)

Not in Beccatelli. This is the second of three related stories (others are 121.2 and 127.12) concerning Pole's interpretation of

scripture which Dudith has supplied.

127.3-11 Those which would ... captive vnto faith. Cf. Dudith, fol. 46^{v}:

> iis, qui ad diuinarum litterarum studia sese conferrent, tanquam secretiorem templi partem ingredientibus, humili ostio, angustoque transeundum esse; nimirum ad earum intelligentiam aspirare neminem ingenii magnitudine, aut humanae doctrinae praestantia elatum, & inflatum sibique nimis praefidentem, sed qui animi demissionem afferret, suique despectionem, quique intellectum suum fidei, ut ait Apostolus, captiuum traderet.

127.6 a lowe and a narrow doore. Cf. Matthew 7:13-14.

127.10-11 yeeldes his vnderstanding ... captive vnto faith. Cf. 2 Corinthians 10:5.

The Scriptures are not to be used for vain purposes (127.12)

Not in Beccatelli; Dudith, fol. 46^{v}. The third and last story supplied by Dudith.

127.13-19 That they should ... greedy desire. Cf. Dudith, fol. 46^{v}:

> ne eo consilio, ac mente ad earum lectionem accederent, ut uel de his ad ostentandam doctrinam disputarent, uel huiusmodi scientia honores sibi, ac diuitias compararent. utranque enim rationem ab hoc studii genere alienissiman esse, ad quod adhiberi oporteret in primis diuinas precationes, atque, ut dictum est, animum humilem, & ab omni ambitione, & cupiditate uacuum.

Better a willow than an oak
(128.2)

No source found. Camden moved to London the year before Paulet's death. The story was no doubt still current by the time Camden was on friendly terms with those who had known him, e.g., William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-1598). The story is told again by Sir Robert Naunton (1563-1635) in Fragmenta regalia (written about 1630); I quote from the edition of Naunton in Edward Arber's English Reprints, 1870, p. 25:

> Paulet Marquesse of Winchester, and Lord Treasurer, having served then four Princes in as various and changeable season, that I may well say, time nor any age hath yielded the like president. This man being noted to grow high in her (Elizabeth's) favour (as his place and experience required) was questioned by an intimate friend of his, how he stood up for thirty years together, admidst the changes and raignes of so many Chancellors and great Personages; Why quoth the Marquesse, Ortus sum ex salice, non ex quercu, I was made of the plyable Willow not of the stubborn Oak.

128.2 William. William Paulet (1485?-1572), first Marquis of Winchester. He held numerous offices under all sovereigns from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I, artfully shifting his sails to catch the prevailing wind. Elizabeth once playfully suggested that if he were younger she would have him as her husband. (HBC & DNB)

128.4 By being a Willow, and not an Oake. Not in ODEP or Tilley, but compare: Oake may fall when reeds stand the storm. ODEP, p. 584; Tilley O 3.

Better to be ruled than to rule
(128.5)

No source found. In B the nobleman is anonymous:

A noble man beinge asked howe he <al>one countinued of the Councell the troublesome times of foure Princes; saied. [because] I neuer sought to rule the roste, and to be the director of other, but alwaies suffered my selfe to be swayed with the mightier and the multitude.

Paulet's willingness to be ruled resembles that of More in the story above, 107.1.

128.6 to rule the roste. Proverbial: ODEP, p. 687; Tilley, R 144.

Giving thanks for injuries
(128.8)

No source found. Similarly, Roper speaks of Thomas More when he was in the Tower that "by his patient sufferaunce thereof (his troubles) were to him no paynefull punishmentes, but of his paciens profitable exercises" (Roper, p. 76; also in Harpsfield, p. 172).

Master Dutton and a lusty gallant
(128.11)

No source found. Probably a popular jest of the day.

Sorrow is good for nothing
(128.16)

No source found. The "reverend man" is possibly Thomas Cooper (1517?-1594), fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford and Camden's first patron at Oxford. But he could hardly be "first" in a literal sense.

