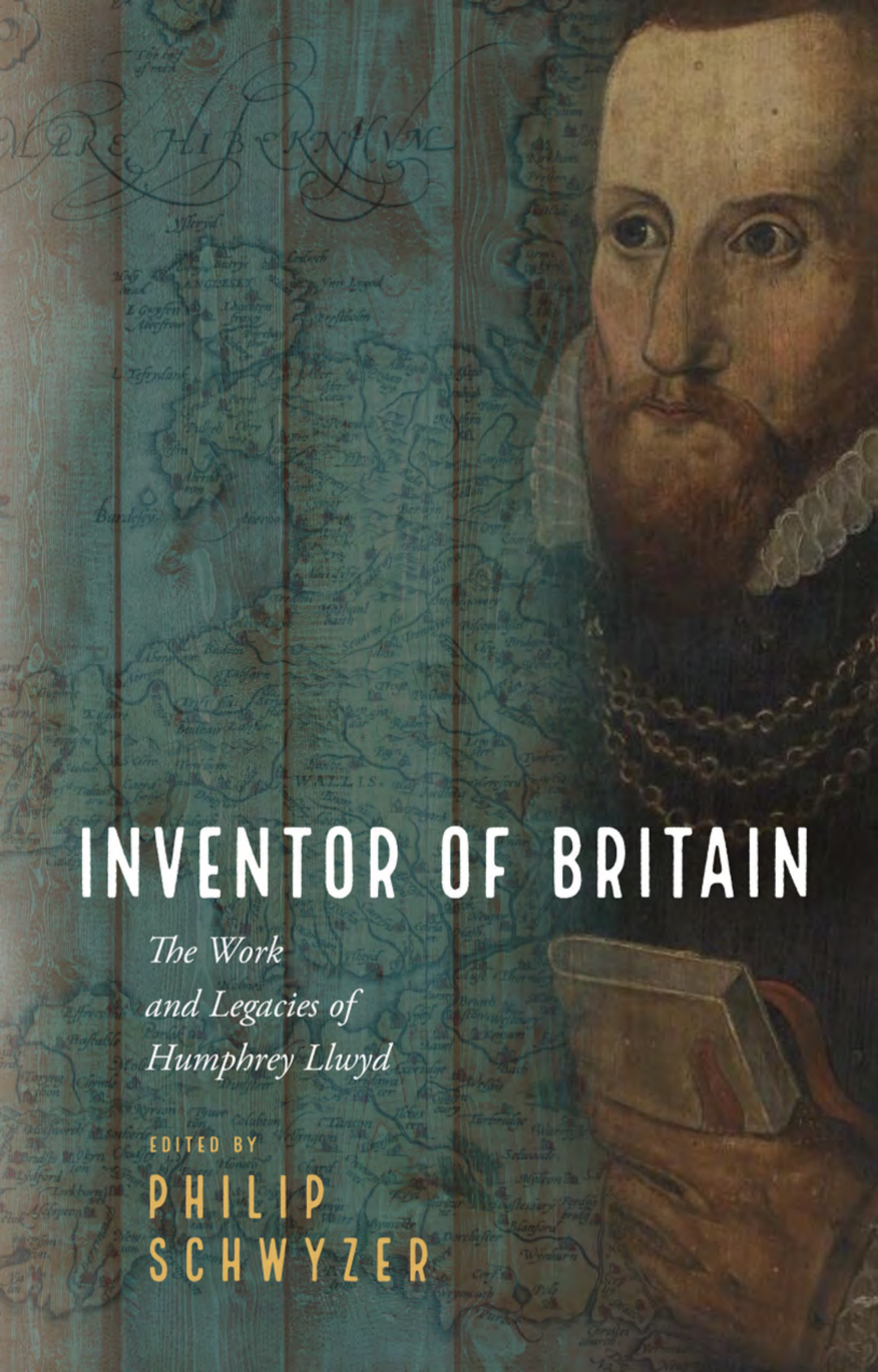

INVENTOR OF BRITAIN

The Work and Legacies of Humphrey Llwyd

EDITED BY

PHILIP SCHWYZER

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UNIVERSITY OF WALES PRESS
2025

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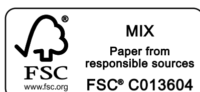

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BB	Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain, with selections from The History of Cambria*, ed. Philip Schwyzer, MHRA Tudor and Stuart Translations 5 (London: MHRA, 2011)
BL	British Library, London
Brut, Pen20Tr	*Brut y Tywysogyon; or, The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952)
BS	*Brenhinedd y Saesson; or, The Kings of the Saxons*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones, Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales, History and Law Series 25 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971)
CW	Humphrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. Ieuan M. Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002)
DGB	Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of* De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae], ed. Michael D. Reeve and trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007)
HBD	John Prise, *Historiae Britannicae Defensio: A Defence of the British History*, ed. and trans. Ceri Davies, Studies and Texts 195 (Toronto and Oxford: PIMS/Bodleian, 2015)
HC	David Powel, *The Historie of Cambria* (London, 1584)
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
Paris, *HA*	*Historia Anglorum sive Historia Minor*, ed. Frederic Madden, RS 44, 3 vols (London, 1866–9)
RS	Rolls Series

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INTRODUCTION

Writing to Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1566, William Salesbury described 'one Mr H. Lloyd born at Denbygh' as 'the most famous Antiquarius of all our countrey'.[1] Salesbury added that second only to the English historians John Leland and John Bale (both then deceased), 'thys gentelman … of all that I know in thys ysle, is most universaly sene in Histories & most singlerly skylled in rare Subtilitees'. As the essays collected in this volume testify, Humphrey Llwyd's far-reaching influence over Welsh and British historiography and cartography largely validates Salesbury's judgement. Among the Welsh historians and antiquaries of the sixteenth century, Llwyd's achievements are perhaps rivalled only by those of Sir John Prise. Yet such high praise may strike us as curious when we consider that when Salesbury wrote to Parker in 1566, Llwyd, a relatively obscure former member of Parliament (MP) in his late thirties, had published nothing that survives. Within two years he would be dead, the unprinted works on which his reputation now rests still unknown to any beyond a small if distinguished group of readers in Wales, England and the Netherlands.

Born in Denbigh in or around 1527, Humphrey Llwyd received his education at the University of Oxford and went on to enter the service of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, in 1553. The attachment to Arundel would remain a constant throughout his life. Although it was once assumed that Llwyd served as Arundel's physician (on the basis of certain medical treatises misattributed to him in the seventeenth century by Anthony Wood), it seems more certain that he played a role in managing the earl's estates; in *The Breviary of Britain*, he mentions surveying a hillfort in Shropshire while 'about certain business of my Lord's (the right honourable Earl of Arundel), where some part of his inheritance lieth'.[2] It was no doubt through his association with Arundel that Llwyd came to serve as MP for East Grinstead (Surrey) in 1559, and that he made

the acquaintance of his wife Barbara, sister of the earl's son-in-law, John Lumley, with whom he had six children.

By the early 1560s, Llwyd had returned to Denbigh, his birthplace, serving as MP for the Denbigh boroughs.[3] The bard and scholar Gruffudd Hiraethog wrote a poem in his praise (included in the appendix to this volume), describing him as 'perl mewn Tŷ Parlment' ('a pearl in the house of Parliament'). Gruffudd Hiraethog especially commended Llwyd's role in the passage of the 1563 'Act for the Translating of the Bible and the Divine Service into the Welsh Tongue', an event with enormous consequences for the future of the Welsh language. Llwyd's contribution in concert with other Welsh MPs to the passage of this private members' bill would certainly help explain the high esteem in which he was held by Salesbury, who was charged (with Bishop Richard Davies) with the translation of the New Testament, printed in 1567.[4]

In 1566–7, Llwyd travelled to Italy in Arundel's service. Passing through Antwerp in the course of his return journey, he was introduced to the Dutch cartographer Abraham Ortelius, an encounter that would transform his scholarly career. Ortelius appears to have encouraged Llwyd, as he later entreated William Camden, to produce a treatise on the topography and antiquities of Britain, as well as a clutch of maps for his planned world atlas.[5] Judging from the extraordinary pace of Llwyd's productivity over the following year, his research in these areas must already have been well advanced. Yet the meeting with Ortelius provided a spur, giving more definite shape to Llwyd's plans, as well as a glimpse of the international audience he might address through print. In the course of 1568, Llwyd sent Ortelius a long letter on the island of Anglesey, several maps of Wales and England, and a treatise on the whole island of Britain. Working at a feverish pace, he succumbed in August to 'a very perilous fever'; the maps and the treatise were sent to Ortelius as Llwyd lay on his deathbed.[6] Signing himself 'yours, both living and dying', Llwyd offered these unfinished pieces as a 'last remembrance of thy Humphrey, and forever adieu, my dear friend Ortelius'.[7]

By Llwyd's own estimation, the map of Wales was not yet 'beautifully set forth in all points' and would require reference to 'certain notes … which I gathered even when I was ready to die'. The treatise on Britain amounted to 'certain fragments … written forth in a rude hand', which might 'seem to be imperfect'.[8] With his crowning works left in this unfinished and unsatisfactory state, Llwyd had every reason to fear that his

achievements and his name would be lost to posterity (as indeed were at least two early works of his now known only through their titles).[9] Yet almost all his unpublished works, including all his surviving writings in Latin and English, were in print in some form within a few years of his death. Llwyd was fortunate in his literary executors and promoters, including such prominent figures as Ortelius, Sir Henry Sidney and John Dee.

Llwyd's earliest surviving work is his history of Wales, or *Cronica Walliae* (*CW*), completed in 1559 when he was MP for East Grinstead. Based in part on the medieval Welsh chronicle *Brut y Tywysogyon*, the history also draws on and synthesises a range of English and Welsh sources, as discussed by Huw Pryce in the first chapter of this volume.[10] The *Cronica* survives in several early manuscripts, including one heavily annotated by John Dee (BL Cotton Caligula MS Avi). One (now lost) manuscript came to the hands of Sir Henry Sidney, long-serving Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, who commissioned his chaplain, David Powel of Ruabon to edit and augment the work. Printed in 1584, Powel's *Historie of Cambria* (*HC*) was presented as a chronicle 'written in the Brytish language above two hundred years past [and] translated into English by H. Lhoyd, Gentleman'. Although Powel praised Llwyd as 'a paineful and a worthie searcher of Brytish antiquities', his misleading designation of Llwyd as a mere translator, along with his misattribution of the long prefatory 'Description of Cambria' to Sir John Prise, had the effect of partially masking the scope of Llwyd's contribution.[11] *Cronica Walliae* itself would not see print until 2002, in the edition of Ieuan Williams and J. Beverley Smith published by University of Wales Press.

Llwyd's later works on topography were all addressed to Abraham Ortelius and published by the Dutch geographer's means within a few years of the author's death. The letter on Anglesey, 'De Mona druidum insula … epistola', first appeared in the 1570 edition of Ortelius's atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Its inclusion in this context is remarkable, as the volume otherwise contains only brief, page-long descriptions of nations and regions accompanying the maps; aside from the frontmatter and indices, the letter is by far the longest continuous text in the atlas, suggesting Ortelius's continued admiration for Llwyd and care for his memory.[12] The letter was also printed separately in 1573 as an appendix to Prise's posthumously published *Historiae Britannicae Defensio*; it was first

translated into English in 1606, in the English edition of Ortelius's atlas.[13] Llwyd's longer topographical treatise, which he described in his last letter as 'certain fragments written with mine own hand', was published in Cologne with the title *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* (1572). In the following year an English translation by Thomas Twyne appeared as *The Breviary of Britain* (*BB*). The first early modern attempt at updating a hoary medieval genre, the description of Britain, the *Breviary* not only won a wide readership of its own but prepared the path for William Camden's *Britannia*, as discussed in Chapter 6 of this volume.

The 1573 *Additamentum* to Ortelius's atlas included two maps credited to Llwyd. One of these, *Cambriae Typus*, a map of Wales, is undoubtedly his most instantly familiar production. Reprinted numerous times in the early modern period, both in editions of Ortelius and other atlases, the map still features fairly frequently on the covers of books about Wales and the landing pages of websites dealing with Wales and its history. Rather audaciously (but with what Llwyd took to be ancient authority), the map makes the eastern border of Wales the River Severn, thereby encompassing a good deal of western England, including parts of Shropshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire and the whole of Herefordshire. Llwyd's cartographic championing of the Severn as the original and eternal boundary of Wales is affirmed in the 'Description of Cambria' prefixed to *Cronica Walliae*, and still more firmly in *The Breviary of Britain*: 'although some do write that Wales doth not stretch forth on this side the River Vaga, or Wye, this can be no fraud to us. For we have taken in hand to describe Cambria and not Wallia, "Wales" as it is now called by a new name, and unacquainted to the Welshmen.'[14] The second map, *Angliae regni florentissimi nova descriptio*, depicts both England and Wales, which goes unnamed in the title, reflecting the principality's absorption into England by the 'Acts of Union'. As discussed in Chapter 3, the relationship between these two published maps and the maps that Llwyd dispatched to Ortelius in 1568 is not as simple as has generally been assumed.

Llwyd also wrote two surviving Welsh works that remain in manuscript, a treatise on heraldry in the hand of the poet William Llŷn (Peniarth MS 132) and a pedigree of Llwyd's cousin Foulk Lloyd of Foxhall in the hand of Gruffudd Hiraethog (Peniarth MS 134).[15] Gruffudd was clearly a central figure in Llwyd's intellectual circle, and, among other

things, played a part in the coinage of the ethnonym 'Cambro-Briton', which through Llwyd's adoption became more widely known.[16] Llwyd's reputation in his lifetime as 'the most famous Antiquarius of all our countrey' undoubtedly depended much on his Welsh-speaking networks in and beyond Denbighshire, and on texts written and exchanged in the Welsh language, a facet of his literary output only partially glimpsed in his printed works. In addition to the eulogy by Gruffudd, Llwyd was the subject of elegies by Gruffudd's poetic pupils Lewis ab Edward and Wiliam Cynwal, included in the appendix to this volume with translations by Mary Burdett-Jones.

Llwyd was lucky in his literary executors, but his works were inevitably subject to their various agendas. Posthumous publication, along with the pressures of the historical moment in which his works appeared, can make it difficult to disentangle Llwyd's intentions from ensuing histories of reception, adaptation and, in some cases, co-optation. None of his works can be said to have appeared in the form he had planned. Fragmentary and incomplete by his own account, his description of Britain was published in Cologne by printers who clearly struggled to reproduce Welsh words and phrases. Faults in the Latin text were more often exacerbated than ameliorated in the English translation, while the frontmatter to *The Breviary of Britain* sought to enlist Llwyd in an Anglo-British ideological project that he might well have found off-putting if not baffling (as discussed in Chapter 6). In *The Historie of Cambria*, Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae* was not only edited and augmented by Powel, but enrolled in the political manoeuvring of Lord President Sir Henry Sidney, who seems to have approached the history, at least in part, as a manual on the proper governance of Wales.[17] As mentioned above, the relationship between the maps sent to Ortelius and the two maps published by him five years later remains partially obscure.

Had Llwyd lived to complete his unfinished and projected works and oversee their publication, the scope of his talents and achievement as a historian, antiquary and cartographer would undoubtedly be still more apparent. At the same time, his influence over Welsh and English historiography and national consciousness might have been no greater, and perhaps less. The title of this collection, 'Inventor of Britain', reflects Llwyd's seminal role in the historical development of more than one enduring vision of Britishness. Yet Llwyd's invention of Britain involved, to some extent, the posthumous reinvention of Llwyd. What Auden wrote

of W. B. Yeats is no less true of Llwyd: 'he became his admirers … The words of a dead man / Are modified in the guts of the living.'[18] It is thus the task of many of the chapters in this volume to work across Llwyd's sources, his cultural and intellectual contexts, his works and their complex reception. At times, if only for comparatively brief moments, the author himself steps vividly into view, with his sharp temper, his deep personal loyalties and capacity for friendship, and his faith in old place-names, old borders and old realities, persisting just beneath the surface of a shifting world.

Chapters in this Volume

The breadth of Llwyd's interests is mirrored in the academic disciplines represented by the contributors to this volume, who include geographers, historians of England, Wales and Scotland, and critics of medieval and early modern Welsh and English literature. The chapters cover Llwyd's sources, the way he worked with his materials, the broader intellectual movements in which he played a part, and the reception of his work in the early modern period and beyond. While some chapters focus centrally or exclusively on Llwyd and his works, others examine key issues and debates – from the ancient borders of Wales to the racial origin of the Picts – in which he and his scholarly contemporaries and successors were engaged. As the final chapters demonstrate, even in the seventeenth century (when Llwyd inevitably stood in Camden's shadow), his presence and perspective can be felt in the ongoing literary conversation over the origins, history and future of Britain.

The opening chapters of the collection examine Llwyd's achievements as a historian and chorographer of Wales, drawing attention to how his works consistently locate Wales within a wider British (as opposed to a conventionally Anglocentric) framework. In Chapter 1, Huw Pryce examines the sources, themes and remarkably long afterlife of Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae*, which remained the standard account of medieval Welsh history until the early nineteenth century. Contrary to David Powel's claim that Llwyd's *Cronica* was essentially a translation of Caradog of Llancarfan, Pryce demonstrates that Llwyd wove together a variety of Welsh and English sources to impose a new shape and narrative form on Welsh history. Explicitly and implicitly, the *Cronica* insists that the history of Wales is not simply a record of ultimately doomed resistance

to English aggression, but an essential component of the wider history of Britain. In Chapter 2, Helen Fulton compares Llwyd's reception of the medieval genre of the 'Description of Britain' with that of sixteenth-century English writers. Whereas John Leland's *Itinerary* and Thomas Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales* describe a region that has been absorbed seamlessly into the administrative frameworks of an imperial English state, Llwyd insists on the enduring distinction between Wales, England and Scotland, claiming a special status for Wales both as a separate nation and as the authentic linguistic and physical remnant of the ancient kingdom of Britain.

In the third chapter, Keith Lilley, Rebecca Milligan and Catherine Porter turn to Llwyd the cartographer, exploring the puzzling relationship between the three or more maps Llwyd sent to Ortelius in 1568, and the two maps – *Cambriae Typus* and *Angliae regni florentissimi nova descriptio* – printed by Ortelius in the *Additamentum* of 1573. Analysing correspondence regarding the maps, their relationship to Llwyd's written works, and the outcomes of GIS analysis, the authors uncover striking differences between the spatial geographies and place names of the two maps, as well as between the maps and Llwyd's textual descriptions of Wales and Britain. In light of Llwyd's fluid methodology and the circumstances of his death, the maps as printed by Ortelius may best be regarded as snapshots or fossilisations of a specific moment in his evolving practice as a cartographer.

The following two chapters situate Llwyd's historical and chorographical projects within wider cultures of antiquarian and topographical research, revealing how different visions of the British past served in this period to inscribe confessional, national and racial divides. Investigating post-Reformation perceptions of British history and 'sacred space', Alexandra Walsham's chapter illuminates the intellectual milieu in which Llwyd operated. With a focus on Archbishop Matthew Parker and his circle, Walsham charts the construction of a Parkerian topographical tradition from medieval exemplars such as Gerald of Wales and William Botoner through Tudor antiquaries including John Leland, John Bale, William Lambarde, and of course Llwyd himself. In Chapter 5, Roger Mason examines the clash between Llwyd's vision of British history and the rival account of antiquity favoured by Scottish historians such as Hector Boece and George Buchanan. The same arguments that led Welsh and English readers to welcome *The Breviary of Britain* with enthusiasm

were anathema north of the border, resulting in the extraordinarily vituperative denunciation of Llwyd in Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum historia*.

The final chapters in this volume examine the impact of Llwyd's work and the debates in which he participated on the English literary tradition, even as his reputation began to merge with or be subsumed by that of William Camden. Philip Schwyzer examines how English readers and writers looked to Llwyd for a vision of a once and future British empire, as well as for guidance in negotiating their own relationship to Britishness. The poets Edmund Spenser and Michael Drayton both drew on Llwyd in their self-consciously national epics, *The Faerie Queene* and *Poly-Olbion.* Whereas Spenser struggled with limited success to co-opt Llwyd's works for an Anglocentric imperial project, Drayton – almost alone among his English contemporaries – came to recognise that Llwyd's British vision was inextricable from his Welsh perspective and patriotism. In Chapter 7, Tristan Marshall reads the Jacobean dramas *Cymbeline* and *Bonduca* in relation to court politics and the faction led by Anna of Denmark, wife of James VI and I. Llwyd's unabashed celebration of the warrior queen Boudica (a controversial figure in the early modern period) provides one foundation for a vision of British antiquity characterised by martial British nationalism embodied in powerful queens. In the final chapter, Lorna Hutson explores the profound racial and national implications of antiquarian debates over matters such as the name of Britain and the reputed paintedness of the Picts. Where Llwyd derived the name of Britain from *Pryd-cain*, William Camden proposed that the name was taken from *brith* (pied or painted), an innovative etymology that not only dissolved the difference between Britons and Picts (leaving the Scots on the outside) but contributed to the 'epidermalisation' of racial and national identity, as reflected in the playwright Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*.

The appendix to this collection presents new editions and translations of three Welsh poems dedicated to Humphrey Llwyd, including a eulogy by Gruffudd Hiraethog (*c.*1563), and elegies written after Llwyd's death by Wiliam Cynwal of Ysbyty Ifan and Lewis ab Edward of Bodfari. Gruffudd Hiraethog's verses in particular serve as a fitting conclusion to the volume, celebrating Llwyd as a polymath whose learning extended across many fields, from astronomy to music, but also as a friend to Wales, one who had done no small service to his language and people in ensuring the translation of the bible into Welsh.

Notes

1. Robin Flower, 'William Salesbury, Richard Davies and Archbishop Parker', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 2 (1941), 9.
2. *BB*, p. 82; see also *CW*, p. 1, n. 2. Wood reported that Llwyd had 'studied Physick' and was the author of *The Judgment of Urines* (1551) and *The Treasure of Health* (1585), works now attributed to a different author of similar name; Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1 (London, 1691), pp. 129–30; see R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh: some documents and a catalogue', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society*, 17 (1968), 56–7.
3. G. Penrhyn Jones suggests that Llwyd may have withdrawn from Arundel's immediate circle out of concern at his involvement in Catholic intrigues; 'Humphrey Lhuyd (1527–1568): A Sixteenth Century Welsh Physician', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 49 (1956), 8–9. Yet Llwyd's connection to and loyalty to Arundel appear to have remained firm throughout his life.
4. Lloyd Bowen, *Early Modern Wales c.1536–c.1689: Ambiguous Nationhood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2022), pp. 49, 157; R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Lhuyd a Deddf Cyfieithu'r Beibl i'r Gymraeg', *Llên Cymru*, 4 (1956–7), 114–15.
5. Theodore Chotzen suggests that the idea for a volume on British antiquities came from Llwyd and that Ortelius was 'won over', prompting his subsequent approach to Camden; 'Some sidelights on Cambro-Dutch relations (with special reference to Humphrey Llwyd and Abrahamus Ortelius)', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1937 (1938), 120.
6. *BB*, p. 50. Printed as a preface to his treatise, Llwyd's letter to Ortelius also survives in manuscript (NLW MS 13187E).
7. *BB*, p. 50.
8. *BB*, p. 50.
9. In his younger days he had published *An Almanacke and Kalender, conteynynge, the daye houre, and mynute of the change of the Moone for ever*, a printed octavo volume of uncertain date, known today only through a letter from Robert Davies to Anthony Wood. His English translation of Agostino Nifo's *De auguriis* (1531) is likewise lost, though its presence is recorded in the Lumley library that eventually became part of the core collection of the British Library. See Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh', 55–6, 61. Llwyd's considerable knowledge of astronomy and astrology, for which he is especially commended in Gruffudd Hiraethog's eulogy (see the appendix), is barely represented in his surviving works.

10. See also the discussion in Huw Pryce, *Writing Welsh History: From the Early Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 128–48.
11. *HC*, sig. ¶vr.
12. Ortelius also had a particular interest in the contents of Llwyd's letter, which included comments on 'Arx Britannica', the recently discovered foundations of a Roman fort on the North Sea coast. The full title of the letter in the 1570 edition draws attention to 'an elegant debate concerning the stronghold of Britain which is already known about in Holland'. See Iolo and Menai Roberts, 'De Mona Druidum Insula', in *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death 1598–1998*, ed. Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt and Peter Maurer (Utrecht: HES, 1998), pp. 351–2.
13. John Prise, *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio* (London, 1573), sigs Aar–Ccr; Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. The Theatre of the Whole World* (London, 1606), XLVIff.
14. *BB*, p. 96; cf. *CW*, p. 67. See Bowen, *Early Modern Wales*, pp. 1–2; Philip Schwyzer, 'A Map of Greater Cambria', in Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (eds), *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35–44.
15. Both texts are transcribed in Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh', 66–82.
16. In 1561, Gruffudd presented Richard Mostyn with a poetic anthology entitled *Lloegr drigiant ddifyrrwch Brytanaidd Gymro* ('Entertainment for a British Welshman dwelling in England', NLW MS Peniarth 155). See Philip Schwyzer, 'The Age of the Cambro-Britons: Hyphenated British Identities in the Seventeenth Century', *The Seventeenth Century*, 33 (2018), 429.
17. See Philip Schwyzer, '"A Happy Place of Government": Sir Henry Sidney, Wales, and *The Historie of Cambria* (1584)', *Sidney Journal*, 29 (2011), 209–17; Pryce, *Writing Welsh History*, 147–8; Owain B. Williams, 'Identity, Language and Landscape in Early Modern Literature from Wales and the Marches' (unpublished PhD thesis, Bangor University, 2017), pp. 103–17.
18. W. H. Auden, 'In Memory of W. B. Yeats', in *Selected Poems*, ed. Edward Mendelson (New York: Vintage, 1979), ll. 17, pp. 22–3.

1

Humphrey Llwyd: First Historian of Wales?

Huw Pryce

Humphrey Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae*, completed in 1559, was the most influential account of Welsh history until the nineteenth century. It is the contention of this chapter that it was also the first work conceived as a history of Wales, or, more strictly, the medieval kings and princes of Wales: while earlier Welsh and English writers had dealt with the history of Wales, Llwyd drew on and adapted those sources in order to create a new kind of work. The following discussion proceeds in three stages. After briefly introducing the *Cronica*, I will begin, first, by summarising the medieval Welsh history writing available to Llwyd, before turning to explore two features of the work that reveal how he imposed his own narrative shape on the sources that he deployed and thus his purpose and approach. Thus, the second part of the discussion considers Llwyd's understanding of Welsh history as an essential component of the history of Britain, while the third part considers some of the ways that Llwyd adapted his sources in order to structure his account as a history of Wales, including his division of the main narrative into a sequence of royal and princely reigns.

Though known by a Latin title later given it by the antiquary Robert Cotton, the *Cronica Walliae* was written in English and presented by Llwyd as an act of translation intended to redress the marginalisation of Welsh history by English historians. It falls into two main parts: a topographical 'description' of Wales interspersed with details of the history of the regions and places mentioned from the Roman period to Llwyd's day; followed by a 'historie' that Llwyd stated would extend from

Cadwaladr, 'the laste kinge of the Britons, descending from the noble race of the Troians', whose death Llwyd dated to 688, to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d.1282), 'the laste of the Britishe bloodde that had the governaunce of Wales' (though the narrative in fact continued to the failure of the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1295).[1] Completed on 17 July 1559, the work was, as its first modern editor Ieuan M. Williams suggested, very probably completed at Nonsuch Palace in Surrey while its author was in the service of Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel (d.1580) and intended for other antiquarian-minded members of Arundel's household.[2] This context helps to explain why Llwyd included material on previous earls of Arundel and their estates, as well as his apologetic purpose.[3] Llwyd's autograph copy is lost, but the *Cronica* circulated in manuscript by the 1570s, when two copies came into the hands of John Dee (1527–1609), and another copy, no longer extant, was acquired by Sir Henry Sidney (1529–86), president of the Council of the Marches in Wales, who had the work published, with additions and other changes, by Dr David Powel of Ruabon (1549×1552–98) under the title *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales* (1584).[4] This remained the only edition until William Wynne published a revised version in 1697, of which various editions were produced until 1832.[5]

Medieval Welsh History Writing

To a significant degree, then, the *Cronica Walliae* owed its genesis to Llwyd's English employment and connections, and, as we shall see, it drew extensively on English sources. However, in terms of its overall conception, the work broadly followed the pattern established by medieval Welsh chroniclers, whereby the history of the kings and princes of Wales from the late seventh to late thirteenth centuries was presented as a continuation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *De Gestis Britonum* ('On the Deeds of the Britons'), more commonly known as the *Historia Regum Britanniae* ('History of the Kings of Britain'), completed *c.*1138.[6] Geoffrey of Monmouth (d.1154/5), rightly described as 'the most influential writer of Welsh history in the Middle Ages',[7] narrated the purported history of the ancient British kings from Brutus, eponymous conqueror of Britain, to Cadwaladr. He was also the first author known to have conceived of the Welsh as having a history of their own distinct from that of the Britons from whom they were descended. However, he presented that

history as a pitiful anticlimax to a once glorious past, as at the end of his History he depicted the Welsh – now called, for the first time in Geoffrey's text, *Gualenses* (a variant of *Walenses*) rather than *Britones* – as a barbarous people, given over to constant civil and external wars, who had 'declined from the nobility of the Britons' and never recovered their dominion over the island from the Saxons. Thereafter, the Welsh survived within the confines of Wales (*Kambria*) under their own kings, whose history Geoffrey left to the hagiographer Caradog of Llancarfan (a church in Glamorgan). But they were clearly the losers by comparison to the Saxons, who, 'acting more wisely', lived together peacefully and established their rule over all England, and, in leaving the subsequent history of their kings to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey made clear that the English – and thus by implication their Norman conquerors – were also the Britons' successors.[8]

Geoffrey's History struck a chord with Welsh readers, who took its author's claim to have translated it from 'a very old book in the British tongue' at face value and thus regarded it as belonging to a Welsh tradition of historical writing.[9] By the early thirteenth century the work had been translated into Middle Welsh, being known as *Brut y Brenhinedd* ('The History of the Kings'), and became a cornerstone of Welsh literary culture, surviving in some twenty-five medieval copies, more than any other kind of Middle Welsh text apart from compilations of native law.[10] More significant in the context of the present discussion was the adaptation of Latin chronicles into a Middle Welsh chronicle, known as *Brut y Tywysogyon* ('The Chronicle of the Princes'), conceived as a sequel to Geoffrey's History, and thus corresponding to the work that Geoffrey had assigned to Caradog of Llancarfan.[11] This was created at some point between 1282 and *c.*1330 and survives in two main versions, both of which open with an annal that adapts the notice in the tenth-century Latin Harleian chronicle (otherwise known as the *Annales Cambriae* A-text) of Cadwaladr ap Cadwallon's death in 'a great plague' in 682 and draws on the conclusion of Geoffrey's work, faithfully translated in the earliest versions of *Brut y Brenhinedd*, to relate that Cadwaladr died in Rome before declaring that 'thenceforth the Britons lost the crown of kingship, and the Saxons obtained it, as Myrddin [Merlin] had prophesied to Gwrtheyrn Wrthenau [Vortigern the Very Thin]'.[12] The reference to prophecy echoes the passage in Geoffrey that states that God did not wish the Britons to rule any longer in Britain 'until the time came which Merlin had foretold

to Arthur'.[13] However, rather than reproduce that passage, with its hope of ultimate deliverance, *Brut y Tywysogyon* emphasises the finality of the Britons' loss of sovereignty and, instead of naming Arthur, alludes to Geoffrey's account of Merlin's prophecies to Vortigern, the king blamed in medieval Welsh literary and historical texts as the traitor responsible for inviting the English to Britain.[14] The clear implication, then, was that the events thereafter related in *Brut y Tywysogyon* concerned the Britons, or Welsh, after their loss of sovereignty over the island of Britain; the Chronicle was thus explicitly linked to a cardinal tenet of historical thinking in Wales from the time of the sixth-century writer Gildas onwards.

Further evidence of an attempt to connect Geoffrey's History to later history is provided by *Brenhinedd y Saesson* ('The Kings of the English'), which is also significant as providing a medieval Welsh precedent for Llwyd's use of both Welsh and English sources.[15] The chronicle may be seen as a variant of *Brut y Tywysogyon* that sought to combine the histories of the Welsh and English kings. The earliest version occurs in BL Cotton Cleopatra B.v, a manuscript written *c.*1330 at Valle Crucis Abbey, where it follows a version of *Brut y Brenhinedd* by the same translator and in the same hand; this covers the years 682–1197 and, especially down to 1095, augments annals from *Brut y Tywysogyon* with material from Winchester annals and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* ('Deeds of the Kings of the English').[16] The Cotton Cleopatra version of *Brut y Brenhinedd* was clearly intended to precede *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, as it alters Geoffrey's conclusion, accurately reproduced in other Welsh translations, by naming Caradog of Llancarfan as the writer to whom was left the history, not only of the Welsh princes, but also of the kings of the English, thereby removing the reference to Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury as the preferred authors of the latter. Likewise the allusions to Geoffrey at the beginning of *Brenhinedd y Saesson* are much fuller than those that provide a link with him in *Brut y Tywysogyon*, mainly by providing details of the Saxon conquests of Britain.[17] A later version of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, continuing to 1461, is found in the Black Book of Basingwerk, copied by the poet, genealogist and scribe Gutun Owain (*fl. c.*1451–*c.*1500), who also wrote another version (extant in Oxford, Jesus College MS 141) that added much more coverage of later medieval English history, derived from William Caxton's edition and continuation of the Middle English prose *Brut* chronicle (the *Chronicles of England*, 1480) – a source also used by Llwyd as we shall see.[18]

Wales and Britain

Unsurprisingly, medieval Welsh history writing deeply influenced Llwyd's account of the history of Wales from the late seventh century to the failure of the revolt of Madog ap Llywelyn in 1295. One important aspect of that influence was Llwyd's insistence in the *Cronica Walliae* that the history of Wales was fundamental to the history of the island of Britain as a whole and thus deserved to be better known by the English. Llwyd emphasised the novelty and purpose of his enterprise at the conclusion of the 'description' of Wales that precedes the main narrative:

> I was the first that tocke the province [i.e., Wales] in hande to put thees thinges into the Englishe tonge. For that I wolde not have the inhabitantes of this Ile ignorant of the histories and cronicles of the same, wherein I am sure to offende manye because I have oppenede ther ignorance and blindenes thereby and to please all goode men and honeste nature that be desirouse to knowe and understand all suche things as passed beetwitxt the inhabitantes of this lande from the first inhabiting therof to this daye.[19]

True, Llwyd was motivated by highly contemporary considerations; namely, constitutional change created by the union of Wales with England under Henry VIII. But in attempting to rectify the perceived neglect of the English, he drew upon long-established notions among Welsh literati, expressed in history writing, genealogy and poetry from the early Middle Ages onwards, that the Welsh occupied a special place in the history of Britain.[20] Although, as Tim Thornton has shown, Wales attracted more attention in English historiography from the early sixteenth century than it had in the fifteenth century, the focus remained largely on the recent past until the publication of the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1577.[21] Llwyd evidently considered English historians' treatment inadequate, and sought to remedy the situation by pressing the claims of Wales within the context of the island of Britain, rather than merely of England. Thus, while focusing predominantly on Wales, the *Cronica* sets its history on a wider British (and sometimes European) stage by relating events in England and farther afield.[22] Occasionally, moreover, Llwyd turned to England in order to counter some anti-Welsh prejudices that his predominantly English readers might harbour. A prime example is a

lengthy passage that opens by reciting the genealogy of King Æthelwulf (d.858) of the West Saxons back to Adam as proof that the Welsh were not unique in their devotion to pedigrees, while nevertheless adding that they surpassed other peoples in their cultivation of these: 'Therefore let suche disdaynfull heades as scant knowe ther owne grandfather leave ther scoffinge and tauntinge of Welshmen for that thinge that all the worthye nations in the worlde do glorie in.'[23]

The idea that Wales was an integral part of Britain was thus fundamental to Llwyd's interpretation of its history and its presentation to an intended readership beyond the principality. Britain looms large in the *Cronica* as a point of reference or comparison. Moreover, Llwyd regarded the island not simply as a geographical space but also as a political unit, in line with medieval Welsh tradition, followed and further promoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth. True, Llwyd followed *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, here drawing on the Annals of Winchester, to assert that the West Saxon king Ecgberht (d.839) 'was the first monarche of the Saxons … and changed the name of Britaine to Englande and called the people Englishmen and language Englishe.'[24] He also referred to the lordship of Denbigh as 'one of the greatest and best lordships in Englande' – a rare instance of a slippage, also found in English authors of this period, between 'Britain' and 'England'.[25] However, while his terminology regarding Britain is ambiguous, it did not signal an Anglocentric focus similar to that adopted by most English historians in relating events from the ninth century onwards. For one thing, Llwyd presented the change of nomenclature as a moment of insular, or at least Anglo-Welsh, significance by dating it with reference to the coming of both Brutus and Hengist to Britain as well as the departure of Cadwaladr.[26] And, in common with medieval Welsh history writing, he remained attached to the name of Britain, as shown, for example, by his enthusiastic comments that the extensive lands ruled by Cnut included 'all the noble Ile of Bryttaine' and that Henry I was 'one of the worthiest and most victoriouse princes that ever reigned in the Ile of Britaine'.[27]

In part, references to Britain served to flatter Wales, and especially Llwyd's native north Wales, which he asserted was 'the chieffest seat of the last kings of Britaine because hit was *and is* the strongest countrey within this Ile'.[28] In addition, he invested the term 'Britons' with contemporary significance by applying the name not only to the ancient Britons from whom the Welsh were lineally descended but also to the

island's inhabitants in his own day, irrespective of their ethnic origin.[29] Llwyd drew a connection between these two meanings in the account – which he insisted was essentially true while acknowledging its legendary accretions – of how Prince Madog, in order to escape the succession disputes between his brothers after the death in 1170 of their father Owain Gwynedd, led an expedition across the sea to Florida: 'And so hit was by Britons longe afore discovered before eyther Colonus [Columbus] or Americus lead any Hispaniardes thyther.'[30] Here, the use of 'Britons' both alludes to the ancestry of the Welsh and makes them representatives of the people of Britain as a whole (or at least all those subject to the English crown). Some twenty years later one of Llwyd's readers, John Dee (1527–1609), drew out the political implications by influentially citing Madog's alleged exploits as a legitimising precedent for English overseas expansion under Elizabeth I.[31]

However, Llwyd's commitment to an overarching framework focused on the island of Britain, indebted to medieval Welsh historical thinking, including Geoffrey of Monmouth, was double-edged. On the one hand, it glorified the Britons and Welsh in the distant past; but on the other, it asserted that their separate history was long over. Like later medieval Welsh chronicles, Llwyd presents the history of the Welsh kings and princes from the late seventh century onwards as successors of the kings of Britain who had lost their dominion over the island to the English. This is clear from the very beginning of the work, which opens with a brief account, derived mainly from a version of the Welsh translations of Geoffrey of Monmouth, supplemented by the chronicle *Brenhinedd y Saesson*. Here, Llwyd relates how, after an angelic vision, Cadwaladr, exiled in Brittany, abandoned his plans to try and restore British rule in Britain and instead ended his life in Rome in 688.[32] However, the continuation of British rule within the restricted bounds of Wales marked only a temporary respite, since, in line with the emphasis of both medieval Welsh history writing and the example of sixteenth-century (and earlier) historians of England,[33] Llwyd believed that the distinctive history of Wales had ended with the extinction of native rule by Edward I: contingent as it was on a succession of Welsh kings and princes, the history of Wales he related was safely relegated to the past. As for some later medieval Welsh writers, this turning point was also viewed from the perspective promoted by Geoffrey of Monmouth, as the rulers of Wales represented a coda to almost two-and-a-half millennia of British sovereignty over

Britain. Thus, Llwyd declared that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the prince of Wales killed in 1282:

> was the last Prince of Britons bloode, which without interuption bare dominion and rule in Wales. So that rule and government of the Britons ever continued in some of Britaine from the first comminge of Brute [Brutus], which was the yere before Christes incarnacioun 1136, to the yere after Christe 1282 by the space of 2418 yeres.[34]

That this marked an irreversible passage of dominion is subsequently emphasised by the bald statement that, through his conquest of Wales, Edward I 'brought the whole countrey in subjection to the crowne of Englande *to this daye*'.[35] Small wonder, then, that Llwyd saw the defeat and capture of the rebel Madog ap Llywelyn in 1295 as bringing a distinctive Welsh history to an end, as '[a]fter this there was nothinge done in Wales worthy [of] memory, but that is to bee redde in the Englishe Chronicle' – a view consistent with Llwyd's support for Henry VIII's incorporation of Wales into the kingdom of England in the so-called Acts of Union of 1536–43.[36] (By 'the Englishe Chronicle' Llwyd may well have meant Caxton's *Chronicles of England*, an edition of the Middle English prose *Brut* published in 1480, which is demonstrably referred to in similar terms elsewhere in the *Cronica Walliae*.)[37]

Sources and Structure

In assessing how Llwyd structured the *Cronica Walliae* by adapting and supplementing his medieval Welsh chronicle sources, it is important to stress at the outset that the waters have been muddied by David Powel's misleading description of Llwyd's work as a *translation* of a medieval Welsh chronicle, which Powel attributed to the twelfth-century hagiographer Caradog of Llancarfan, rather than a new narrative based on a variety of sources.[38] David Powel made this explicit in the full title of the work he published in 1584, which also highlights the British dimension: *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales: a part of the most famous yland of Brytaine written in the Brytish language aboue two hundreth yeares past: translated into English by H. Lhoyd, Gentleman: Corrected, augmented, and continued out of Records and best approoued Authors, by*

Dauid Powel Doctor in diuinitie. True, Llwyd drew substantially on a version of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, and occasionally referred to this source as 'the British Cronicle', 'Britishe booke', 'Welsh historie', 'my Welsh author' and 'myne author'.[39] However, he states that that source ended shortly after its account of the English Crown's recognition of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd as Prince of Wales in 1267.[40] This is puzzling, for two reasons. First, nearly all surviving complete versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon* continue their narratives to March 1282.[41] True, one early modern copy, part of a collection of transcripts of medieval Welsh historical sources made by Edward Kyffin in 1577 for John Trevor of Trefalun (Allington), Denbighshire ends with a report of the death in 1270 of Maredudd ap Gruffudd, lord of Hirfryn.[42] It is possible, then, that Kyffin's exemplar for the chronicle likewise ended in that year, and that it was available to Llwyd or his immediate source by the late 1550s. That Kyffin came from Oswestry and had Denbighshire connections could indicate, furthermore, that the exemplar had a provenance in north-east Wales. Yet, even if the exemplar of the chronicle copied by Kyffin ended in 1270, it was hardly representative of *Brut y Tywysogyon* as a whole, despite statements to that effect by Llwyd's editor David Powel.[43]

Second, irrespective of the precise nature of the chronicle available to Llwyd, it cannot have included all the material he attributed to it. It may be, rather, that Llwyd's Welsh source was a manuscript containing various texts in Welsh, including a version of *Brut y Tywysogyon* ending in 1270.[44] Two further points support this hypothesis. First, Llwyd attributes to 'the Britishe Cronicle' a passage on the three times north Wales came by inheritance to women that is lacking in any extant text of *Brut y Tywysogyon*, but is derived rather from a collection of triads (mnemonic lists of threes).[45] Second, the copy of Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae* in BL Cotton Caligula MS A.VI (*c*.1578) is followed by a collection of pedigrees in Welsh, *Achau'r Mamau* ('The Pedigrees of the Mothers'), identified in a marginal note, perhaps by Robert Cotton, as being 'written out of the Bryttishe bok wher the History of Humfrey Lloid is in Welsh written'.[46] In any case, whatever its precise character, Powel's 'Bryttishe bok' was by no means the only source used by Llwyd, as he names a number of other sources, both Welsh and English, including Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew Paris, Nicholas Trevet, the Welsh laws attributed to Hywel Dda and Gerald of Wales. Moreover, his use of these extended well beyond the passages where their authority

is explicitly cited.[47] Several of the English sources named were in Arundel's library.[48]

Work for the new edition of the *Cronica Walliae* has reinforced the conclusions drawn by Ieuan M. Williams that Llwyd, rather than merely translating a single Welsh chronicle, borrowed selectively from a variety of sources, which he then adapted and interwove for his own narrative purposes.[49] One clear instance is the detailed topographical 'description' of Wales at the beginning of the work, for which there are no parallels in the Welsh chronicles.[50] True, there were many other medieval precedents for prefacing historical narratives with such descriptions, including Geoffrey of Monmouth's History (in turn indebted to the descriptions of Britain in Gildas and Bede) and Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, translated into English by John of Trevisa in 1387, whose first book consists of a geographical description of the world followed by descriptions of Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, parts of which Caxton published as the *Description of Britain* in 1480.[51] The practice was continued by Renaissance historians, a conspicuous example being Llwyd's *bête noire* Polydore Vergil, who opened his *Anglica Historia* with a lengthy description of Britain that included a section on its 'third part', Wales.[52] Longer works of topographical description had also been written by, for example, Gerald of Wales, whose *Descriptio Kambriae* ('Description of Wales') Llwyd certainly knew – a genre to which Llwyd later contributed in his *Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum*, translated as *The Breviary of Britain*.[53]

However, Llwyd was the first author to preface a narrative of events in Wales with a geographical description, thereby evincing an interest in regional and local geography and history characteristic of early modern chorography.[54] Although David Powel ascribed the 'description' to Sir John Prise, Llwyd was clearly its author and considered it an integral part of the *Cronica* as a whole.[55] Thus he declared:

> Because I have taken in hande to wrrite the lives and actes of the kinges and princes of Walles whiche ruled that countrey from Cadwalader to Lhewelyn sonne of Gruffith … I think hit necessarie to sette furthe the perfecte description of the countrey as it was in olde tyme and as hit is at thees days that therby the readere may the more playnely and easelly understande the woorke following.[56]

The need was all the greater as the work was written while Llwyd was in Arundel's service and quite possibly aimed, in the first instance at least, at fellow members of the earl's household.[57] Above all, the 'description' made the case for regarding Wales as a distinctive portion of the island of Britain on account of both its geography and its history. Thus the 'description' not only pays attention to physical features such as mountains and rivers but links the areas and places discussed to historical developments. A significant example is the River Severn. Llwyd describes this, along with the River Dee, as marking the historic border between England and Wales (a division later represented visually on his map of Wales, *Cambriae Typus*). However, he explains that, unlike the Dee, the Severn had subsequently lost its status as a boundary after English settlers had crossed it as far as the Wye.[58] The conceptualisation of Wales as a historical creation, rather than simply a geographical expression, is further underlined by the structuring of the 'description' according to the medieval territorial units known as cantrefs and commotes, based on a list of these very similar to that copied in 1543 by Llwyd's contemporary (and eulogist), the poet, genealogist and herald Gruffudd Hiraethog (d.1564), which Llwyd in turn relates to the more recent pattern of counties completed by Henry VIII's first act of union in 1536.[59]

While the list of cantrefs and commotes provides the basic framework for the 'description', Llwyd fills this out with a great variety of other topographical and historical information derived from other sources as well as his personal knowledge. The latter is particularly evident in the greater detail given for north-east Wales, including his home town of Denbigh and its lordship, whose descent he traces from Dafydd ap Gruffudd (d.1283) to its acquisition by the English crown under Edward IV.[60] Besides Gerald of Wales, Llwyd's sources included Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae* ('The Ruin of Britain'), Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* ('Ecclesiastical History'), the early ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* ('History of the Britons'), which, very probably following Sir John Prise, Llwyd incorrectly attributed to Gildas,[61] Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald of Wales's *Descriptio Kambriae* ('Description of Wales'), the Welsh laws, Welsh triads and genealogies. He also interjects condemnations of Polydore Vergil and directs readers to the much fuller refutation of Vergil by Sir John Prise in his 'Defence of the British History', which Llwyd evidently had access to in manuscript.[62]

The combination of material from different sources in the 'description' is illustrated by the account of Cunedda and his successors as kings of Gwynedd.[63] This is interpolated between the second and third limbs of the triad mentioned above that Llwyd attributed to 'the Britishe Cronicle' stating that north Wales was inherited on three occasions by women. (Llwyd's syntax strongly suggests that the attribution referred only to the triad and did not extend to the interpolated material inserted in it.)[64] After naming the second woman as Gwawl, the mother of Cunedda, Llwyd inserts a substantial amount of material relating to the latter and his dynasty that fills almost two pages of Williams's edition. The first section, attributed to Gildas (here meaning the *Historia Brittonum*), relates that Cunedda sent his sons to expel 'the mingled nations of Irishe Scottes and Pictes' from 'the sea shore of Caerdigan' and tries to synchronise this with the reference in the ninth-century Harleian genealogies that Cunedda's eldest son Tybion died in Manaw Gododdin (the British kingdom around Edinburgh). Llwyd refers to this kingdom simply as 'Manaw' and identifies it with the Isle of Man, taking the opportunity to criticise Polydore Vergil for wrongly calling it 'Mona', an identification Llwyd had already criticised at greater length earlier in the 'description' and a topic that he returned to in his later treatise on Anglesey, *De Mona Druidum Insula* ('Concerning Mona, Island of the Druids').[65] Llwyd then lists the territories in north Wales to which Cunedda and his sons and grandson gave their names, evidently drawing on a genealogical source derived from the account of this division in the Harleian genealogies.[66] Mention of Oswestry then prompts a digression citing Bede to disprove any connection between the place and the Northumbrian king Oswald (d.642), after which Llwyd observes that the territorial names given by Cunedda's progeny 'remayne to this day'.[67] The section continues with a story taken from another medieval Welsh triad; namely, the slaying by Cunedda's grandson Caswallon Lawhir ('Caswallon of the Long Hand') of the Irish king Serigi at Holyhead in Anglesey, and concludes by noting that 'Caswallon was father to Maelgwn Gwyneth which the Latine calle Maglocunus, Prince and Kinge of Britaine', a Latin form unique to Gildas's *De Excidio*.[68] The interpolation concludes with an account of the rulers of Gwynedd from Maelgwn to Cadwaladr, 'the last of the Britishe bloodde that bare the name of Kinge of Britaine', which supplemented the regnal succession inferred from Welsh genealogies with information derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth and also corrected the assertion in

Caxton's *Chronicles of England*, referred to as 'the English Cronicle,' that 'Brecynall' (Brochfael) was the father of Cadfan.[69]

A similar process of adaptation is also found in the main part of the *Cronica Walliae*. For example, the short section on Dafydd ap Llywelyn, the prince of Gwynedd or north Wales who ruled from 1240 to 1246, draws both on one or more versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon* and on the thirteenth-century St Albans historian Matthew Paris (*c*.1200–59), mostly his *Historia Anglica* ('English History') that ended in 1253, but occasionally also his longer *Chronica Majora* (on which Llwyd relied heavily for his account of events from 1253 to 1259).[70] In part, this was a matter of supplementing the Welsh chronicles' accounts with material from Paris. Some borrowings are quite substantial, including Llwyd's account of Henry III's campaign in Wales in September 1245 and the deaths of English nobles in that year.[71] Elsewhere, Llwyd added details from Paris to expand the chronicles' narrative, one case in point being the names of the marcher lords attacked by Dafydd after the death of his half-brother Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in March 1244. That passage also illustrates how Llwyd sought to bring his English source, with its antipathy towards Dafydd, into line with the pro-Welsh narrative of the Welsh chronicles: whereas Llwyd, following the latter, describes the prince as seeking revenge for wrongs committed by the marchers, Paris, by contrast, had portrayed Dafydd as a rebel whom those lords 'manfully resisted'.[72] Further instances of this selective use of Paris occur in Llwyd's account of the early years of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's rule. Thus, Llwyd mainly followed Paris's account of the prince's campaign in north-east Wales in 1256 in response to the oppression of the Lord Edward's steward Geoffrey de Langley and of Edward's seeking financial help from his uncle Richard, King of the Romans for a campaign against the Welsh. However, although in this passage Paris was sympathetic to the Welsh, Llwyd omitted his attribution of the campaign's failure to the wet and stormy winter weather that made routes in Wales impassable, preferring instead to draw on Nicholas Trevet's adaptation of later passages in Paris asserting that the Lord Edward was too afraid to fight Llywelyn who had 10,000 armed men.[73]

In addition, Llwyd sought to shape his history not only through his selection and adaptation of material but, crucially, by inserting observations of his own.[74] His attacks on Polydore Vergil in the 'description' of Wales, mentioned above, are a good example. One important theme to

emerge from Llwyd's digressive comments in the ensuing narrative is dynastic succession. This is linked to the chronological structure Llwyd adopted that constitutes his most significant authorial intervention. In constructing his work as a royal and princely history of Wales he modified the annalistic structure of his Welsh chronicle sources by dividing the text into a series of sections each headed by the name of a Welsh ruler.[75] Moreover, most rulers are presented as having succeeded their predecessor, and sometimes the beginning of the new reign is given a date – a practice almost entirely absent from medieval Welsh chronicles, which usually only recorded the date of a ruler's death (something also supplied by Llwyd).[76] Possibly influenced by the division of English history into reigns by Polydore Vergil, Edward Hall and other sixteenth-century writers, Llwyd thus sought to impose a chronological and conceptual framework on medieval Welsh history that would help to give it a comparable shape to regnally structured histories of other countries.[77] True, this reconfiguring was fairly superficial, as the individual sections adhered closely to the annalistic structure of Llwyd's chronicle sources and often contained a wide range of disconnected material. Nevertheless, while the sections failed to provide coherent accounts of the rulers named in their headings, there is no mistaking the overall impression of regnal continuity those headings sought to convey.