128.17-18 Sorrowe ... sinne onely. Proverbial. ODEP, p. 754; Tilley, S 657.

Six anecdotes of John Heywood
(129.1 to 130.7)

To my knowledge, none of the six stories can be found elsewhere. As with the stories about Paulet (128.2), Camden could have heard these stories of Heywood from their mutual friend, William Cecil. See also in the Appendix an unprinted story from B concerning an exchange between Paulet and Heywood.

129.2 Heiwood. John Heywood (1497?-1580?). See R.W. Bolwell, Life and Works of Heywood, chapter three "The Queen's Favorite". Heywood was on good terms with Mary I. In 1554 he received lands from her and in 1555 his appointment as steward of the queen's chamber was renewed with a rise in salary. Ben Jonson records another story of Heywood and Queen Mary in Conversations with Drummond.

129.2 Mary. Mary I (1516-1558) reigned 1553-1558.

129.3 that the Priests must forgoe their wives. Mary re-introduced celibacy in 1554; clerics were to be divorced, deprived,

and otherwise punished. (J.D. Mackie, Earlier Tudors, 1952, p. 545.)

129.4-5 the Cleargie can not live without sawce. Not in ODEP or Tilley.

129.11 Pace. John Pace (1523?-1590?) professional fool. Educated at Eton and a scholar of King's College, Cambridge in 1539; he left without a degree and became jester to the court of Henry VIII. DNB reprints his two extant jests.

129.12-14 It is lesse ... wise mens gownes. Not in ODEP or Tilley.

130.6-7 the more spaniels in the field, the more game. Not in ODEP or Tilley.

Thomas More on book-breeders and critics (130.8)

From the preface to More's Utopia (1516), addressed to Peter Gilles, in Correspondence of More, 1947, p. 81, lines 100-109. Camden's version is a paraphrase. No doubt Camden includes the story as a mild protest against the kind of harsh and largely unfair criticism he received from Ralph Brooke.

130.10-11 Booke-makers are ful ... to subiect themselves. Not in More.

130.15-16 Ne pilum boni hominis. Cf. More: ne pilum quidem habeant boni viri.

APPENDIX A

A SELECTION OF UNPUBLISHED APOPHTHEGMS

FROM MANUSCRIPT B

1 (55^{r})

Edfreda the daughter of Kinge Alurede was maried vnto Ethelrede a noble man of Marchelande, a good part of the whiche lande her father gaue with her in mariage, this Lady hauinge a harde labour with her first Childe, euer after abhorred her husbandes bedde ye and all mens, saienge that it was foolishest thinge in the worlde, to practise that pleasure, that woulde put them to so much paine.

2 (55^{r}) This is an earlier version of the printed story in "Britain", 9.2-8.

After the death of Kinge Cnute the great Englishmen were very ho⟨pe⟩full for the succession of the crowne, because the bloude riall was almost extinguished, and this cogitation muche busied amonge other, thè braine of Brithwolde a moncke \of/ Glastenburie abby: whose minde was shortly after well qu\i/eted, ye and thoroughly satisfied by a dreame or vision, that happened vnto him one night: for in his sleepe he thought he sawe Peter the Apostle crowninge of Edward the sonne of Ethelrede, (then a banished man in Normandie) Kinge of Englande, and that then he asked the Apostle who should reigne after Edward: but he badde him content him selfe, and neuer seeke after suche matters, for the Kingdome

of Engelande, saied he: is the Kingedome of God.

3 (56^{r})

When the Barons requested of Kinge John the restitution of the auncient lawes of Saint Edwarde and many other olde immvnities and liberties the Chafed Kinge asked them withe an othe: and why do yee not request my Crowne and Kingedome to?