Likewise Llwyd presented the rulers whose deeds he related as being subject, at least in theory, to what may be termed constitutional norms.[78] Thus, he cites both the succession arrangements of Rhodri Mawr (Rhodri the Great) in the ninth century and the laws of Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good) in (supposedly) the tenth century as establishing the predominance of the ruler of Gwynedd in north-west Wales over the rulers of the two other major medieval Welsh kingdoms, and of prescribing the amount of tribute they owed to him as well as the sum he owed to the king of England.[79] Above all, though, Llwyd emphasised that dynastic succession normally ought to be governed by legal rules. These are nowhere defined, but Llwyd appears to privilege male primogeniture, provided that, from the late ninth century onwards, this was coupled with direct descent from Rhodri Mawr – a view consistent with the pivotal position accorded to Rhodri in medieval Welsh genealogies of the leading native dynasties of twelfth-century Wales; namely, those of Gwynedd and Deheubarth.[80] Thus, where possible, the headings that open each section describe a ruler as the son of the ruler named in the previous heading,

while some kings and princes are described as 'the right heire', 'right enheritour' and so forth.[81] This idea was picked up by Llwyd's contemporary Thomas Powel (d.1588), who gave it diagrammatic representation in the pedigree inserted at the opening of his abbreviated copy of the *Cronica*, by drawing a crown above the roundel encircling the name of each member of the line of Cadwaladr down to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd who had succeeded to royal or princely rule.[82] Only rarely was disruption of legitimate succession acceptable. Llwyd comes nearest to justifying it with reference to Hywel Dda's seizure of Gwynedd after the death of Idwal Foel in 942: 'After the deathe of Idwall dyd Howell the Good take upon him the rule of all Wales althoughe the sonnes of Idwall dyd somewhat murmure against him, yet for his godly behaveor, discret and just rule he was beloved of all men.'[83] Here, virtue trumped violent usurpation.

Conclusion

In making the main part of the *Cronica Walliae* a narrative of the kings and princes of Wales who had succeeded the kings of the Britons, Humphrey Llwyd was clearly indebted to Geoffrey of Monmouth and the medieval Welsh history writing he had influenced. As has long been recognised, the *Cronica*'s overall framework was thus based on the chronicles *Brut y Tywysogyon* and *Brenhinedd y Saesson*. Yet, in adapting and supplementing these sources, Llwyd created the first work to be conceived as a history of Wales. Rather than merely translating a Welsh chronicle, as suggested by David Powel, Llwyd investigated a wide range of sources, both Welsh and English, which he used to supplement the accounts of the Welsh chronicles in a new narrative. This was inextricably linked to Llwyd's purpose as an author seeking to impose his own shape on the work, as shown above all by the provision of the 'description' and the arrangement of the subsequent narrative as a sequence of rulers' reigns. True, *Brenhinedd y Saesson* and its fifteenth-century continuator Gutun Owain had combined English sources with *Brut y Tywysogyon*. However, Llwyd went much further than these and his approach is closer to that of his older contemporary Elis Gruffudd (*c*.1490–*c*.1556), who drew on an extensive array of sources in the massive Welsh-language universal chronicle that he completed in 1552 while a soldier in the English garrison in Calais.[84] Like Gruffudd, too, Llwyd possessed both a deep familiarity with Welsh literary culture and knowledge of the wider world derived

from his service to the English. Indeed, his service to Arundel both facilitated and, very probably, helped to stimulate and shape his writing of the *Cronica*, providing access to relevant printed books and manuscripts and providing a plausible context for his attempt to present and justify the history of Wales in terms that would be comprehensible to English readers. That context also gave contemporary relevance to the medieval Welsh precedent Llwyd followed in situating the history of Wales in the wider orbit of Britain. On the one hand, this meant that that history was ultimately a prelude to the political assimilation with England of which he was both a beneficiary and a eulogist. Yet, on the other hand, precisely because of that final outcome, Llwyd believed that the history of Wales under its kings and princes should not be forgotten, but instead merited attention and respect as an essential component of the larger history of what has been termed 'the conjoined realm' recently created by Henry VIII.[85]

Notes

1. *CW*, pp. 63–4. References to the main narrative as a 'historie' (though not explicitly a history of Wales): *CW*, pp. 79, 82, 86, 92, 103.
2. *CW*, p. 24. For Arundel's library and cultural patronage and Llwyd's service to the earl, see Andrew Boyle, 'Henry Fitzalan, Twelfth Earl of Arundel: Politics and Culture in the Tudor Nobility' (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2003), pp. 175–89.
3. *CW*, p. 24.
4. *CW*, pp. 4–10.
5. R. T. Jenkins, 'William Wynne and the *History of Wales*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 6 (1931–3), 153–9; *CW*, pp. 9–10.
6. For a recent survey of medieval Welsh historical writing, see Huw Pryce, *Writing Welsh History: From the Early Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), chapters 1–4.
7. Brynley F. Roberts, '*Ystoriaeu Brenhinedd Ynys Brydeyn*: A Fourteenth-Century Welsh Brut', *CSANA Yearbook*, 8–9 (2011), 220.
8. *DGB*, pp. 280–1 (XI.207–8).
9. *DGB*, p. 4 (Prologue, 2).
10. Listed in Owain Wyn Jones, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Wales' (unpublished PhD thesis, Bangor University, 2013), p. 431; for more than forty further copies of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, see pp. 432–3. See further, Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History of the Kings of Britain"', in Axel Harlos and Neele

Harlos (eds), *Adapting Texts and Styles in a Celtic Context: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Processes of Literary Transfer in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe* (Münster: Nodus, 2016), pp. 53–74. Law manuscripts: T. M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1989), pp. 100–2.

11. For recent assessments of medieval Welsh chronicles, with references to earlier studies, see Owain Wyn Jones and Huw Pryce, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Wales', in Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner and Elizabeth Tyler (eds), *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 208–24; Ben Guy, Owain Wyn Jones, Georgia Henley and Rebecca Thomas (eds), *Chronicles of Medieval Wales and the March: New Contexts, Studies and Texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020). For descriptions and bibliographies, see also Welsh Chronicles Research Group, 'Welsh chronicles', *http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk* (last accessed 15 September 2023).
12. *Brenhinoedd y Saeson, 'The Kings of the English,' A.D. 682–954: Texts P, R, S in Parallel*, ed. and trans. David N. Dumville (Aberdeen: Department of History, University of Aberdeen, 2005), pp. 4–5. See also *Brut, Pen20Tr*, p. 1, and notes at pp. 129–30; and cf. *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel*, ed. and trans. David N. Dumville (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, 2002), p. 2; *DGB*, p. 280 (XI.206).
13. *DGB*, p. 279 (XI.205); *Brut Dingestow*, ed. Henry Lewis (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1942), p. 206. However, Gwrtheyrn is substituted for Arthur in an early fourteenth-century Welsh version of Geoffrey: *Brut y Brenhinedd: Cotton Cleopatra Version*, ed. and trans. John Jay Parry (Cambridge MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1937), p. 216.
14. *DGB*, pp. 144–59 ([VII].111–17). Cf. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, ed. and trans. R. Bromwich, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), pp. 392–6.
15. *BS*; J. Beverley Smith, 'Historical writing in medieval Wales: the composition of *Brenhinedd y Saesson*', *Studia Celtica*, 52 (2008), 55–86.
16. *BS*, pp. xvi–xviii.
17. *Brut y Brenhinedd*, ed. Parry, pp. 217–18; *BS*, pp. 2–5.
18. Huw Pryce, 'Chronicling and its contexts in medieval Wales', in Guy *et al.*, (eds), *Chronicles of Medieval Wales*, pp. 1–32, at pp. 24–30.
19. *CW*, p. 82.
20. See, for example, P. P. Sims-Williams, 'Some Functions of Origin stories in Early Medieval Wales', in Tore Nyberg, Iørn Piø, Preben Meulengracht Sørensen and Aage Trommer (eds), *History and Heroic Tale: A Symposium* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1985), pp. 97–131; R. R. Davies, 'The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100–1400: IV Language and Historical Mythology', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6/7 (1997), 21–3;

Glanmor Williams, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979), pp. 71–86.

21. Tim Thornton, 'Wales in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Histories: Neglect, Rediscovery, and their Implications', *Historical Research*, 90 (2017), 683–703.
22. *CW*, pp. 33–58.
23. *CW*, pp. 89–90 (quotation at 90).
24. *CW*, p. 87. Cf. *BS*, pp. 16–17 (828); George Beech, 'Did King Egbert of Wessex Rename Britain as *England* at Winchester in 828?', *Nouvelle Revue d'Onomastique*, 55 (2013), 99–142.
25. *CW*, p. 72. Cf. Alan MacColl, 'The Construction of England as a Protestant "British" Nation in the Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance Studies*, 18 (2004), 594–5, 599–602, 607–8.
26. *CW*, p. 88; Philip Schwyzer, 'Archipelagic History', in Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's* Chronicles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 602.
27. *CW*, pp. 112, 149.
28. *CW*, p, 77 (emphasis added). Similarly, Snowdonia is 'without contraversi the strongeste countrey within Britaine': *CW*, p. 70.
29. For example, *CW*, pp. 63–6, 82, 89, 168.
30. *CW*, pp. 167–8 (quotation at p. 168).
31. Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (London: Methuen, 1979), pp. 39–46; Ken MacMillan, 'Discourse on History, Geography and Law: John Dee and the Limits of the British Empire, 1576–80', *Canadian Journal of History*, 36 (2001), 1–25, esp. 8–9, 11, 14–15, 22–3; Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjuror of England: John Dee* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 94–6, 144–5; Bruce Ward Henry, 'John Dee, Humphrey Llwyd, and the Name "British Empire"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 35 (1972), 189–90. For Dee's possession of a copy of Llwyd's history, probably by 1575, see *CW*, pp. 4, 9.
32. *CW*, p. 63.
33. Ralph Griffiths, 'Wales', in Kewes *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's* Chronicles, pp. 679–81.
34. *CW*, p. 222. Similarly, the Normans who conquered Glamorgan were 'the first strangers that ever inhabited Wales sith the tyme of Camber [son of Brutus]': *CW*, p. 126.
35. *CW*, p. 223 (emphasis added).
36. *CW*, p. 224. Praise of union: *BB*, p. 108.
37. For one instance, see n. 69 below.
38. David Powel, *The Historie of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (London, 1584), sig. ¶vr–v.

39. *CW*, pp. 65, 74, 82, 121, 213, 218.
40. *CW*, p. 218.
41. Pryce, *Writing Welsh History*, p. 63; *CW*, pp. 16–18; *Brut, Pen20Tr*, p. lii.
42. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, NLW MS 13211E, fols 92–158. This is the 'Thelwall MS' described in *Brut, Pen20Tr*, pp. li–liii; see also Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes* (Aberystwyth: NLW, 2022), I, pp. 274–5; II, p. 86; 'Ystorya Dared; brutiau', *https://darganfod.llyfrgell.cymru/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma 992128625002419&context=L&vid=44WHELF_NLW:44WHELF_NLW_NUI_CY&lang=en&search_scope=In_The_Library&adaptor=Local%20 Search%20Engine&tab=In_The_Library&query=any,contains,nlw%20 ms%2013211E&offset=0* (which cites the final annal s.a. 1270) (last accessed 22 August 2024).
43. *CW*, pp. 16–18.
44. Williams suggested that Llwyd may have used 'a compiled version of the *Brut*' (i.e., *Brut y Tywysogyon*) including both Welsh and English sources: *CW*, p. 42 (and see also pp. 16–22). Cf. B. G. Charles, *George Owen of Henllys: A Welsh Elizabethan* (Aberystwyth: NLW, 1973), pp. 102–3, which describes the *Cronica* as 'an English version of some lost composite Welsh chronicle with additions by Llwyd from various English and Welsh sources'.
45. *CW*, p. 74 and note at p. 228; *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, ed. Bromwich, pp. 256–8.
46. BL, Cotton Caligula MS A.VI, fols 225r–227r; quotation at fol. 227r. Description in Huws, *Repertory*, I, p. 662. I am grateful to Paul Russell for suggesting that the hand may be Cotton's.
47. *CW*, pp. 16, 39–59, 97.
48. Boyle, 'Henry Fitzalan', 180.
49. *CW*, Introduction, *passim*. The new edition of *CW* will be included in *The Complete Works of Humphrey Llwyd* (PIMS/Bodleian, forthcoming).
50. *CW*, 64–82, with discussion, pp. 12–15. However, the division of England into Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is described in *BS*, pp. 2–5.
51. *DGB*, pp. 6–7; Neil Wright, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and Gildas', *Arthurian Literature*, 2 (1982), 5–7; *CW*, p. 12; Stan Mendyk, 'Early British chorography', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17 (1986), 462–3; Kathleen Tonry, 'Reading History in Caxton's *Polychronicon*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 111/2 (2012), 171 and n. 5.
52. 'Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555 version): a hypertext critical edition', ed. and trans. Dana F. Sutton (last modified 2010), I.1–17, *The Philological Museum*, *www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg* (last accessed 15 September 2023). See also William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1549), which opens with a general description of Italy and combines descriptions of Rome and other cities with summaries of their histories.

53. Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 178–210. All the references in the *Cronica* to Gerald as a source occur in the 'description': *CW*, pp. 65, 67, 69, 77, 81 (the last reference is explicitly to his 'Topographie of Wales', i.e., the *Descriptio Kambriae*).
54. Cf. Mendyk, 'Early British chorography'; Charles W. J. Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland since 1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 38–47; Quentin Deakin, 'Early Chorographical and Historical County Survey Writing in Wales, *c*.1550–1700', *Welsh History Review*, 31/3 (2023), 376–96.
55. *CW*, pp. 13–14.
56. *CW*, p. 64.
57. Cf. *CW*, pp. 8, 13.
58. *CW*, pp. 64, 67; *BB*, p. 98; Philip Schwyzer, 'A Map of Greater Cambria', in Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (eds), *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35–44; Keith D. Lilley, Rebecca Milligan and Catherine Porter, '"Set forth in all poynctes": Navigating the Maps and Mappings of Humphrey Llwyd', Chapter 3, this volume.
59. *CW*, pp. 68, 70–4, 77–80. Llwyd's debt to Gruffudd Hiraethog's list is established in *CW*, p. 14. The list is printed in J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, 2 vols in 7, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 48 (London, 1898–1910), I, pp. 952–4. For Hiraethog's eulogy to Llwyd, see the appendix to this volume, and R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh: Some Documents and a Catalogue', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society*, 17 (1968), 91–4.
60. *CW*, pp. 71–2.
61. Prise misattributed the 'Gildasian' redaction of the *Historia Brittonum* to Gildas and refused to accept that the *De Excidio Britanniae* edited by Polydore Vergil was a genuine work of Gildas: *HBD*, pp. xlvi–xlviii.
62. *CW*, pp. 3 (and n. 53), 66.
63. *CW*, pp. 74–6.
64. *CW*, p. 74: 'And here I thinke hit good to let the reader understande what the Britishe Cronicle saithe of Northwales, which affirmeth that three tymes hit came by enheritance to women.'
65. *CW*, pp. 69–70, 75. Cf. *HB*, pp. 20–1, 62 (c. 14); Ben Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy: An Introduction and Textual Study* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), p. 37 (Harleian genealogies 32). For the treatise, see Humphrey Llwyd, '*De Mona Insula Druidum*', in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570), pagination following maps, sig. a.ir–b.iv; Iolo and Menai Roberts, '*De Mona Druidum Insula*', in Marcel van den Broecke, Peter

van der Krogt and Peter Maurer (eds), *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death 1598–1998* (Houten: HES, 1998), pp. 347–61.

66. *CW*, p. 75. Cf. Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, pp. 337, 341 (Harleian genealogies 32; Jesus 20 genealogies 7).
67. *CW*, p. 75. Cf. *HE*, pp. 240–3, 246–7 (III.9, 11).
68. *CW*, pp. 75–6. Cf. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein*, ed. Bromwich, pp. 167–8; Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and Other Documents*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), p. 102 (c.33).
69. *CW*, p. 76. Cf. Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, pp. 334, 361 (Harleian genealogies 1; Llywelyn ab Iorwerth genealogies 11.1); *DGB*, pp. 256–7, 260–1 (XI, 184, 189); Caxton, *Chronicles of England*, sig. f1r.
70. For Llwyd's use of Paris, see *CW*, pp. 46–55.
71. *CW*, p. 208. Cf. Paris, *HA*, II, pp. 507, 509–10.
72. *CW*, pp. 207–8. Cf. *Brut, Pen20Tr*, p. 106; Paris, *HA*, II, p. 487 (quotation).
73. *CW*, p. 211. Cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, RS 57, 7 vols (London, 1872–83), V, pp. 592–3, 597, 613; Nicholas Trevet, *Nicholai Triveti Annales*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), p. 245; J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), pp. 81–5.
74. Llwyd, *CW*, pp. 86, 90, 103, 185.
75. Ieuan M. Williams, 'Ysgolheictod hanesyddol yr unfed ganrif ar bymtheg', *Llên Cymru*, 2 (1952–3), 120.
76. For example, *CW*, pp. 84, 89, 113, 151, 206. For a unique reference to the dating of the beginning of a reign in *Brut y Tywysogyon*, see *BT, Pen20Tr*, p. 17 (1077=1079).
77. Cf. Daniel Woolf, 'Senses of the Past in Tudor Britain', in Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (eds), *A Companion to Tudor Britain* (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 419–20.
78. This aspect of the work was highlighted by Ieuan M. Williams: *CW*, pp. 27–33.
79. *CW*, pp. 68, 97, 186.
80. Cf. Ben Guy, 'Gerald and Welsh Genealogical Learning', in Georgia Henley and A. Joseph McMullen (eds), *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018), pp. 53–4. For the association of political disruption with the lack of a male heir, see *CW*, p. 105.
81. *CW*, pp. 87, 110, 111, 122, 123, 178, 186, 209.
82. NLW MS 23202B, fols ivr–vv. For the text of the *Cronica* in this manuscript, see *CW*, p. 6.
83. *CW*, p. 98.

84. See, for example, Prys Morgan, 'Elis Gruffudd of Gronant – Tudor chronicler extraordinary', *Flintshire Historical Society Publications*, 25 (1971–2), 9–20; Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Elis Gruffudd a thraddodiad Cymraeg Calais a Chlwyd', *Cof Cenedl*, 11 (1996), 29–58; Jerry Hunter, *Soffestri'r Saeson: Hanesyddiaeth a Hunaniaeth yn Oes y Tuduriaid* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000); Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'Welsh Tradition in Calais: Elis Gruffydd and his Biography of King Arthur', in Norris J. Lacy (ed.), *The Fortunes of King Arthur* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 77–91.
85. Griffiths, 'Wales', p. 679.

2

The Description of Britain and Urban Chorography on the March of Wales

Helen Fulton

In his *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* of 1572 (translated into English by Thomas Twyne as *The Breviary of Britain* in 1573), Humphrey Llwyd made a political point about the concept of Britain. Instead of quietly conflating Britain and England, like all his contemporary antiquarians writing from an English perspective, Llwyd created a verbal map of the island in which Wales, England and Scotland were marked out as separate territories. Moreover, Llwyd claimed for Wales the originary language and culture of Britain through the British people, of whom the Welsh were the descendants, explicitly renouncing other histories that attempted to deny that fact.[1] Llwyd's 'history of Britain' is therefore not only a history of the island of Britain, but a cultural geography in which the steady erosion of the British people and their language is traced through place names and echoes of British tribal names surviving throughout the island.

Llwyd's landscape history of Britain was one of a number of such works appearing in the sixteenth century that owed their format to a much earlier genre of British historiography, the 'Description of Britain'. Modelled on Classical examples of geography, especially the sub-types of topography and chorography, medieval descriptions of Britain did the same ideological work as their Classical predecessors; namely, the mapping of empire on behalf of the imperial power, or, in the case of Britain, on behalf of the English Crown. Llwyd was familiar with the 'Description of Britain' genre from his work on the earl of Arundel's

extensive library, which included British and continental works of geography and chorography, such as printed copies of Flavio Biondo's *De Roma triumphante* (Basle, 1531), Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia* (Venice, 1553) and Ptolemy's *Geographica* (Basle, 1541).[2] When he wrote his English-language history of Wales, *Cronica Walliae*, in 1559, Llwyd followed earlier British and Italian models of regional history that typically began with a topographical description of the region in question. Pausing only to condemn the imposition of the English name 'Wales' on his country and the ignorance of Polydore Vergil, Llwyd proceeds to describe the contours of Wales marked out by its rivers, mountains, cantrefs, towns, castles and traditional princedoms.[3]

In both his chorographical works, *Cronica Walliae* and *Breviary of Britain*, Llwyd was one of the few writers who went against the grain of the 'Description of Britain' genre by representing a Welsh rather than an English point of view. Explaining Wales and the Welsh language to outsiders, insisting on the absolute distinction between Wales, England and Scotland, and describing its timeless topography, Llwyd claimed a special status for Wales as an authentic physical remnant of what had been the kingdom of Britain. The politics of Llwyd's approach can be appreciated by comparison with other sixteenth-century 'Descriptions of Britain', in particular their descriptions of Wales, its towns, and the borderlands with England. Using the work of John Leland (*c.*1506–52) and Thomas Churchyard (*c.*1523–1604) as exemplars, we can see how even these writers, relatively sympathetic to Wales, nonetheless performed the ideological work of claiming Wales for England.

The 'Description of Britain' and the March of Wales

The Tudor project of rewriting British history as the history of the English kingdom – a project manifested in works such as Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, commissioned by Henry VII and completed during the reign of Henry VIII in 1534 – was consistently complicated by the existence of Wales. As the surviving remnant of Roman Britain, whose people considered themselves to be the heirs to the kingdom of 'Ynys Prydain', the island of Britain, Wales presented a challenge to English efforts to construct a singular history of the whole island. One answer to this challenge was a mode of historiography that drew on the discourses of geography, topography and chorography, familiar from Classical

writing and deployed by medieval and early modern historians in Britain. Imitating descriptions of the Roman world, medieval writers developed what might be called a boilerplate format of the 'Description of Britain', versions of which appeared in all the major histories of Britain until the late sixteenth century. This format, intrinsically imperialist in its concept, enabled British chroniclers, writing from an English perspective, to marginalise Wales.

The genre of the 'Description of Britain', confirming Britain's, and thus England's, origins in the Roman empire, inspired sixteenth-century writers such as Leland and Churchyard to write historicised descriptions of Britain. While the concept of 'chorography' – literally, 'regional description' – has often been associated with the sixteenth century as part of a revival of Classical rhetoric, in truth the discourse of chorography, known to medieval writers through sources such as Pliny, Solinus and Isidore of Seville, had never declined among British historians but had remained a reliable technique for historians from Gildas to Ranulf Higden. What changed in the sixteenth century was the annexation of Wales by the English Crown in 1536 under the Act of Union, the first of two acts by which Wales was henceforth constitutionally recognised as part of the kingdom of England.[4] At one stroke, the concept of England, which had been competing with the concept of Britain since Athelstan declared himself king of the English in 927, emerged as the victor in this spatial and ideological battle. England was finally constituted as signifying 'England-and-Wales', with Wales and its British history elided from the political landscape.

It is no coincidence that early modern chorographers writing after the Act of Union were particularly intrigued by the March of Wales, the borderlands between the two nations once occupied by Norman and then English Marcher lords. This was a very specific region, with its own history, personnel, linguistic traditions and origin legends, and thus highly amenable to the rhetoric of chorography. As the changes of 1536 replaced the Marcher lordships with a single border between England and Wales, marked by clearly defined counties on both sides of the divide, historians wanted to commemorate a region that no longer existed politically but whose history, topography and way of life remained rich and distinctive.[5] In the context of the medieval tradition of the 'Description of Britain', the chorographies of the March composed in prose by John Leland, and in poetry by Thomas Churchyard, provide comparative case studies of English constructions of the March of Wales after 1536.

In early medieval Britain, Classical traditions of geographical and chorographical discourses were invoked to construct Britain's special status as an island. Located by Classical writers in an isolated and alien corner of the known world, only marginally more accessible than the 'truly barbarous' outpost of Ireland, Britain was reconfigured as a single polity, like Troy or Rome. In the histories of Gildas and Bede and their successors, the island of Britain was similarly imagined as a single state, distinguished by its uniquely defined borders of coastline.[6] The writing of history as a privileged discourse conducted by learned elites provided the major vehicle by which territory, increasingly in the form of political states, was brought into being. Medieval historians of Britain imagined this territory in different ways – as a whole island, as England and Wales together, as just the portion called England, as England with its French possessions, and so on – yet assumed themselves to be writing the history of a single pre-existing absolute entity.

As a way of fixing this territory outside their own text and assuring themselves and their readers that the 'Britain' of which they wrote was the same place as that described, often very differently, by other writers, many medieval historians began their chronological accounts of the country with a topographical description. Adapted to the political claims of Norman and English kings, the genre of the 'Description of Britain' functioned as a means of doing ideological work for the crown by inventing the kingdom of England, sometimes also called Britain. There are a large number of texts that are referred to, formally or informally, as either 'Description of England', or 'Description of Britain', and the use of both subtitles indicates the instability of the territory being described and constructed.[7] Typically, these descriptions give some indication of the size of the island, provide a list of the shires and sees of England (sometimes including Wales), and sometimes add a list of the kings of England, making the connection between topographical description and the boundaries of the English kingdom.

Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, written in the eighth century, used Classical discourses of geography and chorography to provide a verbal map of Britain, copying his description from Gildas:

> Brittania Oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit, inter septentrionem et occidentem locata est, Germaniae, Galliae, Hispaniae, maximis Europae partibus, multo interuallo aduersa.

> Quae per miliapassuum DCCC in Boream longa, latitudinis habet milia CC, exceptis dumtaxat prolixioribus diuersorum promontoriorum tractibus, quibus efficitur, ut circuitus eius quadragies octies LXXV milia conpleat.[8]

> Britain, formerly known as Albion, is an island in the ocean, lying towards the north-west at a considerable distance from the coasts of Germany, Gaul, and Spain, which together form the greater part of Europe. It extends 800 miles northwards, and is 200 in breadth, except where a number of promontories stretch further, so that the total coastline extends to 3,600 miles.[9]

This style of opening description was copied in turn by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald of Wales, and even more extensively by another twelfth-century chronicler, Henry of Huntingdon.[10] Henry described the 'heptarchy' or seven kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England as part of his project to assert the unity of the kingdom of England under a strong central monarchy.[11] Following this division of the kingdoms, Henry then goes on to list the thirty-five shires of England and their bishoprics,[12] followed by an account of the customs, marvels, roads and languages of Britain (by which he means England), before launching into the customary account of the Trojan origins of Britain (the island), based mainly on Gildas.

From Gildas onwards, the 'Description of Britain' that opened medieval British histories included a list of towns – not every town in Britain, or even in England, but those towns known to have been founded by the Romans. According to Gildas, the number of such cities in Britain was twenty-eight, with the majority in England.[13] Classical chorography, as a form of regional description, had always included descriptions of towns and cities along with historical and ethnographical information about each region, as a way of acknowledging the importance of the *ur*-cities of the Classical world, particularly Rome. All other towns were avatars of these, many built along the same lines and containing similar landmarks on a smaller scale. In Britain, medieval historians noted only those towns that were Roman foundations, as if this were the only type of settlement that could be defined as a town or city. The genre of the 'Description' was therefore an act of appropriation, recuperating for the Normans the imperial authority of Rome and the cultural authority of *romanitas*.

Through the format of the 'Description of Britain', medieval historians established Roman Britain as the weighty predecessor of the kingdom of England. Drawing on *Historia Brittonum* (early ninth century), attributed to Nennius in some manuscripts, Henry of Huntingdon deliberately chose the title of *Historia Anglorum*, implying the triumph of the English as the rulers of Britain. Henry follows *Historia Brittonum* in using the Brittonic names for the twenty-eight pre-Saxon cities, not so much to acknowledge the significance of the British language but rather to evoke the time frame of Roman Britain, before British was displaced by English:

> Erat autem et ciuitatibus quondam uiginti et octo nobilissimis insignita, preter castella innumera, que et ipsa muris, turribus, portis, ac seris erant instructa firmissimis. Ciuitatum autem nomina hec erant Britannice: Kair Ebrauc, id est Eboracum; Kair Chent, id est Cantuaria … Kair Lion que uocamus Carleuil … Kair Merdin, que nunc quoque sic uocatur … Kair Legion. In qua fuit archiepiscopatus tempore Britonum. Nunc autem uix menia eius comparent, ubi Usca cadit in Sabrinam.[14]

> In the past [Britain] was famous for twenty-eight very noble cities, in addition to the innumerable castles which were built with extremely strong walls, towers, and gates with locks. These were the names of the cities in the British tongue: Kair Ebrauc, that is York; Kair Chent, that is Canterbury … Kair Lion, which we call Carlisle … Kair Merdin, which is still known by that name [Carmarthen] … Kair Legion, where there was an archbishopric in the times of the Britons, but now its walls are scarcely visible, at the point where the river Usk falls into the Severn [Caerleon].

The prominence given to Rome as the founding city of the kingdom of Britain derived not simply from a desire to use its greatness as a model but from a sense of familiarity with Rome as a physical space. As one of the major pilgrim destinations, Rome was more than an allegorical symbol. It was a living witness to the greatness of its past and a salutary reminder of the possibility of decline, both material and spiritual. One of the most popular guide books to Rome, written in the middle of the

twelfth century and still being reproduced in the age of printing, was the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, 'The Marvels of the City of Rome'. Attributed to a papal canon, Benedict of St Peter's, the text is characterised by its eye-witness description of architectural wonders now lying in ruins, a technique adopted by some of the British historians.[15] In his account of the first crusade in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (*c*.1125), William of Malmesbury provides a portrait of Rome which has a similar 'ubi sunt' theme. As the faction of Urban II drives Guibert of Ravenna, the usurping pope, out of Rome, William pauses to give us one of his regular lectures on the great imperial cities:

> De Roma, quae quondam domina orbis terrarum, nunc ad comparationem antiquitatis uidetur oppidum exiguum, et de Romanis olim rerum dominis genteque togata, qui nunc dicuntur hominum inertissimi, auro trutinantes iustitiam, pretio uenditantes canonum regulam – de Vrbe, inquam, et urbicis quicquid conarer dicere preuenerunt uersus Hildeberti Cinomannensis primo episcopi, post etiam Turonensis archiepiscopi; quos hic cum inseruero, non ideo fatiam ut alieno labore partam gloriam in me transferam, sed erit ingenuae mentis inditium si, eius non inuidus gloriae, apponam testimonium uenustae facundiae.
>
> Par tibi, Roma, nichil, cum sis prope tota ruina;
> quam magni fueris integra, fracta doces.
> Longa tuos fastus aetas destruxit: et arces
> Cesaris et superum templa palude iacent.[16]
>
> As for Rome, once mistress of the world and now, in comparison with Antiquity, more like a small town, and the Romans, in olden times 'lords of the world, those who the toga wore' and now known as the most inactive of mankind, who put justice on the scales against gold and set a price on canon law – as for Rome, what I might try to say of the city and its citizens has been forestalled by those lines of Hildebert, first bishop of Le Mans and later archbishop of Tours; and if I insert them here, it will not be with the intention of transferring to my own account the honour earned by another man's toil, but it will be evidence of

honesty on my part if I am not jealous of his achievement but append an example of his delightful style.

> In ruins all, yet still beyond compare,
> How great thy prime, thou provest overthrown.
> Age hath undone thy pride: see, weltering there,
> Heaven's temples, Caesar's palace quite, quite down.

William's bitter comments on Rome's decline form part of a contemporary genre of invective inspired by papal schism and the confrontation between pope and emperor that culminated in the attack on Rome by the army of Frederick Barbarossa in 1167. Political instability and outbreaks of violence may account for the apparent decline in pilgrim travel to Rome during the twelfth century, though the competing attractions of Jerusalem and other destinations may also have drawn pilgrims away from the apostolic city.[17] Despite his lament for the faded glory of the holy city, William proceeds to list the gates, churches and Christian memorials still visible in Rome, as a kind of potted travel guide aimed at the would-be pilgrim. The symbols of old imperial glory may have been reduced to ruins, and the papacy in disgrace, but the significance of Rome as the founding model of the Christian empire remains undiminished.

Because of its religious and imperial importance, Rome becomes for many medieval writers a yardstick for the excellence of those British towns whose origins lay in the old Roman empire. Towns become markers of the power and unity of rule transferred from Rome to the Christian church, implicitly set against the secular power of monarchy. The Benedictine monk, Lucian, in his description of Chester, *De Laude Cestrie* (*c.*1195), transfers its early importance as a military outpost of Roman-occupied Britain to its contemporary position as the religious centre of north-west England, while including a detailed comparison between Chester and Rome, both of which have a church dedicated to St Peter.[18] The towns of Britain are therefore represented as in some sense inheriting the status of imperial Rome in a Christian context, a role that enhances their political and religious significance. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his *Historia Regum Britanniae* of about 1136, lists the twenty-eight cities of Roman Britain to make the point that those which still survive have been saved by Christianity:

> Bis denis etiam bisque quaternis ciuitatibus olim decorata erat, quarum quaedam dirutis moeniis in desertis locis squalescunt, quaedam uero adhuc integrae templa sanctorum cum turribus perpulcra proceritate erecta continent, in quibus religiosi coetus uirorum ac mulierum obsequium Deo iuxta Christianam traditionem praestant.[19]

> It was once graced with twenty-eight cities, some of which lie deserted in lonely spots, their walls tumbled down, while others are still thriving and contain holy churches with towers rising to a fine height, in which devout communities of men and women serve God according to the Christian tradition.

At the same time, monastic writers, invariably supported by royal or aristocratic patronage, recognised the secular importance of towns as symbolic of a civic order inherited from the Roman empire and sustained by royal and ecclesiastical control. As towns came increasingly to define the limits of kingdom, and later nation, the emphasis on their Roman origins positioned the monarchy, rather than the church, as the heirs of *romanitas*. Descriptions of British towns as historical structures of Roman imperialism therefore worked ideologically to associate the English kings with the great emperors of the past, and to link kingdom with empire. In a notable passage from Geoffrey's *Historia*, the city of Caerleon in south Wales, famous for its extensive Roman ruins, is claimed by Geoffrey to be the chief court of King Arthur, who had been crowned by the archbishop of Caerleon, Dubricius. At Caerleon, a great coronation ceremony was held displaying Arthur's imperial power, and Geoffrey gives to Caerleon the full rhetorical treatment of the classical *encomium urbis*, complete with the standard themes of fertile location, handsome buildings, commercial wealth, a good water supply and numerous religious houses:

> In Glamorgantia etenim super Oscam fluuium non longe a Sabrino mari amoeno situ locata, prae ceteris ciuitatibus diuitiarum copiis abundans tantae sollempnitati apta erat. Ex una namque parte praedictum nobile flumen iuxta eam fluebat, per quod transmarini reges et principes qui uenturi erant nauigio aduehi poterant. Ex alia uero parte pratis atque nemoribus uallata, regalibus praepollebat palaciis ita ut aureis tectorum

fastigiis Romam imitaretur. Duabus autem eminebat ecclesiis, quarum una, in honore Iulii martiris erecta, uirgineo dicatarum choro perpulchre ornabatur, alia quidem, in beati Aaron eiusdem socii nomine fundata, canonicorum conuentu subnixa, terciam metropolitanam sedem Britanniae habebat.[20]

The superior wealth of Caerleon [*Urbs Legionum*], admirably positioned on the river Usk not far from the mouth of the Severn in Glamorgan, made it the most suitable of all cities for such a ceremony. On one side there flowed a noble river, on which could be brought by boat the kings and princes visiting from overseas. On the other, it was surrounded by meadows and woods, and so fine were its royal palaces that the gold that decked their roofs reminded one of Rome. Site of the third metropolitan see of Britain, it boasted two churches, one of which, in honour of the martyr Julius, was distinguished by a convent of devout nuns, and the other, dedicated to his companion Aaron, housed a group of canons.

We must imagine that in Geoffrey's day the actual town of Caerleon was rather small, though it would have been dominated by the ruined remains of the Roman fortress with its still-visible walls, amphitheatre and baths. Caerleon was one of only three legionary fortresses in Roman Britain, the others located at Chester and York. It was built as a new fortress in *c.*76 CE and was occupied continually until the late third century. Using these ruins as his starting point, Geoffrey imagines Caerleon as a site of religious and political pre-eminence, containing both an archbishopric and a British royal palace. More significantly, he claims the Roman fortress of Caerleon for a British king, Arthur, inserting a line of British rulers into the gap between the Romans and the Saxons to make the point that the Normans inherited the island of Britain not simply because of their defeat of the Saxons but through the decline of a once-great British people whose kings rivalled the emperors of Rome. Even Gerald of Wales, writing later in the twelfth century and no admirer of Geoffrey of Monmouth, compares Caerleon to Rome as two microcosms of empire: 'There are immense palaces which, with the gilded gables of their roofs, once rivalled the magnificence of Rome.'[21]

The format of the 'Description of Britain' took on a new role in the fourteenth century as part of the making of a national history. In his popular and influential work, the *Polychronicon*, a universal history written in Chester in the first half of the fourteenth century, Ranulph Higden made use of the format as the basis of his historical account of Britain. In following his sources – mainly Solinus, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury and Gerald of Wales – Higden inevitably refers to Britain's illustrious Roman past, of which the towns and cities provide the evidence. Early in the whole work, Higden includes a description of Rome, its foundation and construction, derived largely from the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, with borrowings from John of Salisbury and William of Malmesbury.[22] In the sections describing the 'famous' cities and towns of Britain, Higden refers to their Roman past in terms that leave us in no doubt that Rome is the model city that shaped the identity of Britain. Describing Chester, for example, whose founder is not known, Higden speculates on the calibre of men who must have established such an impressively fortified city:[23]

> Nam intuenti fundamenta lapidum enormium videtur potius Romano seu giganteo labore, quam Britannico sudore fundata extitisse.[24]
>
> For it would seem to anyone contemplating the foundations of huge stones that they must have been erected by the labour of Romans or giants rather than by the sweat of the British.

A century later, in 1480, William Caxton printed an edition of John Trevisa's English translation of Book 1 of the *Polychronicon*, which he called *Discripcion of Britayne*, appealing to an emerging English-speaking gentry in Yorkist England. Again, Rome is positioned as the imperial founder of British towns, and Caxton follows Trevisa in naming the twenty-eight Roman towns (drawn from Henry of Huntingdon) that survive as the major cities of Britain.[25]

The tradition of the 'Description of Britain' can be regarded not only as an early form of urban history but as a British adaptation of Classical chorography in which the Roman province of Britannia was redefined and recuperated for the kingdom of England. The function of the 'Description', like that of its Classical models, was primarily imperialist.

Latin works such as the *De Chorographia* of Pomponius Mela, written about 44 CE, functioned as verbal maps that delineated the boundaries and regions of the Roman empire from the perspective of Rome as the fixed point.[26] In Britain, the austere listing technique of medieval Latin chroniclers, who enumerated the Roman towns as visible markers of Christian Britain, was adapted and transformed to suit the political purpose of late medieval and early modern historiography, which was to construct an imperial version of English national identity.

Wales in Early Modern Chorography

The early political project of reconfiguring the island of Britain into a single territory, and thus into a single kingdom, reached its zenith in the sixteenth century with the establishment of (visual) mapping and (verbal) chorography as the scientific and literary modes of territorial imagination. William Caxton's version of the 'Description of Britain' was one of the models that inspired sixteenth-century topographies and chorographies, genres that were retrieved by the antiquarians of early modern Britain who were seeking, post-1536, to map and describe the island as a political unity ruled as one kingdom by the Tudors. John Leland's *Itinerary*, compiled between 1536 and 1542, and Thomas Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales*, published in 1587, were among the products of a Tudor historiography whose goal was to construct a seamless English identity resting on a Roman British past whose imperial dignity had, as in Geoffrey of Monmouth's version, been comprehensively appropriated by the English Crown.[27] By absorbing the whole of Wales into the kingdom of England and creating a wall-to-wall carpet of administrative counties that spread across the two nations, the English Crown and its hegemonic historians created a new consensus in which it was England, and not Wales, which had inherited the mantle of Roman Britain.

John Leland's travels through Wales were undertaken between 1536 and 1539, immediately after the first Act of Union and the first act for the suppression of the monasteries, which was passed in the same year of 1536. Though Leland is scarcely a political commentator, his observations about the topography of Wales embrace the visible effects on the landscape of these major social changes.[28] In each region, he notes the churches and monasteries and often refers to those that had already been suppressed:

> At Goldclif a iii myles from Newport on the Severn shore was a priory of monkes of the French ordre, suppressed, and the landes givenn to Eton College … Lanternham Abbay of White Monkes a ii myles from Cairlion lately suppressed.[29]

Leland's interest in Wales is focused mainly on those areas that belonged to the March of Wales before 1536. He visits the newly formed counties of Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery, Denbigh and Flint, along Wales's eastern border with England, and he also visits the counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke and Cardigan, located in the south and west of Wales, all of them former Marcher lordships. The old kingdoms of north Wales, turned into crown lordships after the English defeat of the Welsh in 1282, Anglesey, Caernarfon and Merioneth, are given very little attention by Leland: Anglesey is not mentioned and there is no evidence that he visited the north-western region in person. Like many English writers, Leland is clearly more at home on the March, particularly the eastern March and its neighbouring counties, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire, which are mentioned as part of a single region with the Welsh border counties, as if no border existed. This is in contrast to Humphrey Llwyd's description of the March, where he is at pains to emphasise the separateness of Wales from England, as its own nation, while also pointing out (not always accurately) that a number of Welsh locations have now been administratively relocated into English counties, and that Welsh is spoken extensively in the English border counties. For example, enumerating the cantrefs of Gwent ('nowe Monmouth shire'), Llwyd says: 'Cantref Cochywthees, Y Seythved [the seventh part] of Cantref Morgannwc which is nowe in Glocester shire and called the Forest of Deane' (*CW*, p. 80, and note on pp. 229–30). Defining the borders ('meres') of Wales, Llwyd adds: 'the Welshe tonge is commenly used and spoken one this side thees olde meares a greate way, as in Herforde shire, Glocester shire and in a greate parte of Shropshire' (*CW*, p. 67, and see also p. 82).

Leland's presentation of the March as a unified region can be explained partly by the fact that the English border counties (including Worcester) were still under the jurisdiction of the Council in the Marches of Wales, an administrative and judicial body established by the Crown in the later fifteenth century to manage its lands in Wales and the Marches. Based in Ludlow, the Council worked on behalf of the princes of Wales

to administer royal authority within the Principality, March and border counties, and became an increasingly powerful instrument of control under Henry VII and Henry VIII.[30] In the years immediately before the Act of Union of 1536, the people of Wales and the Marches had suffered from royal neglect and exploitation, leading to protests and sporadic outbreaks of violence in places such as Brecon and Carmarthen.[31] It is in the towns of the March that Leland sees the signs of both economic decline and economic growth, commenting on the impoverished nature of certain Welsh towns in contrast to the conspicuous wealth of border towns such as Oswestry, Ludlow and Chepstow. 'The toun is yn ruine', says Leland of Newport, with its stone gates and parish church.[32] In Caerwent, near Chepstow, 'the most part of the wal yet standeth, but al to minischyd and torne … A great lykelyhod ys that when Cairguent began to decay then began Chepstow to florisch' (p. 43). Again, Leland's attitude to Welsh towns is in contrast to that of Llwyd, who is less concerned with towns as commercial centres and sees them more as ancient locations that authenticate the British history of Wales and as topographical features that help to define the different regions of the country. For example, in Llwyd's description of the Welsh region of Brycheiniog ('nowe Breknocke shire') he says, 'In this parte is the towne of Breknocke upon the meeting of Uske and Hodni and is called Aberhodni' (*CW*, p. 80). Llwyd's aim is constantly to point out that historic Welsh place names have been overlaid with English names and that Welsh towns are part of the geography that defines the regions and borders of Wales as a distinct country. On the only occasion when Llwyd makes a comment related to the urban economy, he selects one of the most successful examples, citing 'the prety towne of Denbighe, where is one of the greatest markettes within the marches of Wales', thus implying that Denbigh, a Welsh town, is more than a match for the big English towns.[33]

Despite the apparent randomness of Leland's notes on Wales, with no clear itinerary or journey from place to place, a pattern emerges of past and present, winners and losers, in the confrontations of recent history. Most of the towns on the Welsh side of the border are broken and decaying, with only the traces of Roman ruins, such as at Caerwent and Caerleon, to attest to former glories. Churches are greatly decreased in number, monasteries have closed down. A number of towns, like Montgomery and Radnor, were 'destroied by Owen Glindour', referring to the Glyndŵr rebellion of 1400–10 in which English-held towns in

Wales were a particular target of rebel violence and never fully recovered. The implicit theme is of a beneficent commercialism underpinned by English trade: those towns that thrived (on both sides of the border) were the ones most engaged with English commerce. Oswestry, technically in Shropshire but long claimed by the Welsh as their own town, is given a longer description than most towns, with its walls, gates, many churches (one a former monastery), suburbs, school and fine houses 'of tymbre and slatid' (p. 75). This is a town that 'standith most by sale of cloth made in Wales' (p. 75), one of the border towns that profited from the rise in urban trade from the late fourteenth century.[34] By contrast, the poorer towns of Wales, such as Newport in Gwent, are topographically unsuited for vigorous trade due to the inability of ships to reach them, or to a lack of resources. In the Tawe valley, in Glamorganshire, Leland notes that there are 'many hilles, [woods good plentye] about the ryvers sydes: but few villages or corne except in a few smaule valeys' (p. 16). The effect of Leland's meanderings, in and out of Wales and around the Marches in both directions, is to suggest the relative poverty of most of Wales compared to the border counties of England. Though Leland's aim is simply to describe, measure and count the topographical landmarks and buildings on his travels, the totality of information seems to imply that a fallen Wales may well be saved by its annexation to England and its reorganisation into English counties. In such ways do colonial powers justify the colonisation of other nations.