4 (56^{r})

Amonge many other that founde them selues aggreiued withe the shamefull murder of Jefferie Duke of Britaine, his elder brothers sonne,[1] and rightfull Kinge of Engelande; was John Courcy the valiaunt Conqueror and Erle of Vlster in Irelande: which beinge brought to the Kinges[2] eares, he cast John [John] into the tower of London. But this matter fell out hotter betweene the Frenche Kinge and him, who for this matter berefte him of all the landes that he helde in the Fee of the crowne of Fraunce, and amonge other matters he sent hither a mightie mann who shoulde trie that quarell withe an Englishe Champion by combatt. To vndertake the whiche, the Kinge moued

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1 Geoffrey was King John's elder brother, not "his elder brothers sonne". **Read: his elder brother, sonne and....**

2 King John.

Courcie, who stoutely aunswered him: that in his quarrell, whose murderous vile minde, cowardelines, traiterous conditions: and tyrannicall gouerment, deserved not the aduenture of leesinge of one droppe of bloude, he would not fight one stroke: but yet for the honor of the realme, wherin manie a good and honorable mann liued to his great greife, he woulde willingelie ieoporde losse of life, and cheerfully accept the combatt ye withe a Giaunt. But God be thanked, no har[ ]\me/ was doon: for the fearefull Frencheman as soone as he sawe the mightie limmes and feirce countenaunce of Courcye cowardly crept awaie secretly.

5 (56^{v})

He[1] towardes his latter daies went vnto Kinge Henry the thirde with the rest of the Bishopps, for to desyre him to be mindefull: howe that thoroughe the comminge in of straungers, who had, and helde the best spirituall dignities and churches, the realme was greatly decaied: and that he woulde hereafter aduaunce onlie lerned and godlie men of the countrie where he might haue great choyce. I will willingelie fulfill youre request, quothe the Kinge: wherfore I do thinke it reason, that [th] you that

1 Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1270).

are a straunger, (for he was the erle of Savoy his sonne) and vnlerned, and my brother Adelmar, the Bishoppe of Winchester, a Boyteum whome I procured to be aduaunced vnto so great dignities for no other cause, but for that ye were Kinne and alied vnto me, do giue vpp youre Bishopprickes vnto the example of the rest, and I will prouide that lerned and godlie men shall succeede in your seas.

6 (56^{v})

When William Erle Marshall was thoroughe the treason of Jefferie Marche entrapped in Irelande: he saied I knowe, and assuredly knowe: that I shall die to daye, but it is better to die withe honor in a iust cause, then to saue my life by shamefull flight. Then lookinge backe vppon his brother Walter, a goodly younge gentleman, he saied vnto certeine of his menn: carry my brother vnto my Castell, which is here at hande, lest he also perishe in this imminent encounter, and so oure house and name be quite extinguished: for I do repose great hope in his towarlines:[1] and that when he comes to age, he will proue a worthie warrioure, but as for myselfe, I am bidden to an harde banquett the which yet I can not shunne but

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1 towardliness.

withe shame: A man repentethe him selfe to late of [his] his comboate,[1] after he hathe put one his helmett.

7 (56^{v})

Edwarde the first saied that he lerned this lesson of his grandefather Kinge John that when he was daungerously oppressed by his subiectes withe vnreasonable requestes: that he shoulde appease there furie by swearinge to accomplishe there demaundes: and then, when the storme and perill was past, purchase from Rome a dispensation and dischardge of his othe.

8 (57^{r})

When John[2] the Kinge of Fraunce was prisonner here in Engelande, he behelde [ ] \c/erteine Justes celebrated to selace him,[3] but with an heauy cheere: the which Kinge Edwarde the thirde perceauinge did courteously comforte him, and bidde him be merie: But John rehersed that verse in the Psalter. Quomodo cantabimus canticam in terra aliena, howe can we singe a songe in a straunge lande.

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1 combat.

2 John II, King of France.

3 jousts celebrated to solace him.

9 (57^{v})

Kinge Henrie the seventhe delited muche in a fellowe, that was none of the wisest and one a time he blamed the foole, for beinge out of the waie: tellinge him that he loued him so well: that he coulde not abide to haue him out of his sight: Tush quothe the foole I care not for so muche loue: for I woulde haue halfe loue & halfe mony.

10 (58^{v}) The source is Thomas More's A Dialogue of Comfort, 1965, p. 170.

He[1] vsed to compare men of great honor and dignitie vnder a prynce vnto plaiers at gleke: that receaue reuerence, and to there cost pay honor ageine therefore.

11 (59^{r}) See also the printed story of More, 109.5.

One time while he was prisonner, a good plaine simple fellowe was appointed to be his keeper; who after he vnderstoode that Sir Thomas had been sometime Lorde Chauncelour, he began to debase him selfe much before him, desiringe him to beare with his rudenes, beinge to simple to attende one so honorable man; why quoth Sir Thomas be of good cheere man, and thinke not so

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1 Sir Thomas More.

ill of thy selfe, for thou maiest well enoughe waite one the best man in this lande, in this place, for ought that I see.

12 (59^{v})

But this so often rehersinge of Mistresse Roper, putte ⟨me⟩ in minde \howe/[1] of Mr. Roper was one day so zealous in religion, and so sharpe sett, that he toulde his father in lawe, that he woulde neades vp into the pulpitt, & preach; Why William quoth Sir Thomas doeth it not suffise you, that I & my wife, and youre owne wife, and diuers other of youre freindes do knowe you are a foole, but that you will also haue all the worlde to witnesse it.

13 (59^{v}) See also the printed beard anecdote, 109.15.

As he laied downe his heade to be chopped of, he espied his bearde lienge vppon the blocke, whervppon he desired the executioner to stay vntill he put him ouer the blocke, lest he shoulde marre him, and iniriously[2] cut him of that had his pardon.

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1 Inserted out of order, read: <u>of how</u>.

2 injuriously (?)

14 (60^{r}) The source is Thomas More, A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, 1927, p. 166. The proverb is not in ODEP, or Tilley.

When a Lambarde beinge pitifully pained with the gowte longe time called vppon god, & oure Ladie, & all the holy company of heauen, and yet felt him selfe neuer the better, he began at last to call as fast for helpe vnto the deuill: and when his wife, and his freindes, sore abashed, and astonied [him], rebuked him for callinge one the deuill, which he wist well was naught, and if that he holpe him, it woulde be for no good: he cryed out as lowed as he coulde ageine: ogiu aiuto e buono all;[1] is good that helpes.

15 (60^{r}) The source is Thomas More, A Dialogue Concerning Heresies, 1927, p. 166. Some verbal differences.

An other Lambarde, when a frier apposed him in confession, whether he medled any thinge with witchcrafte, or ignorancy, or had any beleeue in the deuill: he aunswered him: Credere en te diabolo mi signore, io grand fatica a credere in Dio. Beleeue in the diuell quoth he, nay nay sir I have worke enough to beleue in God.

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1 The semi-colon is misplaced, read: buono; all ...

16 (60^{r})

When a good fellowe had robbed a man, and was brought before the Judges, he coulde not deny the deede but he saied it was his destiny to do it, and therfore they might not blame him: they aunswered, that it was his destiny to steale, and that therfore they [m] must houlde him excused, then it was also ther destiny to hange him, and therfore he must as well houlde them excused ageine.

17 (61^{r}) The source is Thomas More, Dialogue Concerning Heresies, 1927, p. 164; and see p. 62.

The famous Vicar of Croyden the great preacher in the time of Kinge Henry the viijth was wont to saye that oure Lady of Ipswich, and oure Lady of Walsingham were to of the greatest baudes within this lande.