While Leland's account represents a transitional stage at the time of the 1536 Act of Union, charting the effect on the landscape of political change, a more romanticised view of Wales is found in the work of Thomas Churchyard, who was writing several decades after both Acts of Union. Churchyard drew on chorographical techniques for his long descriptive poem, *The Worthines of Wales*, which appeared in 1587, and his subject position is that of the tourist outsider, anticipating the Romantic travellers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who found the glories of the Welsh landscape so soulfully inspiring. Blurring the boundary between chorography and travel writing, Churchyard's approach reinforces the Tudor policy of imperialism and centralisation. Like Leland, Churchyard draws attention to the inferior status of Wales, in terms of its relatively small and impoverished towns, but he is also lyrical on the subject of Wales's 'plaine good folke' and its history whose high points reveal by contrast its contemporary decline.[35]

The region that Churchyard chose to describe, including what he calls 'the auncient Castles, famous Monuments, goodly Rivers, faire Bridges, fine Townes, and courteous people', represented some of the new counties created from the old Marcher lordships under the Act of Union of 1536.[36] While Leland was describing the Marcher lordships before they disappeared for good, Churchyard's route along the Marches, from south to north, mapped the five new counties: Monmouth, Brecknock, Radnor, Montgomery and Denbigh. Travelling along this route, Churchyard took possession of the March on behalf of the Crown, describing 'a common spatial framework designed to serve the needs of the state'.[37] Liz Oakley-Brown has shown that Churchyard's account of his travels in this Marcher region had to some extent a personal agenda: it was an indirect petition to the Crown for financial recognition of his lengthy service as a professional soldier. The poem is dedicated to Elizabeth I in honour of her Welsh forebears, and Churchyard was indeed rewarded with a state pension in 1593.[38]

Like other pre-modern travellers, including Gerald of Wales, Churchyard's route is mapped by the towns that he visits, for it is in the towns that he found food and shelter at the end of a day's travel. Churchyard's evident approval of the towns of Wales as places of charm and friendliness is certainly idealistic – he claims, for example, there was relatively little crime in the towns of Wales – but his positive reviews may also owe something to the 'cuteness factor' of these miniature towns. Some estimates of urban populations in the mid-sixteenth century, shortly before Churchyard's tour, suggest that Carmarthen was the largest town in Wales, with a population of 2,150, followed by Brecon (1,750), Wrexham and Haverfordwest (both *c.*1,500). This compares to *c.*1,000 in Cardiff and slightly fewer in Swansea in the south and Caernarfon in the north-west.[39] Most other towns measured their populations in hundreds or even tens: Cardigan and Aberystwyth in the west contained only between fifty-five and eighty houses in the late sixteenth century, while other small towns such as Fishguard and Bangor lost their weekly markets due to poverty.[40] After the towns, the features of the landscape most often noted by Churchyard are the castles and houses of the aristocracy, past and present. Again, in deference to his royal patron, he creates a broad impression of legitimate governance by English magnates in the March of Wales, matched by the benefits of Tudor rule that produced a contented and peaceable population.

Churchyard begins his survey in Monmouth, where he reminisces about William Herbert, the fifteenth-century lord of Raglan castle who spent most of his life in service to Edward IV and died in 1469 at the battle of Edgcote, one of the major battles of the Wars of the Roses. Having established his interest in Welsh history, which he views as a colourful part of English royal history, Churchyard delivers a stinging indictment of the works of Polydore Vergil whose history of Britain, he asserts, is wildly inaccurate. It soon becomes clear that what Churchyard objects to is not just Polydore's foreignness, an outsider speaking 'but straungely on our state' (sig. C3[r]), but his rough dismissal of the early British history recounted by Geoffrey of Monmouth and his reluctance to accept King Arthur as a historical king. Churchyard, like his near-contemporaries Leland, Llwyd, and John Prise, is having none of this revisionism – Arthur was a real king:

> Yet Arthurs raigne, the world cannot denye,
> Such proofe there is, the troth thereof to trye:
> That who so speakes, against so grave a thing,
> Shall blush to blot, the fame of such a king. (sig. C4)

Churchyard's endorsement of the Galfridian view of history leads him to extol the small town of Caerleon as the seat of Arthur's power, a place of royal importance that should be compared to the great cities of the classical world:

> Carleon now, step in with stately style,
> No feeble phrase, may serve to set thee forth:
> Thy famous towne, was spoke of many a myle,
> Thou hast bene great, though now but little worth.
> Thy noble bounds, hath reacht beyond them all,
> In thee hath bene, King Arthurs golden hall:
> In thee the wise, and worthies did repose,
> And through thy towne, the water ebs and flowes …
> … Both Athens, Theabes, and Carthage too
> We hold of great renowne:
> What then I pray you shall we doo,
> To poore Carleon towne. (sig. D1, D1[r])

Churchyard follows this encomium with a long prose account of Arthur's coronation at Caerleon, taken more or less directly from Geoffrey of Monmouth. He repeats Geoffrey's account of Arthur's defeat of Lucius, emperor of Rome, an event that, in the context of Tudor rule, foreshadows the triumph of Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth over the church in Rome. Just as Geoffrey dismissed the Romans and extolled the British kings, particularly Arthur, as the noble ancestors of the Normans, so Churchyard invokes the same greatness of the British kings as proof of Tudor legitimacy. Churchyard's lament for the fallen status of Caerleon, reduced from its former imperial glory to a humble market town and ruined castle, sends the clear message that Wales is no longer the seat of British power but is now safely contained within the Tudor kingdom of England. Once at the heart of British rule, symbol of Britain's Roman heritage and seat of Britain's most romanised king, Arthur, Caerleon is reduced and appropriated as part of the Tudor power structure.

Churchyard's description of these Marcher towns of Caerleon, Usk, Newport, Monmouth and others is generally positive, but in creating such a map of small regional centres brought low by the fortunes of history he indirectly asserts the centralising reach of the Tudor monarchy. By supporting Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of British history, Churchyard transfers the imperialism of Rome to the reconfigured nation of Britain. And by appropriating the March of Wales into this nation through the medium of chorography, Churchyard reproduces a centuries-old strategy by which the kingdom of England is made synonymous with the island of Britain.

Conclusion

The 'Descriptions of Wales' published by Leland and Churchyard draw on the strategies of earlier chorographies and descriptions of Britain to put Wales in its place as a colonised nation absorbed into the kingdom of England. Their focus on the March of Wales suggests that this region, through its bilingualism and well-developed anglicisation, was more familiar and knowable to these English travellers compared to the 'wild Wales' of the former princedoms in the far west and north of the country. In doing the work of imperial state formation, Leland and Churchyard are inevitably less culturally aware than Welsh contemporaries such as Humphrey Llwyd, whose descriptions of Wales, especially in his *Cronica*

Walliae, subvert the imperialism of the 'Description of Britain' format and make it work instead to reinstate Wales in its rightful place as the original Britain, whose occupants are 'the very true Britons by birth'.[41] One of Llwyd's strategies is to avoid the trap of assuming, like most of his English contemporaries, that 'Britain' and 'England' are co-terminous: the structure of his *Commentarioli* places Wales, England and Scotland together as comprising 'Britain', a forerunner of nineteenth-century usage. Llwyd, as a Welsh speaker, is also much more aware of language, particularly in the border counties. Speaking of the rivers that separate Wales from England, the Severn and the Dee (and deploring English occupation of lands across the Severn that should rightfully be Welsh), Llwyd remarks that 'in certain places [around the river Dee] both the people and the Welsh tongue have encroached more into England'.[42] By the same token, English inhabitants of the Welsh towns, 'being now called by the name of Welshmen', often spoke Welsh. Llywd is therefore much more aware than either Leland or Churchyard of the bilingualism of the March and the seepage of languages from one side of the border to the other.

In Llwyd's descriptions of the landscape of Wales, towns are listed as geographical markers defining shires and counties, or as part of Marcher or crown estates.[43] His focus is very much on Wales itself as a separate and historically authentic nation whose language and culture have been systematically undermined by England. Leland and Churchyard, however, both follow earlier historians in including towns within their descriptive scope as indicators of the economic and political health of the English nation. Former Roman towns, such as Caerleon, continue to command respect, even as their fortunes have waned, while the post-Roman border towns stand or fall by their own commercial efforts. The urban chorographies of Leland and Churchyard highlight the fate of Marcher towns after the rupture of 1536 as microcosms of a larger political realignment of the border between Wales and England.

Notes

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1. Llwyd particularly rejects the histories of 'Polydorus Vergilius the Italian and Hector Boethius the Scot'; *BB*, p. 56.

2. *CW*, p. 12 and n. 48. The contents of the Lumley library, which encompassed the books owned by Arundel, some of them signed by Humphrey Llwyd, have been listed by S. Jayne and F. R. Johnson, *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609* (London: British Museum, 1956). The Flavio Biondi book is recorded by D. G. Selwyn, 'The Lumley Library: A Supplementary Checklist', *The British Library Journal*, 7/2 (1981), 136–48, item 38. William A. Jackson noted, in his review of Jayne and Johnson's *The Lumley Library*, that the copy of Ptolemy's *Geographica* owned by Lumley is now at Harvard; see *Renaissance News*, 12/3 (1959), 189–91. On the formation of the Arundel-Lumley library (which ended up, almost in its entirety, in the British Library), see Julian Roberts, 'Extending The Frontiers: Scholar Collectors', in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol. 1: To 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 322–42, on pp. 308–9.
3. David Powel, who based his *Historie of Cambria* (1584) largely on Llwyd's *Cronica*, believed that the opening 'description of Wales' had been written originally by Sir John Prise (*c.*1502–50), but this is now regarded as unlikely (*CW*, pp. 12–14). See also *HBD*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.
4. On the Acts of Union, see Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales, c.1415–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 253–78; Thomas Glyn Watkin, *The Legal History of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), pp. 124–34.
5. Although the Act of 1536 did not change the status quo overnight, the longer-term effects were considerable. For an evaluation of the impact of the Act of Union, for better and for worse, see Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 275–8.
6. Gildas's description of Britain, in Chapter 3 of the *De Excidio Britanniae*, is 'the earliest surviving description of Britain of insular composition, by a Briton'. See N. J. Higham, 'Old Light on the Dark Age Landscape: The Description of Britain in the *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 17/4 (1991), 363–72, at 364.
7. For example, William Harrison's *Historicall Description of the Island of Britaine* (1577) appears in Volume 1 of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1586), with the running header of 'The Description of Britaine' accompanying Book 1 and the running header of 'The Description of England' accompanying Books 2 and 3, which are focused more specifically on English customs and trades. On the genre of the 'Description' as an early form of urban history, see Helen Fulton, 'Urban History in Medieval and Early Modern Britain: The Influence of Classical and Italian Models', in Helen Fulton and Michele Campopiano (eds), *Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations in the Later Middle Ages* (York: York Medieval Press, 2018), pp. 150–78.

8. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 1.1
9. Bede, *History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), 1.1, p. 37. One of Bede's main sources for his topographical description was Solinus, the third-century writer whose *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, drawn from works by Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela, influenced a number of medieval historians including Ranulph Higden. For a discussion of Solinus and his popularity in the Middle Ages, see B. Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1980). The Ordnance Survey estimates the actual length of Britain's coastline to be in the region of 11,000 miles. For further comments on Gildas's estimates of distances, see Higham, 'Old Light on the Dark Age Landscape'.
10. Henry's *Historia Anglorum* was first written in 1130, but a revised version appeared in 1140 that had been influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*c*.1136). Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum, The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. ci–cii.
11. *Historia Anglorum*, pp. lx–lxi.
12. Greenway suggests that Henry was the first to list the shires and bishoprics (*Historia Anglorum*, p. lx), but there was certainly a preceding tradition, in both Latin and English, though perhaps not so complete.
13. On Gildas's number of twenty-eight cities, which seems to have been his own reckoning, see Higham, 'Old Light on the Dark Age Landscape', 366.
14. *Historia Anglorum*, I.3. Henry has added his own glosses to some of the names. Compare the Nennius version in David N. Dumville (ed.), *Historia Brittonum: 3, The 'Vatican' Recension* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985), chapter 3.
15. *I Mirabilia urbis Romae*, ed. Maria Accame and Emy Dell'Oro (Tored: Rome, 2004); *Mirabilia Urbis Romae, The Marvels of Rome*, trans. Francis Morgan Nichols, 2nd edn (New York: Italica Press, 1986).
16. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 4.351.
17. The decline in pilgrim traffic to Rome during the twelfth century has been documented in detail by Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), chapter 7. For an account of Rome in the fourteenth century, and the economic significance of pilgrim tourism, see Margaret Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362–1420: Portrait of an Expatriate Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

18. For selected extracts from the text, see M. V. Taylor (ed. and trans.), *Extracts from the MS Liber Luciani de Laude Cestrie* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Record Society, 1912). There is also an online edition by Mark Faulkner on the website 'Mapping Medieval Chester' (accessed 15 August 2022).
19. *DGB*, 1.5 (pp. 6–7).
20. *DGB*, 9.156 (pp. 208–9). Geoffrey's claim that Caerleon was one of three archbishoprics in Britain is a fictitious variation on the standard grouping of Mynwy (St David's), Canterbury, and York found in earlier Welsh sources. See *Trioedd Ynys Prydein, The Triads of the Island of Britain*, ed. Rachel Bromwich, 4th edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), pp. 246–7 (para 5) and p. 253 n. 5. Henry of Huntingdon's reference to Caerleon as an archbishopric, which appears in the 1140 recension of his *Historia Anglorum*, is likely to have come from Geoffrey.
21. Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1978), pp. 114–5. Compare Humphrey Llwyd's reference to Gerald's description of Caerleon in *BB*, p. 128.
22. Ranulph Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, ed. C. Babington and J. R. Lumby, 9 vols (London, 1865–86), 1.24–25.
23. Though Higden does not mention Lucian, author of *De Laude Cestrie*, his description of Chester may owe something to Lucian's work.
24. Higden, *Polychronicon*, 1.48.
25. Marie Collins (ed.), *Caxton: The Description of Britain* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988), pp. 66–7.
26. For other examples of Classical chorography, see Helen Fulton, 'Chorography and Topography: Italian Models and Chaucerian Strategies', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Chaucer and Italian Culture* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2021), pp. 91–120.
27. Other well-known examples include William Harrison's *Historicall Description of the Islande of Britayne* of 1577, William Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1586, and the works of Humphrey Llwyd. See John Cramsie, *British Travellers and the Encounter with Britain, 1450–1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015) for further examples and discussion.
28. Cramsie notes that Leland 'appreciated the importance of Tudor imperialism' and that 'his publications deliberately supported the king's ambitions'. See Cramsie, *British Travellers*, p. 69; Caroline Brett calls Leland 'a Tudor patriot' who 'reckoned history to be a way of honouring one's native land', in 'John Leland, Wales, and Early British History', *Welsh History Review*, 15 (1990), 169–82, at 170.
29. L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536–1539* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), p. 45. Subsequent references in the text are to this edition.

30. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, pp. 52–3 and p. 242.
31. Williams, *Renewal and Reformation*, p. 255.
32. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *Itinerary in Wales*, p. 14.
33. *CW*, p. 71.
34. On the importance of Oswestry in the medieval Welsh economy, see Llinos B. Smith, 'Oswestry', in R. A. Griffiths (ed.), *Boroughs of Mediaeval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1978), pp. 219–42; Helen Fulton, 'Trading Places: Representations of Urban Culture in Medieval Welsh Poetry', *Studia Celtica*, 31 (1997), 219–30.
35. Cited by Cramsie in his discussion of Churchyard's poem, in *British Travellers*, p. 281.
36. Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales* (London, 1587), sig. B1r. All subsequent references are to this text. Churchyard was himself a native of Shrewsbury, so was familiar with the March.
37. This quote is taken from an article by Rhys Jones that comments on the workings of the Council in the Marches, without referring to Churchyard. See Jones, 'Practising State Consolidation in the Early Modern England and Wales', *Political Geography*, 23 (2004), 597–624, at 610.
38. Liz Oakley-Brown, 'Writing on Borderlines: Anglo-Welsh Relations in Thomas Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales*', in Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (eds), *Writing Wales: From the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 39–57, on pp. 42–3.
39. Leonard Owen, 'The Population of Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1958 (1959), 99–113.
40. Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), p. 27.
41. *BB*, p. 98.
42. *BB*, p. 63.
43. For example, 'The see of Bangor with divers other auncient castelles and places of memorye and was the last peece of Wales that came under the dominion of the kinges of Englande' (*CW*, p. 70); 'Fyve miles above [Denbigh] is the towne of Rythyn with afaire castell which belongyed sometymes to the Lordes Graye Earles of Kent' (p. 72).

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3

‘Set forth in all poynctes’: Navigating the Maps and Mappings of Humphrey Llwyd

Keith D. Lilley, Rebecca Milligan and Catherine Porter

> *To map is in one way or another to take the measure of a world, and more than merely take it, to figure the measure so taken in such a way that it may be communicated between people, places or times. The measure of mapping is not restricted to the mathematical; it may equally be spiritual, political or moral.*[1]

Llwyd the Map-Maker

‘Noted as a map maker’ is how the latest *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) entry describes Humphrey Llwyd.[2] Yet there is something of a mystery surrounding the two maps actually attributed to him. Both maps first appear *after* Llwyd’s death, raising questions over their creation and novelty, and the extent to which they are the product of Llwyd himself.[3] This is because the earliest appearance of Llwyd’s printed maps – one of Wales and one of England and Wales – are to be both found together in Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1573.[4] Indeed, Cyril Fox, keeper of archaeology at the National Museum of Wales from 1926 to 1948, long ago observed:

> Humphrey Llwyd’s maps of Wales and of England and Wales are deserving of special attention, not only on account of their

> early appearance (1573) but also because there are interesting problems concerning their origin and relation to contemporary maps of the British Isles.[5]

These 'interesting problems' continue to provide a challenge for understanding the processes and practices of early-modern European map-making, a period that some suggest saw 'the emergence of a new map consciousness'.[6] To address this, the two maps originally printed in Ortelius's *Theatrum* and attributed to Llwyd are, for the first time, systematically analysed through new geospatial techniques, yielding the contemporary significance of his maps as a result.[7] Here, in the context of maps and map making in sixteenth-century Britain, Llwyd's innovations as a map-maker are discovered by digitally comparing his maps with those of his contemporaries, as well as by examining the 'visual geographies' of his maps in relation to the 'textual geographies' of his written works, notably his *Breviary of Britain*.[8]

The two maps in question, each attributed to Llwyd in their title cartouches, are his *Cambriae Typus*, covering Wales and the border counties specifically, and *Angliae regni florentissimi nova descriptio*, covering a broader compass of all England and Wales[9] (see Figures 1 and 2). The *Typus* is the earliest printed map of Wales, though as Schwyzer has observed it is a map of 'greater Cambria' through extending Wales territorially further east, to the River Severn, as if reflecting some antecedent 'lost' Wales, rather than its contemporary geographical outlines.[10] By Llwyd's day, with the Marcher Lordships abolished in the first of the Laws in Wales Acts of 1536, the geopolitical entity of Wales of thirteen counties and its fixed border with England was only relatively recently determined.[11] With their shared representations of Wales, the country as it is shown on the *Angliae regni* map might be expected to be closely related to the Wales as it shown by the *Cambriae Typus*. After all, both maps were engraved and printed together in the second and expanded edition of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* published in Antwerp in 1573.[12] Prior to their publication, correspondence between Llwyd and Ortelius offers clues about the two maps and the connections between the two men.

FIGURE 1: Humphrey Llwyd map of Wales, *Cambriae Typus* (1573), in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

FIGURE 2: Humphrey Llwyd 'Angliae regni florentissimi nova descriptio' (1573), in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

Llwyd's Maps and their Geographies

Two near-contemporary letters relating to Llwyd's connections with Ortelius are important for understanding the provenance of the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps. Earliest in the sequence is the letter from Llwyd to Ortelius of 5 April 1568, in which a merchant local to Llwyd in Denbigh, Richard Clough, played a role as intermediary between the two men.[13] Writing to Ortelius in response to his request for information on Mona (Ynys Môn/Anglesey), Llwyd refers to his 'reading of ancient and moderne authours, what I haue found by experience and trauell …', continuing:

> and I hope before it be long to send you a more absolute description, not only of this our Mona, but also of our Wales, illustrated both with the auntient names of riuers, townes, people and places, mentioned by modern Englishe, whereby they are known at this day of that Nation.[14]

The map that Llwyd is referring to here is assumed to be the *Cambriae Typus*, published by Ortelius in 1573 in the supplement or *Additamentum* to *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which appears with the names of places in Wales (and the border counties) given in Latin, in English and in Welsh. This is not the only map referred to here by Llwyd, however. In his letter on the subject of Ynys Môn/Anglesey, he further states: 'Moreoue I haue a Geographicall Chart or Map of England described according to the modern situation and view, with the auntient names of riuers, townes, people and places, mentioned by Ptolemy, Pliny, Antonine and others.'[15] A supposition that this second map is the one of England and Wales in the *Additamentum* accompanying the *Cambriae Typus* is not so clear cut, as unlike the latter, the *Angliae regni florentissimi nova descriptio* map in the *Theatrum* only appears with contemporary (English) place-name spellings.[16] There is a possibility that Llwyd is referring to a map that for him was a work in progress, a draft for England akin to the *Typus*, which from the preceding passage in the latter would also seem at this time to be in draft, a provisional version. Alternatively, and equally plausibly, Llwyd's 'Map of England' was one he had acquired, for the *Angliae regni* map that ultimately appears in the *Theatrum* is not a map of just England but of Wales too. If Llwyd is referring in his letter to the *Angliae regni*, it would surely be surprising if he was linguistically and geographically subsuming

'our Wales' into 'England'? This was a period that saw a number of maps of England being produced and the chances are he had cause to acquire these in his 'reading of ancient and moderne authours'.[17] Indeed, while little is actually known of Llwyd's map-making methods – as he does not tell us – a process which combined field-hand knowledge and map-compilation is most likely, and possibly even hinted at in the line in his April letter to Ortelius, 'what I haue found by experience and trauell'.[18]

The second letter Llwyd sent to Ortelius followed in just over four months, dated 3 August 1568, and sent with a copy of his *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum*.[19] This letter Llwyd composed, somewhat poignantly, knowing he was soon to die, again referred to his work on maps of England *and* Wales. He wrote:

> I send vnto you my Wales, not beautifully set forth in all poyncetes, yet truly depeinted, so be that certeyn notes be obserued, which I gathered euen when I was redy to die. You shall also receaue the description of England, set forth as well with the auntient names as those which are now vsed, and an other England also drawne forth perfectly enough.[20]

Here, then, there are three maps Llwyd despatches to Ortelius, one of Wales and two of England. This time he does not refer to the map of Wales having 'auntient' names, as he had in April's letter, but refers still to the map of England having both ancient and modern names on it. There is an assumption usually that the map of Wales Llwyd is referring to in August is the same as the map referred to in April, but perhaps there was a difference between the two, for in the later account the map is 'truly depeinted' suggesting a faithfulness to the geographical reality of Wales, something his *Typus* in a sense lacked, as it showed a wider ('historical') Wales stretching from the River Severn to the Cambrian coast.[21] Then there is the second map of England, 'drawne forth perfectly enough', echoing the words he uses to describe his map of Wales. So, there is something of a mystery here. We cannot be certain that the *two* maps that were printed in 1573 – five years after Llwyd's death, and after Llwyd had sent his *three* (or more?) maps to Ortelius – were the same as those Llwyd had been working on in the summer of 1568. What subsequently happened to Llwyd's maps after they left his hands is unknown. Did Ortelius compile what he had received from Llwyd into what appeared in his *Theatrum* as the *Typus* and *Angliae regni*

maps? Both maps are of course attributed to Llwyd by Ortelius, but there is a hint of this 'afterlife' of Llwyd's maps in further letters.

In his detailed analysis and appraisal of Llwyd and his maps, Frederick John North draws attention to the importance of two brothers, Robert and Hugh Owen, in the posthumous lives of Llwyd's maps of England and Wales.[22] Llwyd himself had written in his letter of August 1568, 'Mr Owen fold up these [maps] safe & delyuer theym at on Emanuel house at Somers Key beneth Bylyngesgate to be sent to Antwerp-vale', to Ortelius there.[23] So, via London, the maps journeyed to Antwerp. Robert had written to Ortelius on 2 November 1570, asking of the maps, and then two months later, on 2 January 1571, Hugh thanked Ortelius for his commitment to publish Llwyd's map of Wales, offering to assist him 'of the things and places on the map' if necessary, for 'if erroneous and doubtful I think I might easily explain', Owen assures.[24] There are, then, signs in this correspondence that, far from the maps attributed to Llwyd being printed as supplied to Ortelius, other hands were present in their making. Such subsequent intervening on Llwyd's maps is revealed also by a later letter of 20 October 1572, written by Daniel Rogers, 'a man of scholarly tastes who was often in the Low Countries and Germany on diplomatic business', North notes.[25] The letter Rogers sent to Ortelius makes a case for him to include Ireland as 'its own separate map' in the *Theatrum*, as he had 'published England and Wales separately'. Here North takes 'separately' to mean one, single map of England *and* Wales – that is, the *Angliae regni* map – and goes on to open up further the complexity of this process, noting Rogers's requests:

> Pray send me a copy, with the topography of Wales, that I may insert both maps in your *Theatrum* … If you send me two copies of Wales I will return you Wales augmented with the ancient castles neglected by Fludd [Llwyd], but noted by a friend of mine.[26]

Was then the *Typus* an amalgamation of Llwyd's work and Rogers's, among others perhaps, and had Ortelius settled on a compilation of a map of England and Wales styled *Angliae regni* again drawing on Llwyd's work but supported by other contemporary maps? The letters concerning the maps attributed to Llwyd by Ortelius certainly make for interesting if perplexing reading. It is evident that there is scope to see the published *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps both as tracing their roots to Llwyd, but not entirely his own making. There is a need then to look more closely

at the two maps, to consider their similarities and differences, for if they share common geographies it might suggest more strongly a single point of origin, and perhaps Llwyd's influence.

A Tale of Two Maps: Contrasting Cartography

The journey from manuscript to printed map cannot be assumed to have been a straightforward one.[27] Yet, for Llwyd's maps of Wales, it is of course only the final published iteration that we have to go on. This is an important caveat if we are to use the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps in the *Theatrum* as a basis to explore how they were made and whose hands we see in them. This was, at least in part, the aim of North's study of the maps, undertaken in the 1930s, using the maps as evidence for unravelling their uniqueness and character. For this purpose, North analysed the maps' geographies and their intrinsic cartographic 'accuracy', and he takes an innovative approach to do this.[28]

As well as considering the geographical information on the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps, North looks also at how their geographies compare to modern maps by comparing the two. He calculates 'the relative positions of most of the towns' on the *Typus* 'are indicated with approximate accuracy', with 'a few definite mistakes in the placing of individual towns'.[29] From his map-measurements and using the named places shown on the map, North determines variations in scale across the *Typus* as well as the *Angiae regni* maps, and concludes that 'Wales on Llwyd's map of England and Wales [*Angliae regni*] is essentially the same as on his Welsh map [*Cambriae Typus*]'.[30] It would seem from this that one was based on the other, according to North's calculations, even though from the maps' particular geographic polities their purpose is evidently different, the *Typus* pointing to a 'lost' Wales of three kingdoms, and the *Angliae regni* reflecting the (then) modern situation of the two countries. All is not quite what it seems, however, if the placing of the two maps' toponyms is analysed and compared in detail using twenty-first century geospatial methodologies. Instead of the maps being the same, they instead can be shown to be significantly different in their geographies of Wales.

Using a geographical information system (GIS) as a basis for analysing and comparing the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps is a digital-based version of North's approach in trying to quantify map accuracy.[31] However, it provides a much more detailed insight and understanding of

the maps' geographies. In order to quantify the cartographic accuracy of historic maps, the first step is to vector digitise a scan of the map, within the GIS, a process described fully elsewhere.[32] For the Llwyd maps, high resolution images were supplied by National Library of Wales, and the map depicted features (e.g., rivers, lakes, settlements, etc.) individually digitised in the GIS as points, lines and polygons, to which attributes are then assigned, including the place names as spelt on the map, as well as the names as they are spelt today (see Figure 3).[33]

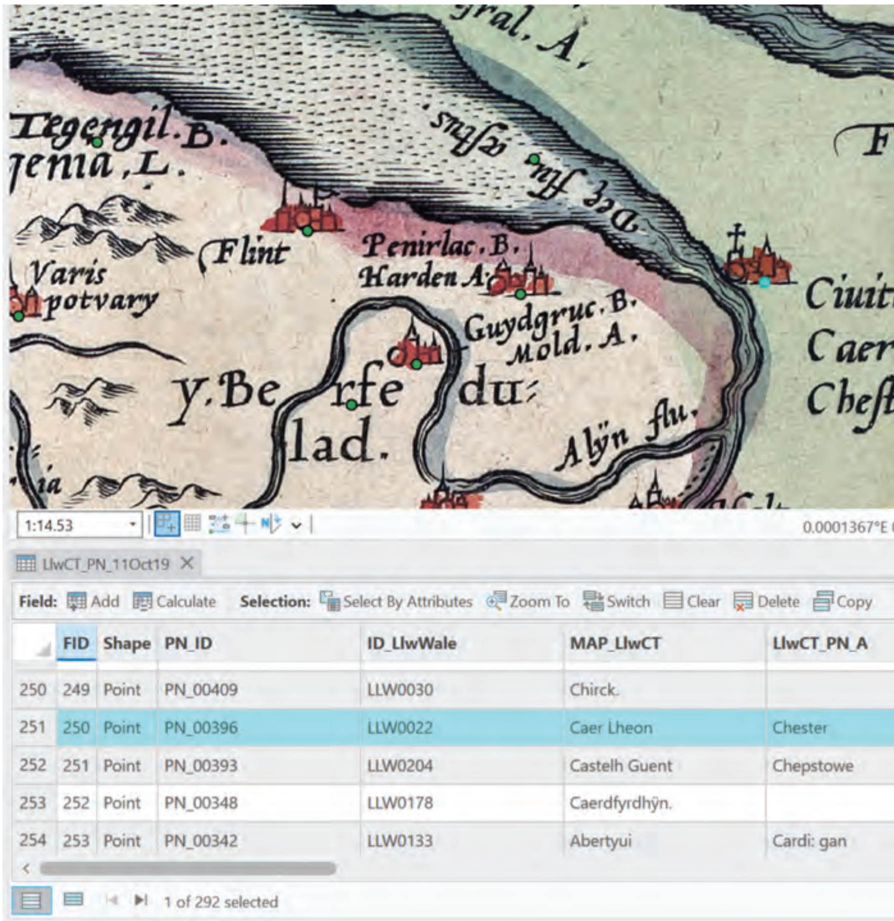


FIGURE 3: Creating a GIS of Llwyd's *Typus*, showing the map vector-digitisation and attribute table.

The map and attributes together form the basis of analysing a map's accuracy. This process relies on having two sets of spatial coordinates for each place shown on the map: (1) a coordinate based on the place location as it is mapped, which is derived from scaling the map image ('raster') in millimetres; and (2) a coordinate for the same named location as derived from its geographic coordinates (here, GB National Grid).[34] This means for each mapped place marked on Llwyd's maps (usually shown by an 'icon' or vignette), its location in 'map-space' and 'geographic space' can be

compared across each map for all places shown. It is this process of comparison of place positions that forms then the basis of exploring whether the map exaggerates distances between places or compresses them. In principle this is what North was seeking to do in his comparisons of Llwyd's maps by measuring distances between selected key locations and comparing these with their known distances. The difference, however, with the digital approach is that *all* the places on Llwyd's maps can now be used easily in these calculations, and the variations across the maps, in terms of exaggeration and compression, can be visualised using the GIS data set.

Creating a GIS for the *Cambriae Typus* and *Angliae regni* makes possible a simple comparison of the two maps in terms of their representation of places shown for Wales. In each case, the place icons used have stylistic variations and although the maps contain no key or legend, this range of icon types is indicative that an attempt was being made by the map's maker(s) to differentiate places according to their settlement size and/or function. Clearly, too, there is a selectivity at work, as is true for all maps, where some places will be chosen and shown by the map, and others not included or ignored, perhaps due to their smaller size or insignificance (in the eyes of the map's makers). For the two maps showing Wales, this selectivity between the depiction of places on the *Cambriae Typus* and *Angliae regni* is immediately telling, for the same places do not all appear on both maps, there are differences (see Figure 4).

This difference in mapped places may, of course, be due to the two maps being different in their scale and size, with the *Typus* drawn to just show Wales as compared to the *Angliae regni* that shows Wales and England together. This accounts for the many more places shown on the former but not on the latter, as well as a large number of shared places common to both maps. But this relationship is not straightforward, as there are places that are shown on the smaller sized *Angliae regni* map that do not appear on the larger sized *Typus*. There is no one particular part of Wales where the *Angliae regni* map has this additional set of places shown; they appear, for example, in Ynys Môn/Anglesey in the north as well as in Pembrokeshire in the south-west. Moving eastward towards the Welsh-English border, it is necessary to move considerably away from the border counties – to Somerset and to parts of Cheshire – to see the pattern of shared places diminish. What these differences between the two maps' representation of Wales suggest is that they are not simple copies or duplications of each other, but that different processes of selection and

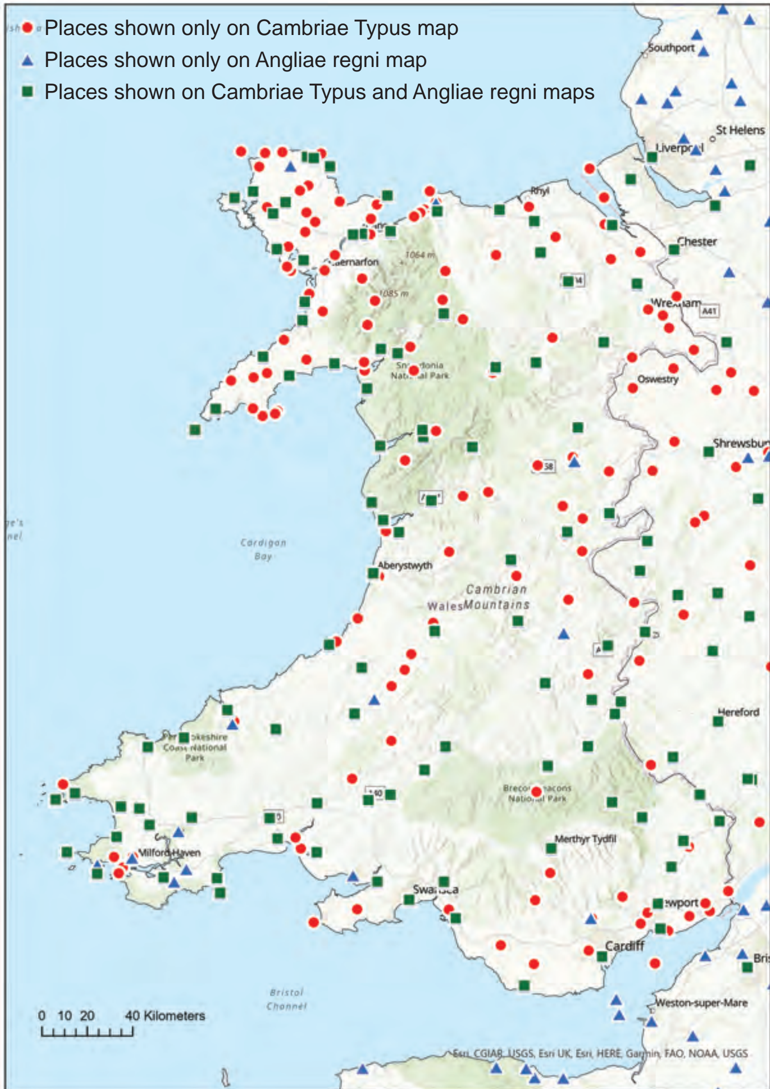


FIGURE 4: GIS map-output comparing place names on the *Cambriae Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps compared.

representation were at work in each case, potentially reflecting different purposes and audiences. These geographic differences become even more marked when the maps' 'accuracy' is compared.

One of the advantages of being able to compare the two sets of coordinates for each mapped location is that otherwise 'hidden' geographies of cartographic accuracy can be visualised and analysed. Using the MapAnalyst™ tool, two visualisations of a map's positional accuracy are possible – a 'distortion grid' and 'displacement vectors' – both useful ways of exploring spatial variations in map accuracy, undertaken, here for Llwyd's *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps by taking each map in turn, and by comparing the two maps with each other and with others.[35] For the *Typus*, a distortion grid reveals the parts of the map where the positioning of mapped places matches more (or less) closely with their 'true' geographic locations (see Figure 5).

Here, the greater the distortion in lines forming the mesh, or grid, across the map, the weaker the relationship is between mapped and geographic place positions. From this, then, the *Typus* distortion grid reveals particular parts of the map where distortion appears to be greater, notably in the north-west, around Ynys Môn/Anglesey and the Llŷn peninsula, along with eastern parts of mid-Wales, as well as in the south around Glamorgan. In contrast, the least distortion, evident where the grid is more 'regular', is visible in north-east and south-east Wales especially,

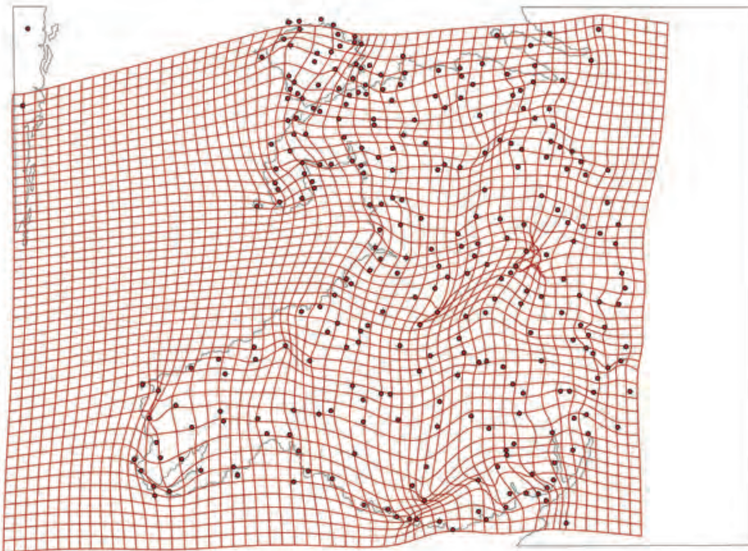


FIGURE 5: GIS map-output using MapAnalyst™ distortion grid for *Cambriae Typus*.

and to some extent, in northern Ceredigion. There are then distinct patterns in the map's distortion, which identify for us spatial differences in positional accuracy across the map. What accounts for these differences and variations? One possibility is that they reflect different sources for the information shown on the map, such as the (unknown) maps drawn upon by the map-maker in a process of compilation, but a further possibility is they reflect differences in the use of first-hand knowledge of locations and their relative distances from each other.[36] If Llwyd's maps were created using a combination of both methods, the latter may well account for the geographies of map-distortion for Llwyd's own knowledge of the area around Denbigh might be evident in the relative accuracy of the *Typus* in this area of Wales.

As well as the distortion grid, geographic patterns in map accuracy are also rendered visible using MapAnalyst™ 'displacement vectors' (see Figure 6). These vectors, or lines, reveal spatial variations in accuracy through differences in their lengths, the longer the vector the greater the 'displacement' between the mapped location of a place and its 'true' geographic position. Looking again at the *Typus* map, the general patterns of variation evident through the distortion grid are given more nuance.

FIGURE 6: GIS map-output using MapAnalyst™ displacement vectors for *Cambriae Typus*.

For example, with one or two exceptions closer to Chester, the positions of places in north-east Wales are seen to have very short displacement vectors, while in and around the Llŷn peninsula the extended vectors of places around the coast are particularly noticeable. Other parts of the map where displacement appears to be higher is again the far south-west of Wales and parts of the Welsh borders in eastern Powys. There may be here some indication of the challenges posed by topography if first-hand knowledge based on measured distances between towns were being used to determine the mapped positions of places. However, mountainous and more remote areas on the *Typus* do not always seem to yield greater evidence of displacement, as is apparent for places in parts of Gwynedd and Meirionnydd, whereas the predominance of coastal areas – notably the Llŷn peninsula and the Dyfed coast – with their greater displacement, suggests instead the possibility that here the *Typus* draws here on other map sources, perhaps navigational charts for the Irish Sea coasts.[37] In contrast, the noticeable increase in geographical accuracy for Clwyd surely points to Llwyd's greater knowledge and familiarity of this part of Wales, particularly around Denbigh, and perhaps is in itself evidence of his own hand in the map's creation. What is also clear from this analysis is that although the map of Wales that the *Typus* represents is of some historical, 'auntient' geography of the country, the map itself has a 'modern' geography of places. This leads us to question the assertion made in the *ODNB* that the '*Cambriae Typus* has many inaccuracies but it was a great improvement on earlier maps'.[38] There are no earlier surviving maps of Wales alone, Llwyd's is the earliest of course. There are, however, other maps of England *and* Wales together, akin to *Angliae regni*. How well, then, does the *Typus* compare with the *Angliae regni* in its pattern of map accuracy, and how closely (or not) do Llwyd's maps compare with those of his predecessors?

Mapping Lineages: Cartographic Connections

The same geospatial methodology applied to the *Angliae regni* map, with MapAnalyst™ distortion grids and with displacement vectors, reveals again a distinctive geography of map accuracy, for Wales as well as for England. Variations in accuracy are apparent first in the distortion grid, with particular areas of the map showing stronger distortions in the south-west of England, the Welsh borders, as well as parts of eastern England especially (see Figure 7).

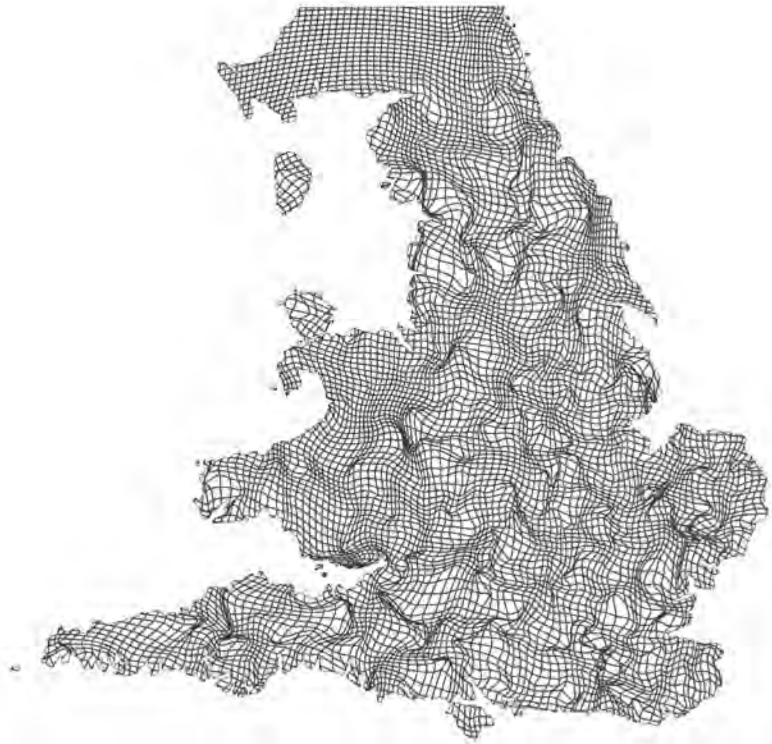


FIGURE 7: GIS map-output using MapAnalyst™ distortion grid for *Angliae regni*.

Least distortion is more evident in south-east England, parts of the English Midlands, and in Wales. Displacement vectors bring out particularly strong displacement of places on the *Angliae regni* for Cornwall, as well as the Irish Sea coasts of Wales, and the far north-west and north-east of England in the Scottish borders (see Figure 8). A large swathe of central, lowland England has less displacement evident, with some exceptions, for example around Oxfordshire. It is very much a mixed picture for the *Angliae regni* therefore, some stronger distortion and displacement evident and some other areas of greater map accuracy. How might these patterns be understood, then? Two possibilities are explored here: one by comparing the two Llwyd maps for the common area that they both share, that of Wales; and the other by comparing Llwyd's map of England and Wales with other similar maps of both countries similarly of sixteenth-century provenance.

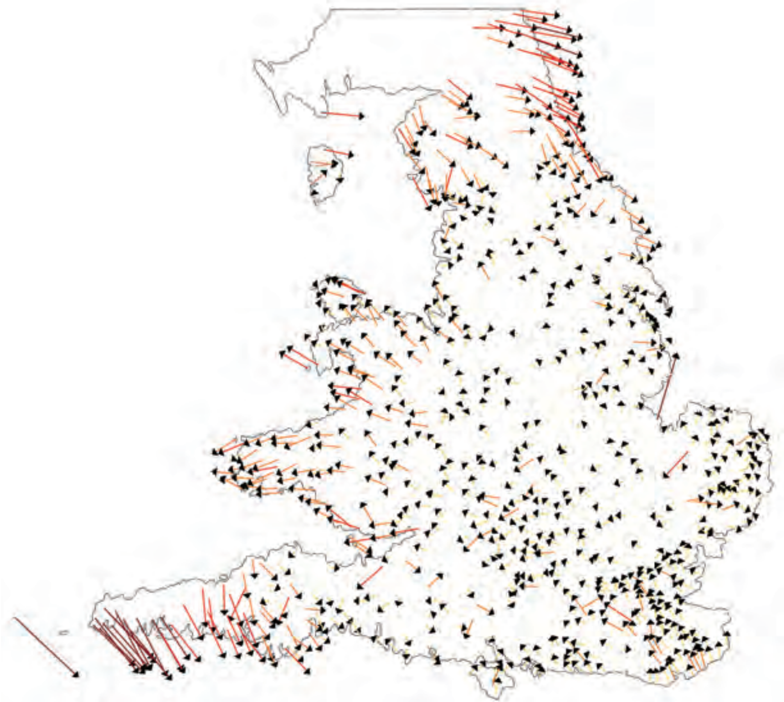


FIGURE 8: GIS map-output using MapAnalyst™ displacement vectors for *Angliae regni*.

First, Llwyd's maps of Wales compared using displacement vectors as this yields a more subtle indication of spatial differences and also differing degrees of displacement between places across the two maps (see Figure 9). The spatial pattern of displacement on the *Typus* is clearly different from that of the *Angliae regni*. This is particularly noticeable in the much longer vectors evident for large parts of the latter, which indicates not just a difference in displacement between the two maps, but that the *Typus* is spatially more accurate in its positioning of places than the *Angliae regni*. There is something curious going on, then, with the two maps; they are not at all the same.

The directions of the vectors on the *Angliae regni* map for Wales show a consistent 'pull', with many of the mapped places positioned too far east, the tip of the arrows on the vectors indicating where each place ought to be positioned relative to others. The strongest pattern of displacement is in the western and again coastal parts of Wales – the directions of the

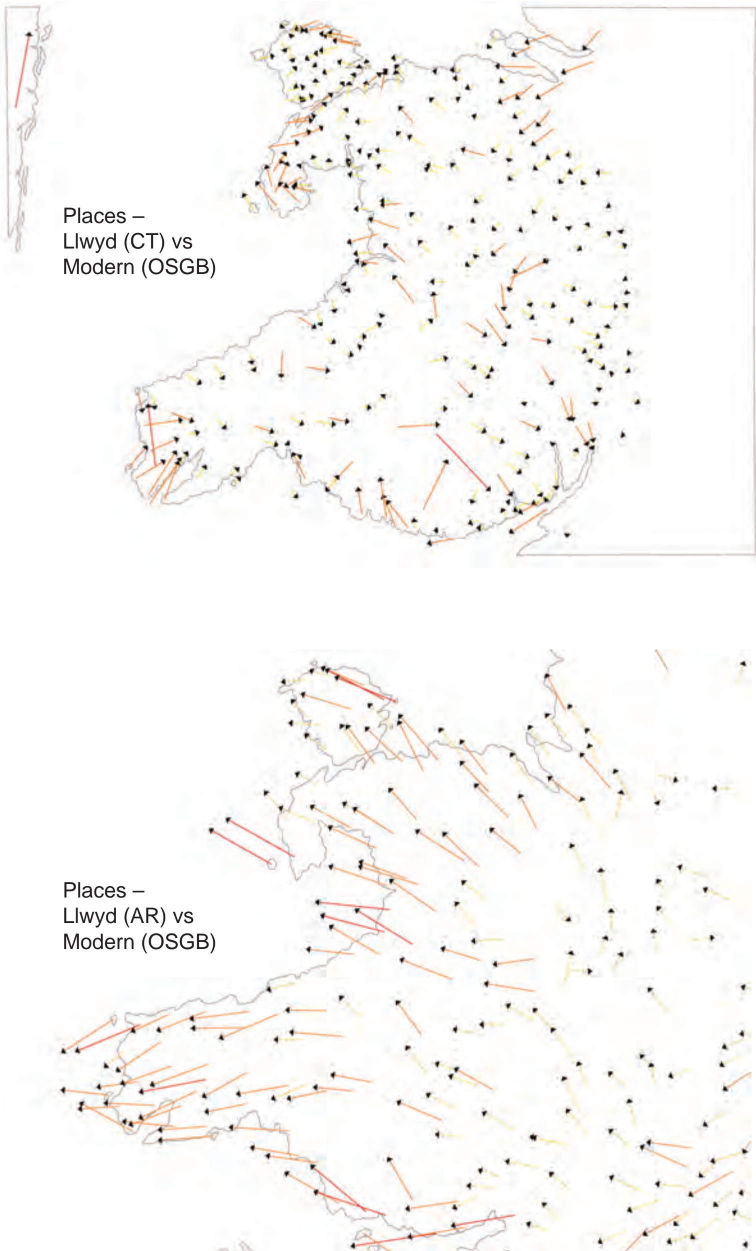


FIGURE 9: GIS map-output for Wales with *Cambriae Typus* (CT) and *Angliae regni* (AR) compared using MapAnalyst™ displacement vectors.

vectors here all show this common characteristic. Further to the east the displacement is orientated slightly differently; slightly more northwards, especially in the area of north-east Wales around Clwyd. Compare this with the displacement vectors on the *Typus*, where there is a much less consistent single direction of 'pull' evident. That is, there is more variation in the direction of the *Typus* vectors compared with the *Angliae regni* map. Accounting for this difference, it could be hinting that a range of different map-sources were drawn on by Llwyd for the *Typus*, for locally plotting place locations (for certain parts of Wales such as Ynys Môn/ Anglesey) – if it was compiled – and perhaps instead a reliance for a single or more dominant map source for the representation of Wales on the *Angliae regni* leading to a more consistent pattern of displacement.

The application of digital, GIS-based tools to analyse the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps begin to 'open up the map' revealing otherwise hidden patterns and geographies that characterise the maps. The two maps do not appear to be related, in a genealogical sense, which is surprising since they are both attributed to the same map-maker, and both are contemporary and depict the same places. This leads us to consider why this might be the case, and whether other, particular map-sources can be identified that influenced the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps. Both contemporary maps as well as earlier examples are equally potential sources available to Llwyd. Again, the analytical tools used to analyse the maps and compare them can also be used to compare Llwyd's maps with these others. North attempted to do this by measuring the two Llwyd maps, and comparing these metrics with maps of England and Wales by Laurence Nowell (1530–*c*.1570) and Gerardus Mercator (1512–94).[39] North's findings were somewhat inconclusive: 'The most that can be said with certainty is that there is evidence of connection, direct, or indirect, between the maps of Wales by Nowell, Mercator and Llwyd.'[40] It is important to recognise as well that North was principally comparing the coastal outlines of the maps, not the locations of places that the maps show (see Figure 10). The methodological advantage of the latter is that the points of comparison are geographically known and their coordinates fixed, whereas comparing coastlines is more challenging as they are continuous.

What in effect North does with the coastlines of the Llwyd, Mercator and Nowell maps is adjust their scales so that they match, and then compare the geographies of the coastlines (of Wales, for example) by overlaying the maps. He presumably used tracing paper for this exercise,

Nowell's map and Lhuyd's are reduced in exactly the same degree, and Mercator's to slightly smaller extent.

FIGURE 10: Coastal outlines of the maps by Nowell, Mercator and Llwyd compared by F. J. North in *Humphrey Lhuyd's Maps of England and of Wales* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales/University of Wales, 1937).

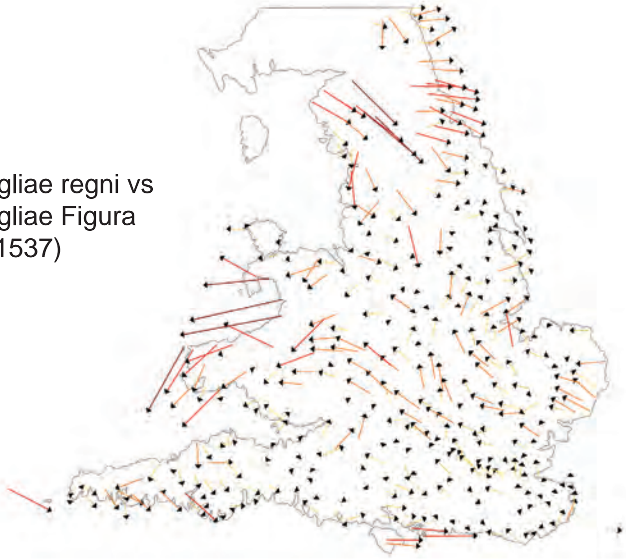
which is similar in principle to the GIS-practice of georectifying ('rubbersheeting') maps by stretching the map image to enable one to be superimposed on the other. This latter method is perfectly suited for comparing maps over time to examine their representation, say, of local landscapes and explore how these evolve,[41] but for comparing historic maps georectification is problematic as it destroys the maps' original positional geographies of the places shown. An alternative approach, then, is to take the GIS-derived data set for a set of maps (such as coordinate data for a map's places) and use this as a basis to then compare them by computing and quantifying their relative placing of common features (locations such as settlements).[42] This particular methodology does not result in distorting the original map image but enables statistical calculations as measures of fit, or correlation, between different maps. This then is the approach taken here, quantifying the positional accuracy of a series of maps including Llwyd's to see how closely, or not, they relate to each other, and whether such connections between maps point to a shared heritage and common ancestors, or instead indicate uniqueness.

The results of these comparative geospatial analyses are set out here. The comparators for the Llwyd maps chosen for this exercise include those originating from earlier in the sixteenth century, as well as those more contemporary with Llwyd. They also include both engraved maps as well as manuscript.[43] Some indication of the potential cartographic connections between map-makers in England and Wales during the sixteenth century is illustrated by Delano Smith and Kain in tabulating the chronology of the lives of John Rudd (1498–1579), Humphrey Llwyd (1527–68), George Lily (d.1559), Laurence Nowell (d.1576), John Elder, William

Lambarde (?1536–1601), John Dee (1527–1608), Christopher Saxton (*c*.1542–1606), John Norden (1548–1628) and John Speed (1552–1629).[44] Of these, the maps attributed to Lily, Nowell and Saxton particularly offered scope for comparison with Llwyd's *Angliae regni*, being relatively close in date, and in the case of Nowell, a map-maker that North had especially noted as a possible influence on Llwyd (or indeed vice versa) with their shared connections with the Earl of Arundel and wide European networks.[45] The map by Nowell, 'A general description of England & Ireland with the costes adioyning' of *c*.1564 is in manuscript in the 'atlas' of William Cecil, Lord Burghley.[46] Another manuscript map considered as a possible source of influence is the anonymous *Angliae figura*, dated to *c*.1535 and seen to have close royal connections.[47] Printed maps including Lily's of 1546 and Saxton's 'Anglia' of 1579, as well as Llwyd's *Angliae regni*, provide a further group to include, giving in all a corpus of five comparable maps, each of England and Wales together, spanning the period 1535–79, for comparative analysis and assessment.[48]

As with the earlier comparison of Wales between the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps, common traits and trends between the *Angliae regni* and *Angliae figura*, Lily, Nowell and Saxton maps are evident through the use of displacement vectors (see Figure 11). This time, the data points that form the basis of these visualisations derive from the *Angliae regni* map, which are used as a benchmark against which to compare the equivalent place-positions from each of the comparator maps. Doing this reveals very clearly the *Angliae regni* is not closely similar to any of the other maps; if there was a strong connection then the vectors would be consistently short. Instead, there are some significant displacements, showing actually very little relationship between the *Angliae regni* and the *Angliae figura*, Lily, Nowell and Saxton maps. There are also different geographies to these displacement patterns; for instance, with the *Angliae figura* there is a particular disagreement with the *Angliae regni* over the positioning of places in Wales, something that is also traceable in the other comparator maps, except perhaps for the later map by Saxton. This raises an interesting possibility, that Llwyd's map of England and Wales exerted an influence on Saxton's map, and that compared to some of its predecessors the *Angliae regni* was to an extent a break from the past, that is it displays a uniqueness in terms of its accuracy that separates it from those earlier maps of Lily and Nowell.

The evident higher degree of map accuracy of the *Angliae regni* can be tested further statistically by looking at the correlation between



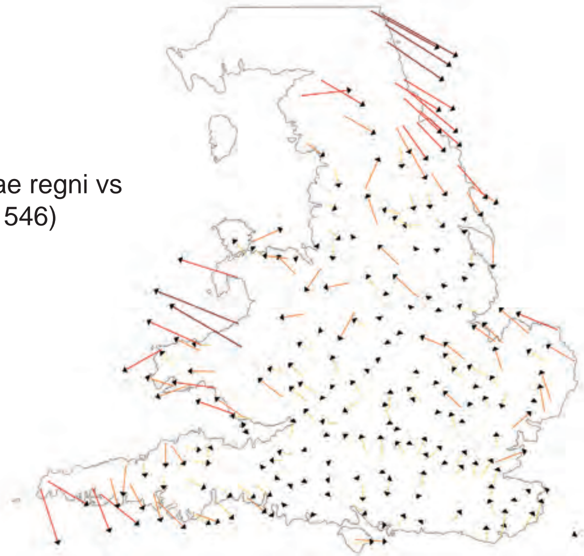
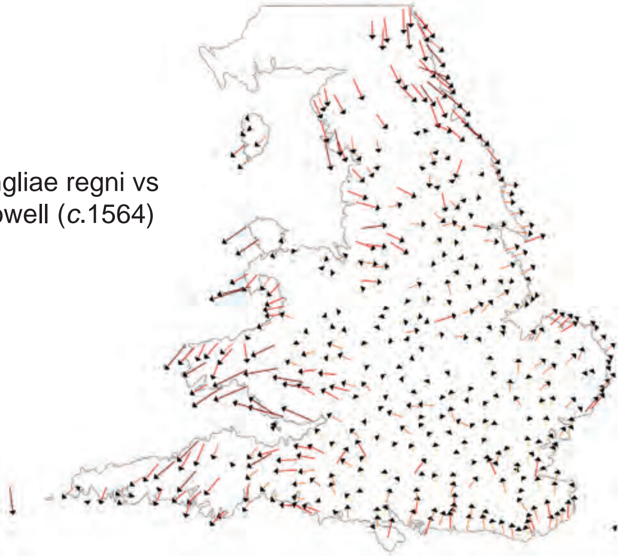


FIGURE 11: GIS-output with MapAnalyst™ displacement vectors for Llwyd's *Angliae regni* compared with *Angliae figura*, Lily, Nowell and Saxton maps.



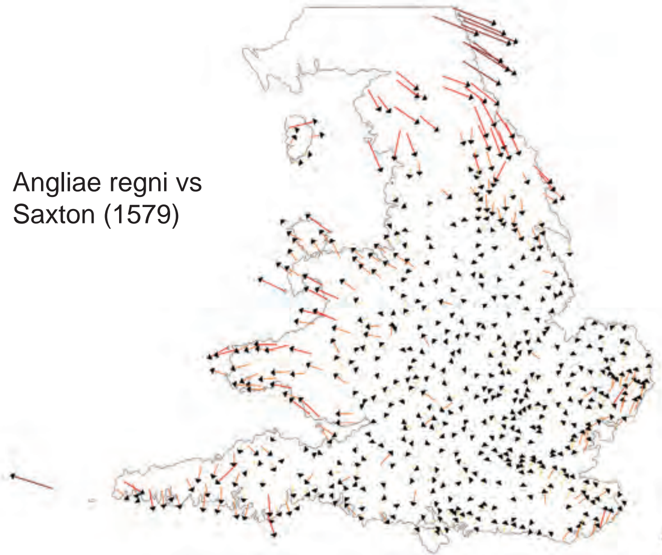


FIGURE 11: (continued)

the maps and especially the r^2 values derived from these bidimensional regression analyses, where the closer the r^2 value is to 1 the stronger the fit between the two sets of map coordinates.[49] The standout conclusion from this is Nowell (*c*.1564) and Saxton's (1579) maps both seem more closely matched with the *Angliae regni*, with r^2 values of 0.991 and 0.992, respectively. This is particularly interesting, suggesting that these three maps have the strongest relationships to each other, and much more in common than with either Lily's map or the *Angliae figura*. Visualising these statistical values draws out further significant patterns between the maps (see Figure 12).

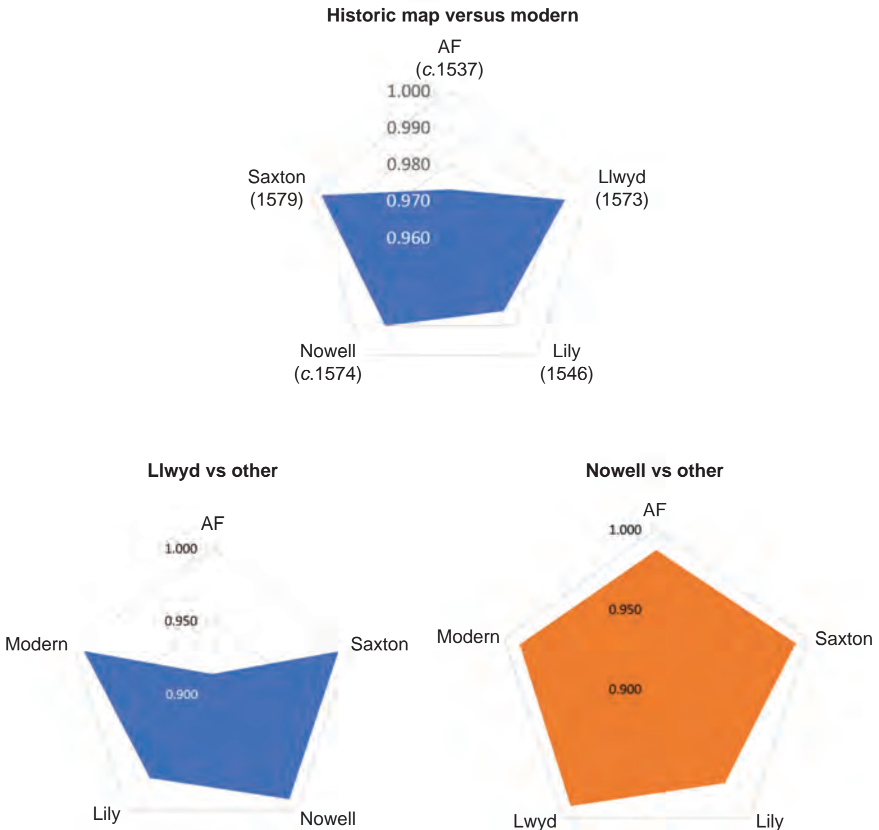


FIGURE 12: Statistical comparisons of Llwyd's *Angliae regni* map with compared with *Angliae figura*, Lily, Nowell and Saxton maps.

The three diagrams here compare the historic map place-position with their modern equivalents, which reveals Saxton's map having the strongest relationship, with the *Angliae regni* in second place, and similar to Nowell's in this regard. Second, Llwyd's *Angliae regni* is compared to the other maps as well as modern geographic coordinates, and this shows that there is a stronger relationship between Llwyd's map and modern locations than there is between Llwyd's map and the other historic maps. This contrasts with Nowell's map, third, which can be seen to have a stronger relationship to the *Angliae regni* than it does to modern geographic coordinates. The conclusion to be drawn from this then is, again, a strong indication that there is something distinctive and special about Llwyd's *Angliae regni* as a sixteenth-century map of England and Wales. Of course, this comes with an important caveat. What we have been measuring, calculating and visualising here is in each case the printed maps that appear in 1573 in the *Additamentum* of Ortelius's *Threatrum*, they are not necessarily all entirely Llwyd's own work in each case. One way to look at this issue in more detail is to compare the visual geographies of Llwyd's two maps with the textual geographies of his written works.

Llwyd's Worlds: Visual and Textual Geographies

Seeing Llwyd's maps in isolation from his writing on geography and history would surely be an oversight and missed opportunity, for as is evident from his letter relating to Ynys Môn/Anglesey, he was engaged with both at the same time, for common purposes. The intellectual interest in chorography in early modern England and Wales is well attested historically, too, and Llwyd's written and cartographic work is part of this wider milieu.[50] Surprisingly, though, comparison of Llwyd's visual and textual geographies has yet to receive much treatment by modern scholars, a symptom perhaps of contemporary academic discourse that is so often siloed between disciplines. Yet, history and geography have a long and deep (European) shared tradition, traceable in Classical and Antique sources as well as perpetuated through the Middle Ages, in works such as Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, originating in Chester, not far from Llwyd's home ground.[51] Reconsidering the 'texts in maps' and 'maps in texts' has become increasingly popular in fields of historical and geographical research, fertile ground.[52] Here, however, the approach taken builds on the geospatial methodologies

used to examine Llwyd's maps, using GIS-based map-outputs as a way of visualising the 'hidden' geographies of his textual works. The earliest of the two, the *Cronica Walliae a Rege Cadwalader ad Annum 1294* written in 1559, translates and builds on a range of medieval Welsh and English chronicles.[53] Almost ten years later, and close to the end of his life, Llwyd composed a second chorographic text, quickly translated into English by Twyne as the *Breviary of Britain* (1573), his *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum*.[54] The latter Llwyd sent to Ortelius in August 1568 along with three maps, including, he says, 'my Wales, not beutifully set forth in all poynctes, yet truly depeinted'.[55]

Exploring similarities and differences between Llwyd's maps and texts is possible through digital humanities methods that involve extracting place names from both Llwyd's written and cartographic works, and using corpus linguistics and GIS tools to analyse and visualise these spatially.[56] The geographies of these names reveal, again, interesting distribution patterns, first in relation to the *Cronica Wallaie* and *Breviary* compared.

Figure 13 shows a mapped density of the unique place names extracted from both texts. The density and pattern of places referred to in the two texts do show a common concern for the eastern parts of Wales and the borders, particularly with an emphasis on north-east Wales and Clwyd. This spatial bias towards Llwyd's home ground in the area around Denbigh is particularly noticeable, but equally there are differences. With the *Breviary*, the greater density of named places is much more focused in and around Offa's Dyke, diminishing in intensity to the east and west. The *Chronica* shows further pockets of 'interest' reflected in the higher numbers of places mentioned (and mapped here) to the south-west in Pembrokeshire, as well as the south-east in Glamorgan. Conspicuous in both sources is a relative paucity of names and lower density in the north-west, including the Llŷn peninsula and Ynys Môn/Anglesey. These patterns, therefore, indicate an uneven geography in Llwyd's textual mappings of Wales. The greater focus on the border counties evident in both texts suggests a certain similitude with the *Typus* and its 'historical' geography of Wales, a 'greater Cambria' that extended to the Severn, what Schwyzer refers to as Llwyd's 'audacious cartographical land-grab'.[57] However, mapping out these textual geographies it is clear that their place names of interest are spatially more tightly focused along and adjacent to Offa's Dyke, less so to the east, suggesting that the texts of Llwyd are perhaps not so closely related to the *Typus* as might be first thought.

FIGURE 13: Place-name density maps for Llwyd's *Breviary* (top) and *Cronica Walliae* (bottom).

Surprisingly, when the *Cambriae Typus* and the *Breviary* are compared, less than one-third of the place names match. Similarly, when comparing the place names on the *Cambriae Typus* with *Cronica Walliae*, there is even less of a resemblance; fewer than a quarter of the place names match. Neither comparison implies a certain connection between the *Cambriae Typus* and either of Llwyd's written texts. The *Cambriae Typus*, rather than connecting Wales with the rest of the world (as his written work does), visually isolates Wales from the rest of civilisation. Indeed, comparing the *Breviary*'s geographies of places and the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* yields further distinctions between Llwyd's 'mappings' of Wales and the borders (see Figure 14).

The distribution pattern of *Breviary* names for Britain as a whole reveals the significant spatial 'bias' towards Wales, compared with the *Angliae regni* more obvious intensity of places for eastern England.

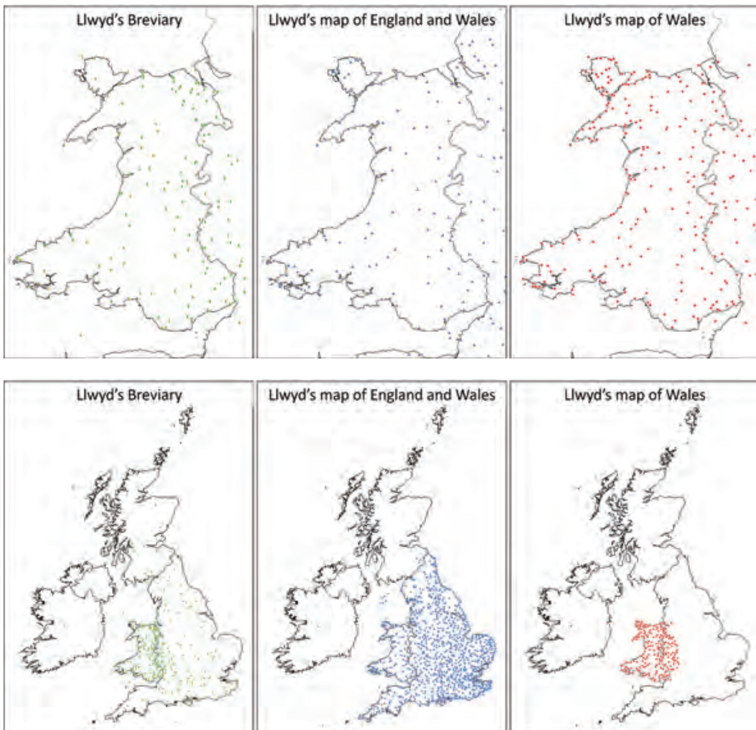


FIGURE 14: GIS-plotted place-name distributions for Llwyd's *Breviary*, *Angliae regni* and *Cambriae Typus*.

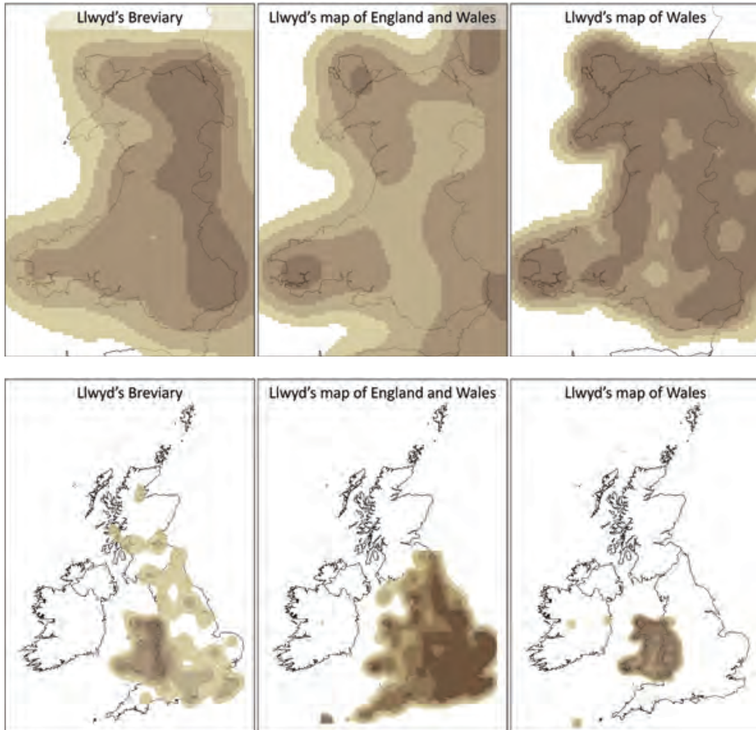


FIGURE 14: (continued)

Despite the common ground between the two, geographically speaking, the two have quite distinct geographies. The comparison of the *Breviary* distribution with the *Typus* is equally divergent for some areas of Wales. The most obvious difference concerns the north-west of Wales, well-represented with places on the *Typus* but less so in the *Breviary*. Areas of convergence again relate to the borders, revealing a particular interest here, but the density of places, when mapped for both sources, shows a greater separation between the two, with the *Typus* particularly showing a much larger area of greater density of places represented than the *Breviary* for Wales. This difference in textual and visual geographies between the *Breviary* and *Typus* is all the more curious considering their apparent contemporary dates, and their shared (implied) presence in Llwyd's 'deathbed' letter to Ortelius.[58] Although a symbiotic relationship between Llwyd's maps and texts has been suggested notably by North

and also Evans,[59] the 'mappings' here, of their geographies, shows instead divergence rather than convergence.

This differentiation between Llwyd's maps and texts points perhaps to their different purposes. They suggest too that Llwyd's maps have a uniqueness to their geographies. Neither is alike to each other, and neither is alike to his textual works. Comparing these visual and textual geographies of Llwyd is thus in itself revealing, it is as if they are offering competing geographical views of England and Wales, rather than something consensual or definitive. This plurality of perspectives perhaps indicates not just different texts for different purposes but also a sense of work in progress, by Llwyd, something seen, too, in the opening exchange between Llwyd and Ortelius in April 1568, concerning questions on Ynys Môn/Anglesey's treatment in historical and geographical sources. A hint of this process of working through his accumulating material is provided, for example, towards the end of Llwyd's letter, when he refers to having acquired an exact chart of the Scottish coast.[60] We do not know what this chart or map looked like, but Llwyd's concern for exactness, precision and new geographical knowledge is clear. We might imagine him collating such material and adjusting his own maps accordingly. Such a process might well account not only for the evident geographical differences between the *Typus* and *Angliae regni* (and *Breviary*), in terms of their place-name distributions, for example, but also for the differences in positional accuracy across the two maps, noted particularly in their shared distortions of Ynys Môn/Anglesey and the Llŷn peninsula. It raises the possibility that Llwyd was grappling with two challenges in mapping: one concerning coastlines, and a search for more reliable cartographic sources for this; and one concerning the geographies of places shown on the maps. On the latter, the greater degree of precision evident in and around Clwyd, coupled with Llwyd's texts' clear interest in this same area as revealed by the density maps, does begin to suggest that there is evident in the *Typus* at least some indication that Llwyd was drawing on his experience and observations to help determine the positions of places that he mapped.

This narrowing of Llwyd's worlds to an epicentre focused on his hometown of Denbigh should not diminish the wider connections within which Llwyd operated. The correspondence between Llwyd and Ortelius is the obvious material manifestation of this wider, European network, but so too are the cartographic connections revealed by comparing Llwyd's

maps with those of his contemporaries.[61] Here in particular the closeness evident in comparing Llwyd's *Angliae regni* and Nowell's 'General description', both maps being so close in date, too, is surely not a coincidence. Their paths crossed in their shared travels and political spheres, Nowell as representative for Knaresborough at Elizabeth I's Parliament of 1559 and Llwyd there in his capacity as representative for East Grinstead, and in their European itineraries that for Nowell took in Paris, Venice, Padua, Vienna, Basel, Leipzig and Freiburg-im-Breisgau (1553–8; 1567–9), overlapping with Llwyd's visits in the same period (1566–7) to some of the same places, including Antwerp, Brussels, Augsberg, Milan, Padua and Venice.[62] Just as the two maps seem to encapsulate influences from Llwyd's own journeys and experiences, so they also represent an accumulation of knowledge and here his library provides further clues, for it included key British and European works on mathematics and navigation that were relevant to making maps, such as Cosimo Bartoli's *Del modo di misurare le distantie* (Venice, 1564), probably what is referred to in Llwyd's will as 'a booke of Navigation'.[63] Such relevant, practical and cutting-edge work, no doubt gathered by Llwyd through his networks and travels, show something of Llwyd's worlds extending far beyond his own immediate geographical horizons. His letters to Ortelius reflect this search, of maps as works in progress, fluid not static. It is somewhat ironic then that once published Llwyd's *Typus*, in particular, became fossilised as it was reprinted for more than two centuries, with little change or revision.[64] Conversely, after his death, Llwyd's *Angliae regni* as a map of England and Wales soon became superseded by Saxton's *Anglia*, whose industry as an English map-maker might owe at least something to the influence of his Welsh predecessor's maps.[65]

Navigating the maps and mappings of Humphrey Llwyd through geospatial analyses offers us new insights into the wider world of map-making in early modern Europe. The Renaissance period of European history has long been seen by scholars as pivotal and transformational in the history of maps and map-making, a 'cartographic revolution', as John Pickles describes it.[66] Llwyd's maps of Wales and England and Wales can be seen to be part of this paradigm shift, a thirst for greater cartographic knowledge and precision, but equally the comparisons between Llwyd's maps and those of his contemporaries and predecessors shows a complex relationship between maps and map-makers. It explains the significant geographic differences identified here between the *Cambriae Typus* and

Anglia regni maps. Moreover, the unfolding map-making process that we see through Llwyd's work, and its partial and contingent nature, is 'to rethink cartography as a processual, emergent endeavour' that speaks more to what current critical cartographic discourse describes as 'cartography's ontological crisis'.[67] What we see ultimately in Ortelius's *Theatrum* are Llwyd's maps and mappings fossilised at one point in time. Behind these printed maps, and what this study has now revealed, are the otherwise 'hidden geographies' embedded in Llwyd's works – and especially in his maps – a cumulative palimpsest that reflects his life 'as a map-maker'.

Notes

1. Denis Cosgrove, 'Introduction: Mapping Meaning', in Denis Cosgrove (ed.), *Mappings* (London: Reaktion, 1999), pp. 1–2.
2. Brinley R. Jones, 'Llwyd, Humphrey (1527–1568), antiquary and map maker', *ODNB* (2004), *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16867* (last accessed 10 August 2023). See also Huw Thomas, 'Llwyd (Lhuyd), Humphrey (*c*.1527–1568), antiquary and map-maker', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* (2019), *https://biography.wales/article/s12-LLWY-HUM-1527* (last accessed 16 August 2023).
3. The standard work on Llwyd's maps is Frederick J. North, *Humphrey Lhuyd's Maps of England and of Wales* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales/University of Wales, 1937). North (1889–1968) was a palaeontologist and Keeper of Geology at the National Museum of Wales (1914–59). See Peter Marren, *The New Naturalists* (London: HarperCollins, 1995). North's assessment of Llwyd's maps, and his contribution to map-making, has proved enduring; see, for example, G. Penrhyn Jones, 'Humphrey Lhuyd (1527–1568). A sixteenth century Welsh physician', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 49 (1956), 521–8.
4. Abraham Ortelius, *Additamentum Theatri orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1573). A digital facsimile of the 1573 edition of the *Theatrum* is available online from the State Library of New South Wales, *https://search.sl.nsw.gov.au/permalink/f/15rjecp/SLNSW_ALMA21154252600002626* (last accessed 23 August 2024).
5. 'Preface' in North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 3.
6. Paul D. A. Harvey, *Maps of Tudor England* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 7.
7. The authors acknowledge UKRI/Arts and Humanities Research Council for funding this research as part of the project, *Inventor of Britain: The Complete Works of Humphrey Llwyd* (AH/P00704X/1), and for their support we thank our collaborators at the University of Exeter, Bangor University,

the British Library and the National Library of Wales (NLW). Digital map outputs resulting from this research are available free to access at *go.qub.ac.uk/llwydmapped*.

8. See Helen Fulton, 'The Description of Britain and Urban Chorography on the March of Wales', Chapter 2, this volume.
9. The authors are very grateful to Huw Thomas, Map Librarian at the NLW, for access to digital reproductions of the printed Llwyd maps in the Library's collections. The versions of the two Llwyd maps used in our research, the *Cambriae Typus* and *Angliae regni florentissimi nova descriptio*, are NLW Map 3612, *https://discover.library.wales/permalink/44WHELF_NLW/n02b04/alma99762982702419* (last accessed 23 August 2024); and Map 5392, *https://discover.library.wales/permalink/44WHELF_NLW/n02b04/alma99246412702419* (last accessed 23 August 2024), respectively. Full cartobibliographical information on these maps is available through the NLW catalogue. Both maps are 'Variant A'; on the map states see Peter van der Krogt, *Koeman's Atlantes Neerlandici. New Edition. Vol. III (2 Vols): Ortelius's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, De Jode's Speculum Orbis Terrarum, the Epitome, Caert-Thresoor and Atlas Minor, the Atlases of the XVII Provinces, and Other Atlases Published in the Low Countries up to c.1650* (Brill, Leiden: 2003), 5500:31:210 (for Map 3612) 5100:31A:031 (for Map 5392).
10. Philip Schwyzer, 'A Map of Greater Cambria', in Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (eds), *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35–44.
11. Lloyd Bowen, *Early Modern Wales c.1536–c.1689: Ambiguous Nationhood* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2022).
12. The NLW-held versions of the two Llwyd-Ortelius maps used in this study are: 1) *Cambriae Typus*, Abraham Ortelius, *Ein Zusatz bei dass Theatrum, oder Schawplatz des Erdtbodems* (Antwerp, 1573), Verso: Plate 6C, 63 lines German text; and 2) *Angliae regni*, Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. Antverpiae, apud Christophorum Plantinum* (Antwerp, 1584), first published in the *Additamentum* to Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1573, verso: Plate 11. 61 lines Latin text.
13. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 9–10. The 5 April 1568 letter is usually referred to as *De Mona* or *De Mona druidum insula*, the title under which it was eventually published in the *Theatrum* by Ortelius. See Peter van der Krogt, 'The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*: the first atlas?', in Marcel van den Broecke, Peter van der Krogt and Peter Meurer (eds), *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas: Essays Commemorating the Quadricentennial of his Death, 1598–1998* (Houten: HES, 1998), pp. 55–78, at 71–2; and Iolo Roberts and Menai Roberts, '*De Mona Druidum Insula*', in the same volume, pp. 347–61.
14. Quoted in North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 9–10.

15. Quoted in North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 9–10.
16. For transcriptions of the place names on the *Cambriae Typus* and *Angliae regni* maps, see *go.qub.ac.uk/llwydmapped*.
17. See Peter Barber, 'Mapmaking in England, ca. 1470–1650', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography Volume 3: part 2, Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 1589–669; Catherine Delano Smith and Roger J. P. Kain, *English Maps: A History* (London: The British Library, 1999), pp. 49–75.
18. Text from translation of *De Mona* letter in North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 9.
19. See North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 10–11.
20. Llwyd's 'valedictory' or 'deathbed' letter of 3 August 1568 is one of three acquired by NLW from the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, London. It is NLW MS 13187E. Digital copies of the three letters are at *http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4777923* (last accessed 23 August 2024). For a commentary and transcription of the 3 August letter, see R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh: Some Documents and a Catalogue', *Denbighshire Historical Society*, 17 (1968), 54–107, at 99–101. English translation quoted here is taken from North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 10.
21. Alternatively, here 'truly depeinted' might instead be taken to mean that Llwyd is upholding the ancient borders, as mapped by the *Cambriae Typus*, if they remain 'true' regardless of whatever newer jurisdictional boundaries the English have imposed?
22. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 11–13. On the intellectual milieu of Llwyd and the Owens, see Huw Pryce, *Writing Welsh History: From the Early Middle Ages to the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).
23. NLW MS 13187E.
24. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 11–12. NLW MS 13187E, *http://hdl.handle.net/10107/4777923* (last accessed 23 August 2024).
25. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 12, n. 1. On Ortelius and Rogers, see Jason Harris, 'The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship During the Dutch Revolt', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 47/4 (2005), 299–325. Latin verses by Rogers also preface the *Theatrum*.
26. Quoted in North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 12. MS HRC 55 at Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin, digital copy accessible at *https://hrc.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15878coll99/id/142/rec/9* (last accessed 23 August 2024).
27. North (*Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 27) observes, 'There is nothing to suggest that the manuscript of Lhuyd's map [the *Cambriae Typus*] still exists, and there are no references in his published writings to the method followed in preparing it'. On map-making methods in this period, see John H. Andrews, *Maps of Those Days: Cartographic Methods Before 1850* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009).

28. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 13–47.
29. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 16.
30. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 52.
31. On the method see Christopher Lloyd and Keith D. Lilley, 'Cartographic Veracity in Medieval Mapping: Analysing Geographical Variation in the Gough Map of Great Britain', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 99/1 (2009), 27–48; Keith D. Lilley and Catherine Porter, 'Mapping Worlds? Excavating Cartographic Encounters Plantation Ireland through GIS', *Historical Geography*, 41 (2013), 35–8.
32. Lloyd and Lilley, 'Cartographic Veracity'.
33. NLW Maps 3612 and 5392, see notes 7 and 9 above.
34. Lloyd and Lilley, 'Cartographic Veracity'.
35. For MapAnalyst™, see Bernhard Jenny, 'MapAnalyst: A Digital Tool for the Analysis of the Planimetric Accuracy of Historical Maps', *e-Perimetron*, 1/3 (2006), 239–45.
36. Cf. Gordon Manley, 'Saxton's Survey of Northern England', *The Geographical Journal*, 83/4 (1934), 308–16. See also William Ravenhill, 'Christopher Saxton's Surveying: An Enigma', in Sarah Tyacke (ed), *English Map-Making 1500–1650* (London: The British Library, 1983), pp. 112–18.
37. In the final part of *De Mona*, his letter to Ortelius, Llwyd refers to having a chart of Scottish coast ('*maritimi Scotiæ descriptionem*'), see also Roberts and Roberts, '*De mona*', p. 356.
38. Jones, 'Llwyd, Humphrey'.
39. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 37–47.
40. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 46.
41. See Keith D. Lilley, 'Urban Mappings: Visualizing Late Medieval Chester in Cartographic and Textual Form', in Catherine Clarke (ed.), *Mapping the Medieval City* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press: 2011), pp. 19–41.
42. Keith D. Lilley, Christopher Lloyd and Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'Mapping the Realm: A New Look at the Gough Map of Britain (*c*.1360)', *Imago Mundi*, 61/1 (2009), 1–28.
43. See Edward Lynam, 'English Maps and Map-Makers of the Sixteenth Century', *The Geographical Journal*, 116 (1950), 7–25.
44. Delano Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, p. 64.
45. North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, pp. 40–1, 46, 55–8.
46. British Library Add MS. 62540, ff. 3v–4r. On Nowell, see Barber, 'Mapmaking in England', pp. 1622–3; Peter Barber, 'A Tudor Mystery: Laurence Nowell's Map of England and Ireland', *The Map Collector*, 22 (1983), 16–21; Delano Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, pp. 65–6.
47. Peter Barber, *King Henry's Map of the British Isles* (London: Folio Society, 2009).

48. On Lily, see Edward Lynam, *The Map of the British Isles of 1546* (Jenkintown: The George H. Beans Library, 1934). On Saxton, see Ifor M. Evans and Heather Lawrence, *Christopher Saxton: Elizabethan Map-Maker* (Wakefield: Wakefield Historical Publications/Holland Press, 1979); Delano Smith and Kain, *English Maps*, pp. 66–71.
49. See Lloyd and Lilley, 'Cartographic Veracity'.
50. On chorography, see Stan Mendyk, 'Early British Chorography', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 17/4 (1986), 459–81.
51. Andrew Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Keith D. Lilley (ed.), *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); John Taylor, *The* Universal Chronicle *of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).
52. Cornelia Dreer and Keith D. Lilley, 'Universal Histories and their Geographies: Navigating the Maps and Texts of Higden's *Polychronicon*', in Michele Campopiano and Henry Bainton (eds), *Finding your Place in History and Politics: The Life of Universal Chronicles in the High Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer/York Medieval Press, 2017), pp. 275–301.
53. Huw Pryce, 'Humphrey Llwyd: First Historian of Wales?', Chapter 1, this volume.
54. Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, trans. Thomas Twyne (London, 1573); *BB*.
55. See note 20 above.
56. For details see Catherine Porter, Rebecca Milligan and Keith D. Lilley, 'Hidden Geographies and Digital Humanities: Analysing and Visualising the Literary Corpus of Humphrey Llwyd', *Literary Geographies*, 6/1 (2020), 96–118.
57. Schwyzer, 'Map of Greater Cambria', p. 37.
58. See note 20 above.
59. 'Lhuyd's maps were … mainly intended to illustrate these topographical writings': North, *Lhuyd's Maps*, p. 10, also at p. 28. See also Olwen Caradoc Evans, *Maps of Wales and Welsh Cartographers* (London: Map Collectors' Circle, 1964).
60. See note 37 above.
61. Theodore Max Chotzen, 'Some Sidelights on Cambro-Dutch Relations (with special reference to Humphrey Llwyd and Abrahamus Ortelius)', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1936 (1937), 101–44.
62. See Jones, 'Llwyd, Humphrey', and Retha M. Warnicke, 'Nowell, Laurence (1530–*c.*1570), antiquary dean of Lichfield', *ODNB* (2004), *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69731* (last accessed 16 August 2023). See also Rebecca Brackmann, *The Elizabethan Invention of Anglo-Saxon England: Laurence*

Nowell, William Lambarde, and the Study of Old English (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), pp. 148–85.

63. For Llwyd's library and will see Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh', 82–91 and 101–4. Among the library items listed is Cosimo Bartoli, *Del modo di misurare le distantie, le superficie, i corpi, le piante, le prouincie, le prospettiue, & tutte le altre cose terrene, che possono occorrere a gli huomini, secondo le vere regole d'Euclide, & de gli altri piu lodati scrittori* (Venice: Francesco Franceschi Sanese, 1564).
64. 'Lhuyd's map of Wales was reprinted nearly fifty times' between 1573 and 1741: North, 'Lhuyd's Maps', pp. 19–27 at p. 19.
65. On Saxton see David J. Bower, 'Saxton's Maps of England and Wales: The Accuracy of Anglia and Britannia and their Relationship to Each Other and to the County Maps', *Imago Mundi*, 63/2 (2011), 180–200. Saxton's manuscript 'proof map' of Wales has yet to receive critical study, see Christopher Saxton, *Cambriae (quae nunc vulgo Wallia nuncupatur) una cum singulis eiusde[m] p[ro]vinciae Comitatibus, et suis undiq[uae] confinibus*, 1580: NLW MAP 01003 146/4/4, *http://hdl.handle.net/10107/1445599* (last accessed 23 August 2024). A vector-digitised version is available via *go.qub.ac.uk/llwydmapped* as part of the 'Inventor of Britain' digital output.
66. John Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping and the Geo-Coded World* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 98.
67. Rob Kitchin and Martin Dodge, 'Rethinking Maps', *Progress in Human Geography*, 31/3 (2007), 331–44, at 343.

4

Matthew Parker, Sacred Geography and the British Past

Alexandra Walsham

Matthew Parker and the circle of antiquaries that he assembled around him have long been synonymous with the vigorous surge of scholarly interest in the ancient and medieval past in sixteenth-century England. Their role in reviving and preserving knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon Church and of the origins of Christianity in the British Isles was one manifestation of the wider reinvigoration of sacred history during this period. In the context of the Reformation, it became imperative to establish when and by whom the Christian faith had first been planted and subsequently corrupted and perverted from its primitive purity. Questions of chronology and biography have consequently featured prominently in previous studies of the antiquarianism of Parker and his colleagues.[1]

This chapter, by contrast, explores a more neglected dimension of their historical and historiographical activities. It illuminates the intellectual and cultural world from which Humphrey Llwyd emerged by investigating Parkerian attitudes towards space, place and territoriality, and towards traditions of pilgrimage, pious travel and religious mobility. It uses the evidence of Parker's correspondence, writings, publications, library collections and collaborations to reconstruct his involvement in the various strands of intellectual endeavour that fall under the rubric of 'sacred geography'. In keeping with recent work by Zur Shalev, I use this phrase in a capacious sense, to incorporate not merely the investigation of hallowed sites in the landscape but also to encompass other aspects of the

contemporary spatial turn in Christian scholarship, including projects to map the biblical Holy Land and to produce a comprehensive topographical description of Britain and its dependent shires and realms.[2] What follows is only a partial account of Parker's interest and involvement in these initiatives. But it reinforces a strongly growing awareness that the conventional, secularising story of the liberation of geography, like history, from the constraining shackles of religion obscures the extent to which early modern chorography and cartography continued to be practised within a framework of Christian belief and were inflected and stimulated by confessional assumptions. As we shall see, the itineraries, perambulations and surveys to which they gave rise were deeply implicated in the ecclesiastical politics of the past. I shall also argue that the preoccupations that animated the Protestant and Parkerian impulse to save certain manuscripts from destruction and to sift truth from falsehood have themselves shaped and distorted our understanding of the development of the geographical disciplines in England. If for Parker, like the famous Flemish mapmaker Abraham Ortelius, geography was the eye of history, his was a vision of space and place that underpinned a distinctive and selective perspective on the Christian past in Britain and beyond.[3] His activities shed light on the wider project to 'invent' and discover the history of this archipelago of islands that is the subject of this volume.

Matthew Parker and Gerald of Wales

I begin with Matthew Parker's interest in a figure who is often heralded as the first great British topographer, Gerald of Wales, or Giraldus Cambrensis. An ambitious Anglo-Norman churchman of the twelfth century whose mother was descended from native Welsh princes, Gerald spent part of his career as a royal clerk in the service of Henry II, accompanying his son Prince John to Ireland in 1185 in the wake of the English invasion of 1169. Three years later he attended Archbishop Baldwin on a tour of Wales to preach the crusade. These journeys gave rise to Gerald's most famous literary works, *Topographia Hiberniae* (written 1186–7), *Itinerarium Cambriae* (*c.*1191) and *Descriptio Cambriae* (*c.*1194), several copies of which were collected, transcribed and read by Matthew Parker and his associates and secretaries (see Figure 1).[4]

Animated by a fascination with natural and supernatural wonders and displaying a vivid ethnographic imagination, Gerald's books paint a

FIGURE 1: Map of the British Isles: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 400 (Gerald of Wales, Topographia Hiberniae, thirteenth century, etc.), fo. vii v. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

rich and intriguing picture of Ireland as a land whose ignorant and uncultivated inhabitants engaged in some barbarous customs and of Wales as a half-conquered region of considerable linguistic diversity and cultural hybridity. If these books are full of observations about strange flora and fauna, they are also vehicles for commentary on the Celtic realms and their peoples and for a version of their histories discernibly influenced by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. *Topographia Hiberniae* also reflected Gerald's eagerness to vindicate the imperial claims of a king from whom he hoped to gain ecclesiastical preferment[5] – a theme that also runs throughout his narrative of Henry II's conquest of Ireland, *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189). Gerald announced his intention of writing similar books on England and Scotland, though these did not

materialise. The version of the *Topographia Hiberniae* in the Parkerian MS 400 at Corpus includes a map of Ireland, though this is less elaborate than another now in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin.[6]

Described as a noble writer by John Bale, Gerald was an important source of ammunition for those seeking evidence of the lineage of Christianity in Britain, of its conversion long before the arrival of the papal envoy Augustine in 597, and of the defiant resistance of a pristine proto-Protestant Church to the pretensions of Rome.[7] The *Descriptio Cambriae*, for instance, tells the story of how the Welsh were instructed and confirmed in the faith by Faganus and Damianus, the missionaries sent to the British Isles at the request of the second century king Lucius.[8] Accorded the title 'the vicar of Christ over the people of Brittane' in a crucial letter from Pope Eleutherius, as Felicity Heal has demonstrated, the Lucius legend provided critical support for the legitimacy of the Henrician Reformation and a compelling precedent for the royal supremacy.[9] Matthew Parker referred to the story of how this pious king, 'beyng in great love with the true fayth' was given ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his own kingdom in the preface to the Bishops' Bible in 1568 and summarised it again in *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (1572).[10] Embedded in Gerald's geography was a historical narrative that aligned well with Parker's wider agenda.

Parker's interest in Gerald of Wales also reflected his interactions with leading Welsh scholars, who found in Gerald's works vital evidence for the autonomy of an ancient British Church and for its prolonged existence and unusual resilience in Wales. Passages in his *Descriptio Cambriae* dwell on the Trojan descent of its inhabitants and allude to the prophecies of Merlin predicting the extinction of its foreign dominators and the resurrection of the kingdom's ancient name and privileges.[11] Among the scholars from whom Parker had borrowed and acquired material was Sir John Prise, the former inspector of the dissolution of the monasteries, whose own substantial medieval manuscript collections fed into his refutation of Polydore Vergil's attack on Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*, probably completed in the late 1540s, but not published until 1573.[12]

Another was Richard Davies, bishop of St David's, who wrote to Parker in March 1566, declaring that he had sent William Cecil 'all suche old monumentes' as he could find in the cathedral library, including several treatises of Giraldus Cambrensis.[13] Davies's preface to the Welsh

translation of the New Testament of 1567 gave classic expression to pride in the nation's refusal to accept papal abominations until compelled to do so by the edge of the sword. It also referred to a story to which Davies had drawn Parker's particular attention: whereas before the Saxons' conversion by Augustine the Britons had not disdained to eat, drink and converse with these pagans, afterwards they remained strictly aloof from them, 'because they corrupted with superstition, images, and idolatry, the true religion of Christ, which the Britons had reserved pure among them from the time of king Lucius'.[14]

A third scholar with whom Parker had interests in common was Humphrey Llwyd himself, whom William Salesbury praised in a letter to the archbishop as 'the most famous Antiquarius of all our countrey'. Llwyd's own fragmentary and unfinished topographical description of Britain was published in Latin in 1572 and translated into English as *The Breviary of Britayne* by Thomas Twyne the following year. An edition of Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae* was prepared and published by David Powel as the *Historie of Cambria* in 1584.[15] His endeavour 'to gather sufficient timber to frame a British history' was driven by his determination to counter the rival interpretations of the Italian Polydore Vergil and the Scot Hector Boethius that obscured 'the glory of the British name'. Drawing directly on Gerald of Wales (copies of which had been provided by William Cecil, Lord Burghley), these too supplied support for the view that remnants of the ancient British Church had lingered longest in Wales, before 'the proud and bloodthirsty monk Augustine infected it with his Romish doctrine'. Llwyd thought it was 'a mirror to see our own folly' that 'we do degenerate from our forefathers the ancient Britons in the sincerity of true religion'. Giraldus's writings also, incidentally, enabled Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of the Council of Marches, to find historical evidence for its jurisdiction in this region.[16] Indeed Llwyd's books, as well as his map of Wales, entail what Philip Schwyzer has called an 'audacious cartographical land-grab'. They depict the boundary as the River Severn and show the principality extending to Worcester and Tewkesbury.[17]

The copies of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis that Parker collected are revealing of his priorities and scholarly and scribal practices. Vain, arrogant and embittered, Gerald of Wales was an ambivalent figure, in both the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. As Robert Bartlett has observed, if he sometimes spoke with a nationalist accent and appeared in 'the unlikely garb of a Welsh patriot', this was a function of the bitter

dispute in which he became engaged with Canterbury after 1198 in connection with his unsuccessful attempts to become not merely bishop but archbishop of St David's. His determination to revive the claim of St David's to be a metropolitan see put him on a collision course with his superior in Lambeth and made him increasingly strident in asserting the distinctive identity of the Welsh and condemning their oppression by the English. His later polemical and apologetic works, including the *Invectiones*, a vindication and indeed self-promoting commendation of his position, were grist to the mill of Protestant antiquaries.[18] It is telling that there are red crayon underlinings and annotations on the sixteenth-century copy of a key section of this text, also known as 'De Giraldo', incorporated in Corpus Christi MS 400, a compilation containing medieval manuscripts alongside early modern transcriptions in a typical Parkerian fashion. In the passages in question, writing in the third person, Gerald celebrates his own role in championing the liberty, dignity and rights of the Welsh Church against corrupt Rome.[19] These supplied a useful precedent for the ecclesiastical independence effected by the Royal Supremacy. John Stow prepared an English translation of the same text, now in Harley MS 544.[20]

Elsewhere, we gain a glimpse of the importance of another voice of Giraldus Cambrensis – the voice of the Anglo-Norman contemptuous of indigenous races and convinced of the need for their subjugation; by force, if necessary. This Gerald of Wales provided a handy set of tools for Elizabethan advocates of the conquest and colonisation of Ireland, as the annotation in an italic hand on the relevant chapter of the *Topographia Hibernica* in the same manuscript suggests: '*quando Hibernia subjugata*' ('when Ireland was conquered').[21] Writing in support of the sovereignty of the English Crown over its neighbouring island, the Oxford don (and later Jesuit martyr) Edmund Campion also exploited Giraldus in his *Two bokes of the history of Ireland*, written in 1570–1 and dedicated to the earl of Leicester, patron to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney.[22]

These glittering nuggets of gold surely helped Parker, Davies, Cecil and others to overlook features of the topographical writings of Gerald of Wales that were less compatible with their religious world view: for example, the chapter in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* about the assassination of Thomas Becket 'by the hands of impious men' and the intrepid sufferings of this 'illustrious soldier and martyr of Christ'.[23] No less importantly, they permitted the preservation of texts filled with miracles

that in other contexts Protestants repudiated as relics of credulity and 'superstition', including accounts of holy wells, sacred stones and the premier Irish pilgrimage shrine, St Patrick's Purgatory at Lough Derg in County Donegal.[24] The presence of evidence of the longevity of the British Church enabled them to turn a blind eye to what T. D. Kendrick, in an echo of contemporary reformist sentiment, called 'an irritably medieval mass of legends, marvels and fancies'. They carefully sifted such texts for extracts that conformed with their outlook and silently filtered out those that did not fit.[25]

As Jennifer Summit has shown, this mode of reading was envisaged as a form of purification equivalent to the act of divine harvesting described in the parable of the wheat and the tares.[26] Parker himself admitted in the preface to an edition of Thomas of Walsingham's *Historia brevis* that conserving 'antique histories' of this kind had the inevitable side-effect of perpetuating the 'monastic fragments or rather old wives' fables' with which they were intermingled.[27] His chaplain and assistant Stephen Bateman defended this elsewhere saying that 'rashe borneng of ancient Records' just because they contained dubious elements was akin to setting an entire house on fire just to rid oneself of spiders, scorpions and other 'noysom thinges' that had crept into its corners.[28] Likewise Parkerian manuscripts of Giraldus Cambrensis exemplify the strategies of emendment that Gerald's nineteenth-century editors deplored as 'atrocious falsifications', but that recent work has reinterpreted more sympathetically as central to Parker's dual endeavour to renew texts and reform religion.[29] As Tony Grafton so persuasively argued, they must be seen in the context of his commitment to creating an enduring and accessible archive for future historians, an archive of printed editions that he believe would prove less fragile and ephemeral than the original documents themselves.[30]

Christian Cartography

Understood in its broadest sense, Parker's archive incorporated other forms of sacred geography to which we must now turn our attention. Among these are the various 'itineraries' to and descriptions of the holy land contained in the Parkerian collection. Some of these are fragments bound into Parker's manuscripts of Matthew Paris's *Chronica Maiora*. Corpus Christi MS 26 includes an illustrated seven-page itinerary from

London to Jerusalem with descriptions in French, similar to BL Royal MS 14. C.vii. A separate volume, once in the possession of Robert Talbot, prebendary of Norwich, incorporates another partial itinerary with cities, including the region of Apulia and Rome, a map of the holy land, and another badly mutilated map of the northern half of Britain (see Figure 2).[31]

MS 407 includes the itineraries of several thirteenth and fourteenth-century pilgrims, including an incomplete account of the journey *ad terram sanctam* undertaken by the Irish Franciscans Symon Semeonis and Hugo Illuminator in 1322. Symon Semeonis recorded the various saintly relics they saw as they crossed Europe with appropriate wonder, occasionally qualifying the extravagant tales the pair were told by their

FIGURE 2: Map of the British Isles: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 016 I (Matthew Paris, Chronica maiora II, *c.*1200–99), fo. iv v.
By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

guides with 'et dicitur' and defending holy objects against the scepticism of the 'pig Mahomet' and his followers. The sections on Palestine and the Middle East focus on sites linked with the Old Testament Jews and the life of Christ, mentioning Hebron as the place where God had 'fashioned Adam our first father' and the spot on the south side of the town of Babylon where the Lord spoke to Moses about leading the people of Israel out of Egypt. In Jerusalem itself he described the Sepulchre of the Lord, which he measured as 'only nine palms in length', and Calvary, counting the eighteen steps to its summit and noting the rocks split at the moment of Christ's crucifixion. He also pointed out the round hole within the buildings in that precinct into which Jesus had placed his finger saying, 'Here is middle of the world'.[32]

Other items in Parker's collection suggest that medieval texts concerning biblical geography were of particular interest to him and his scholarly circle, notably MS 315, a codex containing various works by the Augustinian theologian Richard of St Victor and extracts from Bede on the same subject. These include a description of the Temple of Solomon and an illustrated exegesis of Ezekiel's prophetic vision of the temple, the final folding leaf of which shows the division of the Holy Land among the twelve tribes of Israel.[33] Several Parkerian manuscripts contain representations of the mappa mundi, those powerful projections of Christian cosmology centred on Jerusalem as the symbolic centre and 'navel' of God's creation. Aptly described as 'chronogeographies' they need to be seen less as forms of cartography devised as locational or navigational tools than as didactic and exegetical diagrams.[34] The late thirteenth-century Hereford mappa mundi is perhaps the most famous example, but others are incorporated in Parker's copies of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* and in the compilations of imago mundi, chronica, itineraria and other material in Corpus Christi MS 66.[35] As multivalent symbols of Christian truths and of the salvation of mankind, they retained their relevance after the Reformation and proved largely immune from criticism, even in a context of intense anxiety about idolatry.