18 (61^{r})

When Kinge Henry the viijth vppon a time sent abroade priuie seales vnto many men to borrowe money and many men did suspect that it was doone thorough the couetuousnes of the cardinall without the Kinges knoweledge the aboue mentioned Vicar of Croydon vsed this wily way to knowe the trueth therof. He preachinge before the Kinge did take occasion to say that all

the Princes of this lande had of longe time vsed to haue a sonnge appropriated vnto them, and called ⟨it⟩ the Kinges songe: the which did expresse and declare the inclination and conditions of the Kinge. And because sayed he, we will not be to tedious, we will fetch \it/ no higher then within the compasse of oure owne memory. The songe of Edwarde the fourth was: O primerose, peerlesse: and so was he for personage, wisedome, vallour, conduite, and felicity in all his attemptes. His brother or rather butcher, to his nephewes, Richarde the thirde: songe Downe Downe Downe: and so accordingly after he had sauagely embrued him selfe in the bloode of his nephewes and many of the nobility, he came downe leesinge both kingedome and life at Boswerth feilde. Then the father of oure noble kinge tooke in hande the helme of the publicke weale: & his songe was: by a banke as I lay, musinge one thinges that were past: where he at large dilated of the prudence of that Prince, and flue out into a common place of the manifolde profits that ensue vnto that fortunate realme that had gotten a wise prince to gouerne them. But nowe let vs saied he, heare what is the songe of oure most gratious souereigne that nowe reigneth, and longe I pray god may, vnto the ioye and blisse of his subiectes: yt is

pastime with good company,
loue I and shall do till I dye.

and so in dede he hath loued yt so longe, that he hath spent all his owne money, and nowe sendes abroade priuy seales for oures. But I woulde not (quoth he ⟨ ⟩ youre maiesty should thinke that I, or the rest of your louinge subiectes did repine at youre pastimes and expencis: but because the people do suppose these loues are procured by some of your graces counsell without youre notice. I thought good to publish yt in this place to the ende ⟨that⟩ they whome your maiesty hath made choice of, may willingely & gladly accomplishe youre request knowinge it to be your pleasure which they shall nowe do if you shall nowe sende no countermaund.

19 (61^{v}) This follows the printed story of Katherine Brandon, 118.13. The proverb is not in ODEP or Tilley.

She also afterwarde espienge him[1] lookinge out of a windowe in the Toure where he was prisoner, called out alowed vnto him, that it was merry with lambes, when the woulfe was shutt vpp.

20 (62^{v})

When this Bonner[2] afterwarde went from thee Marshalsy vnto Westminster Haule to be areigned for refusinge to take the

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1 Stephen Gardiner, Bp. of Winchester.

2 Edmund Bonner, Bp. of London.

othe of her Maiesties supremacy: a good fellowe as he went alonge badde him fare well Bishoppe quondam, and farewell knaue semper quoth Bonner.

21 (63^{r}) See also the printed story of Heywood and Paulet, 128.2. For the proverb, see ODEP, p. 32.

Sir William Panlett Marques of Wynchester and highe Tresurer of Englande, beinge presented by John Heywoode with a booke, asked him what yt conteyned: and when Heywoode tolde him all the prouerbes in Englishe: what all quothe my Lorde: No bate me an ace quothe Bolton: is that in youre booke? No by my faith my Lorde, I thinke not aunswered Heywoode.

22 (64^{r})

A scholar in Oxforde that playenge one colde Christmas mercury in Plautus his Amphytrio, had hanged alofte in a basquett, as it were in heauen, vntill he was almost frozen: as soon as he came downe one the stage, vsed this merry speache before his part, rubbinge & frotinge his handes; If it be no warmer in hell, then it is in heauen, I care not if I come not ther this winter.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONS TO 1614 AND 1623

The following tables locate passages added to the editions of 1614 and 1623. No account is given here of: 1) revisions, even when revision introduces new material; 2) rearrangement, that is, material transferred to another position in the text; 3) revision between the new passage as it occurs in 1614 and as it occurs in 1623. Within these restrictions, the list is complete. In some cases, as 8.22, the punctuation or phrasing of 1605 was modified in 1614 in order to add the material to an existing sentence, or to fit it into context. When this is the case, the first and last words will overlap with 1605 enough to locate the passage easily. The number of lines in the new passage will be noted in the fourth column; if less than a whole line, by "½". The fifth column will locate the new passage by page and line.