These and other manuscripts bring Parker into the orbit of intellectual tendencies with which he has not been sufficiently linked by previous historians. The sixteenth century witnessed a resurgence of interest in describing and mapping the landscape described in Scripture, building on the precedents set by the early church fathers Eusebius and

Jerome. Predominantly, but by no means exclusively a Protestant phenomenon, this trend illuminates continuities between medieval and early modern geographical cultures that, as Zur Shalev's excellent book, *Sacred Words and Worlds* reveals, defy exalted claims about the disenchantment of the discipline. It highlights the persistence of abstract depictions of the world in which historical time and space converged and that functioned as spiritual motifs of divine will. It also complicates claims that the reformers rejected wholesale earlier traditions of the pilgrimage. Protestant attitudes towards religious travel to the holy land were more ambiguous than is often acknowledged: those who travelled to it could not deny the sanctity of the places associated with Christ, not as conduits of thaumaturgic power but as spiritually charged environments in which one might remember his sacrificial life and death.[36] Stressing the 'co-dependency' of secular and spiritual traditions of journeying and the 'cosy embrace' of Christianity and humanism, Adam Beaver has rightly remarked that Palestine and the Near East remained God's classroom. The curiosity of visitors, whether they went there physically or merely in their imaginations, contained the same mixture of antiquarian fascination and devotion as Symon Semeonis's 'Itinerarium'. It combined empirical measurement with literary description in a way that defies suggestions of a radical Renaissance break with the past and a bifurcation of two classical traditions of geography represented by Ptolemy and Strabo, respectively. The former is associated with the mathematical and geometric approach that eventually dominated cartography; the latter with an anthropocentric variety of chorography that fed into prose works of topography.[37]

Parker's own library and publications reflect the coexistence of the two. He owned printed copies of Ptolemy and Strabo's works on geography and the engraved title page of *De Antiquitate* includes depictions of both Ptolemy and Strabo, who is seen painting a map of Anglia. This was itself recycled and adapted from another book published by John Day, William Cunningham's *The cosmographicall glasse* (1559).[38] Parker also possessed Sebastian Munster's Latin *Cosmographia* (1554 edition), a work that remains an unmistakeably Christian and moralised geography written to demonstrate the providential trajectory of the great sweep of human history even as it reflects the dawning of an age of scientific precision, as Matthew McLean has shown. Harmonising instincts that are still too frequently opposed, it is a book imbued with a sense of the sacrality

of the landscape traversed by Christ and the apostles, as well as with an interest in observation and quantification.[39]

Late in life Parker acquired a copy of the 1570 Antwerp folio edition of Abraham Ortelius's famous *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, which is inscribed on the first main fly leaf 'Mathew Cantuar' and 'Johannes Parker', with the date 1572 in red crayon on a small slip of paper bound into the book.[40] This is also a book that challenges teleological narratives about the emergence of modern cartography, of which Ortelius has long been regarded as the founding father. The maps that make up the *Theatrum* are constructed on Ptolemaic principles, but the accompanying descriptions are Straboesque in character. Those devoted to the British Isles, which were added in the *Additamentum* of 1573, are indebted to Humphrey Llwyd, who sent his own maps to Ortelius as he lay dying, together with 'certain fragments written with mine own hand', as a 'last remembrance'.[41] Llwyd's essay on Anglesey as the ancient seat of the druids, 'De Mona Druidum Insula', which attacked Polydore Vergil as a 'brasen faced diminisher of the Britons honour', was included as an appendix.[42] Ortelius also explicitly indicated the subjection of Ireland to 'the rulers of Anglia' (*regibus Angliae subditam*).[43] Later editions included separate maps of the constituent kingdoms bearing explicit marks of the influence of Giraldus Cambrensis. Ortelius also included maps of Palestine, the accompanying description to which noted how it had been divided among the twelve tribes, inhabited by the holy prophets, and had been the place where 'the Sonne of God did … receave humaine flesh'. Like the medieval pilgrimage itineraries we have already seen, this book provided precise measurements of Mount Calvary.[44] The *Parergon*, which Ortelius published as the second part of the *Theatrum* in 1579, was a set of forty maps of the ancient world, a work of historical cartography that eventually included a general map entitled *Geographia Sacra* as well as others showing the route of Exodus and the travels of St Paul and Abraham.[45] Reading Ortelius remained an act of pious contemplation and he envisaged the act of leafing through his atlas as an allegory of Christian life as well as a handbook of knowledge of the visible world. His cartographic efforts were in keeping with the commandment in Joshua 18:4 to 'go through the land, and describe it', which Jean le Clerc later declared was the original description of the art of sacred geography.[46]

This was a sphere of activity in which Matthew Parker even more directly participated. The key evidence here is his brainchild, the Bishops'

Bible, to which he himself contributed translations of Genesis, Exodus, the gospels of Matthew and Mark, and many of Paul's epistles.[47] If this deliberately excluded the 'bitter notes' associated with the Geneva version, it did include many of the biblical maps that are more commonly linked with the work of the Calvinist exiles.[48] It incorporates what is described as a 'Charte' showing the journey of the people of Israel out of Egypt into the land of Canaan, together with their longitudes and latitudes and a diagram of the division of land by Moses to the two tribes in Joshua 19.[49] In the New Testament there is a map of the journeys of Christ and the apostles in Judea, Samaria and Galilee, and a 'Cart Cosmographie' of the peregrinations of St Paul in the Mediterranean world, with the distances that he travelled indicated in miles.[50] Another figure represented 'the situation of Gods garden': the terrestrial paradise in which Adam and Eve had lived at Eden.[51] This was an issue on which a good deal of exegetical ink had been spilt in an attempt to explain apparent discrepancies in Scripture. Luther declared that all traces of it had completely vanished from view after the Flood; Calvin solved the problem of reconciling the Bible with the geography of the Near East by interpreting the reference to four rivers in the Old Testament as the source and mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates. Like those that appeared in the Geneva version, the map in the Bishops' Bible did not pinpoint the precise location of Eden but depicted the general region of Mesopotamia.[52]

Envisaged as aids for 'the better instruction' of 'gentle readers', these maps, charts and figures bore witness to the veracity of the events described in the Bible, assisted them in comprehending dark and difficult passages, and enabled them to visit the historical locus of their salvation vicariously. The presence of Parker's episcopal coat of arms on the map of Exodus incorporated in the 1574 edition of the Bishops' Bible is suggestive of his active interest in biblical cartography.[53] It is significant too that the probate inventory of Lambeth Palace drawn up in May 1575 lists an impressive collection of maps, including ones of 'the peregrination of Christe' and 'the Lande of Promise', as well as a view of the holy land.[54] Consistent with a Protestant theology that repudiated idolatrous images but sanctioned those that served the ends of education and commemoration, the maps in the Bishops' Bible sat alongside the illustrations with which the text was also embellished, among which were the tabernacle and the temple of Solomon. Even the depictions of the Golden Calf and Brazen Serpent were apparently acceptable as reminders of the idols

destroyed by the godly kings of the Old Testament, which themselves were types of the monuments of superstition destroyed by the Tudor monarchs.[55] Like other Elizabethan Protestants, Matthew Parker neither discarded nor wholly departed from the cartographic and topographical traditions of the past.

Itineraries and Anti-Pilgrimages

I shall now turn to another sacred geography that Parker was instrumental in saving for posterity: the domestic itineraries of the fifteenth-century Bristol-born secretary, servant and agent of Sir John Fastolf of Caister in Norfolk, William Botoner of Worcester. Once owned by Robert Talbot, the unique manuscript of this text is Corpus Christi MS 210 and bears marks of close inspection by Parker or another red-crayon-bearing paginator and annotator. It was a late acquisition, not listed in John Parker's Inventarium of 1593, but the partial transcript in MS 101 also implies that it was known to the archbishop.[56] Botoner's itineraries were partly inspired by the many journeys that he undertook to engage in legal research on his employer's behalf, but also by those he made on his own account, including a pilgrimage in the summer of 1478 from Norwich to St Michael's Mount in Cornwall. They are partly an assortment of travel notes and personal memoranda; partly an account book of the expenses he incurred as he criss-crossed the country (including payments for horse medicine and the services of blacksmiths and the purchase of victuals such as cucumbers, Spanish onions, sugar loaf and biscuit cakes); partly a description of traditional *loca sancta*; and partly a journal of the stories told by the local people with whom he conversed loquaciously (often over a drink) everywhere he went. The manuscript takes the form of folded narrow sheets, making a booklet suitable for fitting in a saddle bag and scribbling notes into at each stopping point. It was designed to be a portable working document.

If Botoner displayed little sensitivity to the contours or character of the landscape, he was impressed by ecclesiastical architecture and stained glass. He was also an assiduous, even obsessive measurer of the dimensions of the buildings that he visited using the unit of steps: he recorded that Salisbury Cathedral, for instance, was 270 steps long and 50 steps in breadth, its transept stretching for 120 steps from north to south.[57] Botoner was also an avid manuscript researcher, always eager

to peruse the contents of the libraries of the cathedrals and monastic houses that he visited and individuals he encountered. In Exeter he made notes from a manuscript of Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Cambriae* lent to him by a canon and prebendary; at Thetford he wrote down passages from the Lives of the Saints kept in the library of the Dominican friars; in Bristol, he recorded the chronologies of the generations from Adam to the Birth of Jesus in manuscripts at St John's Church, Redcliffe; at Walden Abbey in Essex, he transcribed extracts from the Chronicles of Gildas about King Lucius's baptism, along with the lesser princes of Britain, 164 years after the coming of Christ.[58] He displayed a conspicuous interest in the early history of Britain and actively sought out information on King Arthur and Joseph of Arimathea during his visit to Glastonbury Abbey.[59] These features of Botoner's notebook may explain the interest of Parker and other antiquaries in him and the decisions that they made to save his itineraries from the oblivion suffered by so many other manuscripts. Another titled *Antiquitates Anglie* is supposedly lost.[60]

Indeed, it may be argued that Botoner owes his status as a pioneer of English field archaeology and historical scholarship largely to Parker himself: we cannot know how many other lay topographers' works were cast aside as worthless and ruthlessly recycled for other purposes. It is tempting to suggest that Botoner's bibliophilia made him seem like a kindred spirit to scholars in the archbishop's circle. His interest in both books and the brand of British history popularised by Geoffrey of Monmouth drew them to him like a magnet to a pin, even as it allowed them to condone his Catholicism. It placed him in a select lineage that included their immediate precursors as collectors, John Leland and John Bale, and which illustrates the intersections between chorography and cartography, visual and verbal mapping in early modern England.[61]

This brings us neatly to the extended itineraries of Britain in which John Leland engaged for six years in the 1530s, the disorganised notes of which he intended to use as the basis for an ambitious work to be called the *Liber de Topographia Britanniae Primae*, and to be the template for a costly silver plaque depicting the 'impery of England' to be presented to Henry VIII. His descent into madness around 1546 prevented his publication plans from coming to fruition, though his manuscripts were widely consulted after his death in 1552, albeit already in a 'moth eaten, mouldie and rotten' state, and eventually appeared in a printed edition in the early eighteenth century thanks to Thomas Hearne.[62] Although lauded

as an inaugural work of Renaissance geography that contributed to the nation-building aims of the Tudor Reformation, Leland's itineraries can seem more like a slippery morass of repetitive and fragmentary notes in search of a coherent thesis and an overarching intellectual framework. John Cramsie has recently described them as a 'dynamic hodgepodge of experiences and remembrances', which bespeaks less patriotism than a kind of multiculturalism.[63] By contrast, Philip Schwyzer finds a 'rudimentary' narrative in Leland's presentation of his trajectories as a traveller encountering the land as 'a sequence of personally experienced events' in which place and time converge.[64]

Leland's *Itineraries* describe a world in transition, charting the changes to the material landscape in the wake of Protestant iconoclasm and the dissolution of the monasteries: they laconically record the site of former religious houses and shrines, often with the simple phrases 'now defaced', 'dekayid' or 'suppressed', and mark the fading of their memory into folklore and hearsay as their ruins crumbled. Occasionally, Leland dismisses the devotion for sacred sites 'yn tymes past' as 'superstitious', but mostly he remains studiously neutral on this issue. The banished saints and relics evoke little emotion. There is no note of triumphant elation at the fall; nor is there any of the pity for the passing of medieval world that we associate with scholars such as John Stow.[65] According to his 'newe yeares gyfte' to Henry VIII, belatedly published by John Bale in 1549, Leland had been commissioned by Henry 'to peruse and dylygentlye to search all the lybraryes of monasteryes and collegies' in the realm and bring their contents 'out of deadly darkeness to lyvelye lyght'. The dictionary of famous British writers that he compiled as a result of this 'laboryouse journey' or 'progress', '*De viris illustribus*', was later published in abbreviated form.[66]

It was left to Leland's friend and editor Bale to pick up where he left off: to publish his prospectus for his description of Britain, commend him as a latter-day Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy, and to carry on his work of recording the bibliographical remnants left after the general deluge of the Dissolution.[67] Bale's own sentiments on this subject were clear. He 'dolorously lamente[d]' as a fatal 'oversyghte' the failure of those behind the 'most lawfull overthrow of the sodometrouse Abbeyes & Fryeryes' to prevent the loss of 'the most worthy monumentes of the realme' in the spoil and turmoil. He could 'scarsely utter … wythout teares' his earnest wish that 'the profytable corne had not so unadvysedly and ungodly peryshed wyth the unprofytable chaffe, nor the wholsome herbes with the

unwholsome wedes'. The careless destruction of so much was a 'most horryble infamy' that would make England notorious among other nations, as was the reuse of manuscripts to scour candlesticks and rub boots, their sale to soap sellers and bookbinders, and their deployment for unmentionable purposes in jakes and privies. He could not but deplore the brood of 'Herostrates or abhomynable destroyars' who had extinguished Britain's proud and precious literary heritage.[68]

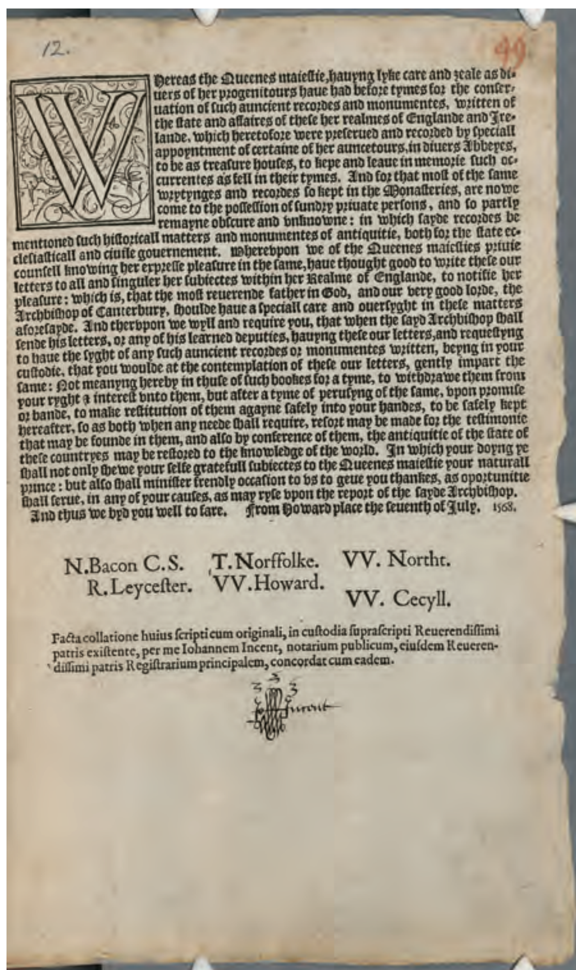
In the conclusion, Bale articulated the principles that underpinned Parker's own strategies of reading and collection, saying that although it was commendable 'to suppresse the dysgysed sects of the Romyshe Antichrist' it could not be suffered if this was at the cost of ruining 'Englandes noble monuments'. He didn't mind that decretals, decrees, extravagants, clementines and 'other such dregges of the devyll', together with 'Aristotles olde logyckes', 'Dunses dyvynyte' and 'lowsy legerdemaynes', had been consigned to the bonfire and become coverings for books, but he was scandalised that the ancient chronicles, histories, commentaries and homilies that were the honour of the nation had been lost.[69] Lament for the evisceration of ancient libraries was a perennial theme of Tudor antiquaries: Llwyd too deplored those destroyed 'with fire and sword' by pagan Anglo-Saxon kings.[70]

Undertaken to compile the history of his own order, the Carmelites, many of Bale's peregrinations to monasteries predated his conversion to Protestantism. Transcribed into small duodecimo volumes that formed what Nicholas Popper has termed 'compact personal archives', they recorded the results of journeys that echoed not merely the efforts of the fifteenth-century Heidelberg Benedictine Johannes Trithemius but also, ironically, in light of how Bale subsequently deployed the fruits of his labours, those made by pre-Reformation pilgrims. They were the product of techniques that became the basis of his efforts to preserve England's threatened textual patrimony.[71]

They also anticipated the research trips made by the band of bibliophilic scholars who worked in Matthew Parker's household-cum-academy at Lambeth. Armed with a licence from the Privy Council in 1568, Stephen Bateman, Laurence Nowell and others traversed the country in search of 'ancient records and monuments' now in private hands. Printed as a broadside with the signatures of Elizabeth's councillors, this document declared that the Queen, having the same 'care and zeal' as diverse of her progenitors for the preservation of writings relevant to

the history of her realms, required that those to whom this letter was presented allow the archbishop and his learned deputies access to and the use of all items in their custody for an appropriate period, so that their contents should not remain 'obscure and unknown'. The copy in the Parker library has been attested by a notary public (see Figure 3).[72]

A passport that opened doors to the personal libraries of Elizabeth's subjects (whether they liked it or not), it promised that in due course they would safely be restored again to their owners' hands – though, as we know, this did not always occur.



12. 49

Whereas the Queenes maiestie, hauyng lyke care and zeale as diuers of her progenitours haue had before tymes for the conseruation of such auncient recordes and monumentes, written of the state and affaires of these her realmes of Englande and Irelande, which heretofore were preserued and recorded by speciall appoyntment of certaine of her auncetours, in diuers Abbeyes, to be as treasure houses, to kepe and leaue in memorie such occurrentes as fell in their tymes. And for that most of the same wrytynges and recordes so kept in the Monasteries, are nowe come to the possession of sundry priuate persons, and so partly remayne obscure and vnknowne: in which sayde recordes be mentioned such historicall matters and monumentes of antiquitie, both for the state ecclesiasticall and ciuile gouernement. Wherevpon we of the Queenes maiesties priuie counsell knowing her expresse pleasure in the same, haue thought good to write these our letters to all and singuler her subiectes within her Realme of Englande, to notifie her pleasure: which is, that the most reuerende father in God, and our very good lorde, the Archbishop of Canterbury, shoulde haue a speciall care and ouersyght in these matters aforesayde. And therevpon we wyll and require you, that when the sayd Archbishop shall sende his letters, or any of his learned deputies, hauyng these our letters, and requestyng to haue the syght of any such auncient recordes or monumentes written, beyng in your custodie, that you woulde at the contemplation of these our letters, gently impart the same: Not meanyng hereby in thuse of such bookes for a tyme, to withdrawe them from your ryght & interest vnto them, but after a tyme of perusyng of the same, vpon promise or bande, to make restitution of them agayne safely into your handes, to be safely kept hereafter, so as both when any neede shall require, resort may be made for the testimonie that may be founde in them, and also by conference of them, the antiquitie of the state of these countryes may be restored to the knowledge of the world. In which your doyng ye shall not only shewe your selfe gratefull subiectes to the Queenes maiestie your naturall prince: but also shall minister frendly occasion to vs to geue you thankes, as oportunitie shall serue, in any of your causes, as may ryse vpon the report of the sayde Archbishop. And thus we byd you well to fare. From Howard place the seuenth of July. 1568.

N. Bacon C.S. T. Norffolke. VV. Northt.
R. Leycester. VV. Howard. VV. Cecyll.

Facta collatione huius scripti cum originali, in custodia suprascripti Reuerendissimi patris existente, per me Iohannem Incent, notarium publicum, eiusdem Reuerendissimi patris Registrarium principalem, concordat cum eadem.

FIGURE 3: Privy Council licence to allow Parker and his deputies access to 'ancient records and monuments' in private hands: *Whereas the Queenes maiestie …* ([London, 1568]). Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 114A (1) (Parker's correspondence, *c.*1500–99), p. 49. By permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The journeys made by Parkerian scholars and antiquaries in the 1560s and 1570s were themselves foreshadowed by those made by the visitors and commissioners for the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s. The letters and dispatches sent back to Thomas Cromwell by Richard Layton, Thomas Leigh, Elis Price and various others (now preserved in the British Library in Cotton Cleopatra E) convey a sense of frenetic activity. Layton's letter regarding his movements in Kent in October 1535 reported that he 'rode bake with spede to take an inventarie of Fowlstone [Folkstone], and from thens I went to Langden [West Langdon]', where immediately on dismounting his horse he ordered one of his men 'to circumcept the abbay' and close up all 'bake dorres and startynge hoilles' in case anyone tried to make a run for it. That morning, he would visit the archbishop at Canterbury and by nightfall he expected to reach Faversham Abbey. He closed, 'Scribullede this Satterday, and written with the hasty hand of your assurede servant'. The final line of a collective dispatch from Richard Pollard and others from Winchester in 1538, was a plea from Thomas Wriothesley to Cromwell to pardon the rudeness of the letter 'written in hast in the church whenne I was wery'.[73]

Cumulatively these letters comprise a set of itineraries in the vein of William Botoner and John Leland. Layton and Leigh were a formidable duo, writing in June 1537 with the request that they might have committed to them the whole of the north, beginning in Lincoln diocese, proceeding to Chester, York and then onwards to the borders of Scotland. They planned 'to ryde downe one syde and to cum up the other', uncovering knavery, 'coloryde sanctite', and 'all supersticiouse rewlles of pretensyde religion' as they went.[74] Accompanied by lists of the sacred objects that the commissioners confiscated and the shrines that they dismantled, some of these letters are attentive to architectural detail in a way that uncannily echoes antiquarian note-taking. In the case of a report written by the Italian-born military engineer and courtier, Sir Giovanni Portinari, whom Cromwell placed in charge of pulling down Lewes Priory in March 1538, this is perhaps not surprising. This provides a precise description of the building and its dimensions, noting the length, height, circumference and depth of the walls, as well as the vault and high altar 'borne up by fower thicke and grose pillars'.[75] Others took occasion to peruse and summarise the manuscripts that they encountered in monastic treasuries and libraries: Thomas Bedyll told Cromwell of a charter of King Edgar in Ramsay Abbey written 'in a very antique Romane hand' exempting the

abbot and his convent from the jurisdiction of all bishops, saying 'Ther may be good notes gatherd out herof'.[76] And sometimes the roles of visitor and antiquary, iconoclast and bibliophile, were rolled into one: most notably in the case of John Prise, who was appointed registrar general in ecclesiastical causes in 1534 and involved in the surrender of monasteries in Hampshire, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire in the later years of that decade, and who clearly exploited the opportunities this afforded to build his own library.[77]

Simultaneously these dispatches constitute a series of anti-pilgrimages. Where pre-Reformation pilgrims had visited to revere hallowed remnants of the saints, the Cromwellian commissioners frequented them to expose the falsehood of the medieval Church and remove occasions for spiritually dangerous rituals. Their mocking and scurrilous tone attests to a virulent strand of anti-monasticism and anti-popery. They are filled with contempt for the 'carnall and abhomynable lyvyng' that they find in many monasteries, together with the multiple pieces of Our Lady's girdle, the coals of St Lawrence, the pairings of St Edmund's nails, the halter with which Judas was hanged, Becket's penknife and boots, and other 'roten bones' and 'trynketts' they discover during their visits. They deface rather than pray at the shrines and tabernacles, so 'that there schullde no more idollatre and supersticion be there usyd', to quote Sir William Bassett's letter regarding the holy well of St Anne at Buxton.[78] They participate in a process designed to efface the memory of the Catholic past, even as they also partially record it. As Jennifer Summit has demonstrated, the very arrangement of this correspondence by Robert Cotton reflected and perpetuated the narrative of the English Reformation constructed by Parker and Foxe: his chronologically ordered archive was 'a multipart chronicle' of the hidden history of true religion buried in medieval sources and of the onset and triumph of Protestantism in the reign of Henry VIII and his successors.[79]

Matthew Parker and William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*

The zeal and relish for exposing superstition and idolatry that suffuses the Henrician correspondence engendered by the dissolution is reminiscent of William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, first published a year after Parker's death in 1576, and widely celebrated as the progenitor

of the tradition of county histories and the forerunner of Camden's *Britannia*.[80] Lawyer, magistrate and scholar, Lambarde trained at Lincoln's Inn at the same time as the antiquary and map-maker Lawrence Nowell, whose extensive library he acquired following Nowell's disappearance while travelling in Europe in the early 1570s.[81] It was his deep interest in Anglo-Saxon history that brought Lambarde into contact with Matthew Parker, with whom he exchanged manuscripts, with whose encouragement he published the *Archaionomia* in 1568 and by whom he was warmly praised in the 1574 edition of Asser's *Aelfredi Regis Res Gestae*.[82] When Lambarde shared his discovery of the famous *Textus Roffensis* with Parker, the latter instructed him to insert a passage in Latin regarding the dubious editorial activities of his eleventh-century predecessor as archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, who had, according to Parker, corrupted the text of scripture under pretence of correcting it and wrested it to fit his own purposes.[83] Ironically, of course, a similar observation could be made about the archbishop himself.

What became the *Perambulation of Kent* began as the opening instalment of a projected *Topographical Dictionary* of the entire British Isles – a work in the tradition of those planned, but never finished by both Gerald of Wales and John Leland, which Lambarde proposed to organise alphabetically and in which he hoped others would cooperate. He gathered notes towards this throughout the 1560s and by 1570 had written the first part of it, eventually abandoning the larger enterprise when his efforts were overtaken by Camden's.[84] When a draft of this treatise was complete, it was to Parker that he sent it to read and amend, 'not meaning to put it abroad till it had suffered the hamber of some of his friends' judgement'. In May of 1573, Parker wrote to Lord Burghley enclosing it. He admitted that he did not have permission to do so but asked Burghley to correct it at his leisure, praying that he remain discreet. In July he forwarded on Lambarde's dedicatory epistle to his local patron, Thomas Wootton, reminding Burghley of the need for secrecy, because the author reputed it imperfect and did not want it circulated. To cover up this breach of confidentiality, Parker went to the length of obliterating Lambarde's signature.[85]

The text as published in 1576 bears the marks of Parkerian advice and intervention. These include sections stressing the independence of the English Church from the papacy, sideswipes against Polydore Vergil, and a discussion of how Archbishop Lanfranc and Anselm had

busied themselves divorcing canons and secular priests from their wives, which was read as clear evidence that clerical marriage had been permitted 'in England of olde time'.[86] This is not to mention Lambarde's direct acknowledgement of the manuscripts that Parker had lent him, including a Psalter of David, sundry homilies in Greek, and texts by Archbishop Theodore 'beautifully written in thicke paper', accompanied by a flattering but sincere celebration of this 'reverend father … whose care for conservation of learned Monumentes can never be sufficiently commended'.[87] An earlier draft of the *Perambulation* bearing the original title and dated 1570, and containing additions and instructions to a copyist in Lambarde's hand, is also suggestive of the points of overlap between his and Parker's outlooks. Among these were references to passages in the writings of King Alfred and Aelfric that suggested that prior to the era of Dunstan the liturgy had been in English rather than Latin, by which the reader would see 'howe easie it was for the dyvell or the pope to creepe in' to the Church of England.[88] On such pages, we can almost see Parker's fingerprints.

Unlike the topographical works of Gerald of Wales, William Botoner and John Leland, the *Perambulation* does not record an actual itinerary. It adopts the journey as a rhetorical device and narrative conceit to provide a framework for his own intellectual peregrinations, for a tour around the inside of his library and his mind. Lambarde describes himself as a Xenagogus (which is Greek for guide) and his book as a work of topography rather than a chronography, though he admits that 'the one can not fully be perfourmed without enterlacing the other'.[89] The textual outcome of the tour on which he leads us is full of meandering digressions and detours, which reflect the mode of its composition and revision over several years, as well as the mixture of first and second-hand information, oral and written evidence from which it derives. The preface summarises the contents of the introduction of the intended *Topographical dictionary*, which included a discussion of the conversion of the country to Christianity and the special place of Kent in this process, being the entry point for both the disciples of the Apostle Philip in the first century (or so he alleges) and the messengers of Gregory the Great. Lambarde says it is 'past all doubt' that the Britons had embraced the faith of Christ before the arrival of Augustine, during whose time much 'trumpery' had infiltrated the Church of God. It also references the repopulation of the earth following the Deluge by

the descendants of Shem, Ham and Japheth, whose sixth son Samothes took dominion of France and Britain 250 years after the Flood. The main section of the book is preceded by a map and exposition of the English heptarchy; lists of towns, cities and boroughs, the nobility and gentry, and an overview of 'the Welsh' or 'Bryttishe hystorie'.[90] Llwyd's *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptions fragmentum* published in 1572 and translated the following year by Thomas Twyne, himself the son of a Canterbury schoolmaster and antiquary, must have provided some inspiration. This too combined book learning with snippets of empirical observation about prominent topographical features including rivers and healing springs. He could not condone 'the superstitious worshyppinge of the Virgin Wenefride' at Holywell, but did concede that its waters were 'most holsome unto mans body … in so much that many beinge washed therin: were cured of divers infirmities, wherewith they were borne'.[91]

The core of Lambarde's book is a perambulation around the two dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester: a circuit that consciously mimics the ecclesiastical ritual of walking parish boundaries as well as the episcopal visitations in which Parker himself was assiduous. The places at which he pauses on this literary itinerary are often the sites of former religious houses or other locations deemed sacred before the Reformation. Lambarde cannot restrain himself from giving vent to his virulent Protestant rage against deceits and legerdemain perpetrated by the papists. Even as he scathingly dismisses the 'pevish and pelting' miracles and relics he mentions as absurdities and declares that they don't deserve to be recorded on paper, he repeatedly succumbs to the temptation to do so. His aim is to expose them as devices by which monks and priests had pulled the wool over the eyes of the laity. Most of the entry on Boxley is an account of the notable fraud and imposture that was the notorious moving rood, no supernatural wonder but an ingenious mechanical contraption designed to seduce the 'sillie lambes of Gods flocke' and fill the coffers of the monastery, which Lambarde compares directly with Priapus, the 'beastly' pagan idol of old. He sets down this history to 'the everlasting reproche, shame, and confusion' of the Church of Rome. The reduction of the town to 'utter decay and beggarie' after the Reformation was by 'the just judgement of God'.[92] At Otford he lists St Thomas Becket's 'spiteful miracles': the nightingales that he made disappear permanently from the park after they hindered his prayer,

among other such toys that 'fonde people (alas) have beleeved of this jolly Martyr, and Pope holy man'.[93]

These examples must suffice to indicate the character of a text that often quotes from John Capgrave's popular *Nova Legenda Angliae* precisely to demonstrate just how ridiculous this anthology is.[94] In this way, to echo Jennifer Summit, hagiography is 'made to tell the story of its own desanctification'.[95] Lambarde self-consciously deployed the same techniques of discrimination as Parker and his colleagues. He too sought to separate the corn from the chaff and the metal from the dross in the books he read by 'the fire and fan, of judgement and discretion, to trie and sift them a sunder'.[96] The *Perambulation* is both a counter archive of saints and the alter ego of a pilgrimage itinerary. It helps to effect the transformation of hallowed items and places from objects of belief into what Pierre Nora called 'lieux de memoire'.[97] In its own way it is a form of sacred geography, a book that preserves the memory of the vanquished past in the same fashion as the mutilated statues and ruined abbeys that some Protestants thought should stand as a reminder of victory and as a warning against backsliding from the Gospel to popish wickedness. Lambarde is torn between wanting to forget it and to recollect it for the edification of future generations. This same tension can be detected, in varying proportions, in the writings of the Elizabethan and Stuart antiquaries that succeeded him: a tension, to echo Daniel Woolf, between 'their appreciation for medieval artefacts and … religious beliefs which … strongly convinced them that these were the spoils of superstition, brought low by vengeful providence'.[98] Nowhere is this ambivalence more explicit than in Lambarde's comments on the ecclesiastical headquarters of England, Canterbury, a city filled with monasteries that were now in a parlous state of dilapidation:

> As I can not on the one side, but in respect of the places them selves, pitie & lament this general desolation, not only in this Shyre, but in all other places of the Realme: So on the other side, considering the maine Seas of sinne and iniquitie, wherein the worlde (at those dayes) was almost whole drenched, I must needs take cause, highly to prayse God, that hath thus mercifully in our age delivered us, disclosed Satan, unmasked those Idols, dissolved the Synagoges, and raced to the grounde all Monuments of building, erected to superstition and ungodlynesse.

God had not spared Sodom or Jerusalem so why should Canterbury or Walsingham escape being laid waste? They stood as visible memorials to the fall of monkery and false religion. Lambarde felt compassion for these once thriving settlements and their inhabitants. But there is little trace here of the aesthetic sensibilities that led later seventeenth and eighteenth-century antiquaries to lament the loss of the abbeys and to regard their mouldering carcasses as solemnly beautiful and sublimely picturesque.[99]

Did Matthew Parker share Lambarde's view of the seat of his see and the material remnants of the medieval past? Two small snippets of evidence suggest that he may have been of a different temper. One is the late thirteenth-century text bound at the end with the Gerald of Wales compilation: an account of the verses in the twelve stained glass windows in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, a splendid cycle illustrating the life and passion of Christ from the Annunciation to the Resurrection, including the Old Testament types of these events and depictions of eight parables.[100] Fragments of these still survive, despite the iconoclastic attacks carried out by Richard Culmer and his associates in the 1640s. It would be wrong to read too much into the survival of this text, but it does raise questions that require further investigation. It resonates faintly with the priorities implicit in the proclamation issued on 19 September 1560 prohibiting the destruction of ancient church memorials of metal, stone and glass erected 'not to nourish any kind of superstition' and 'only to show a memory to the posterity of the persons there buried'. Both the concern displayed in this document for preventing 'barbarous disorder' and for ensuring that remembrance of deceased worthies is not darkened or defaced, and the distinction it draws between monuments of idolatry and monuments to the memory of the exemplary dead, indicate an approach compatible with Parker's ecclesiastical and scholarly strategies.[101] Ironically, in 1648 Parker's own tomb in the chapel at Lambeth Palace became the target of exactly the kind of spoil and ruination this proclamation deplored: it was demolished by one of the regicides and the bones of a bishop who was no friend to the puritans was reburied in a dunghill.[102] Parker's monument was part of the sacred geography of the imperfect Reformation that godly Protestants set out to complete in the mid-seventeenth century.

This chapter has illuminated the intellectual milieu from which Humphrey Llwyd emerged by exploring overlooked dimensions of the

scholarly activities of Matthew Parker, the leading collector of medieval manuscripts in late Tudor England. It has investigated Parker's engagement with the classical legacy of Strabo and Ptolemy, with medieval traditions of topography and cosmography, and with the emerging Renaissance disciplines of chorography and cartography. It has demonstrated the convergence of his interests in space and place with time and history and illustrated the continuity, transformation and polemical inversion of the practices and textual products of pilgrimage in the post-Reformation period. It has argued that we need to integrate an awareness of Parker's preoccupation with biblical maps and British geography into our understanding of his religious mentality and his antiquarianism. The decisions that Parker and his associates made about which books and manuscripts in monastic libraries should be saved and which discarded have assisted in creating intellectual and textual genealogies with which we still live today. Alongside those rescued and preserved by Llwyd, they played a critical part in the invention of the British past. They delineated a history that was inextricably linked with the physical landscape in which it resided. The verse from Jeremiah 6 that adorned the title page of Parker's *The testimonie of antiquitie* should be read literally as well as metaphorically: 'Goe into the streetes, and inquire for the olde way and if it is the good and ryght way, then goe therin, that ye maye finde rest for your soules.'[103]

Notes

1. See May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), chapter 2; Benedict Scott Robinson, '"Darke Speech": Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29 (1998), 1061–83; David Crankshaw and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Matthew Parker (1504–1575)', in *ODNB*, *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21327* (last accessed 24 August 2024); Timothy Graham, 'Matthew Parker's Manuscripts: An Elizabethan Library and its Use', in Elisabeth S. Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol. 1: to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 322–44; Madeline McMahon, 'Matthew Parker and the Practice of Church History', in Nicholas Hardy and Dmitri Levitin (eds), *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe: An Episode in the History of the Humanities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 116–53.

2. Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).
3. Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum. The Theatre of the Whole World* (London, 1606), dedication to Philip II.
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (hereafter, CCC), MS 400 (Topographia Hiberniae). See also London, British Library (hereafter, BL), MS Royal 13. B VIII; BL Additional MS 43706 (Topography and Itinerary of Wales, transcribed by Laurence Nowell, 1562); BL MS Harley 359 (Descriptio Cambriae; Expugnatio Hibernica; Topographia Hibernica; and Itinerarium Cambriae); Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff.1.27 (Parkerian compilation including Itinerarium Cambriae, Descriptio Cambriae, Itinerarium, Topographia Hiberniae). On Giraldus, see Robert Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales [Giraldus Cambrensis]', *ODNB*, *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10769* (last accessed 24 August 2024); and Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); see Appendix for a list of surviving manuscripts, which are discussed by Catherine Rooney, 'The Manuscripts of the Works of Gerald of Wales', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2005). The Latin texts are edited in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer *et al.*, 8 vols (London, 1861–91), vols 5–6. For translations, see *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1892). A new scholarly edition, funded by a Leverhulme project led by the late Richard Sharpe and now Thomas Charles-Edwards is in preparation for the Oxford Medieval Texts series, though the relevant volumes have not yet appeared.
5. Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (London: Penguin, 1999), pp. 99–100.
6. CCC, MS 400, fo. vii r; Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS 700, discussed in Thomas O'Loughlin, 'An Early Thirteenth-Century Map in Dublin: A Window into the World of Giraldus Cambrensis', *Imago Mundi*, 51 (1999), 24–39.
7. John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorium: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers*, ed. Reginald Lane Poole and Mary Bateson, with an introduction by Caroline Brett and James P. Carley (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990 [first publ. 1902]), pp. 419–27.
8. *Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. Wright, p. 507.
9. Felicity Heal, 'What can King Lucius do for you? The Reformation and the Early British Church', *English Historical Review*, 120 (2005), 593–614, at 607.
10. *The holie bible* (London, 1568), 'A Preface unto the Byble', sig. *ii v; Matthew Parker, *De antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae* (London, 1572), pp. 5–8.
11. *Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. Wright, p. 514.

12. John Prise, *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio* (London, 1573). See N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', in A. G. Watson (ed.), *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage* (London: Hambledon, 1985), pp. 471–95; Huw Pryce, 'Sir John Prise (1501/2–1555)', *ODNB*, *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22752* (last accessed 24 August 2024). Prise was the owner of the Trinity College MS R.7.11, which is referred to in an inscription in CCC, MS 400, fols 41–2 in relation to a passage in praise of Giraldus Cambrensis. On the Welsh connection, see Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter 3.
13. Matthew Parker, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. John Bruce, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1853), pp. 265–7. See Robin Flower, 'Richard Davies, William Cecil, and Giraldus Cambrensis', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 3 (1943), 11–14. This describes a NLW copy annotated 'Gulielmi Cecilii ex dono Rich Daviss' (11). On Davies, see Glanmor Williams, 'Bishop Richard Davies (?1501–1581)', in *Welsh Reformation Essays* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967) and 'Richard Davies (*c*.1505-1581)', *ODNB*, *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7255* (last accessed 24 August 2024). On the collaboration of Parker and Davies, see also Williams's 'Some Protestant Views of Early British Church History', in *Welsh Reformation Essays*, pp. 212–13.
14. CCC, MS 114A, p. 493, printed in *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, ed. Bruce, p. 266; cf. 'Address to the Welsh People' prefacing the Welsh New Testament of 1567 in Albert Owen Evans, *A Memorandum on the Legality of the Welsh Bible and the Welsh Version of the Book of Common Prayer* (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1925), Appendix III, p. 92.
15. Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britayne*, trans. Thomas Twyne (London, 1573); *The historie of Cambria, now called Wales*, ed. David Powel (London, 1584); Humphrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. Ieuan M. Williams and J. Beverley Smith (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002). See R. Brinley Jones, 'Humphrey Llwyd (1527–1568)', *ODNB*, *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16867* (last accessed 24 August 2024). Salesbury is quoted in *BB*, p. 2.
16. *BB*, pp. 56, 118, 151, 164–5.
17. *BB*, p. 21.
18. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 57.
19. CCC, MS 400, fol. 78r.
20. BL, MS Harley 544, fol. 2r.
21. CCC, MS 400, fol. 42r. See Hiram Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis and the Tudor Conquest of Ireland', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp. 22–44; Brendan

Kane, 'Did the Tudors Read Giraldus? Gerald of Wales and Early Modern Polemical Historiography', in A. Joseph McMullen and Georgia Henley (eds), *Gerald of Wales: New Perspectives on a Medieval Writer and Critic* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018), pp. 213–30. For another account of his early modern impact, see W. R. Jones, '*Giraldus Redivivus*: English Historians, Irish Apologists, and the Works of Gerald of Wales', *Éire-Ireland*, 9 (1974), 3–20.

22. Edmund Campion, *Two bokes of the histories of Ireland … edited from MS Jones 6, Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. A. F. Vossen (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1963). This remained in manuscript until it was printed as *Two histories of Ireland. The one written by Edmund Campion, the other by Meredith Hanmer* (Dublin, 1633).
23. *Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, ed. Wright, pp. 217–19. This was omitted by Hooker; see Morgan, 'Giraldus Cambrensis', p. 39.
24. Gerald of Wales, *History and Topography of Ireland*, part 2. For St Patrick's Purgatory, see p. 61. See also Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 53–4, 199–201, 215–17.
25. T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950), p. 134.
26. Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2008), pp. 110, 114–16.
27. *Historia brevis Thomæ Walsingham, ab Edwardo primo, ad Henricum quintum* (London, 1574), sig. ¶ii v: '*historias antiquissimas ediderim, in quibus monastica quaedam fragmenta, aut potius aniles fabulae reperientur*.'
28. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.19, fol. 67v.
29. *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Dimock, 6: xxvi, n. 1. For the revisionist scholarship, see n. 1 above, esp. Robinson, 'Darke Speech;' Summit, *Memory's Library*, chapter 3; McMahon 'Matthew Parker'. See also Emily Butler, 'Recollecting Alfredian English in the Sixteenth Century', *Neophilologus*, 98 (2014), 145–59.
30. Anthony Grafton, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive', *History of Humanities*, 2 (2017), 15–50.
31. CCC, MS 26 (Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora I), fols i r, ii r, iii v, iv v, vii v. See also CCC, MS 16 (Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, II), fol. iv v. Maps of Britain can also be found in other Matthew Paris MSS in the BL: Cotton MS Claudius D.VI, fol. 12v; Royal MS 14. C.vii, fols 4v–5r.
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5

The ‘hodgepodge trash of *Lud*’: George Buchanan on Humphrey Llwyd’s Vision of Britain

Roger A. Mason

One of the more intriguing aspects of George Buchanan’s *Rerum Scoticarum historia*, first published at Edinburgh in 1582, is the venomous attack on Humphrey Llwyd that opens Book 1 (a description of Scotland) and ends Book 2 (a study of the origins of the British peoples). Buchanan’s vitriol is all the more surprising in that by the time his *Historia* was published, the Welshman had been dead for nearly a decade and a half. That said, it is not entirely surprising that Llwyd’s vision of Britain, as set out in his posthumous *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* (Cologne, 1572), received a hostile reception in Scotland. In so far as it served to reinforce ideas of Anglo-British imperialism, albeit with a Cambro-British twist, it was part of a well-established historical narrative that had been used for centuries to prove the Scottish kingdom’s inferior status as a feudal dependency of the Crown of England. In bringing to bear his linguistic skill and antiquarian learning to uphold the authenticity of Brutus, Brennus and Arthur, Llwyd was following in the footsteps of the likes of John Leland and John Bale in reinvigorating the so-called British History and the narrative of English hegemony over the British Isles that had become integral to it.[1] It may well be that Thomas Twyne’s English translation of the *Commentarioli*, *The Breviary of Britain* (London, 1573), contains the first ever use of the phrase ‘British Empire’.[2] However, in the 1540s, in the context of the Rough Wooing and the proposed dynastic union of Scotland and England, there are

frequent references to Britain as an empire, and even, in a printed pamphlet of 1548, to England as 'the onely supreme seat of the empire of great Briteigne'.[3]

As this implies, such visions of Britain firmly subordinated Scotland to England, denying in the process the Scots' cherished belief in their kingdom's high antiquity and continuous independence. This was hardly new: it was in the 1290s that Edward I first weaponised Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia regum Britanniae*, arguing that the Scottish kingdom was a dependency of the English Crown and that Scottish kings had always paid homage to their English superiors.[4] This understanding of the relationship between the two kingdoms was effectively codified in late medieval English chronicles and remained embedded in many of the printed histories of the sixteenth century, up to and including that of Raphael Holinshed. But it was a vision of Britain that was vigorously contested by Scots throughout the late Middle Ages and beyond. Indeed, when Holinshed's *Chronicles* were first published in 1577, its volumes included not only a *Description of Britain* by William Harrison that restated in no uncertain terms the case for English superiority, but also, paradoxically, a wholly contradictory version of Scottish history based on the Latin *Scotorum historia* of Hector Boece, first published in Paris in 1527, translated into Scots and printed in Edinburgh in the mid-1530s, and reissued in Latin with a continuation by Giovanni Ferrerio in 1575.[5]

Clearly, Boece's *Historia* was widely disseminated in the sixteenth century, to the extent that it was taken as the canonical version of a Scottish past that had developed in the shadow of, and as a counter to, the Galfridian vision of Britain. A Matter of Scotland to match the Matter of Britain, not least in its inventive approach to the remote past. Boece himself was a distinguished academic, a professor of liberal arts who had rubbed shoulders with Erasmus in Paris before becoming principal of the new university foundation, King's College Aberdeen, where he served until his death in 1536.[6] Samuel Johnson once said of Boece's *Historia* that it was a product of an age when humanists were, 'for the most part, learning to speak, rather than to think, and were therefore more studious of elegance than of truth'.[7] This hardly does justice to contemporary humanist historians like Polydore Vergil, whose *Anglica Historia* (Basle, 1534) expressed considerable scepticism about Brutus, Brennus and Arthur and who duly outraged the likes of Leland, Bale

and, of course, Llwyd.[8] Yet it is not entirely wide of the mark as far as Boece is concerned. For there is a sense in which his *Scotorum historia* is a rhetorical exercise designed to present to a European humanist readership a coherent and compelling narrative that celebrated the kingdom's great antiquity and continuous independence.[9] Thus, drawing on well-established Scottish tradition, he recounted the origins' legend that traced the Scots descent to the Greek Prince Gathelus and Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, whose son Iber and his descendants peopled first Iberia and then Hibernia before establishing a distinct kingdom of the Scots in Argyll on the British mainland under King Fergus I in 330 BCE. This not only offered an account of the Scots' origins wholly uncontaminated by the story of Brutus and his progeny, but also allowed Boece to proceed to argue, again following his Scottish chronicle sources, that the descendants of Fergus, numbering more than 100 kings, had from that day to his stoutly defended the autonomy of their realm, never once surrendering to foreign conquest. Where Boece 'improved' on his medieval sources, however, in a way reminiscent of Geoffrey of Monmouth himself, was in claiming to have uncovered accounts of Scotland's remote past that enabled him to flesh out, in astonishing depth and detail, the careers of some forty hitherto unnamed kings of Scots who reigned for 700 years between the fourth century BCE and the fourth century CE. A period that had been glossed over in a few pages of largely puzzled conjecture in the medieval chronicles, now in Boece was spread across no fewer than six of the seventeen books of his *Historia*, a dazzling panorama of the remote past realised, as it were, in full technicolour.[10]

It is presumably no more than coincidence that Llwyd was born in the year that Boece's *Historia* was published. But as the Welshman later emerged as a champion of the Matter of Britain, he unsurprisingly had little time for the Matter of Scotland as popularised via Boece's narrative. Of course, it is Polydore Vergil who is Llwyd's principal target in the *Commentarioli*. However, he also frequently takes issue with Boece, variously describing him as 'the lying champion of the Scottish name', 'foolish and impudent', 'faithless', and 'a most vayne reporter of fables'.[11] Whereas Llwyd was prepared to defend at length the descent of Britons from the (more or less) eponymous Brutus, he simply dismissed out of hand Boece's 'Aegyptian fables of Scota'.[12] But he did not stop there. Still more telling was his effective demolition of the early history of Scotland

as recounted in the opening books of Boece's *Historia*. Here he did not pull his punches:

> Et ut hominem impurissimum suis depingam coloribus, fucumque et praestigia quibus omnium oculos perstringere conatur aperiantur, aliquas eius vanissimas nugas, et omnibus cordatis pro mendaciis cognitas leviter attingamus.
>
> But to the intent that I may set foorth the most beastly man in his colours, and that the sleight and subtlety wherewith he endevoureth to bleare all mens eyes may be displayed, I will briefly toche certayne of his most vayne trifles, and such as all men of wit and understandynge may easely perceave to be starke lies.[13]

He then proceeded to argue that Boece had appropriated to the Scots the exploits of other peoples (not least great Britons such as Boudica and Caratacus), conveniently relocated the valiant Brigantes from Yorkshire to Galloway in order to steal their glory, and concocted on the basis of misconstrued and deliberately misread classical and other sources an account of the Scots' heroic defence of their freedom against Britons and Romans alike that was nothing more than fantasy. Boece, in short, was a 'malicious falsefier, with out al shame or honestie' whose account of the first seven centuries of the Scottish kingdom's history was completely fabricated.[14] According to Llwyd, and here he came close to modern historical understanding, while Irish incursions into mainland Britain may have occurred before then, there was no evidence of a settled Scottish kingdom before the early fifth century CE. This was not intended, he concluded, to 'detract any thinge from the Scottish glory'; the Scots, he assured his readers, had long since departed their barbarism, embraced the Christian religion, and had shown in their wars with England 'no signe of [being] a cowardly or hartlesse people'. However, these magnanimous words probably fell on deaf Scottish ears as they follow directly on Llwyd quoting at length from St Jerome to the effect that the early Scots were cannibals who 'use to cut of the buttockes of the hardsmen and keepers, and the pappes of women, accomptyng those partes for a most delicious dish'.[15]

It is worth noting that much of Llwyd's critique of Boece is reworked in Harrison's 1577 *Description of Britain*, though whatever pretensions to

archipelagic balance we allow to Llwyd is entirely absent from Harrison's Anglocentric and Scotophobic tract (even the Scots' dining on 'the buttocks of herdsmen and keepers' is changed to the still more degenerate 'buttocks of boys').[16] Put another way, while the Matter of Britain was being widely promoted in the opening decades of Elizabeth's reign, the Matter of Scotland was being vigorously assailed. It is in this context that we should place the intervention in the debate of George Buchanan. Buchanan was of an earlier generation than Llwyd, born as he was in 1506 and educated in Paris in the first flush of Erasmian humanist zeal.[17] It was as a neo-Latin poet and dramatist, an accomplished translator of Euripides from Greek into Latin, that he made his reputation as one of Europe's leading classicists, the 'prince of poets' as he was dubbed, admittedly by his own Parisian publisher Robert Estienne.[18] A life-long pedagogue, a professor of Greek and Latin, whose cosmopolitan career took him to France, Portugal and Italy, he was in his later years appointed tutor to the young James VI, charged with bringing him up as a godly Protestant prince.[19] However, Buchanan is probably best remembered today for his later prose works, the *De iure regni apud Scotos dialogus* (1579) and the *Rerum Scoticarum historia* (1582), both of which were inextricably tied to his defence of the deposition in 1567 of James's mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and the highly partisan polemics that surrounded the exiled and imprisoned queen in the ensuing two decades.[20] Buchanan's *Historia*, published in the year of his death (1582), was designed both to lend legitimacy to Mary's overthrow and to blacken her name as an adulterous murdering whore.

Yet there is more to Buchanan's *Historia* than its anti-Marianism. More than fifty years ago, Hugh Trevor-Roper (Lord Dacre of Glanton) wrote a lengthy hatchet job on Buchanan that, while quite brilliant in parts, is marred by his apparently pathological dislike of his subject and the whig politics that he stood for.[21] In essence, Dacre argued that, in the context of Mary's overthrow in 1567, Buchanan lit upon Boece's fabulous account of the early centuries of Scottish history and out of it fashioned an 'ancient Scottish constitution' that offered a range of precedents not just for the accountability of kings to their subjects, but for their deposition, imprisonment and execution. This (he asserted) both underpinned Buchanan's brief political tract, *De iure regni*, actually written in 1568 though not published until a decade or so later, and the constitutionalist thread that held the *Historia* together and which was deployed to

justify its climactic moment when Mary is held to account for her vicious tyranny and deposed and imprisoned in the same way as many of her predecessors. However, as Dacre excitedly pointed out, just as Buchanan was setting to work on finalising his *Historia* in the early 1570s, Humphrey Llwyd's explosive little book, the *Commentarioli*, was published posthumously in Cologne, completely demolishing the rickety historical foundations of Buchanan's elaborate political theory. Or, as Dacre gleefully put it, Llwyd 'had blown up all Boece's extra 700 years of Scottish history, all those forty kings whose vertiginous alternations of election, fornication and deposition had provided almost the entire historical basis of Buchanan's ancient whig constitution of Scotland'.[22] Buchanan's reaction was, Dacre argued, immediately to incorporate into the first two books of his *Historia* a withering personal attack on Llwyd and a rather unconvincing defence of Boece. In the longer term, however, exposed as a vain, old fraud, Buchanan laboured half-heartedly on the *Historia*, letting it see the light of day only reluctantly and on his deathbed.[23]

While the tone of Dacre's essay may be questionable, its substance is in large part correct. Moreover, in the course of his analysis, he rightly argued on the basis of a surviving manuscript of Buchanan's *Historia* that its first two books – a topographical description of Scotland and a dissertation on the origins of the British peoples – were originally conceived and written as a separate project (or projects) that were subsequently drafted in as an introduction to the *Historia* proper.[24] Exactly when these were written is a matter of debate. Buchanan's interest in writing a history of Scotland appears to have been of long standing: there are stray references to his authorship of a 'historiam Scoticam' as early as 1552 and there is good reason to believe that his deep interest in philology and knowledge of the Gaelic tongue had led him to seek to revise Boece's colourful version of the remote Scottish past.[25] Certainly, we know from a manuscript in the British Library, probably dating from 1571, that he had already authored a work described as 'De origine gentium Britanicarum libri duo'.[26] This is most likely to refer to Books 2 and 3 of the published *Historia* rather than Books 1 and 2 as Dacre surmised. It makes much more sense for Book 2 to be accompanied by the lengthy extracts from the sources (Caesar, Tacitus, Cicero, Solinus, Herodian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Dion, Bede and Gildas) that comprise the published Book 3 rather than the Description of Scotland that forms Book 1. However that may be, what is certain is that Buchanan's mocking

assaults on Llwyd – or 'Luddus' as he consistently termed him – occur at the very beginning of Book 1 and at the very end of Book 2, almost certainly tacked on to pre-existing text. The opening of Book 1 holds up to merciless ridicule Llwyd's attempt to derive the word Britannia from the Welsh Prytania, while the end of Book 2 is an extended attack on the Welshman's hubristic account of the preposterous exploits of the 'Cambrians' and a more oblique defence of the foundation of the Scottish kingdom in 330 BCE.[27]

It is only in the latter point that Buchanan comes close to addressing what Dacre claimed was Llwyd's real 'crime' of exposing Boece's account of early Scottish history as fantastical.[28] This in turn raises the question of what other 'felonies' the Welshman might have committed that so offended Buchanan. Answering this requires a more balanced assessment of what Buchanan was trying to achieve in the opening books of his *Historia* than you will find even in the (slightly) more temperate version of Dacre's 1966 essay that was published from beyond his grave in 2008.[29] The importance and influence of the topographical description of Scotland that comprises Book 1 has been fully explored elsewhere and need not detain us here.[30] By way of conclusion, however, it is worth looking more closely at the substance of Book 2 and the significance of the essay on the peopling of Britain that precedes Buchanan's final defence of Hector Boece and vituperative mockery of Humphrey Llwyd. There one finds a detailed and erudite argument, deeply rooted in Buchanan's knowledge of classical sources, as well as the Gaelic language, to the effect that both Britain and Ireland were originally colonised by Gallic – that is to say, Gaulish – peoples from Armorica, the northern coast of what is now France. The Armorican Gauls had spread both northeastwards into Germania and south-westwards into Iberia, their tribes identified as Belgae and Celtae respectively, and it was these two branches of the same people, speaking variants of the same Gallic language, who settled in Ireland and Britain and became known as Britons, Scots and Picts.[31] In effect, Buchanan pioneered the distinction between what have become known as P-Celts and Q-Celts and provided a highly plausible explanation of the Celtic diaspora and the early distribution of Brittonic, Goidelic and Pictish speakers across the Atlantic Archipelago.[32] The argument is no doubt highly conjectural in places, and wrong in some detail, but it is pursued with scholarly rigour and an impressive sensitivity to the historical evolution of language.[33]

In this context, it is perhaps hardly surprising that Buchanan was appalled and even outraged by Llwyd's book. Whatever the merits of Llwyd's descriptions of Wales, England and Scotland, and whatever his merits as a linguist and an antiquary, his thinking was in Buchanan's eyes so deeply rooted in wrong-headed 'Brutish' dogma as to be beyond redemption. After all, for Llwyd, the original Britons and the original British language were not even autochthonous but descended directly from Brutus of Troy; it was the Britons who had colonised Armorican Gaul, not vice versa; and indeed, it was the Britons who had gone on under Brennus to sack Rome and run riot across the Roman empire. Llwyd, in other words, was simply rebooting in spurious academic guise the tired staples of twelfth-century Galfridian lore. He was not, of course, alone, and there is some evidence in the text of Book 2 that Buchanan had other recent proponents of the British History in his sights.[34] However, it is Llwyd who bears the brunt of his academic scorn – a particularly brutal kind of peer review – fuelled by Buchanan's sense of his superior professorial status when confronted by the naïve conjectures of a linguistic tyro: 'the hodgepodge trash of *Lud*, raked by him out of the Dunghil, on purpose to be ridicul'd and preserved only for ignominy', as Buchanan's 1690 translator rather colourfully put it.[35]

Yet there are other layers of complexity that might lie behind Buchanan's hostility to Llwyd. It has been argued, for example, that the Welshman's association with his long-term patron Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, may have further stoked Buchanan's fury.[36] Both Buchanan and Arundel attended the York-Westminster conference that was convened in November 1568 to consider Mary's guilt or otherwise in the murder of her husband Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. Llwyd had died in August of that year, so could not have accompanied Arundel, but the latter's political and religious conservatism and subsequent involvement in a plot to marry his recently widowed son-in-law, Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, to Mary Queen of Scots, can have done nothing to endear him to Buchanan. Yet, for all that, there is no real evidence that Llwyd suffered guilt by association with either Arundel or Norfolk.[37] Nor in any case would it explain Buchanan's defence of Boece in general and the ancient line of Scottish kings in particular.

The fact that Buchanan reduced the six books that Boece had devoted to the first forty Scottish kings to a single book is perhaps indicative of some scepticism on his part. Moreover, while it is true that Buchanan

drew on the ancient Scottish past to illustrate the accountability of rulers to their subjects, it is much less clear that this 'ancient Scottish constitution' was, as Dacre argued, the crux of a radical political philosophy that Llwyd had so unceremoniously demolished. As has been argued at length elsewhere, these mythical monarchs were more of a convenience than a necessity as far as Buchanan's political theory was concerned – a theory that was after all grounded in natural law rather than prescriptive right.[38] What did make the kings essential was in demonstrating the high antiquity and continuing independence of the Scottish kingdom. The distinctive origins of the Scottish people, the unique topography of their homeland, and the early foundation of their kingdom were all critical components of the contemporary Scottish riposte to a rampant British – or Cambro-British – imperialism. In this perspective, what was at stake for Buchanan was not just what he considered Llwyd's woeful scholarship, nor even the authenticity of an ancient Scottish constitution, but the potential elision of Scottish independence and identity. Buchanan's *Historia*, not least its opening books, proved a vital contribution to preserving both.[39]

Notes

1. On this, the starting point is T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950).
2. *BB*, p. 138; Humphrey Llwyd, *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* (Cologne, 1572), fol. 75r. The point is highlighted by Bruce Ward Henry, 'John Dee, Humphrey Llwyd, and the Name "British Empire"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 35 (1972), 189–90; cf. Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 79.
3. STC 3196: Nicholas Bodrugan, *An Epitome of the Title that the Kynges Maiestie of Englande hath to the Souereigntie of Scotlande* (London, 1548), sig. Av v; the dedication to Protector Somerset also refers to 'the name and empire of greate Briteigne' (sig. A iii v).
4. The background to this is traced in Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Roger A. Mason (ed.) *Scotland and England, 1286–1815* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), pp. 60–84.
5. More fully discussed in Roger A. Mason, 'Scotland', in Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heal (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 647–62.

6. Nicola Royan, 'Boece [Boethius], Hector (*c.*1465–1536), historian and college head', *ODNB*, *https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2760* (last accessed 25 August 2024).
7. Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Isles (1775)*, ed. J. D. Fleeman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 11.
8. Vergil's history was commissioned originally by Henry VII, and probably drafted by 1513, but not published until 1534, with a dedication to Henry VIII. Further editions followed in 1546 and 1555. On its reception among English antiquaries, see Kendrick, *British Antiquity*, pp. 78ff.
9. The *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine libri XVII* bears no date of publication on the title page. The dedications to James V and Archbishop James Beaton are both dated Aberdeen 1526, apparently the source of the common error that the book was published in that year. However, a subsequent address to the nobility by Alexander Lyon, Precentor of Moray, immediately preceding Book 1 of the history proper, is dated 1527.
10. Recent research has established that there almost certainly existed a thirteenth-century history of Scotland by one Richard Vairement – Latinised as Veremundus – that Boece was able to draw on for the early (and legendary) centuries of the kingdom's existence, though how much he elaborated on this now lost account is impossible to say; see Nicola Royan, 'Hector Boece and the Question of Veremund', *Innes Review*, 52 (2001), 42–62; and Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), esp. Part IV.
11. *BB*, pp. 77, 78, 86; *Commentarioli*, 24v ('Scotici nominis mendax ille pugil'), 24v ('insulso & impudenti'), 25r ('infidus'), 32r ('fabulatorem … levissimum').
12. *BB*, p. 86; *Commentarioli*, 31v.
13. *Commentarioli*, 32r; *BB*, p. 87.
14. *BB*, p. 87; *Commentarioli*, 33r: 'tanquam maleficus falsarius omni pudore deposito.'
15. *BB*, p. 91; *Commentarioli*, 36r–v.
16. See Mason, 'Scotland', in *Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, pp. 656–60.
17. For full details of his career, see I. D. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London: Duckworth, 1981).
18. See the title page of Buchanan's *Elegiarum Liber* (Paris, 1567), where he is described as 'Georgii Buchanani Scoti, Poetarum nostri saeculi facile principis'.
19. His role as the king's tutor is most fully explored in Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 264–313.

20. These issues are discussed at length in the introduction to George Buchanan, *A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots*, ed. and trans. Roger A. Mason and Martin S. Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
21. H. R. Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan and the Ancient Scottish Constitution', *English Historical Review*, (1966), supplement 3.
22. Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan', 27.
23. Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan', 28–31, 36–8.
24. Trevor-Roper, 'George Buchanan', 51–3; the manuscript is Edinburgh University Library MS Dc 4. 60.
25. The antecedents of the *Historia* are discussed more fully in Roger A. Mason, 'From Buchanan to Blaeu: The Politics of Scottish Chorography, 1582–1654', in Caroline Erskine and Roger A. Mason (eds), *George Buchanan: Political Thought in Early Modern Britain and Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 13–47, at pp. 14–18.
26. See Mason, 'From Buchanan to Blaeu', p. 18; McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 302, 420; BL Cotton Caligula Bv, fol. 261v.
27. Towards the end of Book 2, Buchanan writes: 'I had resolved here to finish the dispute respecting the origin of the British nations (*gentium*), had not Lhuyd drawn me unwillingly back, by contending that the Scots and Picts came only lately into Scotland.' George Buchanan, *History of Scotland*, trans. James Aikman (Glasgow, 1827), 1: 116; Aikman's translation is used throughout, though with reference also to the Latin text in George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum historia*, ed. James Man (Aberdeen, 1762), p. 59.
28. Book 2 ends with a reference to Llwyd's scurrilous attacks on Boece: 'a man distinguished, not only by knowledge of the liberal arts, beyond the age in which he lived, but endowed with uncommon liberality and courtesy; yet he attacks him for no fault of which he himself is not far more guilty.' Buchanan, *History*, 1: 129; *Historia*, p. 67.
29. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (New Haven CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008), Part 1.
30. See Mason, 'From Buchanan to Blaeu', pp. 13–47.
31. Buchanan, *History*, 1: 78–115; *Historia*, pp. 41–58; Buchanan concludes with the summary: 'Such is the information I have been able to obtain from ancient records, and other authentic sources, respecting the origin, institutions and language of the three oldest nations in Britain [Britons, Scots and Picts], and which compels me to believe that the ancient Britons, and the other original inhabitants of Britain, sprang from the Gauls (*e Galliis*) and used the Gallic tongue (*Gallico sermone*) from the beginning.'
32. The identification of the Picts as a Celtic rather than Germanic people was particularly innovative and subsequently highly contested, a point made much of in William Ferguson, 'George Buchanan and the Picts', *Scottish*

Tradition, 16 (1990–1), 18–32, and his *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), pp. 89–91.

33. For modern (largely positive) assessments of Buchanan's scholarship, and particularly his pioneering use of place-name evidence, see John Collis, 'George Buchanan and the Celts in Britain', in William Gillies *et al.* (eds), *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Celtic Studies, volume 1* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 91–107; and Guto Rhys, 'Approaching the Pictish Language: Historiography, Early Evidence and the Question of Pritenic' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2015), pp. 64–6.
34. It is not clear whether Buchanan includes Llwyd among the 'recent writers' mentioned at the start of Book 2 who have pronounced so confidently on the obscure subject of the origins of the Britons (*History*, 1: 67; *Historia*, p. 34); nor whether he should be identified as 'a writer of no mean name' who claimed that 'the Trojans spoke British' (*History*, 1: 75; *Historia*, p. 38). However, it was certainly Llwyd whose 'stupidity' and 'effrontery' led him to identify the Attacotti as Scots and the Caledonians as Britons rather than Picts (*History*, 1: 93; *Historia*, p. 46). The only other near contemporary writer named by Buchanan is Sir Thomas Elyot, 'eques Britannus', who is taken to task – much more gently than Llwyd – for lending cautious support to the view that Britain might have originally been called 'Prytaneia' (*History*, 1: 3, 7; *Historia*, pp. 2, 5). See Thomas Elyot, *Bibliotheca Eliotae. Eliotes Dictionarie the second tyme enriched, and more perfectly corrected, by Thomas Cooper* (London, 1552), sig. iir (s.v. *Britannia*).
35. *The History of Scotland, written in Latin by George Buchanan and faithfully rendered into English* (London, 1690), p. 5. The original Latin reads: 'quam omnia Luddi rhacomata e luto ad ludibrium collecta, ad ignominiam servata' (*Historia*, ed. Man, 4); Aikman coyly skirts the problem of translation by referring simply to Llwyd's 'absurdities' (*History*, 1: 8).
36. Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*, p. 86.
37. The final two books (19 and 20) of Buchanan's *Historia* have an account of the Norfolk (referred to as 'Hauartus' or 'Howard') conspiracy, but there is no mention of Arundel: see, for example, *History*, 2: 562–5; *Historia*, pp. 574–6.
38. A point argued at length in the introduction to Buchanan, *Dialogue on the Law of Kingship*, ed. Mason and Smith, pp. xxxiii–xxxvii.
39. Despite being outlawed by James VI in 1584, its importance to the Scottish intelligentsia in the decades either side of the union of the crowns in 1603 was demonstrably profound: see Roger A. Mason, '*Certeine Matters Concerning the Realm of Scotland*: George Buchanan and Scottish Self-Fashioning at the Union of the Crowns', *Scottish Historical Review*, 92 (2013), 38–65.

6

Visions of Britain in Llwyd, Spenser and Drayton

Philip Schwyzer

The Elizabethan age has long been associated with the so-called 'Discovery of England'. In this era, Richard Helgerson wrote, 'Englishmen … for the first time … took effective visual and conceptual possession of the physical kingdom in which they lived'.[1] There is no doubt that early modern English poets, playwrights and scholars were deeply intrigued by the landscape, history, constitution and global ambitions of their country, and that they wrote about these things in ways that resonate with modern understandings of nationhood and nationalism. There is some question, however, as to whether the nation discovered in the literature of the late Elizabethan period and early seventeenth century can accurately be called England. Even at the risk of pedantry, it is worth noting that two of the eight works identified by Helgerson in his seminal *Forms of Nationhood* as textual foundations of the early modern nation refer in their titles not to England but to Britain: William Camden's *Britannia* and John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. Three more – Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, and Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* – propound at least at points a distinctively British vision of nationhood and national destiny.[2] In their conceptions of Britain and Britishness, as well as in their references to Wales, each of these works betrays the influence of Humphrey Llwyd. This chapter will explore Llwyd's influence over the creation of a new national literature (English in authorship, self-consciously British in conception) in the half-century

after his death, with particular attention to Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*.

Strange as it may seem, the period in which England was reportedly discovered, and which certainly witnessed an unprecedented outpouring of national and local chorography, never produced a topographical survey or map of England *per se*. Instead, national maps and surveys either focused on England and Wales in combination (like Llwyd's *Angliae regni florentissimi nova descriptio*) or, more ambitiously, on the whole island of Britain.[3] The most famous production of the latter sort was undoubtedly William Camden's *Britannia*, first printed in 1586, with numerous ever-expanding editions and an English translation following in Camden's lifetime. Yet Camden was not the pioneer he is sometimes taken for. He had begun his research in 1577 at the encouragement of Abraham Ortelius, who 'dealt earnestly with me that I would illustrate this Ile of Britaine, or (as he said) that I would restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britaine to his antiquity'.[4] It is conceivable that Ortelius was repeating a phrase he had heard from Humphrey Llwyd in Antwerp in 1567, when the two men met and agreed upon an ambitious portfolio of chorographic and cartographic projects.[5] Certainly, Ortelius cannot have broached this topic with Camden without having in mind the unfinished work that Llwyd had dispatched to him from his deathbed in 1568, which Ortelius had ushered into publication as the *Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum* (1572). Although Camden does not mention this treatise in his account of the genesis of his work, the task imposed on him by Ortelius was essentially to pursue and finish the great project that Llwyd had begun. Even where he disagrees with his predecessor, Camden maintains a guardedly respectful tone in *Britannia* towards 'Humfrey Lhuyd, reputed by our countrymen, for knowledge of Antiquitie, to carie, after a sort, with him all the credit and authoritie'.[6]

Even after the publication of *Britannia*, Llwyd's researches in British topography retained a separate and significant influence among English readers, particularly those without a firm command of Latin. From its publication in 1573 up until the eventual translation of Camden's magnum opus in 1610, Thomas Twyne's translation of the *Commentarioli* remained the only printed book in English devoted to the history and antiquities of the whole island of Britain. Its only rival in this regard, after 1577, was the *Description of Britain* by William Harrison; this work, however, was even briefer than the *Breviary* on most matters relating to the island's antiquity

and geography, being focused primarily on the contemporary social life, laws and economy of the English. (The title *Description of England* by which Harrison's work is commonly known today is apt enough, though technically incorrect.)

Of course, Llwyd's treatise on Britain was not entirely unprecedented. Rather, as Helen Fulton discusses in Chapter 2 of this volume, the 'Description of Britain' was a well-established medieval genre, with classical antecedents. Llwyd's well-known predecessors in this vein included Bede in the eighth century, and Ranulf Higden's fourteenth-century description in *Polychronicon* (printed as a separate volume by William Caxton in 1480).[7] In comparison to these works, Llwyd's description is not only longer, more detailed, and erudite in its references to classical authors, it cuts through the muddle of medieval geographical nomenclature (in which 'England' and 'Britain' were often used interchangeably, and either could connote the whole island or a particular part) with uncompromising clarity.[8] The *Breviary* insists on the distinction between England and Britain, both of which describe not only geographical regions but kingdoms with distinct histories and (potential) futures.

Of course, the *Breviary* does not describe a unified political state. When Llwyd sent his unfinished manuscript to Ortelius in 1568, the union of the crowns of Scotland and England was still thirty-five years away; Llwyd was certainly in no position to foresee that James VI of Scotland – the two-year-old who had been crowned as an infant in the previous year – would accede to the English throne in 1603. (For Camden in 1586, when Queen Elizabeth's age and commitment to virginity precluded an heir of her body, the prospect was much more plausible.) Nowhere in the *Breviary* or in his other writings does Llwyd propose or seem to look forward to the political reunification of Britain under a single monarch.

Yet Britain, for Llwyd, was far more than a geographical expression. His grounding hypothesis was that a range of factors – including historical ignorance, ethnocentrism and ignorance of the Welsh language – had blinded the peoples of Britain, especially the English and Scots, to the common history and fundamental unity of the island they inhabited. This hypothesis prompted him to translate the chronicles of Wales in *Cronica Walliae* ('For that I wolde not have the inhabitantes of this Ile ignorant of the histories and cronicles of the same'), and likewise underlay his approach to insular geography in the *Breviary*.[9] Britain, for Llwyd, was the nation created by the Trojan Brutus, who had established its scope

and boundaries (in the form of the surrounding sea) once and for all. Just as territorial encroachments by the English state could not alter the essential boundaries of Wales as established by Brutus, so Britain itself was an eternal and immutable entity proceeding from the Trojan foundation described by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Brutus, in short, was the font and source of Britishness. Although Llwyd acknowledged that the name of Britain derived from the Welsh *Prydain* (which he glossed as *Pryd-cain*, 'white or excellent beauty'), he insisted that the ethnographic term 'Briton' had a separate root, derived from Brutus himself:

> I believe that Brutus came into Britain with his train of Trojans, and there took upon him the government of the ancient inhabitants and of his own men, and were called Britons. For our countrymen unto this day do call a Briton *Brituun* (which word cometh not from the ancient name of the island *Prydain*, but from Brutus, the king) and our histories call the Britons in the plural number *Brytaniaid*, and *Brython*, which words are derived from the name of Brutus.[10]

In addition to championing Britain as an enduring political concept (if not an actually existing state), Llwyd played an important role in the semantic shift whereby the term 'Britons' came to designate all inhabitants of the island, rather than referring specifically to the ancient Britons and their descendants among the Welsh and Cornish, as had been standard usage in the preceding period. As Huw Pryce notes in this volume, passages in Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae* such as that in which he proclaims that America was 'by Britons longe afore discovered' suggest an identity shared by (or available to) every inhabitant of Britain.[11] His adoption of the new epithet 'Cambro-Britannus' ('Cambro-Briton') in the *Commentarioli* (used both on the title page in reference to the author and in the body of the work with reference to the people of Wales) served as an implicit invitation to the other peoples of the island to assume similar hyphenated identities – as Anglo-Britons and Scoto-Britons – united in their common Britishness while retaining distinct sub-allegiances.[12]

Although (this chapter will argue) Llwyd's works provided English readers with access to a new style of British identity, he was not entirely an innovator in this regard. Rather, Llwyd's own scholarly interest in

Britain and Britishness resonated with developments in England's self-imagining over the course of his lifetime, which may well have influenced him in some ways. Since the 1530s, English political discourse and propaganda had drawn with renewed enthusiasm on Geoffrey of Monmouth and historical traditions regarding the ancient Britons to claim: 1) that the Tudors drew their lineage and authority from ancient British monarchs; 2) that England was an empire (a claim used to justify Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome); and 3) that the ancient British state could and should be revived (a claim used to justify England's military campaigns against Scotland in the 1540s). In his late teens and early twenties, Llwyd may have hearkened to the propaganda surrounding the 'Rough Wooing' of Scotland, which had urged the Scots and English alike to abandon their distinct identities and adopt 'the indifferent old name of Britaynes again'.[13] Yet the evidence of his surviving works suggests that Llwyd was not overly impressed with the kind of British nationalism espoused by English writers and politicians. He never explicitly addresses the vaunted descent of Henry Tudor and his heirs from Cadwaladr, last king of the Britons, or the angelic prophecy that Cadwaladr's bloodline would one day be restored to the throne; he may well have shared the jaded view of David Powel, who dismissed such prophesies as 'toies and fables … whereof (as it is manifest in histories) much bloudshead & mischiefe hath ensued'.[14]

Whatever Llwyd's personal reservations on the contemporary applications of British history, even the earliest evidence of reception of his work bears witness to the eagerness with which English writers could embrace a version of Britishness seemingly applicable to themselves as well. In the commendatory poems attached to the *Breviary of Britain*, English poets celebrate Llwyd's achievement in illuminating a nation they now recognise as their own. One writer, after praising Llwyd for delineating 'The British soil, with all therein that lies, / The surging seas which compass it about', concludes:

> Thy country, Llwyd, is bounden much to thee,
> Which mak'st it unto us not only known,
> But unto such as in far countries be,
> …
> So by one deed two noble things are chanced:
> Britain, and Llwyd, to heaven are advanced.[15]

The designation of Britain as Llwyd's native 'country', and that of the English poet, is extraordinary in this period. When just a few years earlier William Salesbury had described Llwyd as 'the most famous Antiquarius of all our countrey', he was referring to the country or nation of Wales.[16] The notion of sea-bordered Britain as a country to which one could belong must have struck many readers in the 1570s as a far-fetched poetic conceit.

Other poems included in the frontmatter of the *Breviary* use the terms 'Britons' and 'Britanists' and even 'Brutus brood' to refer to inhabitants of Britain generally, rather than the Welsh in particular. Whereas Llwyd is praised for advertising the honour of Britain to a Latin-reading audience abroad, equal or greater praise is loaded on Thomas Twyne for making the work accessible to those whom it apparently most concerns, that is to say, English readers:

> sure in my conceit thou [Twyne] thanks deservest more
> Of Britons, and of British soil, which maks't them understand,
> A thing more meet (methinks) for them than for a foreign land.[17]

The equation drawn between 'Britons' and speakers of English, which here seems to go almost without saying, would hardly have been conceivable before the second half of the sixteenth century.

Early English responses to the *Breviary*, including those of the poets in the frontmatter and that of the young Philip Sidney, seem to confuse the book that Llwyd actually wrote with another they hoped he would have written, and which it seems he had intended to write.[18] Llwyd refers on several occasions to a future project that would involve a defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the coming of Brutus, and perhaps King Arthur as well: 'when opportunity shall be offered I purpose to confirm (by bringing forth many weighty reasons, and authorities, which I have ready in store for a British History) both his coming and also to establish the credit of the British History.'[19] Such a work, combining Welsh historical resources and classical learning to uphold Britain's ancient imperial claims against continental and Scottish scepticism, had been an urgent desideratum since the beginning of the English Reformation. It appears that Llwyd's projected history might have covered much of the same ground as Sir John Prise's *Historiae Britanniae Defensio*, which was belatedly published by his son Richard in 1573, the same year as *The*

Breviary of Britain. Would Llwyd's work have been seized on so eagerly by English readers if Prise's *Defensio* had been available in translation at an earlier date?

In fact, Geoffrey of Monmouth and the legendary rulers of a united pre-Roman Britain are referred to only glancingly in the *Breviary*, which is concerned primarily with British topography, the identification of Roman settlements mentioned in classical itineraries, and commentary on the ethnic character of Britain's ancient inhabitants, again drawing mainly on classical sources. Discussion of Brutus is confined largely to a single paragraph focused on etymologies; 'the most puissant and invincible King Arthur' is mentioned only once, with a reference to the English antiquary John Leland as the relevant authority on his deeds.[20] This did not prevent the authors of the commendatory verses from describing Llwyd's achievement as a defence of 'King Brutus' worthy state' in which 'Each king and prince sprung forth of noble blood' is recorded.[21] Philip Sidney's defence of Llwyd likewise focuses on an ancient British ruler, Brennus, credited by Geoffrey of Monmouth and Llwyd with the conquest of Greece and sack of Rome.

As discussed in the introduction to this volume, John Dee played a crucial role in publicising Llwyd's research in the 1570s and 1580s. The phrase 'British Empire', which first occurs in the *Breviary* (Twyne's translation of Llwyd's 'Britannici imperii'), would be employed by Dee not only in reference to a long-past state but to a political nation that had somehow persisted in a subterranean fashion (rather like the 'invisible church' of Protestants that had persevered through centuries of Roman Catholic persecution), and could be realised again in the present. Calling on Elizabeth to seize the 'little locke of Lady Occasion' and 'recover … this Imperiall Brytish Monarchy', Dee effectively recast Llwyd's topographical work as a treasure map pointing the way to 'this British discovery and recovery enterprise': a once and future British Empire.[22] As a result, Llwyd's writings in the decades after his death served as a source of arguments for British imperial projects in a way the author could scarcely have imagined. His pervasive influence was arguably even greater than explicit acknowledgements suggest. Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1599–1600), for instance, reports the voyage of Madog ap Owain Gwynedd to the New World in the twelfth century, upholding Elizabeth's claim to large parts of the Americas on this basis.[23] The veracity of the tradition is indicated by the array of authorities cited,

including Powel, Llwyd, Camden, Gutun Owain, and George Peckham's report of Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland; it would not have been clear to most readers that all of these accounts ultimately lead back to Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae*, the only extant textual source for Madog's voyage of discovery.[24]

Spenser's *Faerie Queene*

Not all English writers were content to imbibe Llwyd's British elixir at second hand. The Elizabethan poet and colonial theorist Edmund Spenser was among those determined to go to the source. As a New English settler in Ireland, Spenser certainly understood the utility of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history in justifying England's imperial strategies in the present.[25] According to Armitage, 'Spenser adopted the conception of the British Empire found in the works of Humphrey Llwyd and John Dee, to show that the Protestant New English settlers were reviving the "British" dominion in Ireland which had originally been established by King Arthur'.[26] There is significant truth in this formulation, and it is clear that Spenser made a fairly thorough study of Llwyd's published work, perhaps also even consulting his extensive book collection as incorporated in Lord Lumley's library.[27] Yet the evidence in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* suggests that he found his encounter with Llwyd puzzling and ultimately unsatisfying.

The British vision that Spenser articulates in his epic romance rests on the assertion of continued regnal and imperial legitimacy from the arrival of Brutus, through the age of Arthur, and down to the Elizabethan present. Arthur himself features as a central character in the poem and serves as the fulcrum between the earlier phase of this history (more than 1,500 years of triumphant and expansive British rule, interrupted only briefly and partially by Roman invasions) and the latter phase (the downfall of the British imperium, and the relegation of their bloodline to Wales, until the rise of the Tudors). In two separate cantos of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser recounts the whole of the 'British History', from Trojan foundations to the present. The first instalment (Book 2, canto 10) is relayed through the verse chronicle 'Briton moniments', which covers the period from the arrival of Brutus to the reign of Uther Pendragon, father of Arthur. Since the reigns of the Galfridian monarchs covered in this canto were well known from English chronicles, Spenser had no

pressing need to rely on Welsh authorities, though he does sprinkle the verse chronicle with Welsh phrases that seem to reflect oral transmission.[28] The second part of this sweeping history, picking up immediately after Arthur's reign and carrying on to the reigning queen, Elizabeth, is couched in the form of a prophecy delivered by Merlin (Book 3, Canto 3). Tracing the royal British bloodline across a millennium of history, from the last British monarchs to the age of the Tudors, the prophecy cannot avoid an excursus into Welsh history in the period between Cadwaladr (the last British king in Geoffrey of Monmouth's history) and Henry VII. It was here that Spenser was required to consult Welsh sources, chief among them Llwyd's *Breviary* and *The Historie of Cambria*. The influence of both texts is felt as they jostle within a stanza referring to a number of medieval Welsh rulers:

> For *Rhodoricke*, whose surname shalbe Great,
> Shall of him selfe a braue ensample shew,
> That Saxon kings his friendship shall intreat;
> And *Howell Dha* shall goodly well indew
> The saluage minds with skill of iust and trew;
> Then *Griffyth Conan* also shall vp reare
> His dreaded head, and the old sparkes renew
> Of natiue courage, that his foes shall feare,
> Least backe againe the kingdome he from them should beare.[29]

Scholarship has pointed out Spenser's reliance on *The Historie of Cambria* for these names and the feats attributed to them.[30] Yet it seems likely that Spenser began by consulting *Breviary of Britain*, where he found the three names he cites immediately juxtaposed with the text's single, now-notorious reference to 'British Empire':

> Cadfan … and his son Cadwalla (whom Bede calleth a tyrant, because he persecuted the Saxons with cruel war), whilst the British Empire was in decaying, were valiant kings. And after the British destruction there rose up noble gentlemen in Wales, not to be debarred of their due praise, as Roderick the Great and his nephew (by his son) Howell surnamed Good, both famous as well in war as peace. Also Gruffudd, the son of Llywelyn, the son of Seisyllius who most stoutly defended Wales his native country.[31]

A substantial section of Merlin's prophecy has its seeds in this brief passage. Spenser follows Llwyd in praising 'Cadwan' (3.3.35) and 'Cadwallin' (3.3.36–40) for fighting a valiant rearguard action against Saxon encroachment, defending 'The royall seed, the antique *Troian* blood, / Whose empire lenger here, then euer any stood' (3.3.42). The same passage provides him with the names of Roderick, Howell and Griffith, credited with upholding the honour of the Britons in the medieval period. Since the *Breviary* provides scant detail about these Welsh rulers, Spenser sought further information about each in *The Historie of Cambria*, where naturally the names do not occur together in a single passage but separated under their distinct reigns. In doing so, he seems to have either confused or conflated the tenth-century ruler Rhodri Mawr with his predecessor Rhodri Molwynog (who made alliances with Saxon rulers) and to have misidentified the *Breviary*'s Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (d.1063) as Griffith ap Cynan (d.1137). Both the *Breviary* and the *Historie* could have supplied him with Llwyd's signature spelling 'dha' in the name of 'Howell Dha'.

Spenser seems to have found his encounter with Llwyd's topographical and historical works instructive but also frustrating. The Merlin canto reveals him following the clue of 'British Empire' from the *Breviary* to the *Historie*, at the end of which (primed by Dee) he no doubt expected to find a celebration of the redemption of the British bloodline in the Tudor dynasty. Instead, he found himself in the thickets of medieval Welsh history, with no conclusion other than Llwyd's blunt acknowledgement that the 'rule and government of the Brytaines' had come to end in 1282, after which Wales lay 'in subjection to the crowne of England to this daie'.[32] For a Welsh articulation of the idea that the Tudors had restored the lineage and glory of the ancient Britons to the throne, Spenser had to turn to another Welsh source, Prise's *Defensio*. There he found, in Prise's preface to Edward VI, the bardic trope of the ancient British bloodline surviving as a spark on Ynys Môn, which gives the cue for the prophecy's triumphant climax:[33]

> Tho when the terme is full accomplishid
> There shall a spark of fire, which hath long-while
> Bene in his ashes raked up, and hid,
> Be freshly kindled in the fruitfull Ile
> Of *Mona*, where it lurked in exile;
> Which shall breake forth into bright burning flame,

And reach into the house, that beares the stile
Of royall maiesty and soveraigne name;
So shall the Briton bloud their crowne againe reclame. (3.3.48)

The 'Mona' that features in this stanza bears little resemblance to the island described in Llwyd's *De Mona*, ancient dwelling-place of Druids and graveyard of English invaders; nor could it ever have occurred to Llwyd to describe Ynys Môn, the celebrated 'mother of Wales', as a site of 'exile'.[34] Reviewing Spenser's interactions with Llwyd in this crucial canto of *The Faerie Queene*, we should perhaps fine-tune Armitage's judgement that 'Spenser adopted the conception of the British Empire found in the works of Humphrey Llwyd and John Dee'. Indeed, Spenser looked first to Llwyd for the articulation of Britain's imperial destiny which he had been led to believe (by Dee) that he would find there. However, the material he found in the *Breviary* and *Historie* was more Cambrocentric and less orientated towards prophetic redemption than he expected; Spenser was thus required to supplement Llwyd's account with that of John Prise, whose long and varied career in the service of Henry VIII made him a more reliable exponent of the Tudor vision of British history.

Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*

Following the union of the crowns in 1603, James VI and I's professed desire for full political union between his two realms saw an outpouring of treatises, poems and pageants exploring the theme of Britain's once and future empire.[35] In many of these texts, especially those aimed at a popular audience, the unification of Scotland with England and Wales was represented as a revival of Brutus's ancient British realm. In Anthony Munday's London pageant *The Triumphes of Re-united Britania* (where Llwyd is cited as an authority on the geography of Britain), Brutus welcomes James as the 'second Brute' by whom England, Wales and Scotland will be 'knit againe in blessed unity'.[36] Numerous other examples of unionist literature from the first years of James's reign – by Welsh and English authors including the genealogist George Owen Harry, the poet William Harbert, and the Bishop of Bristol, John Thornborough – follow Munday and James himself in celebrating the union as a restoration of Britain's original condition.[37] Within a few years, the campaign for full legal union had effectively run out of steam, but under a monarch who

styled himself 'King of Great Britain' the idea of Britain as an actually-existing state had become more tangible, as well as more complex in its ramifications.

Michael Drayton's topographical epic, *Poly-Olbion* (1612, 1622), can be read as a belated contribution to the union debate, though its conception of Britishness is complex almost to the point of contradiction. Declaring his intent to sing the praises of all 'Of Albions glorious Ile' (1.1), Drayton set out to cover in verse the same geographical territory as *The Breviary of Britain* and Camden's *Britannia*, both of which he mined as sources.[38] The poem's 1612 dedication to Prince Henry promises to 'leave your whole British Empire … delineated' as far as the Orkneys. Yet it is not altogether surprising that even across two editions comprising thirty chorographical songs, Drayton ultimately proceeded no further than the Scottish border. Although names like 'Albion' and 'British Empire' lent grandeur to *Poly-Olbion*'s projected scope, the poem's structure and the poet's predilections were more conducive to the celebration of regional particularity and national difference than of insular unity.[39] In his reluctance to dissolve local difference in imperial homogeneity, Drayton found a perhaps unexpected ally in his 'much loved' Humphrey Llwyd.

Poly-Olbion's frontmatter includes an epistle 'To my Friends, the Cambro-Britans', employing the term for the Welsh first popularised by Llwyd. (There is no corresponding address to the English or the Scots.) Here Drayton promises not only to amaze the bards themselves with the height of his praise for Wales, but to follow Llwyd's delineation of the nation's boundaries:

> Striving, as my much loved (the learned) Humfrey Floyd, in his description of Cambria to Abraham Ortelius, to uphold her auncient bounds, Severne, and Dee, and therefore have included the parts of those three English Shiers of Gloster, Worster, and Sallop, that lie on the west of Severne, within their ancient mother Wales: In which if I have not done her right, the want is in my ability, not in my love.
>
> ('To my Friends, the Cambro-Britans')

Although this reference to Llwyd's 'description of Cambria' could apply to the map *Cambriae Typus*, in which the Severn serves as Wales's eastern border, Drayton probably means *The Breviary of Britain*, where

Llwyd affirms that 'although the Englishmen do possess beyond Severn Herefordshire, the Forest of Dean, and many other places, yet we hold, that they dwell in Wales, not in Lloegr, and are taken almost everywhere of all other Englishmen for Welshmen'.[40]

There are certainly many passages in the substantial section of *Poly-Olbion* devoted to Wales (Songs 4–10) that draw directly on *The Breviary*, as well as *The Historie of Cambria*. The poem's praise of the ancient Britons (sung by the River Wye) includes a pointed complaint about the Romans' habit of mangling of Welsh words – 'to bring [them] / Unto the Latine sounds, and easiness they us'd, / By their most filed speech' (6.322–4)– echoing Llwyd's lament that 'the Latins … for the more gentle and pleasant sound's sake' have obscured ancient British etymologies.[41] The poem likewise endorses Llwyd's controversial attempt to draw a link between *Cymru* the ancient Cimbri or Cimbrians, described by classical geographers as inhabiting Jutland.[42] A catalogue of medieval Welsh kings and princes in Song 9 (much more detailed than the equivalent in Spenser) is heavily dependent on *The History of Cambria*.[43] Surveying rulers from the sons of Cadwaladr to Llywelyn the Last, this miniature verse chronicle incorporates not only historical details, but some of Llwyd's more acerbic observations, such as that the English would not be so quick to denigrate the Welsh with the epithet 'Croggen' if they knew its source lay in a battle in which the English were massacred.[44]

Drayton's treatment of the Madog tradition in this part of the poem is indicative both of his debt to Llwyd and of his way of reading him. Although, as noted above, the story of Madog's voyages had been retold often enough over the last several decades, Drayton follows Llwyd for his account that Madog:

> … sayled West so long, untill that world he found
> To Christians then unknowne (save this adventrous crue)
> Long ere Columbus liv'd, or it Vesputius knew;
> And put the now-nam'd Welsh on India's parched face,
> Unto the endlesse praise of Brutes renowned race,
> Ere the Iberian Powers had toucht her long-sought Bay,
> Or any eare had heard the sound of Florida. (9.314–20)

The whole passage closely tracks the account in *Historie of Cambria* (which in turn follows *Cronica Walliae* almost exactly):

> by reason & order of Cosmographie, this land, to the which *Madoc* came, must needs be some part of *Nova Hispania* or *Florida*. Whereupon it is manifest, that that countrie was long before by *Brytaines* discovered, afore either *Columbus* or *Americus Vesputius* lead anie *Spaniardes* thither.[45]

Yet even as he follows the source detail by detail, Drayton makes one crucial change in crediting the discovery not to the 'Britons' but rather to the 'now-nam'd Welsh'. In doing so, he largely undermines the attempt of Dee, Hakluyt and others to make the Madog story serve the cause of 'British Empire'. In Drayton's rendition of the story, Madog's discovery redounds to the glory of his people, not to that of a wider (English-led) imperial enterprise.

Whereas Drayton draws on Llwyd repeatedly and enthusiastically in the seven Songs devoted to Wales, he makes little identifiable use of the *Breviary* and *Historie* elsewhere in the poem. Episodes such as Madog's fabled voyages and the continental conquests of Brennus which had become cornerstones of the argument for a united Britain and a revived British empire are presented in the poem as matters of specifically, if not exclusively, Welsh interest. Indeed, the Welsh rivers and hills who celebrate the deeds of the ancient Britons in *Poly-Olbion* are not advocating a revival of the British Empire, but usually attempting to prove the superior antiquity and martial glory of Wales in opposition to the claims of England. Drayton takes a special interest in those passages in Llwyd's work where he complains of English ignorance and misinterpretation, such as over the 'Croggen' epithet, the introduction of the alien term 'Welsh' to 'embase / the nobler Britains name' (9.190–1), or the imposition of the 'hatefull name' (9.435) of Anglesey on Ynys Môn.[46] His Humphrey Llwyd, in short, is a Welshman (or Cambro-Briton) through and through. This perspective does not in any way involve downplaying or distorting the wider British themes that permeate Llwyd's work. Rather, an interest in Britain's antiquity and its bygone imperial unity are highlighted in *Poly-Olbion* as distinctive and admirable characteristics of the Welsh people. When the poem leaves Wales behind to survey the eastern and northern counties of England, 'Britain' is rarely mentioned again, and the ethnonym 'Britons' is used exclusively to refer to the island's ancient inhabitants, rather than its modern ones.

Whereas Spenser turned to Llwyd as an exponent of British imperial ideology, Drayton understood him primarily as a Welsh scholar, for whom the glory of Britain was a natural and patriotic theme. While it would be an over-simplification to say that Drayton got Llwyd right where Spenser got him wrong, he at least approached Llwyd's corpus in a way that allowed him to engage with the full scope of the author's interests and learning (historical, geographical and philological). Doing so involved foregoing any attempt to employ Welsh traditions concerning British antiquity as underpinnings for the ideological programme of British empire. Whether alternative underpinnings could be found is a question that *Poly-Olbion* does not seek to answer.