1605	Last Words Before Addition	First & Last Words of New Passage	Number of Lines/pages	Location in 1614
4.23	kingdomes.	In respect whereof ... capaces. + Marg.	3	4.26
5.7	Castile.	And howsoever the Spaniard ... Henrie the seventh.	4	5.13
5.35	Scotland	the North part of Britaine	½	6.9
5.36		Buchananus.	Marg.	6.10
6.6	gentes?	For Wales on the ... cunctorum salutarium. + Marg.	16	6.16
6.26	Westmonasterii.	And would often say ... these it surpasseth.	58	7.15
8.19	Norman slaverie.	In which time how ... they were admited to the Imperiall Crowne	40	10.19
8.22	thereunto.	thereunto; plentifully yeelding ... the English Command.	6	11.25
9.14		See afterward in Languages.	Marg.	12.25
12.16	amare.	The merry free ...	2½ pp.	15.29
13.26	& frequens toga.	Then when Roman colonies ... Romane Sea.	15	20.7

22.2	one from another.	As the present French is composed ... Arabique, or Morisquo.	4	29.19
28.9		Niding.	Marg.	35.28
28.18	remaineth.	The Excellencie of the English Tongue	9 pp.	36.44
29.20	nativitie was set.	And it was enacted ... thereunto appointed. + Marg.	3	45.18
34.35	the same, &c.	*The like observation ... Table of Christian names. + Marg.	4	51.14
40.5	or red.	ADELRAD, See Ethelrad.	½	57.6
43.31	Hercules,	From this was derived ... Alexander Severus.	4	60.32
47.10	C	CAIUS, Parents joy. T. Probus	1	64.14
50.12		Earle.	Marg.	67.12
54.1	G	GAIUS, See Caius	1	71.2
57.4	Spaine of that name.	But now thought unlucky in French Kings ... two villanous monsters of mankind.	4	74.4
61.26	of the people.	But see Lodowick.	½	78.26
87.11	into Warburg.	Of which name ... Church was consecrated.	3	104.11

89.7	the Sabines)	the Sabines: for the confirmation whereof, ... as the former were called Praenomina.	7	106.6
98.A1	add before AKER	ABENT. A steep place.	1	115.A1
98.A6	Munster.	BAINE. A Bathe.	1	115.A9
99.B28	Alfricus.	EFTER. A walke.	1	116.B31
101.B15	MEDOW.	MEES, Medowes.	1	118.B26
109.25	a Steward.	Likewise from Ecclesiasticall ... to this day is continued.	9	127.1
115.9	Jennings, Tipkins;	Jennings, from John, Gibbins ... Tipkins	½	132.30
117.8	devout praying.	As he that held ... pro omni servitio	9	134.31
152.33	ARMATA.	Her unhappy fate ... ARMARA CADO.	4	170.33
153.22	EX SE ROBUSTUS.	This likewise ... ARECTE DICATUR.	25	171.25
157.15	VERE DUX	This also was cast ... vicit at ille simul.	6	176.16
157.29	Kitchen-stuffe.	Armories Money	11 pp. 15 pp.	177-195 196-210
164.11	IC DEN.	Albeit he was never created.	1	217.14