This chapter has dealt primarily with Llwyd's posthumous reception in England rather than his intentions and achievements as a scholar. In life he was celebrated by his Welsh contemporaries for the breadth of his interests and the depth of his learning; for Gruffudd Hiraethog he was 'Colofn dysg' ('a pillar of learning'), for William Salesbury 'the most famous Antiquarius … skylled in rare Subtilitees'.[47] Beyond his work in Parliament to ensure the translation of the scriptures into Welsh, there is no suggestion that he involved himself in questions of state. Yet the circumstances under which his works were disseminated in English after his death left them readily available for co-optation by a new breed of British idealogues, from the anonymous authors of the frontmatter to *The Breviary of Britain* to John Dee, Richard Hakluyt and Edmund Spenser. In the Britophilic ferment of the late sixteenth century, it is unsurprising that Llwyd found an eager audience among writers who looked to him as an authority on the once-and-future British empire. Fortunately, or unfortunately, his reputation in this regard did not last more than a few decades, as English readers struggled to extract from his works the ideological kernel that they had been led to expect. The movement for which his work and reputation provided a catalyst was ultimately able to dispense with him as, in the decades after his death, weighty English volumes on the subject of Britain began to crowd the booksellers' shelves. By the second decade of the seventeenth century, Llwyd's seminal achievement as a writer on Britain was largely obscured by the glorious reputation of William Camden, whom Ortelius had entreated to complete the work Llwyd had begun. Yet the example of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* demonstrates the wealth of resources that Llwyd's works could still provide to English readers who

approached them with curiosity, rather than on the basis of an unsought and misleading reputation.

Notes

1. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 107.
2. The other works which Helgerson lists as participating in the 'concerted generational project' of imagining the nation are Coke's *Institutes of the Laws of England*, Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* and Shakespeare's history plays (Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, p. 1). In these cases the precedent of Llwyd's scholarship is less immediately evident, though Shakespeare's interest in the Severn as boundary in plays such as *1 Henry IV* and *Cymbeline* suggests Llwyd's influence; see Philip Schwyzer, 'A Map of Greater Cambria', in Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein (eds), *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 35–44; and, on *Cymbeline*, the discussion by Tristan Marshall in this volume.
3. John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611) includes separate maps of the British Isles, the island of Britain, Scotland, Wales, and 'The Kingdome of England' comprising England and Wales, but no map of England alone; it would appear that Wales in this period could be imagined without England, but not vice versa. In addition to those mentioned in the text, ambitious 'British' projects of the period include John Norden's incomplete *Speculum Britanniae* (1593–98).
4. William Camden, *Britain*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), 'The Author to the Reader'.
5. See discussion in the Introduction to this volume.
6. Camden, *Britain*, p. 5. Camden also defers to Llwyd on the matter of Ynys Môn: 'seeing that Humfrey Lhuid in a very learned Epistle to that learned Ortelius, hath restored this Iland to the due name and dignity, there is no reason that any man heere should require my diligence' (p. 672).
7. Bede, *History of the English Church and People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), 1.1; Marie Collins (ed.), *Caxton: The Description of Britain* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988), pp. 66–7.
8. Helen Fulton, 'The Description of Britain and Urban Chorography on the March of Wales', Chapter 2, this volume. See also Alan MacColl, 'The Meaning of "Britain" in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 45/2 (2006), 248–69.
9. *CW*, p. 82.
10. *BB*, pp. 58–9.

11. Huw Pryce, 'Humphrey Llwyd: First Historian of Wales?', Chapter 1, this vol.
12. Humphrey Llwyd, *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* (Cologne, 1572), title page, fol. 5v ('meis Cambrobritannis'); Twyne translates the phrase as 'my countrymen the Britons of Wales' (*BB*, p. 56). See Philip Schwyzer, 'The Age of the Cambro-Britons: Hyphenated British Identities in the Seventeenth Century', *The Seventeenth Century*, 33 (2018), 428.
13. *Epistle or Exhortacion to Unitie and Peace*, in J. A. H. Murray (ed.), *The Complaynt of Scotland* (EETS, 1872), p. 241. Although the phrase 'British Empire' was first coined in *The Breviary of Britain*, David Armitage argues that 'The empire of Great Britain was … the invention of the unionist pamphleteers who wrote on behalf of Henry VIII and Protector Somerset'; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 42. See Roger A. Mason, 'The Scottish Reformation and the Origins of Anglo-British Imperialism', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 161–86; Lorna Hutson, *England's Insular Imagining: The Elizabethan Erasure of Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), chapter 2.
14. *HC*, p. 5. Llwyd was glad to note Henry VII's descent from a Welsh grandfather, and commended both Henry VII and Henry VIII for freeing the Welsh from bondage and making them 'in all points equal to the Englishmen' (*BB*, pp. 107–8), but without reference to ancient prophecy or the coming reunification of Britain.
15. 'A Friend, in Praise of the Author', *BB*, pp. 44–5.
16. Salesbury specifies that he is referring to 'as well as Demetiae as Venetiae', that is, south Wales as well as north Wales; Robin Flower, 'William Salesbury, Richard Davies and Archbishop Parker', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 2 (1941), 9.
17. 'Laurence Twyne, to his Brother Thomas Twyne, in Praise of his Translation', *BB*, p. 47.
18. In 1574, Sidney received a letter from the Huguenot scholar Hubert Languet mocking Llwyd's arguments, especially regarding the Gaulish chieftain Brennus, whom Llwyd identifies as 'a perfect Briton' (*BB*, p. 101). Torn between a fear of looking foolish and the need to defend the British History, Sidney responded with a somewhat tortured defence of the Britishness of Brennus, which he placed in the mouth of his Welsh servant, Griffin Madox. See James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 140–50; Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter 3.

19. *BB*, p. 58.
20. *BB*, p. 138.
21. *BB*, pp. 47, 44.
22. Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1599–1600), p. 7; William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts, 1995), p. 148. See also Ken MacMillan, 'Discourse on History, Geography and Law: John Dee and the Limits of the British Empire, 1576–80', *Canadian Journal of History*, 36 (2001), 1–25. On 'British Empire' as neologism, see Bruce Ward Henry, 'John Dee, Humphrey Llwyd, and the Name "British Empire"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 35 (1972), 189–90.
23. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 3, pp. 1, 172–3.
24. *CW*, pp. 167–8; *HC*, p. 228.
25. See, for example, Daniel Normandin, 'Ripping Up Ancestries: Indigeneity and Genealogy in Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene*', *Modern Philology*, 119/2 (2021), 213–34.
26. Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 52.
27. For this possibility, see Karen Elizabeth Gross, 'Illuminating Redcrosse's Way: Medieval Apocalypse Manuscripts as Sources for Spenser's *Faerie Queene*', *Studies in Philology*, 119/4 (2022), 654–704, at 666.
28. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, revised 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2013), 2.10.24. See Andrew Zurcher, 'Writing at Hazard: Accidental Spenser', *Spenser Review*, 47.3.41 (2017), *www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/review/item/47.3.41* (last accessed 25 August 2024).
29. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 3.3.45. Further references to the poem will be given in the text.
30. See Xiaoming Cong, 'Spenser's Welsh Kings', *Notes and Queries*, 65/1 (March 2018), 35–7; Rudolf B. Gottfried, 'Spenser and The Historie of Cambria', *Modern Language Notes*, 72/1 (1957), 9–13.
31. *BB*, pp. 138–9.
32. *HC*, pp. 374–5; cf. *CW*, p. 223. As Huw Pryce notes in this volume, Llwyd's conclusion marks 'an irreversible passage of dominion' (Chapter 1, 'Humphrey Llwyd: First Historian of Wales?').
33. 'I recall that one of our poets [i.e., Dafydd Nanmor] once sang with great beauty … that when the fire of King Cadwaladr's hearth and home had been lulled to sleep, a spark rose from the Island of Mon, "awakening," as Virgil puts it, "the sleeping fires"'; *HBD*, p. 31.
34. 'For such is the fertilitie of this iland, that our people use to say proverbially, that Anglesey is the mother of Wales (*Mon mam Gymry*). Moreover, the inhabitants … are verie wealthie, and withall, stout and valiant, as appeareth

out of the English Historiographers: For the English men have oft times assaulted this iland by sea, and laboured to get the possession thereof, but all in vaine: For they have been alwaies there slaine, or put to the worst'; 'An Epistle of Humfrey Lloyd', in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. The Theatre of the Whole World* (London, 1606), n.p.

35. For a recent overview and analysis, see Christopher Ivic, *The Subject of Britain, 1603–25* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), esp. chapters 1–2.
36. Anthony Munday, *The Triumphes of Re-united Britania* (London, 1605), sig. B3v.
37. See Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory*, pp. 151–8.
38. All references to the poem are to Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, ed. Andrew McRae and Philip Schwyzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2025).
39. See the influential discussion in Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, chapter 3 ('The Land Speaks').
40. *BB*, p. 63.
41. *BB*, p. 57.
42. Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, 8.101–24; *BB*, pp. 99–101.
43. As Robert Ralston Cawley noted, '[Drayton's] procedure in this borrowing is consistent; he tends to stress the beginnings and ends of the separate chapters, to consult Powel's index in order to link similar events, and to fabricate transitions if they are lacking in his original'; 'Drayton's Use of Welsh History', *Studies in Philology*, 22/2 (1925), 234–5. Cawley's article provides a running comparison of Song 9's celebration of Welsh rulers with the source passages in *HC*.
44. Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, 9.321–4; *HC*, pp. 257–8.
45. *HC*, p. 228.
46. See Crawley, 'Drayton's Use of Welsh History', 236, 248–9, 252.
47. For Gruffudd Hiraethog, see 'In Praise of Humphrey Llwyd' (appendix to this volume), line 61; for Salesbury, see Flower, 'William Salesbury', 9.

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7

British Warrior Women in *Cymbeline*, *Bonduca* and the Court of James VI and I

Tristan Marshall

The emblem dedicated to Anna, wife of James VI and I, in Henry Peacham's 1612 emblem book *Minerva Britanna* addresses her as 'the Thrice-Vertuous, and Fairest of Queenes, Anne Queene of Great Britaine. In ANNA regnantium arbor. ANNA *Britannorum Regina*'. Ben Jonson had already saluted her in print as queen of Great Britain on the title page of *The Characters of Two Royal Masques* [*Blackness* and *Beauty*] in 1608 and that of the *Masque of Queens* in 1609. Yet, whereas historiography has discoursed widely on James's desire to become king of Great Britain, his wife's views as an emphatically British queen have been less clearly delineated. Though parliamentary opposition and legal opprobrium would sink James's plans for a new nation, and arguably for the creation of a 'British empire' in terms that would have given Humphrey Llwyd pause for thought, interest in Britain's ancient past and Britishness as a conceit would nevertheless continue throughout James's reign on the London stages.[1] Invariably these are concerned with James's continuing interest, but his wife also had a stake in the cultural representations of Britain. Anna positioned herself at the forefront of artistic patronage during the first decade of her husband's rule, patronising playwrights such as Samuel Daniel and Ben Jonson, elevating the masque from what had been a principally male form of revelry under Elizabeth – think of the masquers in *Romeo and Juliet* – into what Clare McManus reminds us had become 'a feminine performance form'.[2] Anna gave her patronage to the Children of the Queen's Revels and enjoyed

playgoing greatly – especially, we are told, when the plays mocked her husband. The Queen's Revels company produced a series of plays satirising James and his court, including Daniel's *Philotas*, Jonson, Chapman and Marston's *Eastward Hoe*, Day's *Isle of Gulls* and Chapman's *Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron*. In 1604 the French ambassador noted the ridicule to which James was being exposed on the public stages – a probable reference to King Gonzago in Marston's *The Fawn* – but also indicating that his wife 'attends these representations in order to enjoy the laugh against her husband'.[3]

Anna's political allegiances – like those she encouraged in her eldest son Prince Henry – were often in opposition to those of her husband and we might expect to find her opposing the British identity and aspirations encouraged by James. However, in two plays particularly – Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and John Fletcher's *Bonduca*, we can see evidence of stridently independent royal British women that align with the manner in which Anna and her circle were seeking to identify themselves. We must therefore ask whether the corpus of British material circulating on the early Jacobean stages was as much, if not more, tied to the interests of Anna and her son as her husband and question the extent to which this British corpus was material with wider political and cultural ramifications.

Anna's circle was not chosen for her by James. Instead, she selected women from what had been the patriotic circle around the earl of Essex. Her closest confidantes would be the sister and widow of the earl of Essex and the wife of one of the Essex conspirators – Penelope Rich, Frances Devereux and Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford, whose husband Edward rode with Essex in his abortive rising.[4] While the king wished to be *Rex Pacificus*, Anna's circle was indeed more martially inclined, as Michael B. Young notes:

> The king stood for peace; the queen stood for war. The king advanced effeminate favourites at court; the queen allied herself with the hawks. The king wanted a softening, a redefinition of manliness, that elevated rationality and reflection over violent and impulsive behaviour. The queen inclined toward a more conventional definition of manliness. She preferred men who favoured action over contemplation, men who were eager to prove their valour on the battlefield.

Anna befriended martially inclined men from the Essex circle, unsurprisingly given her female coterie, including Shakespeare's patron, the earl of Southampton, who complained that there were too many 'boys and base fellows' at James's court.[5]

The more militant supporters of colonisation in the early Jacobean period sought patronage not only at Prince Henry's court, but at Queen Anna's too. An anonymous petition was sent to the queen in 1610 beseeching her to patronise voyages to America and suggesting that the king might 'erect an order of knighthood … to the w[hi]ch our Lo[rd]: the prince of wales his Excellencie to be cheife Lo[rd] Paramount', where 'divers knights and esquiers of the best sort of noble descent' would provide for 'the planting' of North America. Lucy Russell's name appears on the patent for the governing council of the Virginia and Somers Islands Company in 1612, coming second only to the earl of Southampton's in the Bermuda charter of 1615.[6] Anna also inserted Lucy's younger brother John Harrington, whose parents were guardians of the Princess Elizabeth, into Henry's circle. The result of connecting her own circle with Henry's was to build a lasting and close connection between mother and son. One contemporary reports that Henry visited his mother often 'to show his humble and loving duty towards Her Majesty' and on those occasions when she could not see him he would wait 'a long time, in vain' before returning home.[7] Henry would grow up aligning himself, as his mother did, with those who were not only some of the most visible patrons of the arts in London but also those whose political fortunes stood in opposition to the powerful Howard family, at the forefront of the anti-Spanish party at court.[8]

This circle and their spirit of martial boldness can be seen in Anna's first masque, Samuel Daniel's *The Vision of Twelve Goddesses* (8 January 1604). In writing a simple character emblem masque for twelve queens we are confronted with the fact that the first queen to step forward, Juno, wife of Jupiter, was not in fact played by Queen Anna. Rather than depict herself in a matronly role, she chose instead to play Pallas Athena, appearing armed with weapons. The masque therefore celebrates a strident vein of female empowerment, the queen taking up arms while, as Susan Dunn-Hensley notes, 'Each goddess who enters the stage represents female autonomy and power'.[9] The spectacle of Anna as Athena 'with a silver embroidery of all weapons and engines of war', 'a helmet-dressing on her head' and 'a Launce and Target' suggests either that Anna

was actively seeking to co-opt the iconography of Queen Elizabeth – the selection of outfits chosen for the masque necessitated the raiding of Elizabeth's wardrobe – or else co-opting martial imagery the way that Prince Henry later would. James the peacemaker could not have been more startled by his wife's choice. His Privy Council were more than startled, writing to James that Anna should not participate in a masque again.[10] In this they were to be disappointed.

The extent to which Anna's coterie formed an oppositional bloc does, however, need some qualification from the perspective of the king's ultimate authority. Anna could and did push against James's agenda, but he was the king. In a patriarchal society his was the final word, which explains why her control over the character and temperament of the future king was so important. Having fought to wrest his person from the earl and countess of Mar, Anna ensured that Henry's upbringing would be closer to her from 1604, when he was ten, until 1610, when he acquired his own palace on his investiture as Prince of Wales. The result of their proximity and shared interests and schemes disturbed James. The French ambassador noted James 'perplexed by fear and jealousy respecting the alteration that is observable in the Prince of Wales, *and produced by his mother*' (my italics).[11]

Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales in 1610 was a critical point in the relationship between royal mother and son. David Bergeron has noted '1610 belonged to Prince Henry' but it also belonged to Anna. The masques after *Twelve Goddesses* written by Jonson – the masques of *Blackness* (1605) and *Beauty* (1608) and the *Masque of Queens* (1609) – saw Anna and her coterie representing themselves in strikingly martial terms, Prince Henry dancing in these masques and part of their creative environment.[12] Their martial spirit would not be lost on Henry and in 1610 he would take centre stage himself. Jonson's *Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* (6 January 1610) began the year with Merlin, King Arthur, the Lady of the Lake and Chivalry celebrating Henry as Moeliades (an anagram of *Miles a Deo*), eulogising his martial nature while urging a degree of circumspection in his militant ambition. Valerie Wayne has noted the masque as a key source for *Cymbeline*: 'If Shakespeare were looking for material for a new play, *The Speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers* could have provided him with a brief for Acts 3–5.'[13] The circumspection urged by the masque towards European military intervention might well have been with an eye on the deepening

Julich-Cleves crisis in Europe, whose threat to plunge the continent into all-out war was to be delayed for a decade by the assassination of Henry IV in Paris on 14 May. Prince Henry had affectionately corresponded with the martially minded French king and the murder sent shockwaves through the courts of Europe, crushing Henry personally. He was reputed to have taken to his bed for several days, claiming dolefully 'my second father is dead'.[14] His relationship with his actual father seems to have been conflicted. One contemporary observer, Francis Osborne, pointed to James's fear and jealousy of his son's popularity. He recounts how the king's jester Archy Armstrong once taunted the king that he 'did look upon Henry rather as a terror than a comfort to the King'. James upbraided Archy for this comment, but those present reputedly noticed that the jester's words had reduced the king to tears.[15]

Anna commissioned Samuel Daniel to write *Tethys' Festival*, a masque performed the day after Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales on 5 June, in which we can again see clearly the hand of the queen behind her son's agenda. The masque celebrated Anna as queen and royal mother as much as it glorified Henry. As in the masques written for her beforehand by Jonson, *Tethys' Festival* enunciates a female ambition, in this case for the future of British monarchy, as Anna celebrated the manner in which she had raised her son, masculine martial virtue tempered by feminine strength, the queen imagining a future founded on an alliance between the prince and his female predecessors.[16] As Barroll has indicated:

> *Tethys' Festival* was so much a function of Anna's relationship to the Prince of Wales that its very existence as a masque can only be explained by this relationship. There was no precedent or custom requiring a queen mother to present a masque during the time of the installation of a Prince of Wales.[17]

The masque opens in 'a port or haven, with bulwarks at the entrance and the figure of a castle commanding a fortified town', strongly indicative of Anna's positioning herself against her husband's pacifist stance. This Milford Haven is 'The happy Port of Vnion, which gaue way / To that great Hero HENRY, and his fleete', recounting Henry VII's landing, the origin point of the Tudor dynasty, at the same time as it resonates with another Henry. It is also a locale mentioned seventeen times in *Cymbeline*.[18]

This martial spirit was not limited to the court. The Artillery Garden was (re)founded in London in 1610 for the training of infantry, Edmund Howes recounting that on 30 June:

> The ancient use of the Artillery Garden, fallen into disuse since 1588, has been revived this present year through the exertions of divers citizens and gentlemen of the City of London; and here is held a weekly exercise of arms and military discipline after the modern and best instruction. Further they have erected a strong and well-furnished armoury with arms of several sorts and excellent goodness.[19]

Forming the backdrop for the writing of *Cymbeline*, 1610 then can be seen as a year of martialism. It was a year of unalloyed optimism regarding Britain's future with Henry at the helm. The prince had been groomed by his mother not just as a man far from the image of his father, but a prince appreciative of the agency of strong female role models in his life. He was not only a devoted son, but a young man who adored his sister Elizabeth, a masculine prince in touch with his feminine side. Not uncoincidentally then, 1610 is, as Lisa Hopkins has noted, the date from which we see strong female heroes appearing on the stages.[20] Looking at two plays, *Cymbeline* dating from 1610, a year of hope and aspiration for Anna and her circle, and *Bonduca*, written and performed at least partially as a response to the crushing of those hopes at the end of 1612, we can see ancient Britain as a discursive ground not only for Henry's interests but for British royal women, past and present.

Cymbeline, King of Britaine, to give the play its full title from the First Folio, discourses on early British history in relation to the Roman empire, martialism, colonialism and imperial aspirations, all of which were precisely the kind of matters to appeal to Prince Henry. And all of which followed the political and mercantile interest too of Anna's circle. Yet the play's British material has more often been linked to James's desire for the Union of the Crowns, still on his radar in 1610.[21] The play's weak British king and the notion that it is in his progeny that the golden age of Britain reunited with Rome will occur should, however, make us reconsider. Literary criticism of the play often surveys its debt to historiography widely, trying to square the circle of a playwright savvy enough to know not to mock the king's plan for Britain with the historiographical

rejection of much of the Brute myth.[22] But historians at the time were still keen to emphasise that rejection of some of the British history did not mean a rejection of all of it. Philemon Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia* into English as *Britain* was published in 1610, registered perhaps uncoincidentally with the Stationer's Company on the day of Henry's investiture. Its self-declared aim was to 'restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britaine to his antiquity'. This, as Andrew King has intimated, leaves Camden ensconced comfortably on the fence regarding the veracity of the Brute history.[23]

Rather than seeing in the play a conflict between ancient Britain and imperial Rome, it should be noted that *Cymbeline* in fact depicts an ancient Britain that is already Romanised. Jupiter is their deity and indeed appears as *deus ex machina*. Posthumus has a Latinised name. Cymbeline was brought up in Rome. Britain is Roman and all the better for it. 'British national identity', as Jodi Mikalachki argues, 'is formed from the interaction of the Roman invaders with the native land'.[24] Jacobean Britons are shown that their Britishness is a synthesis of ancient British valour with Roman civility and imperial might. Britishness under Rome is the best of both worlds. And it has already happened. The political crisis in the play is not one of Britain versus Rome, but an argument over taxation.

The play was probably written between March and December 1610, performed in late June or July at the Globe, at the Blackfriars in November or December and at court during the 1610–11 holiday.[25] This makes its composition and performance part and parcel of Henry's year. The play's reference to one of the ancestors of Lord Hay, the former gentleman of the privy chamber who had assisted the prince at his barriers, was a specifically martial one, Hay's ancestor and his two sons having fought at the Battle of Luncarty in Fife, an event taken from Holinshed's Scottish chronicles.[26] Posthumus recounts the defence of the lane in terms that a militarily minded prince would delight in, describing a broken army, British troops fleeing through a narrow lane, the enemy slaughtering them but for three defenders who shame their fellows into turning round and standing fast. In language revelling in blood lust and the visceral madness of battle, Posthumus describes the defenders:

> [they] 'gan to look
> The way that they did and to grin like lions
> Upon the pikes o'th' hunters. Then began

A stop i'th' chaser, a retire; anon
A rout, confusion thick; forthwith they fly
Chickens, the way which they stooped eagles; slaves,
The strides they victors made: and now our cowards,
Like fragments in hard voyages, became
The life o'th' need. Having found the back door open
Of the unguarded hearts, heavens, how they wound!
Some slain before, some dying, some their friends
O'erborne i'th' former wave, ten chased by one,
Are now each one the slaughterman of twenty.
Those that would die or ere resist are grown
The mortal bugs o'th' field. (5.3.37–51)

If this language would appeal to Henry, what might the presence of the British king's wife in the play have meant to Anna? Cymbeline's wife is, after all, an evil schemer. Her son is a belligerent fool, both of which might make an association of the play with Anna and Henry problematic. But Shakespeare was wise enough to understand that he could not write a play, never mind one for a court performance, depicting the queen and her son as villains. David Bergeron notes that the queen in the play, however, 'is his second wife and not the mother of his children'.[27] This new sharer of the king's bed has wormed her way into his affections, actively working against the interests of his progeny.

Direct correlation between the queen in *Cymbeline* and James's favourite Robert Carr would have been as politically unwise for Shakespeare as making too close a resemblance to Anna. And yet, from Anna's perspective, a king's new bedfellow might indeed threaten the security both of her children and the country. From his catching the king's eye in 1607, Carr's influence had grown steadily. Given Sir Walter Raleigh's estate of Sherborne in January 1609, Carr was made Viscount Rochester early in 1610. He would thereafter add Knight of the Garter and membership of the Privy Council to his benefices. But it is his role in the collapse of the Great Contract in the House of Commons that suggests a profile in 1610 more akin to that of the scheming queen in *Cymbeline*. The Great Contract, designed to pay off James's debts, was negotiated prior to the summer recess, but on gathering again from 16 October it became clear that the agreement would not be ratified. The king's secretary Sir Thomas Lake had written to Robert Cecil early in 1610

and asserted that Carr had been to blame for sowing discontent in the Commons, 'spreading a rumour that the Commons planned to petition James to send the Scots home'.[28] The Commons was indeed adjourned on 24 November after some members began criticising the king's wastefulness and his generosity to the Scots.[29] Lake wrote to Cecil on 4 December, informing him:

> that all this heat expressed in my last two letters is moved by Sir Robert Carre; that your Lordship has been very maliciously dealt with by some of the Lower House, *he being the instrument*; that the intent of pressing your Lordship and my Lords to discover these names and matter *is urged by him out of a purpose to cast some distaste between your Lordships and the King*.[30] (My italics)

As a beneficiary of the king's largesse and affection, as well as a Scot threatened by any suggestion of the Commons' moving to have Scots sent home, Carr appears to have retaliated with force. At the time that Shakespeare was writing *Cymbeline*, the king's favourite Robert Carr was agitating to foment a break between the Commons and both Cecil and the king in a matter concerning both money and national pride.

The other woman in *Cymbeline* is of course Innogen. Posthumus frequently, if incorrectly, refers to her as queen – he has no sooner appeared for the first time when he addresses her emphatically 'My queen, my mistress!' (1.1.93) and in his despair upon thinking her dead cries 'O Innogen! / My queen, my life, my wife.' (5.5.225–6) This appellation as queen might not be so inappropriate, however. Significantly, Innogen is named after Brute's wife, the first British queen, the mother of the British dynasty. If James was likened in panegyric to Brute, why not Anna to Innogen? As a character Innogen is a *tour de force*. Remembering her performance in Bill Alexander's 1987 production at The Other Place in Stratford, Harriet Walters described Innogen as 'a steamroller, raging at her father, overriding Pisanio, letting off volleys of insults at Cloten and the Queen'. The actress felt the stage was sometimes like a 'boxing-ring', in which she met her opponent and 'usually came off best, if only verbally'. Bonnie Lander notes of Innogen: 'Her capacity to articulate her thoughts and emotional responses at the moment of action is a quality one would expect from a skilled politician or general.' Angela Pitt also observes of

Innogen's desire for death in Act 3, 'no other woman in Shakespeare is given this dimension of extraordinary physical courage. Even Cleopatra, seizing death triumphantly, does not betray the realisation that dying may be violent and painful'.[31]

Innogen demonstrates active, capable, brave and empowered femininity. She is a true British queen and even as she is told that the British Crown will pass from her to Guiderius, Cymbeline's newly rediscovered eldest son, she is happy. As Guiderius expresses his love and care for Innogen, Henry would not put his mother aside when he became Prince of Wales. In Jonson's masque *Oberon* (1 January 1611), Henry broke convention by taking out his mother to dance not once, but three times. The heir to the throne sent out a clear message to the court that his mother remained a pivotal figure, a bold British queen worthy of his love and admiration.[32]

Henry's death in November 1612, however, changed everything. Without her son to offset James's increasing interest in male favourites and faced with the illness and withdrawal from court life of Lucy Russell, the influence of Anna and her circle waned. Where a royal British woman could triumph in *Cymbeline*, John Fletcher in *The Tragedie of Bonduca* showed the reverse – the downfall of a British queen, her betrayal by a misogynist and the death of the young prince. Critical attention to Bonduca has studied the Iceni queen and her daughters from a number of perspectives, often likening the British queen to Elizabeth I as a means of contrasting the folly of Caratach's pro-Roman politicking with James VI and I's pacifist policies favouring rapprochement with Spain and indeed Rome.[33] This is to ignore a far more immediate contrast in comparing the behaviour of Bonduca with Queen Anna, the actual British queen at the time of the play's performance. This is especially visible when we consider the tragedy that unfolds for Hengo, the precocious young man who is heir to Britain when he passes from the care of Bonduca to Caratach.

The audience going to see a play about Boadicea/Bonduca would have known of her as a queen from ancient Britain driven by a desire for revenge against the Roman invaders for their rapes of her daughters. Literary reference to Boadicea hitherto lauded her. Llwyd discusses her twice, lauding her as one who:

> caused sixty and ten thousand Romans to be slain. Whose courage more than manlike, and noble deeds worthy to be extolled

> with praise unto Heaven, and equivalent to the acts of renowned emperors and captains, Tacitus and also Dion, men of great name, have celebrated in fair and large discourse.[34]

For Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*, Boadicea was a 'famous moniment of womens prayse' (2.10.56). Bonduca as a character had appeared in Jonson's *Masque of Queens*, termed 'the Brittanne honor', while in his *Poly-Olbion*, Michael Drayton would figure Boadicea in heroic terms, culminating in her Cleopatra-like suicide in the face of Roman humiliation.[35] Thomas Heywood included her in his 1640 *Exemplary Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women of the World*. In the preface to her story Heywood writes, 'Witness this British Queen, / whose masculine spirit / shall to all future glorious fame inherit, / Beyond all tongues or pens'.[36]

The history of Bonduca's defeat is figured in Camden's 1610 *Britain* directly from the perspective of Tacitus' account. Unsurprisingly, the perspective of the Roman victors leads to a telling of her story that downplays British martial valour. The play indeed spends a great deal of time in the Roman camp, establishing Suetonius as a noble general, in a similar vein to the depiction of Lucius in *Cymbeline*. But behind the interplay between Britons and Romans in *Bonduca* is the conflict between the queen's passionate martialism, grounded on a desire to protect both her own daughters and those of her people from rape and the narrow-minded Caratach.[37] For audiences aware of Anna and James's differing agendas the two British leaders would have seemed strikingly familiar.

The play opens with Bonduca and her daughters engaged in guerrilla warfare while enduring the moralising of the general Caratach. The audience quickly see that Caratach, initially appearing as a rather grand figure of wisdom and pronouncement, is in fact far from being a British hero. He makes a series of disastrous decisions that aid and abet the Roman cause at every turn. In 1.1 he takes charge of the prince Hengo, whose death he will cause at the end of the play. In 2.3 he releases the Roman Judas, the villain who will indeed kill Hengo – no audience could fail to appreciate the signposting of a man called Judas. And in 3.5 Caratach releases the three Roman officers captured by Bonduca's daughters, allowing the tide of battle to turn decisively in favour of the Romans.[38]

A direct correlation with King James is muddied by Caratach not being a king, as does his professed love of chivalric martialism, but he is nevertheless misguided in that his desire for honourable conduct in war

accomplishes only defeat.[39] He is contemptuous of his nieces' capture of Junius and other Roman officers, suggesting that these canny, valorous and capable women instead 'Learn to spin' (3.5.83). He has no patience for female initiative or a female leader. When Bonduca has given the command to charge without consulting him, he scornfully attacks her:

> Why do you offer to command? the divell,
> The divell, and his dam too, who bid you
> Meddle in mens affairs?
> *Bonduca.* I'll help all.
> *Caratach.* Home,
> Home and spin woman, spin, go spin, ye trifle. (3.5.132–5)

After this he no longer references Bonduca by name or title, but by insults to her gender, allowing every woman in the audience to share the insult: 'woman fool' (3.5.128); 'O woman, scurvie woman, beastly woman' (3.5.138) and later, 'O thou woman, / Thou agent for adversities' (5.1.3–4).[40] Fletcher inserts the irony that whereas Caratach forbids Bonduca's daughter to use arrows against the captive Romans (3.5.81–2) this is the very weapon with which the Romans kill his nephew Hengo. And whereas he is all too happy to demonstrate his sense of honour and magnanimity in freeing Roman prisoners, the Roman Decius later notes no such reciprocal clemency in the final battle: ''Tis won, Sir, and the Britains / All put to th' sword.' (4.4.154–5) Caratach's eulogy at the death of Hengo, invariably read critically as Fletcher's rejection of the British history, is actually demonstrative of Caratach's sanctimonious hypocrisy as the man responsible for the prince's fate:

> Farewell the hopes of *Britain*,
> Thou Royall graft, Farewell for ever. Time and Death
> Ye have done your worst. Fortune now see, now proudly
> Pluck off thy vail, and view thy triumph: Look,
> Look what thou hast brought this Land to. (5.3.160–4)

That hope of Britain is a very thinly veiled Prince Henry. Previously acknowledged as 'this bud of *Britain*' (1.1.114) by Caratach, Hengo aggressively confronts Roman soldiers asking his uncle 'Are these they / That vex mine Aunt so? can these fight? they look / Like emptie scabbards, all,

no mettle in 'em, / Like men of clouts, set to keep crows from orchards; / Why, I dare fight with these' (2.3.60–4). Hengo later reveals a particular tragedy to Caratach 'I know, Uncle, / We must all die; my little brother dy'd, / I saw him die, and he dy'd smiling' (4.2.2 4). It is a curiously specific detail, but then Prince Henry did indeed lose his younger brother Robert, who died at the age of just four months in 1602 when Henry was eight years old.

Hengo expresses the particular desire to lead by example and fight for his country. In 4.2 he boasts 'I can play [walk] twenty mile a day; I see no reason / But to preserve my Countrey and my self, / I should march fourty.' Caratach then asks him "What wouldst thou be / Living to wear a mans strength?"' Hengo replies 'Why a *Caratach*, / A Romane-hater, a scourge sent from heaven / To whip these proud theeves from our kingdom.' (4.2.25–30). This visceral language would have made his peace-loving father shudder, and we can see further parallels between Hengo and Henry when the prince faces off against Judas:

> I long to kill thee; come, thou canst not scape me,
> I have twenty ways to charge thee; twenty deaths
> Attend my bloody staff.
>
> JUDAS: Sure 'tis the devil,
> A dwarf, devil in a doublet.
>
> HENGO: I have kill'd a Captain, sirha, a brave Captain,
> And when I have done, I have kickt him thus. Look here,
> See how I charge this staff.
>
> JUDAS: Most certain
> This boy will cut my throat, yet. (4.2.63–70)

At *Prince Henry's Barriers* Henry was said to have sustained thirty pushes of the pike – like the staff here a thrusting weapon. He was also pictured using a pike in Drayton's dedication to him of *Poly-Olbion* in 1612 and was figured as the character of the pike-loving young Prince Giovanni in Webster's *The White Devil*.[41]

Nina Budabin McQuown notes, 'if Hengo's death appears to align Fletcher with the antiquarians, in the context of the play as a whole it functions more as a revelation of Fletcher's skepticism toward any account of ancient British origins.'[42] I do not believe, however, that Fletcher was engaging in the historiographical debate about Britain's origins here

per se. The argument seems clearer when seen from the perspective that the death of Hengo after that of the queen sounds the death knell for their vision of Britain. The country is left in the hands of Caratach, who has an often-noted weakness for the men of the Roman army. Bonduca indicates this to the audience pointedly right at the beginning of the play: 'I think / Ye doat upon these *Romanes*, *Caratach*' (1.1.54–5). Caratach is enraptured by the sight of the advancing Roman army commanded by Suetonius, describing it in homoerotic terms: 'Now I see the Body … a handsome body, / And of a few, strongly and wisely joynted' and 'see how bravely / The Body moves, and in the head how proudly / The Captains stick like plumes' (3.3.3–5, 9–11).[43] Caratach's perverse sense of honour (perverse in that every time he acts honourably it is in the interests of his country's enemies) does not extend to the matter most viscerally associated with the Bonduca story – the revenge against Rome for the crime of rape. As Boling notes: 'One would think that the rape and abuse of Britain's women, including his own royal kinswomen, would be a matter of honor for Caratach. Instead, he calls his nieces "sluts" (3.5.67) who deserved being raped', with the horrific line – 'You should have kept your legs close then' (3.5.71). Hearing this, no Jacobean audience could admire him. The line would have elicited catcalls, boos and hisses.[44] But whereas the play sets up the expectation that rape will be avenged, it does not occur. On the two distinct occasions when Bonduca's daughters are about to achieve retribution (2.3 and 3.5), Caratach intervenes and frustrates the audience by putting his personal sense of masculine honour and fair play before the justice that the women deserve.[45] The dramatic effect of this is compounded when Bonduca calls out to the fleeing British army, 'Leave your Queen desolate? her haplesse children / To Roman rape again and fury?' (3.5.150–1). It is as much a recognition that all women, not just her own daughters, are vulnerable to unchecked masculine violence.[46] In his *The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed* (1610) Fletcher had already turned the tables on *The Taming of the Shrew* by writing a strident piece of female empowerment. He had an eye and an ear for three-dimensional female characters, making a misogynist depiction of Bonduca, her daughters and women in general seem highly unlikely in *Bonduca*. I therefore concur with Julie Crawford's assessment that 'Fletcher's *Bonduca* articulates an important cross-section of anxieties and conceptual shifts about women worthies and male homosociality that alludes to the court and reign of James I'.[47]

Scholarship has seen wide differences in interpretation regarding the character of Bonduca. For John E. Curran, she is 'bloodthirsty, irrational, and childishly irrelevant', while Caratach's wisdom is celebrated, along with his 'willing though not shameful resignation to Roman historiographical dominance'.[48] The audience going to see a play named after a great British leader would be delighted to see Bonduca on barnstorming form in the first scene. Imagine their surprise – and think of a female audience reaction – when Caratach sneeringly tells her to shut up and leave the fighting to men like him. Despite his censure, Bonduca agrees to moderate her boastfulness. From this opening scene, where the queen has given Britain a position of strength in delivering a defeat to the Romans, we see her ceding military control and the protection of Hengo to Caratach, who proceeds to lose every encounter with the Romans and sends Hengo to his death, only for him then to surrender himself to the Romans and turn his back on Britain.

Those women in the audience hearing Bonduca boast 'a woman, / A woman beat 'em, *Nennius*; a weak woman, / A woman beat these *Romanes*' (1.1.15–17) would undoubtedly have cheered. The actor playing the line 'a weak woman' would have had a smile on his face saying it because there is nothing physically weak about Bonduca. She is defiant and militant to the core, scorning the Roman Decius' prompting of her to surrender, saying 'I am unacquainted with that language, Roman' (4.4.9), and responding to his insistence, 'Ye must adore and fear the power of *Rome*' (4.4.14) with a call to British nationalism whose rhyming couplets draw our ears:

> 'tis fitter I should reverence
> The thatched houses where the Britains dwell
> In carelesse mirth, where the blest houshold gods
> See nought but chaste and simple puritie.
> 'Tis not high power that makes a place divine,
> Nor that the men from gods derive their line.
> But sacred thoughts in holy bosoms stor'd,
> Make people noble, and the place ador'd. (4.4.19–26)

Defeated in life, Bonduca is victorious in death. Having taken poison she speaks of the 'Poor vanquish'd Romanes' (4.4.147) and gives them a couplet of advice that acknowledges the historical synthesis of ancient Britain

and Imperial Rome: 'If you will keep your Laws and Empire whole, / Place in your Romane flesh a Britain soul' (4.4.152–3). This is, notably, the very state depicted by the close of *Cymbeline*. Bonduca's death is, moreover, accompanied by a portentous earth tremor, while her character is finally acknowledged by the Roman Suetonius as 'truely noble, and a Queen' (4.4.156).

Crawford does not see female empowerment in the play:

> Women are represented as whores, witches, monsters, poor rulers, Amazons, and 'desperate'. They are a threat both to male control and national safety. Bonduca's daughters, historical rape victims, are … Amazonian monsters who exploit their threatening sexuality to lure men into captivity.

This ignores the fact that the opinions of those characters portraying women as such are not to be taken as truth. Crawford sees Amazonian women identified with British nationalism as representing a challenge to the official ideology of James's court, while missing the locus around Anna, calling Bonduca instead 'a demonized [Queen] Elizabeth'. And whereas she claims 'the homoeroticism and male-centrism of James's court … allowed no representational space for powerful women' it most certainly did, as Anna's involvement in court masqueing makes very clear.[49]

The Venetian ambassador noted the depth of Anna's pain over Henry's death. 'The Queen's life has been in the greatest danger owing to her grief. She will receive no visits nor allow anyone in her room, from which she does not stir, nor does she cease crying.' Anna had already mourned the deaths of four of her children by 1612, but that of Henry seems to have come as the greatest shock.[50] She did not enjoy as close a relationship with her younger son Charles and it is notable that of Charles's creation as Prince of Wales, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton: 'The Queen would not be present at the creation, lest she should renew her grief by the memory of the last prince who still runs so much in some men's mind.'[51] She had invested considerably in raising a son in her own image – unafraid to challenge the king, a patron of the arts, strident in his politics and a young man happy to enjoy the company of influential women.

By 1612 Anna had already left the Whitehall stage, dancing in her last masque *Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly* on 3 February 1611, ceding

the limelight perhaps to her son. But this is not to suggest that she ceased to have agency. Her energy would be directed towards other avenues and locations of female performance such as de Mailliet's ballet de cour at Denmark House and Robert White's masque *Cupid's Banishment* at Greenwich Palace in 1617.[52] Aemilia Lanyer meanwhile celebrated Anna's contribution not only as a powerful locus of creativity, but one with definite militant connotations in her dedication to the queen of *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611):

> The Muses doe attend upon your Throne,
> With all the Artists at your becke and call;
> The Sylvane Gods, and Satyres every one,
> Before your faire triumphant Chariot fall:
> And shining Cynthia with her nymphs attend
> To honour you, whose Honour hath no end.[53]

Cymbeline is printed last in the Tragedies section of the First Folio, the final play in the volume. It is a curious tragedy. It ends happily, with reunion and the promise of peace and prosperity. But perhaps this tells us something about how Heminges and Condell looked back upon the play from 1623. If *Cymbeline, King of Britaine* was indeed a play meant for a happier time, with a young Prince Henry promising a resurgence of patriotic pride brought about by the actions of his fearless mother, then looking at the play eleven years after Henry's untimely death it is perhaps possible to see why it might have been consigned to the category of tragedy. A product of an exciting year, *Cymbeline* celebrated Henry and Anna, while *Bonduca* mourned them. If *Cymbeline* is Shakespeare's fantasia on the theme of Britain, *Bonduca* is Fletcher's elegy for Anna's lost aspirations.[54]

Notes

I follow Leeds Barroll's rationale for referring to James's wife as Anna, rather than Anne. See Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 173.

1. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britannia* (London, 1612), p. 13. Tristan Marshall, *Theatre and Empire: Great Britain on the London Stages Under James VI and I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

2. Clare McManus, 'When Is a Woman Not a Woman? Or, Jacobean Fantasies of Female Performance (1606–1611)', *Modern Philology*, 105/3 (2008), 474.
3. Phyllis Rackin notes the number of London playing companies with female patrons, from the Queen's Men in the 1580s under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth, to those receiving patents to act in the name of Queen Anna, the Princess Elizabeth and Queen Henrietta Maria. Phyllis Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 46. Janet Clare, *'Art made tongue-tied by authority': Elizabethan and Jacobean Dramatic Censorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 117.
4. Michael B. Young, 'Queen Anna Bites Back: Protest, Effeminacy and Manliness at the Jacobean Court', in Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (eds), *Gender, Power and Privilege in Early Modern Europe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), p. 118.
5. Young, 'Queen Anna bites back', p. 118; Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 45.
6. Lauren Working, *The Making of an Imperial Polity: Civility and America in the Jacobean Metropolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 40, 42.
7. W. H., *The true Picture and Relation of Prince Henry his Noble and Vertuous Disposition, Containing Certaine Observations and Proofes of his Towardly and Notable Inclination to Vertue, of the Pregnancie of his Wit, Farre above his Age, Comprehended in Sundry of his Witty and Pleasant Speeches* (Leyden, 1634), pp. 3–4.
8. Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 115. Lucy Russell's father Sir John Harington's first cousin had been Sir Philip Sidney, whose two siblings were Mary Sidney, now countess of Pembroke and Sir Robert Sidney. Sir Philip's widow Frances Walsingham had married the earl of Essex and her daughter by Philip had married Essex's friend Roger Manners, earl of Rutland. Both Essex and Rutland were close to Lucy Russell's husband Edward and all three rode in the abortive rising in 1601. Lucy was also close friends with Essex's sisters Penelope Rich and Dorothy, countess of Northumberland.
9. All references in the masque are from Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* in Joan Rees (ed.), *A Book of Masques* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 17–42. Susan Dunn-Hensley, *Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria: Virgins, Witches and Catholic Queens* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 83.
10. Dunn-Hensley, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 84. James Knowles suggests that Anna 'used but modulated her predecessor's iconography'; James Knowles, 'To Enlight the Darksome Night, Pale Cinthia Doth Arise': Anna of Denmark, Elizabeth I and the Images of Royalty', in Clare McManus (ed.), *Women*

and Culture at the Courts of the Stuart Queens (London: Palgrave, 2003), p. 24. See also Jean MacIntyre, 'Queen Elizabeth's Ghost at the Court of James I: The Masque of Blackness, Lord Hay's Masque, The Haddington Masque and Oberon', *Ben Jonson Journal*, 5 (1998), 81–100, and Yuichi Tsukada, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Nostalgia: Negotiating the Memory of Elizabeth I on the Jacobean Stage* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2019). On Henry's martialism see Tristan Marshall, '"That's the misery of peace": Representations of Martialism in the Jacobean Public Theatre 1608–1614', *The Seventeenth Century*, 13/1 (1998), 1–21. On the Privy Council anger see *Calendar of the Manuscripts of … The Marquess of Salisbury* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1933), 16:138.

11. Young, 'Queen Anna bites back', p. 120.
12. David M. Bergeron, 'Creating Entertainments for Prince Henry's Creation (1610)', *Comparative Drama*, 42/4 (2008), 434. Working with the women appears to have led Jonson towards significantly developing his ideas of female agency in his 1610 *Epicene*. See Tristan Marshall, '"A New Foundation": Anna of Denmark, Ben Jonson and the Aftermath of the Masques' (forthcoming).
13. William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. Valerie Wayne (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2017), p. 35.
14. Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), pp. 76–7. The assassination led to the ascendancy of another queen over her son, Marie de Medici ruling in France as regent for Louis XIII.
15. Cited in Alan Stewart, *The Cradle King: A Life of James VI and I* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), p. 248.
16. Roberta Barker, 'Tyrants, Love, and Ladies' Eyes: The Politics of Female-Boy Alliance on the Jacobean Stage', in Christina Luckyj and Niamh J. O'Leary (eds), *The Politics of Female Alliance in Early Modern England* (Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), p. 133.
17. Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 126.
18. Samuel Daniel, *Tethys' Festival: or The Qveenes Wake*, in *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (1885), 3.11, lines 147–50. When Lucius asks to be escorted to Milford Haven, Cymbeline instead gives the instruction 'Leave not the worthy Lucius, good my lords, / Till he have crossed the Severn' (3.5.16–17). There is indeed a suggestion that, as Humphrey Llwyd frequently asserted, the Severn marked the border with Wales and that this acknowledgement of an administrative border reflected the early Jacobean Four Shire Controversy. See John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603–1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 118–21.

19. Marshall, *Theatre and Empire*, pp. 91–2. See also Timothy Wilks, 'The Pike Charged: Henry as Militant Prince' in Timothy Wilks (ed.), *Prince Henry Revived: Image and Exemplarity in Early Modern England* (London: Paul Holberton, 2007), pp. 198–200.
20. Regarding his sister, Henry 'loved her alwayes so dearly, that he desired to see her alwayes by him' (Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 25). See Lisa Hopkins, *The Female Hero in English Renaissance Tragedy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 2.
21. See, for example, Emrys Jones, 'Stuart Cymbeline', *Essays in Criticism*, 11 (1961), 84–99; and Willy Maley, 'Postcolonial Shakespeare: British Identity Formation and *Cymbeline*', in Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (eds), *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 145–57.
22. Huw Griffiths, for example, writes: 'It is difficult to speculate on the precise ideological locations of this Shakespeare play, or on those of the institution of the theater and the King's Men in particular, in relation to the Jamesian project of union. *Cymbeline* clearly plays its part in this project, bringing to light the British past of the nation, rediscovering roots for the union project in older stories. However, once it brings these older stories to light, they do not coincide comfortably with James's desire for an imperial nation reborn.' Huw Griffiths, 'The Geographies of Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 34/3 (2004), 357.
23. William Camden, *Britain*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), 'Author to the Reader' ¶1; Andrew King, "Howso'er 'tis strange … Yet is it true': The British History, Fiction and Performance in *Cymbeline*', in Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (eds), *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 161.
24. Jodi Mikalachki, 'The Masculine Romance of Roman Britain: *Cymbeline* and Early Modern English Nationalism', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 46/3 (1995), 317.
25. Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. Wayne, p. 30.
26. Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. Wayne, pp. 324–8.
27. David M. Bergeron, *Shakespeare's Romances and the Royal Family* (Lawrence KS: University Press of Kansas, 1985), p. 141.
28. Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 39.
29. Eric N. Lindquist, 'The Last Years of the First Earl of Salisbury, 1610–1612', *Albion*, 18/1 (1986), 28.
30. HMC, *Salisbury MSS* 21:264–5. Cited in Lindquist, 'Last Years', 29.