176.13	Caetera desunt.	Apparell. Artillary.	8 pp. 5 pp.	230-237 238-242
190.37	dishonest.	dishonesty; saying, that the Pope vvas an honest man, but Julius a very Kn.	1	256.35
208.5	and Pontive	and the County of Pontive, which ... crowne of England.	1	274.5
235.22	curteous entertaine-ment.	Certaine Proverbs	15 pp.	301-315
B11.12	esse meam.	Maude daughter ... plusque simul.	31	327.9
B18.29	aemulus Argi.	*These are all ... non mage firma tamen.	38	335.27
B24.25	Herodes.	*Salomon a Iew ... celebrabis ibidem.	10	342.37
B35.10	illa virum.	Whereas this dead King ... corpus habet.	11	354.9
B37.14	Orcades, had this ... Rex Henricus	Orcades, was honoured with this ... Rex Henricus,	5	356.27
B37.34	habere brevem.	*For Rhees ap Griffith ... maribus eloquium.	11	357.14
B40.5	iacente, silent:	*King John a great Prince ... fraedante Johanne, gehenna.	12	359.32

B42.6	esse bovem.	Which in our time ... worne hornes.	8	362.9
B43.15	pallet humus.	King Henry the third ... trinus & unus.	7	363.32
B44.26	Jubilaeum:	*King Richard the second ... protulit iste.	13	365.8
B49.34	VIVAMUS.	*King Henry the 8 ... Britanna meo.	11	371.13
B50.32	Olympus habet.	*King Edward the sixt ... hoc tumulo	6	372.20
B 53.9	memoriae.	The excellent Poet George Buchanan ... nomen ingens occulit?	19	375.1
B55.35	thou never.	*Hitherto I have presented ... But shewd, and then put up againe.	4 pp.	378.9
B56.30	ego curo.	*And this following ... But his soule is damned.	5	383.5
B57.25	never agree.	And for another ... health gentle brother.	9	384.5
B58.17	another to live.	Here lies, the Lord have ... not content with two.	10	385.9

ADDITIONS TO 1623

Page in 1605	Last Words Before Addition	First & Last Words of New Passage	Number of Lines/pages	Location in 1623
157.29	kitchen-stuffe.	To the right Honourable, Sir ROBERT SIDNEY ... Wallis es in animo.	2 pp.	155-157
170	who as one said	who as John Owen then Scholler in Winchester Colledge, 1581. said	1	191
B8.29	Spencer, Samuel Daniel	Spencer, John Owen, Samuel Daniel	½	289.29
B18.29**	Argi.	Passing good is that ... quae removere potest.	15	301.13
B54.12	good name.	On the Countesse Dowager of Pembroke ... and her Tombe.	13	340.7

In 1614, the proverbs were arranged alphabetically by order of the initial letter. In 1623, Camden simply added the new proverbs after the last of that letter in 1614: e.g., under A, the last 39 proverbs were added in 1623. The additions can be simplified thus: 39 for A; 6 for B; 3 for C; 3 for D; 6 for E; 4 for F; 4 for G; 25 for H; 16 for I; 3 for K; 7 for L; 4 for M; 2 for N; 7 for O; 5 for P; 1 for R; 6 for S; 29 for T; 1 for V; 7 for W; 4 for Y.

** N.B. These 15 lines follow the 38 lines added to 1614, which end as noted in previous table: non mage firma tamen.

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4 Thomas Walsingham, Ypodigma Neustriae
5 "Thomas de la Moore" (Vita et mors Edwardi regis Angliae)
6 William of Jumièges, Gesta Normannorum ducum
7 Giraldus Cambrensis, Topographia Hibernica
8 Giraldus Cambrensis, Expugnatio Hiberniae
9 Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerarium Cambriae
10 Giraldus Cambrensis, Cambriae Descriptio
11 De Britannica Historia Recte intelligenda (letter from Daniel Powell to William Fleetwood, Civil Recorder of London)

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Note

C. E. Wright's book, The Cultivation of Saga in Anglo-Saxon England, 1939, was brought to my attention after the thesis was completed and bound. It contains interesting and valuable information about the whole matter of legends and legend-building. Wright also discusses a number of stories which appear in Camden, including (above): 22.6-16; 46.21; 49.18.