31. Cited in Bonnie Lander, 'Interpreting the Person: Tradition, Conflict, and *Cymbeline*'s Imogen', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59/2 (2008), 176. Angela Pitt, *Shakespeare's Women* (London: David & Charles, 1981), p. 125.
32. Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, pp. 129, 130.
33. See, for example, Julie Crawford, 'Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca* and the Anxieties of the Masculine Government of James I', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 39/2 (1999), 365, 373; Claire Jowitt, 'Colonialism, Politics, and Romanization in John Fletcher's *Bonduca*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 43/2 (2003), 475–94; and Kelly Neil, 'The Politics of Suicide in John Fletcher's *Tragedie of Bonduca*', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 14/1 (2014), 88.
34. *BB*, p. 130. In his second discussion, Llwyd wrote 'What of Bunduica, that valiant manlike dame, who to begin withal, and for hansel sake, slew 70,000 Romans? Of whom such fear invaded Rome and Italy (as Virunnius writeth) as never the like before, neither at coming of Brennus, nor of Hannibal. What of Arviragus, the invincible king of Britain? Who in despite of the Romans, which were lords of all the world, preserved his liberty?' *BB*, pp. 133–4. Whereas previous British writers had relied solely on Tacitus's report of Boadicea's rebellion, Llwyd's unusually positive account cites a wider range of authorities; see Samantha Frénée-Hutchins, *Boudica's Odyssey in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), chapter 1. I am grateful to Philip Schwyzer for these references.
35. Anna played not Bonduca but herself in the masque, 'Bel-Anna Royal Queen of the Ocean'; see Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 113; Jodi Mikalachki, *Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 176.
36. Thomas Heywood, *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World* (London, 1640), p. 68.
37. Mikalachki notes: 'Historians from Tacitus to Gildas to Holinshed and Camden expressed their revulsion at both the fact and the conduct of her revolt.' But she admits: 'The unanimity of historians, their willingness to judge and condemn the British queen, was somewhat mitigated by more complex literary representations of Boadicea in early modern England'; Mikalachki, *Boadicea*, p. 120. Paul D. Green describes Fletcher as writing a pro-Roman play: 'Fletcher carefully manipulates his material to engage the audience's sympathies predominantly, though not exclusively, for the Romans.' He also notes that 'in order not to evoke too much sympathy for Bonduca's losing cause, Fletcher does not show us her funeral'; Paul D. Green, 'Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 22/2 (1982), 306, 307. This, however, ignores the personal conflict between the characters of Bonduca and Caratach completely.

38. Boling notes that the number of four Roman soldiers freed by Caratach mirrors the four Roman soldiers who crucified Christ; Ronald J. Boling, 'Fletcher's Satire of Caratach in *Bonduca*', *Comparative Drama*, 33/3 (1999), 399, 400.
39. Other opinions differ on this crucial point. See, for example, Mikalachki, *Boadicea*, p. 103.
40. Green, 'Theme and Structure in Fletcher's *Bonduca*', 310.
41. Marshall, 'That's the Misery of Peace', 5–8. Caratach reveals that the Roman Penyus told him to 'Go, *Britain*, bear thy Lions whelp off safely' (1.1.120). The 'lion's whelp' is the figure revealed to be Posthumus by the Soothsayer in *Cymbeline*.
42. Nina Budabin McQuown, '"Britain-gulf": *Bonduca* and the English Earth', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700*, 40/2 (2016), 26.
43. Jowitt, 'Colonialism, Politics, and Romanization', 489.
44. As Marion Wynne-Davies reminds us, 'while they were being acted on stage by boy-actors, the theater itself was full of vocal and active women, such as the orange-women, the amorous female spectators and, maybe, even a roaring girl'; Marion Wynne-Davies, 'Orange-Women, Female Spectators, and Roaring Girls: Women and Theater in Early Modern England', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 22 (2009), 25.
45. Boling, 'Fletcher's Satire', 402, 403.
46. Neil, 'Politics of Suicide', 108.
47. Sandra Clark sees the play very differently, arguing it to be one of the most 'subtly misogynist' plays in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon. She has argued that the play depicts a male 'world of honor and glory which is closed to Bonduca', showing 'the elimination of the woman who claims power and enacts violence …' 'reinforc[ing] values which are definitively gendered male'; Sandra Clark, *The Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher: Sexual Themes and Dramatic Representation* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), pp. 87, 88. A study of Caradoc's personal misogyny and his revelation to be a disastrous leader, more in love with Britain's enemies than his own people, however, seems to exonerate Fletcher; see Crawford, 'Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca*', 358.
48. John E. Curran, Jr, 'Royalty Unlearned, Honor Untaught: British Savages and Historiographical Change in *Cymbeline*', *Comparative Drama*, 31/2 (1997), 281, 282.
49. Crawford, 'Fletcher's *The Tragedie of Bonduca*', 358, 362, 365, 361. On Anna's masqueing and female agency, see, for example, McManus, 'When Is a Woman Not a Woman?' and Marshall, 'A New Foundation'.
50. *Calendar of State Papers… Venice*, ed. Horatio F. Brown (London, 1900), 12: 449. Margaret (died March 1600, aged 1), Robert (died 27 May 1602,

aged 4 months), Sophia (died 23 June 1606, aged 1 day) and Mary (died 16 September 1607, aged 2 years and 5 months).

51. Cited in Barroll, *Anna of Denmark*, p. 134.
52. McManus, 'When Is a Woman Not a Woman?', 458. Anna would perform, though not as a masquer, in Campion's *Somerset Masque* (1613), though given her dislike of Somerset this smacks of a marital backroom deal, as James was subsequently invited to Somerset House to sit through Samuel Daniel's pastoral *Hymen's Triumph* on 3 February 1614. In the play it is notably through the agency of its female protagonist Silvia – in particular her linguistic skill – that love triumphs; see Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 135, 136. Lucy Russell would be heavily involved in the installation of George Villiers in the Privy Chamber, a major step in the process of removing Somerset as James's favourite; see Barbara Smith, *The Women of Ben Jonson's Poetry: Female Representations in the Non-Dramatic Verse* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 54.
53. Aemilia Lanyer, *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer: Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, ed. Susanne Woods (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), lines 19–24.
54. When Michael Drayton published the first volume of his *Poly-Olbion* in 1612, dedicated to Henry, its frontispiece featured Great Britain as a woman, occupying centre space and surrounded by male warriors. In 1612 the land belongs to a royal British woman, but is this more than a figurative representation? With Henry being depicted in Drayton's work, I would suggest that the young woman is in fact the Princess Elizabeth, portrayed with her hair down, as she would have been when marrying in 1612. Drayton was not to know that the marriage would be delayed until February 1613 by Henry's death.

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8

Painted People: Race-Making in the Invention of Britain

Lorna Hutson

Jonson's Masque

Critical discussion of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605) has emerged out of two distinct subfields. One of these derives from debates about the relation of art to power, and the extent to which the masque was a spectacle of power, the servant of absolutism. In this context, Martin Butler has countered New Historicist readings with a stress on political dialogue, pointing to negotiations over the question of British Union as 'the ideological crucible out of which the masques were made'. Butler thus reads *Blackness*, with its discovery of the island name 'Britannia' as endorsing James I's project of 'Great Britain' in such a way as left 'less space for negotiation' for English constitutional objections to Union.[1] Critical work on premodern race, however, has been differently preoccupied with questions how and where modern categories of racialised thinking emerge.[2] This work sets *Blackness* within a long (and exploitative) tradition of black-up and black dance at European courts, while acknowledging its newly imperial message of Britannia's power to manage and dispose racial difference, embodied in the Queen and her ladies as 'daughters of Niger'.[3] Discussions in both contexts acknowledge each other, but in general the meaning of the intimate relation between the two remains elusive.[4] Yet there is no doubt that the masque makes the questions of British Union and black masquerade mutually dependent. The masque's riddling invention of the name 'Britannia', figured as an oceanic voyage discovering Britannia's hidden, gem-like insularity, is

predicated on a devastating trivialisation of two combined paradigms of race: that of aristocratic rank and that of phenotype.[5] In speaking of 'paradigms', I follow Noémie Ndiaye's model of racial thinking as a matrix or womb-like space continually engaged in the dynamic production of changing paradigms of race. In the sixteenth century, Ndiaye argues, the primary paradigms were 'degree, or rank, and religion' until gradually, incentivised by colonialism, 'the racial matrix produced a new paradigm: the word *race* came to refer to phenotypical differences for which skin tone quickly came to be a shorthand'.[6] On the cusp of this new paradigm's emergence, Jonson's masque seems to engage in an extraordinary double move. It first introduces the phenotypical or epidermal paradigm as a sign of degree or rank only, thereafter, to trivialise and negate it. Thus, the masque's opening arguments for the intrinsic beauty of Ethiopian nobility dwindle into a tired old figure for overcoming impossibility: washing the Ethiop white. The surrounding seas that define Britannia's claims to insular unity morph into a skin cleansing advertisement: that 'wholesome dew, called rosmarine', which 'with … soft and gentler foam' will wash Niger's daughters.[7] By time we get to these lines, blackness has lost its initial poetic engagement with the idea of nobility of rank in Africa and has become wittily and deprecatingly conflated with its own theatrical device. No longer signifying aristocratic racial difference, blackness, by the end of the masque, is reduced to artificial pigment, the matter of soluble black paint on white skin.[8]

Trivialisation strategies, as Joe Moshenska has recently argued, are not in themselves trivial, though their complexity is buried in the very means by which they achieve their aim of being overlooked.[9] In this chapter, I want to take seriously Jonson's trivialising reduction of racial difference to the artifice of theatrical greasepaint by looking at a race-making innovation in the discourse of British Anglo-imperialism that occurs in Jonson's chief source, Camden's *Britannia* (1586). Camden, as I will show, transforms an older tradition, going back to Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which the 'Britons' enjoyed the distinction of being designated the first inhabitants of the island of Britain, racially distinct from three later invading nations; the Saxons in the south, and the Picts and Scots in the north. In Camden's version, for the first time, the Picts – thought to have been destroyed by the Scots in the ninth century – are declared to be of the same race as the ancient Britons on the evidence that both peoples were said to have painted their skin. In identifying

nations or peoples thus by practices of marking skin, Camden contributes to what Craig Koslofsky has called the 'epidermalisation' of race in the period of European colonisation.[10] At the same time, Camden transforms the English claim to possess the whole island from one based in the increasingly discredited Galfridian legend of Brutus's foundation of Britain into a more historically argued identification of Britons/Picts as an ancient Gaulish-speaking people inhabiting the whole of the island, from the south to the far north-east. Jonson picks up on his former master's race-making innovation, subverting the Anglo-imperial claims of a 'first nation' of painted Briton/Picts by having the daughters of Niger 'invent' (that is, discover) the name Britannia as the island of unpainted peoples. Jonson thus develops Camden's epidermalising of race against the grain of Camden's Anglo-imperialistic denial of Scottish nationhood. In uniting James's subjects by subtracting distinctions drawn in paint on the skin, however, Jonson's masque pushes in the direction of an imperialism that would be ultimately of much greater consequence: that of British whiteness.

The very passage of Camden's *Britannia* that supplies Jonson's conceit of the masque's riddling 'discovery' of a united Britain was itself a new departure from the Galfridian derivation of Britain from the Trojan Brutus. As F. J. Levy was the first to acknowledge, Camden's two great historiographical innovations in *Britannia* were to replace Geoffrey of Monmouth's myth of Trojan-British origin with an ethnographic account of British racial origins and to interpret the past chorographically, moving through space, not through narrative time.[11] Not that chorography itself was new, but that Camden's antiquarian perambulations, unlike those of previous chorographers, were structurally unified by a prefatory linguistic ethnography of the island's earliest *nationes* or races.[12] *Britannia* moves from a linguistic-ethnographic identification of the most ancient inhabitants of Britain towards topographically organised perambulations through the island that territorialise the past in relation to the book's introductory ethnography.[13] Where earlier chorographers had tied their antiquarian investigations to the Galfridian tradition of Trojan-British origins, Camden rendered this origin story obsolete, substituting for it a new ethnography of a pre-Roman race of Gallic Britons and a new antiquarian interest in the material remains of Roman Britain.

Camden's linguistic ethnography thus departed sharply from such antecedent chorographers as John Leland (1540s), Humphrey Llwyd

(1572) and William Harrison (1577), all of whom combined antiquarian topographical description with an endorsement of the Galfridian tradition that underwrote England's suzerainty over Britain as the consequence of Brutus's division of the kingdoms.[14] The predecessor whose methods most closely anticipate Camden's was a Scot, George Buchanan (1582). Buchanan was the first to propose with any evidential precision that the ancient inhabitants of Britain spoke related dialects, suggesting a common origin in Gaul.[15] But where Buchanan used linguistic ethnography to identify *three* Gaulish-derived British nations – the Briton, the Scots-Irish and the Picts – Camden chose, in a radical departure from all previous historians to argue for an ethnic identification of the Britons and the Picts as a single racial group, the original inhabitants of the island, on the evidence that they painted their skins. I propose that by identifying the painted Picts as painted ancient Britons, Camden was able to extend the habitation of the Britons to the very northernmost parts of the island. The consequence was an imaginative de-territorialising of Scottish antiquity. Scots no longer figured as an ancient British nation on a par with Britons/Picts in spite of the fact that Scots and Picts both begin to be mentioned in Latin sources at about the same time (*c*.350–400 CE). Camden denied Scots ethnic parity with Picts as *primi incolae* on the grounds that he could find nothing to prove beyond doubt whether they came from Ireland, Scythia or elsewhere. He translated his uncertainty ('I have affirmed nothing') into a figure for ethnic miscellaneity, proposing Scots to be 'a mishmash of sundry nations which conflowed into Ireland, and thereupon gat that name … For that is called a Scot, which from sundrie thinges groweth into one heape'.[16] Uncertainty with respect to 'Pict', on the other hand, turned into a positive, if conditional, conjecture: but for the contrary arguments of Bede, he wrote, 'I would think that the Picts … were verie naturall Britons themselves' (1610: 115; 1587: 40). As these Picts were thought to have been completely wiped out by Kenneth McAlpin (Cinaed mac Alpín) in the ninth century, Camden's new ethnography effectively sets an indigenous ancient British claim to the whole island that tacitly but very effectively denies ethnic legitimacy to the present inhabitants of the northern kingdom.[17] Far from gesturing, in the twenty years before James's accession, towards a tactful 'inclusivity' of the Scots as ancient British *natio* or nation, I propose that Camden's *Britannia* cleverly reasserts, at the implicit, conjectural level of epidermally focused racial imagining, the English claim over

the whole island of Britain that had once been made through stories of Brutus and Arthur.[18]

In what follows, I will first indicate the nature of Jonson's debt to Camden in associating the name of Britain with a race of people who painted their skin. I will then show how radically Camden's argument for the ethnic unity of Britons and Picts as painted peoples transformed the Galfridian model of earlier English and Welsh chorographies. By way of recent work that recognises George Buchanan as the first humanist scholar to consider the relations of Gaelic, Brittonic and Pictish languages in the British Isles, I will argue that Camden was aware of Buchanan's ethno-linguistic methods, and that he transformed their conclusions in order to assert the dominance, in ancient times, of a single 'British' race in place of Buchanan's three distinct races. Finally, I will turn back to the questions of representing peoples with painted and tattooed skin in the context of debates over 'Great Britain' at the time of the accession of a Scottish king to the English throne, asking how we should read Jonson's sceptical trivialisation of origin myths and racial difference in *Blackness*.

The Painted (*Picti*) Britons: Camden's Great Innovation

At its opening, Jonson's *Blackness* expresses a surprising scepticism about the Europeans' tendency to indulge in discourses of the 'origins' of black skin. When asked by Oceanus why he has travelled so far from Ethiopia to 'these … shores' (94), the River Niger gives an account of the loveliness of his daughters, 'the first-formed dames of earth' (98), whose beauty inheres 'in their black' (104) precisely because of its aboriginal, inalterable nature: it does not change with age or death. Belief in these 'arguments' (111), however, has been shaken by European poets, who 'infect all climates' with 'wingèd fictions' (119–20) of Ethiopian blackness having a contingent, historical origin in the moment when Phaëton lost control of the sun's chariot and, in Ovid's words, '*Sanguine tum credunt in corpora summa vocato / Aethiopum populus nigrum traxisse colorem*' ('It was then, as men think, that the peoples of Aethiopia became black-skinned, since the blood was drawn to the surface of their bodies by the heat').[19] Niger's analysis is brilliantly inflected to suggest how, within European Petrarchan poetry, the competitive figures of antithesis and similitude ('eyes like stars', etc.) relegate this newly contingent 'blackness' to the status of flexible, evaluative foil.[20] The fiction of Phaëton implies that:

> Before his heedless flames were hurled
> About the globe the Ethiops were *as fair*
> *As other dames*, now black with black despair (122–4)

Hovering between sensory colour perception ('light coloured') and comparative measure of beauty ('as fair / As other dames'), the word 'fair' here exemplifies the formal, race-making power of poetry as it both defines beauty *against* blackness and makes blackness beauty's essential definitional resource. As the sun, in Niger's account, was both formal cause and 'best judge' of Ethiopian beauty (101), restoration of faith in the judgement of beauty needs to be restored by the riddling discovery of a sunless land, a land whose:

> … termination (of the Greek)
> Sounds *-tania* (150)

In this mysterious place 'bright Sol, that heat / Their bloods, doth never rise or set' but 'leaves that climate of the sky / To comfort of a greater light, / Who forms all beauty with his sight' (148–55). This 'greater light' is, of course, James; in this new place, beauty will be formed by shared political allegiance to James, not by climate. Following the 'tania' clue, Niger and his daughters have, as they explain to Oceanus, wandered through lands whose names connect descriptions of peoples with the word '*-tania*':

> In search of this have we three princedoms passed,
> That speak out *-tania* in their accents last;
> Black Mauritania first, and secondly,
> Swart Lusitania; next we did descry
> Rich Acquitania; and, yet, cannot find
> The place unto these longing nymphs designed. (156–61)

The riddle is solved as the goddess Ethiopia appears and reveals to Niger's daughters that they have arrived in a land that has recently recovered its ancient name, 'Britannia'. Ethiopia's rhymes emphasise that the recovery of this 'ancient dignity and *style*' produces the insular rarity and wonder of 'this bless'd *isle*', which is, in Virgil's words, '*A world divided from the world*' (192–202).

Jonson's source for his riddling voyage of discovery comes from the passage in which, in the first and subsequent editions of *Britannia*, Camden revealed his etymology of the name 'Britain'. The passage concludes a wide-ranging discussion of the possible derivations of the name 'Britain' (including Geoffrey of Monmouth's story of Brutus and Humphrey Llwyd's '*Pryd Cain*') by pulling, as if out of a hat, a startling new proposition. 'What if I should conjecture', he asks, 'that they were called Britans of their depainted bodies?' ('*quid si à depictis corporibus Britones dictos fuisse coniecturam?*' 1610; 26; 1587: 24). And he continues, 'For, whatever is thus painted and coloured, in their ancient countrey speech, they call *Brith*' ('*Quidquid enim depictum & coloratum,* Brith *patria & antiqua lingua appellant*'; 1610: 26; 1587: 24).[21] Arguing by analogy with the western kingdoms of Mauritania, Lusitania and Aquitania, Camden then proposes that Greek merchants, learning the name 'Brith' from the Gauls (who spoke the same language as the Britons: '*vel à Gallis quibus una eadem lingua*') then coined the name *Brith-tania*, which was taken over by the Romans. This section on 'Britanniae Nomen' (1587: 21–7) is followed by several pages with the running head 'Romani in Britannia' (1587: 28–39), which are followed in turn by the running heads '*Picti*' (43–6) and then a new heading, '*Scoti*' (46). Camden introduces the Picts as '*primas in antiquitate … post Britannos*' (1587: 40; 1610: 114) and then announces that he is able to prove 'that the Picts were the very British indeed' ('*quod Picti ipsi Britanni fuerint*') on the basis of their customs, name and language ('*more, nomine, & sermone*'), especially the custom of 'painting and staining themselves with colours' ('*ritus ille pingendi, & coloribus se oblinendi*', 1587: 41; 1610: 114–15). Camden's ethnic identification of Picts with Britons lies at the heart of his etymology of Britain as '*Brith-tania*', land of the painted or coloured people.

The radical novelty of Camden's identification of the Picts as the same race as the ancient Britons seems to have escaped modern critical attention.[22] Yet no medieval or early modern historian before Camden asserts the kinship of Britons and Picts. Up until the late sixteenth century, British histories, chronicles and romances make the Picts kin not to the Britons but to the Scots. Indeed, the sharpest possible racial distinction between Britons and Picts is essential to the discourse of Scoto-Pictish abjection that energises British history's important prophetic strain (the promised return of Arthur and recovery of British empire). Scots and Picts, according to this tradition of British history, are paired as liminal,

extremely savage foreign peoples who repeatedly threaten Britain's northernmost regions, preventing, by their incursions, the true *Briton* heirs to the island from properly occupying their *British* island homeland. Thus, Geoffrey of Monmouth (1137) repeatedly describes 'Scotia' and 'Albania' as uncivilised regions, hospitable only to Saxon and Norwegian invaders, who, aided by these savage Scots and Picts, make the northern regions uninhabitable for the Britons.[23] Indeed, Geoffrey prefaces his history with a '*descriptio insulae*' that makes this topographical-historical plot explicit. '*Britannia, insularum optima*', it begins, 'Britain, best of islands', and concludes:

> Postremo quinque inhabitatur populis, Normannis uidelicet atque Britannis, Saxonibus, Pictis, et Scotis; ex quibus Britones olim ante ceteros a mari usque ad mare insederunt donec ultione diuina propter ipsorum superbiam superueniente Pictis et Saxonibus cesserunt.
>
> It is, finally, inhabited by five peoples, the Normans, the Britons, the Saxons, Picts and Scots: of these the Britons once occupied it from shore to shore before the others, until their pride brought divine retribution down upon and them and they gave way to the Picts and the Saxons.[24]

Geoffrey's was a history originally directed at an Anglo-Norman audience with prophetic hopes of Welsh resurgence, but it was soon repackaged, along with its claims of prior occupation 'from shore to shore', as an Anglo-imperial history, justifying successive English attempts to conquer Scotland on the grounds of ancient title to sovereignty.[25] In the Arthurian romances that spread over Europe in the wake of Geoffrey's history, Picts and Scots went on being associated with liminality and danger to Arthur's Britain – in Marie de France's *Lanval*, King Arthur returns from fighting 'les Escoz e pur les Pis / ki destrueient le païs' ('the Scots and the Picts, who were destroying the land').[26] Scottish histories, on the other hand, offered positive if complex and semi-mythic narratives of a sovereign and autonomous Scottish kingdom emerging from intermarriages, alliances and mutual expulsions of Scots and Picts.[27] In no account until Camden's, as far as I know, is there ever any suggestion of an ethnic identification between the Britons and the Picts.

It needs emphasising that not only medieval chroniclers, but also modern English chorographers before Camden, all founded their topographical descriptions of Britain on a sharp racial distinction between 'homeling' Britons and marauding foreign Picts/Scots. Camden's immediate predecessors, Humphrey Llwyd's *Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis fragmentum* ('Fragment of a little commentary of the description of Britain', 1572) and William Harrison's 'An Historical Description of the Iland of Britaine' (1577 and 1587) both emphatically distinguish Britons from Picts, associating the latter with the Scots as predators from northern seas. As the topographical description providing a structural 'British' coherence to Holinshed's *Chronicles* of England, Scotland and Ireland, Harrison's 'Historical Description of the Iland of Britaine' performed the usual English claim to Britain not only by endorsing Brutus's mythic division of the kingdoms, but by arguments of Scoto-Pictish foreignness, belatedness and savagery. Here, Harrison drew on the 'SCOTIA' section of Llwyd's *Commentariolum*. Llwyd had earlier endorsed the myth of Brutus's threefold division of Britain into Lhoegria, Albania and Cambria (fol. 8v), offering topographical descriptions of Lhoegria (fols 12r–29v) and Cambria (fols 41r–77r). His section marked 'SCOTIA' (fols 29v–39r), however, is not a comparable topography, but a refutation of claims for the antiquity of Picts and Scots within Britain. Principally concerned to refute Boece's narratives of Scottish and Pictish kingdoms stretching back to 330 BCE, Llwyd draws two sharp lines of distinction between the ancient Britons and the Picts. First, he refutes the Latin etymology of 'Pict', and second, he creates an inland cultivator/coastal predator distinction between south and north. The term 'Pict', he insists, has nothing to do with Latin '*pictum*' ('painted'). Rather, it comes from Gaelic 'Phichtaid'. His Picts are not, then, *painted people*. They are most emphatically not 'the Britons, of whom Caesar and others do report, that they were wont to paint their bodies with woad, that they might appear more terrible to their enemies' (*BB*, p. 85; *Commentarioli*, fol. 30v). Llwyd cites Geoffrey of Monmouth describing nations who lived by piracy ('*pyraticam quandam gentem*', fol. 30v) that came out of Norway or Sweden into Albania/Scotland. He then describes, following Gildas, how these Picts 'in their little leathern boats ('*suis coreaceis*') … along Scotland were wont to rob and spoil shepherds and husbandmen' (*BB*, p. 85, *Commentarioli*, fol. 31r).

Harrison's 'An Historical Description of the Iland of Britaine' first tells a story of metamorphic British indigeneity, of the British race surviving successive invasions by the Romans, the English, Normans and Danes. Britain's 'natural homelings', the British, joined 'in mariage with the Englishmen' so that 'their whole race' did not perish, but survived subsequent conquests, he writes (pp. 13–14). He goes on to refute the claims of Scots and Picts to have been comparably ancient nations in the island: 'How and when the Scots and Picts, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spanish blood, should arriue here out of Ireland, and when the Picts should come vnto vs out of Samaria, or from further north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine' (p. 10). Scottish histories boast their antiquity, but Harrison judges them to have recently infiltrated or, as he puts it, 'stolne in hither'. 'The Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and steale out of Ireland' until, helping the Picts (whom he does define as 'painted') these Scots 'so planted themselves in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them' (p. 10). Harrison's derogatory 'leather skewes' recalls Llwyd's '*coreaceis*', 'little leathern boats'. In both accounts, the island's topography remains essentially Galfridian: a civilised core anciently inhabited by Britons, threatened from late classical times by influxes of thieving Scots and Picts. Harrison's language of ethnic cleansing of 'the land' testifies to the strength of feeling behind the refutation of Scottish claims to historic nationhood within the island.

How Camden Read his Buchanan

Camden respectfully departed from the chorographies of Llwyd and Harrison and the antiquarian work of Leland, rejecting the myth of Britain's having been discovered by Brutus the Trojan, just as, he said, 'the wiser sort' of Scots have rejected their stories of Gathelus and Scota (1610: 8–9). He adopted a new linguistically based ethnography, arguing for the identification of the Picts as ancient Britons on the strength, as we saw, of three kinds of evidence: their customs, name and language ('*more, nomine, & sermone*', 1587: 41; 1610: 114–15). In this he concurred with the methodological innovations of George Buchanan, whose *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (1582) he seems to have read with close attention. John Collis, William Ferguson and Guto Rhys have shown how Buchanan based his radically new style of enquiry into the origins of British peoples

on very same principles that Camden later adopted, examining: 1) the languages of the people being investigated (*sermones*); 2) their customs and religious practices (*mores*); and 3) the names of places, especially enduring ones, such as those of towns and rivers (*nomina*).[28]

Buchanan's aim, in the first three books of his *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, was to discredit the dismissal of Scottish antiquity evident in the 'SCOTIA' section of Llwyd's *Commentariolum* and to redirect serious linguistic-ethnographic attention to the north, as well as the south and west, of the British Isles. He observed the way in which English and Welsh chorographers, following Caesar, Pomponius Mela, Livy and others, rendered the north insubstantial by describing Britain's shape as triangular. The Roman conception of Britain's triangularity, he observed, had been disproved by Tacitus's recording of Agricola's exploits in the region north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus.[29] Insisting on the extent and breadth of northern Britain, and disambiguating the shape of the whole island from the designation of 'that part of the island which was a Roman province' (I.12; 1582, fol. 3v), Buchanan made imaginative space for the habitation of the island of Britain by other races (*nationes*), exposing the *trompe l'oeil* by which descriptive geography, effacing the topography of Britain's north, helped make it seem insubstantial and unimaginable, an amorphous, sea-encroached region of landless marauders. Buchanan made good on this demystification with a substantial, detailed and original topographical description of Scotland, whose influence and importance within Scotland Roger Mason has demonstrated.[30]

Then Buchanan moved on to language. He performed humanistic demolitions of both the British-Trojan and the Scottish-Graeco-Egyptian tales of origin. Of the former, he observed that Geoffrey of Monmouth's oracle of Diana spoke in Brutus's very own idiom and style, exposing the wish-fulfilment of its promise of British empire; he also objected that the classical Latin of Diana's verses was anachronistic for the twelfth century BCE. Of the latter, he expressed surprise that the Scottish inventors of the Greek prince Gathelus had not even taken care, in the interests of plausibility, to give him a Greek name. But though he mocked Llwyd for simultaneously espousing the Brutus legend and deriving the name 'Britain' from the Welsh words '*Pryd*' and '*Cain*' ('beauty' and 'white'), Buchanan was far from being uninterested in the languages of the island. Rather, he insisted on the credibility of Latin (rather than Brittonic or Gaelic) sources and on the importance, when reconstructing linguistic

affinities through place names, of discriminating, limiting deduction to 'name-elements whose meaning could be plausibly deduced and whose occurrence was not confined to one or two cases'.[31] Here Buchanan made, according to Ferguson, Collis and Rhys, his most important discoveries. 'His great innovation', writes Rhys:

> was to investigate both ancient and contemporary place-names and compare them with Gaelic and Welsh words … He considered areas south of the Forth-Clyde estuary to have been Pictish … and noted that rivers named *Avon* corresponded to Welsh, *afon*, 'river', Aberbrothock … Aberdone, Aberdene … were correctly equated with Brythonic *aber*, 'estuary' and Ptolemy's 'Scottish' *Cornavii* with Cornwall.

This, Rhys concludes, 'marked the beginning of an objective and informed approach to Celtic linguistics and the language of the Picts'.[32]

From these elements and from the observations of Caesar and Tacitus, Buchanan argued that all the nations who settled anciently in Britain came from Gaul, Spain or Germany, and that Spain and Germany were themselves populated by colonies of Gaulish speakers (Celtiberi, Gothuni and Cimbri). These Gaulish colonies, he wrote, had acquired literacy from the Greeks of Marseilles, but used writing not to record history, but only for mercantile reckonings and transactions. '*Graecis quidem figuris elementorum, sed sermone Gallico*', he wrote, 'the letters were Greek, but the language was Gaulish' (I.64; 1582, fol. 14r).[33] Against Llwyd's trust in 'the most antique fragments of our poets … called *bardi*' (*BB*, p. 56), Buchanan maintained that the bards of these Gaulish nations were not true historians and that the only reliable witnesses were therefore the Romans who recorded observations about their customs and languages.

As Caesar and Tacitus bore witness to the spread of Gaulish-speaking peoples across Europe, Buchanan proposed that the whole of Britain's ancient inhabitants spoke various Gaulish dialects and he named *three* ancient nations: Britons, Picts and Scots (I.82; 1582, fol. 18r). From Caesar and Tacitus, Buchanan laid out his evidence for thinking that Britons, Scots and Picts all derived from Gaulish colonies. He explained Caesar's mistaken belief that the British are indigenous as Caesar's inference from the fact that the Britons had no written memorial. Noting that

both Caesar and Tacitus remark on the similarities between British and Gaulish customs and languages, he hypothesised that the Britons came from the *Belgiae*, who were Gaulish speakers around the seacoasts. The *Scoti* in the west of course, are one with the Irish; these Tacitus said had come from Spain, which, as Buchanan reminds us, was full of Gaulish colonies (I.83–5; 1582, fol. 18r–v). In sum, then, Buchanan argued that the three ancient peoples of Britain all came from Gaulish colonies and spoke different Gaulish dialects; this he supported by citing Caesar and Tacitus on the similarities of custom between the Britons and the Gauls; and finally, as Collis demonstrates, he offered a wealth of discriminating evidence from place names for his contention that there was 'in the pre-Roman period a common Gallic language spoken across Western Europe, which was also spoken by the earliest inhabitants of Britain, who must therefore have originated in Gaul'.[34]

No one who reads both Camden and Buchanan can fail to be struck by the very strong similarity between Camden's methodology and Buchanan's. Camden conjectures that Greek merchants learned the name 'Brith' from the Gauls who spoke the same language as the Britons ('*vel à Gallis quibus una eadem lingua*', 1587: 25) from which the Greek merchants coined the name 'Brith-tania'. This chimes with Buchanan's earlier argument that the Gauls learned letters from the Greeks, with whom they traded. On the resemblance between British peoples and Gauls, based on language and customs, Camden cites exactly the same evidence from Caesar and Tacitus as Buchanan does. Noting these similarities, however, Guto Rhys thinks that Camden came to his conclusions independently of Buchanan, because he mentions Buchanan in only his *Scoti* chapter, not in his chapter on *Picti*.[35] This may well be true, but the evidence might equally bear the opposite construction. In the *Scoti* chapter, it is in Camden's interests to draw attention to Buchanan's misreading of '*scuta*' ('shield') as '*Scota*' ('Scot') in a passage from Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis*. This upholds Llwyd's contention that Scots are unknown in ancient sources before Vespasian's time and gently suggests that Buchanan should stick to writing poetry (1587: 51–2; 1610: 124–5). Naming Buchanan here makes sense, since the whole chapter goes about to refute Buchanan's claim that the Scots are an ancient British nation (1610: 124). In the chapter on *Picti*, however, where Camden wishes to prove Britons and Picts to be the sole ancient nation of Britain, mention of Buchanan, far from serving Camden's purpose, might have exposed some problems with his

presentation of the evidence. There are other reasons for thinking that Camden might have been deliberately setting out to refute Buchanan. A letter from Thomas Savile to Camden rejoices that the latter has been able to 'disarm the aging rhetorician' ('*senescentem Rhetorem exarmare*'), Buchanan, without too much work, while a draft letter of Camden's to Savile, mocks Buchanan's 'refutable fables' ('*fabulae refellendae*') and describes him as a poet lacking sobriety and strength.[36] Camden certainly knew Buchanan's 'Genethliacon' or poem celebrating the birth of James VI, King of Scots, in which Buchanan imagined Britannia joyfully lifting her head at the peaceful union of Saxon and Scot implied by James's birth.[37] Camden's own *Britannia* disproves the racial equality implied in Buchanan's poem by dismantling evidence for the Scots as an ancient nation.

Camden's argument in his *Picti* chapter registers consciousness of Buchanan's arguments both by what it includes and what it takes care to omit. Both Buchanan and Camden had to contend with Bede's famous identification of five different languages spoken in Britain in his own day: English, British, Scots, Pictish and Latin.[38] Having argued that three ancient British languages – British, Scots and Pictish – were all derived from Gaul, Buchanan suggested that Bede might here be referring to different dialects rather than absolutely distinct languages. He then traced many affinities between place-names elements in different parts of Britain and across the Gaulish colonies of Europe. He noted that 'Avon', for example, signified a river in both Scots and Welsh; that 'Dun' was a frequent element in the names of towns among the Gauls, in ancient Britain, and among modern Welsh, Cornish and Scots, and that the 'Aber' in 'Aberdene' meant 'a bay or road for a ship', while 'Strath' in the ancient Scottish language meant the vale through which a river takes its course (I:29, 32, 37, 109; 1582: fols 6v, 7v, 8r, 23–4). If Camden found it hard to dispose of Bede's account of the Picts' Scythian origins, he must, conversely, have found Buchanan's linguistic arguments for the affinities between all the ancient languages of Britain extremely helpful. For Buchanan had set the stage for arguing 'that the Picts were perhaps not so distinct linguistically from Britons'.[39] When Buchanan explains the place-name element 'Strath' as anciently signifying a river valley ('*Strat enim regionem ad fluminum decursum iacentem appellare solent*', 1582: fol. 6v), Camden translates this linguistic insight to his *Picti* chapter: '*The Vale of* … comming of *Strath*, which in the British tongue betokeneth

a Valley' ('*à* Straith, *quod Britannicè vallis est*', 1587: 43). Camden probably follows Llwyd rather than Buchanan in glossing 'Aber' as a 'mouth' ('the British word, Aber, which signifieth a mouth', (1610: 117; see Llwyd, *Commentarioli*, fol. 26r), but in the case of 'Strath' Camden seems indebted to Buchanan. In Camden, Buchanan's '*vetere Scotorum lingua*' becomes '*Britannicè*' ('British').

A similar consciousness of Buchanan's work, evinced through omission, may be read into Camden's use of Latin sources for identifying Picts and Britons as 'painted people'. The repertoire of ancient sources alluding to British or Pictish customs of dyeing the skin blue, or sporting tattoo-like designs was not enormous, and the same texts were cited repeatedly. The earliest references, in the historical and geographical writings of Caesar, Pomponius Mela, Tacitus and Pliny, are to a blue dye, possibly for purposes of inspiring fear in battle; Propertius, Ovid and Martial make playful allusions to this British custom. Later writers, such as Solinus, Herodian and Claudian, however, refer to a practice of using iron to ornament the body with animal designs. Claudian, in particular, refers to people so marked as 'Picts'.[40]

How did early modern scholars perceive the differences between dyeing the skin a single colour and tattooing lifelike forms on it? One property of the tattoo, as we perceive it now, is its permanence. Juliet Fleming ventriloquises the sense of affront to modern liberal sensibilities: 'The "problem" with tattoos, we say (as if we were all being forced to get one, this minute) is that they are indelible – "You can never get a tattoo off"'.[41] But, as she shows, it is unclear whether early moderns had the same strong sense of the tattoo's indelibility. Thomas Harriot's chapters accompanying De Bry's engravings of Picts, reproduced in the *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Lande of Virginia* (1590) describe Pictish women as having their shoulders 'painted with griffon heades', while their daughters 'did paint themselues of sondrye kinds of flours', implying either ignorance of a tattoo's permanence or, perhaps, teasing his readers. ('A tattoo is forever, a virgin is not', Fleming comments).[42] Buchanan, however, did not share this indifference: for him, the distinction had high racial stakes. The Britons, he said, painted ('*pingebant*') and stained themselves ('*se inficiebant*') with paint from herbs to seem terrible in battle, but the Picts variegated their skin using iron ('*ferro cutem variarent*') and inscribed it with diverse figures of animals ('*ac diuersorum animalium figuris inscriberent*') for the purpose of ornament

(I:88; 1582: fol. 19r). It is this key difference that prompts Buchanan to seek the for evidence of such practices among the Gaulish *Gothuni* or *Cotini* on the Danube, whom Tacitus says were not Germans, for they spoke the Gallic tongue and who were thought to have marked themselves with iron. William Ferguson explains how Buchanan was long misconstrued as having therefore said that the Picts were German Goths.[43]

As the derivation of the word 'tattoo' from Polynesian languages would suggest, European consciousness of tattooing is generally dated with some precision to James Cook's voyages of 1769, an 'encounter phenomenon', as Fleming puts it (though she herself seeks its alternative, indigenous history in Camden's *Britannia*).[44] What this implies is that sixteenth and seventeenth-century historians reading classical authors on ancient Britain would not readily have distinguished the practice of painting from that of pricking the skin with a sharp iron or bronze implement and imparting pigment, not least because Latin *pingere* can range in meaning from colour to figurative adornment and needlework (embroidery). Thus, Buchanan's distinction between ephemeral British warpaint and indelible Pictish symbolic ornament was not easy to convey either in Latin or English. Camden, for example, cites Isidore on needle-pricking and glosses it as 'painting' ('*pingendi*'; 1587: 42; 1610: 115). There are, however, other ways in which Camden frames the evidence as if consciously resisting Buchanan's distinction. Take, for example, one of the most striking of Claudian's references to the Picts in *De bello Getico*, recited after the battle of Pollentia (402 CE) at which Stilicho held back the advance of Alaric and the Goths.[45] Claudian describes the Roman Legion left in Britain who:

> kept the fierce Scots in check, and gazed upon
> the lifeless forms marked by iron upon the dying Pict.
>
> *quae Scotto dat frena truci ferroque notatas*
> *perlegit examines Picto morientes figuras*.[46]

Here, Claudian's language beautifully specifies as Pictish the use of iron to mark the body with living forms that seem, pathetically, to die along with their host. The poet also, here as in almost all his references to the Picts, juxtaposes them with the Scots. In his panegyric of Honorius, book III, Claudian refers to Stilicho subduing 'the painted Pict, not falsely named'

('*nec falso nomine Pictos*') and pursuing 'the Scot'.[47] When Camden cites Claudian in his *Picti* chapter, however, he omits any mention of Scots, thus: '*Nec falso nomine Pictos / Edomuit.* Et alibi *Perlegit examines Picto moriente figuras*' (1587: 41–2; 1610: 115). After omitting Claudian's Scots, Camden proves his identification of Picts as Britons by quoting Isidore of Seville's *Etymology*:

> The Nation of the Picts (saith he) have a name drawne even from their bodies, for that by the artificiall pricking therein of small holes with a needle, the workman wringing out a juice of greene grasse, encloseth the same within, that their Nobilitie and Gentrie thus spotted, may carrie these starres about them, in their painted pounced limmes, as badges to be knowen by. (1610: 115; 1587: 42)

'Shall wee thinke now', concludes Camden (explicitly *contra* Boece, but surely thinking of Buchanan's *Gothuni*) 'that these Picts were Germans … or rather the very Britons themselves?' (1610: 115). What he doesn't tell us is that Isidore's *Etymology* actually names not the Picts, but the Scots, and that the colour they mark themselves is not blue-green, but black: 'The Scotti … in their own language receive their name from their painted (*picta*) … bodies, because they are marked by tattoos of various figures made with iron pricks and black pigment (*atramentum*)' ('*Scotti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variorum figurarum stigmate adnotentur*').[48]

Back to Blackness

Recent archaeological analyses of pendant bronze cosmetic grinders found in Britain and dating back to the Iron Age conclude, *contra* Buchanan, that no sharp division between painting and tattooing need exist: 'It is entirely possible that many methods of body painting and tattooing were used at the same time.'[49] My aim, however, has not been to argue for the accuracy of either Buchanan's or Camden's linguistic ethnographies, but to draw attention to the poetic, imaginative work involved in Camden's redefining of the racial make-up of ancient Britain as the early moderns understood it. Many of the consequences of Camden's redefinition are familiar. Artists and engravers associated

with New World discovery – John White, Jacques Le Moyne, Theodore de Bry – paint and engrave, post-Camden, figures of Britons and Picts alongside those of Algonquian and Timuca Indians.[50] The appendix on 'Som Picture of the Pictes', which concludes Harriot's *Briefe and True Report*, begins 'In tymes past the Pictes, habitans of one part of great Bretainne, which is now nammed England'.[51] Thus, Picts, long associated with north-east Scotland are now specifically said to come from *England*. The frontispiece of John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* sports, just above a cartouche inscribed 'Britannia', the figure of an ancient Briton, whose shoulder sports an animal face tattoo.[52]

The consequences of Camden's work – which traded the aggrandising myth of Trojan Brutan origin for the new vision of ancient British tattooed nakedness – have tended to be discussed in terms of the English having to coming to terms with their own barbarism *vis-à-vis* the Romans. Yet Camden's redefinition might also be read as having taken advantage of Pictish ethno-nemesis in order to produce a monoracial account of ancient Britain, translating older Galfridian myths of English sovereignty into the register of race and ethnicity. In the years before 1586, when Camden was working on *Britannia*, the succession was far from certain and hostility to the idea of a Scottish succession had been mitigated by Edmund Plowden's revival of the Galfridian argument that, Scotland being a vassal state, any such eventuality would not imply equality, but would continue the *status quo* of English suzerainty.[53] Doing away with the Galfridian argument was, in this respect, somewhat risky, but Camden mitigates the risk by establishing a way of imagining of the British past as one in which painted Britons, also called Picts, anciently inhabited the entire length of the island, from Cornwall to Caithness, only to have been replaced in the north by a more recent, heterogeneous set of immigrants, the 'mishmash' Scots. This newly racialised topographical history of Britain compensates imaginatively for the loss, in discarding the Brutus myth, of England's argument of ancient sovereignty over Scotland.

This proposition may seem more probable when we consider the extent to which the emergence of English antiquarianism and chorography was tied up with the pursuit, by way of Galfridian British history, of English claims to sovereignty over Scotland. From the time of Edward I to that of Edward VI, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannia* had been invoked to justify English invasions, occupations and attempts

to conquer Scotland.[54] Indeed, the last of these attempted conquests had ended in English defeat in 1550, only a year before Camden himself was born, and its legacy shaped the policies of the England in which he grew up.[55] That war, more than any other, generated a much-reprinted and cited propaganda literature which pressed the Galfridian myths of Trojan origin (Brutus's division of 'the' kingdom) into service both as support for arguments of Scotland's vassal status and for God's purpose for a united Great Britain. At least three such Galfridian histories, arguing for a continuous English sovereignty over Scotland since the time of Brutus, were published to support the war, besides other treatises and epistles.[56] The French ambassador reported the English negotiating demands in 1548. Edward VI, the English government stipulated, was to possess and hold 'all he had recently conquered' in Scotland, and that the two realms would be 'united and reduced into one empire which shall be forever called and named *the empire of Great Britain* and the prince and master of it the Emperor of Great Britain' (my italics).[57]

The emergence of antiquarian history and chorography in England was intimately bound up with these Anglo-imperial ambitions, a fact rarely if ever registered by its historians. The influence of Richard Helgerson's interpretation of chorography as motivated by a devotion to the local, a resistance to sovereignty and empire is seen, for example, in the way in which Lesley Cormack's *Charting an Empire* exempts chorography from the imperialism that she sees as otherwise driving new developments in English geography in the sixteenth century.[58] But it is clear that English antiquarianism and chorography actively pursued the Anglo-imperial project of recovering British empire from the start. John Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturij Regis Britanniae* pioneered new humanist antiquarian methods in order to defend the historicity of Arthur as king of all Britain ('*Regis Britanniae*').[59] Leland then inaugurated English chorography with his *Cygnea Cantio* ('The Swan's Song'), urging Henry VIII, 'sweet glory of Britain' ('*dulce decus Britanniae*') to conquer the Scots and French, while amassing antiquarian evidence the Trojan origin of the British people.[60] Cecil's 'British policy' of securing England's control of the coastlines of Britain was furthered by Laurence Nowell, a cartographer who was also an antiquarian and Anglo-Saxonist. One of Nowell's notebooks juxtaposes a transcription of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* with maps and military information for the conquest of Ireland, among which is an exquisitely coloured and detailed map of Scotland that

fails to designate it as a kingdom, inscribing it with the legend 'Hitherto King Edward the First subdued Scotland'.[61] British imperial ideology involved the assimilation of Scotland in other ways: John Dee's advocacy of the cartographic and navigational went hand-in-hand with his researches in Galfridian British history. In his own copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Dee underlined Arthur's return north to 'wipe out the Scots and Picts with incomparable ruthlessness' ('*delere gentem Scotorum atque Pictorum, incomparabili saeuitae indulgens*').[62] His proposal for a royal navy, the *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of NAVIGATION* (1577), positioned Scotland as a potential foreign enemy, while proposing that 'England's 'Souerainty of the Seas adiecent' included the seas adjacent to 'Ireland and (by right) Scotland and the Orknayes allso', which Dee, possibly recalling Llwyd's phrase, called 'the British Impire'.[63] Humphrey Llwyd denied the antiquity claimed for the Scots by Hector Boece, while himself championing the equally unhistorical story of Brutus's division of the island, while Harrison's description of Britain, prefacing and framing Holinshed's *Chronicles*, concludes its extensive chorography with a chapter tracing England's sovereignty within the island back to Brutus.[64] Camden himself, in his own river poem, adorns the marriage chamber of Tame and Isis with imperial spoils of British and English kings, including 'What mighty Arthur from the Saxons won / What Edward from the Scots, and from the French his son'.[65] Thus, though Camden keeps the Galfridian British history and its underwriting of English sovereignty over Scotland out of his prose, he acknowledges it in the vatic strain of his poetry.

To dispense, definitively, with Brutus, Locrine and Arthur, then, required that the long and widely held assumptions of England's ancient sovereignty over the Scots be rewritten more subliminally, in racial terms. The redefinition of the Picts as Britons in Camden's history ensured this, while disavowing any imperial intent. Imperial intent, indeed, was promptly transferred to James VI and I, who understandably thought he was fulfilling a long-held English desire for the accomplishment of 'Great Britain', drawing particularly on the propaganda of the 1540s wars. It is true, as Martin Butler says, that 'British union was not a *fait accompli*' on James's arrival in England, but it must be recognised that the reasons for resistance to British union had nothing to do with its being a new project foisted on the English by James VI and I, as is so often stated or implied.[66] British union, or the

neutralisation, by conquest, of Scottish national sovereignty, had always been an English imperial project, but after 1603, with the succession accomplished, the English really had no further use for it. Indeed, the prospect of actual union aroused concern lest the desired advantage of northern coastal bounds and jurisdiction over Scottish seas should have to entail a ceding or diluting of English constitutional superiority and commercial advantage.[67]

What, then, of Jonson's decision, in *The Masque of Blackness*, to have the recovery of Britannia's 'ancient style' take the form of a voyage of discovery through countries connoting colour as substance ('black', 'swart', 'rich') to find an island anciently named for its 'depainted bodies'? What did it mean to move from an encomium of black as the very definition of intrinsic, permanent beauty ('fixed colour', a 'hue' that '[c]an never alter', 105, 110) to the discovery, on reaching Britannia, that black is merely a superficial 'veil' on the skin, a surface that dissolves in water (288)? Does this unfixing of the fixed colour, this altering of the unalterable hue, offer an ironic comment on Camden's own proposition that to be British is to be painted? Or does the figuring of political integration as the island's dissolving of the substance of blackness rather transform it into a proposition about the necessary place of blackness about the perimeters of a future British empire?

Could Jonson have known of Buchanan's attempt to distinguish between Pictish scarification and British warpaint? Perhaps not: his own copy of Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* probably postdates *Blackness*, as it was a gift from William Drummond.[68] He also, however, owned and heavily annotated a copy of the poems of Claudian, whose panegyrics on Stilicho's governorship of the Roman Empire he was imitating, as Victoria Moul notes, in works written around 1603–4.[69] As we have seen, Camden quoted Claudian's references to Picts but omitted those to Scots; Llwyd, by contrast, quoted the same verses in full to prove the close association of Picts and Scots. But the extensive annotations Jonson's made on his copy of Claudian – underlinings, but also marginal drawings of flowers and pointing hands – indicate, beyond these sources on Picts and Scots, a striking interest in the juxtaposition of allegorical figures of Africa and Britannia as marking the limits of the Roman imperial world. The lines cited by Camden in his *Picti* chapter that omit mention of the Scots are, indeed, underlined by Jonson in such a way as to recognise the importance of the pairing:

Ille leues Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit. Scotumque vago mucrone secutus[70]

He conquered the fleet Moors and Picts not falsely
named; the Scots, too, his roaming sword pursued.

As well as remarking that Claudian routinely associates Picts and Scots, Jonson's annotations also register Claudian's rhetorical contrasts of Picts, Scots and Britons on the one hand, and African or Libyan Moors on the other, indicating the climactic and geographic extremities of the empire over which Stilicho extended his reach.[71] In the following poem, Theodosius is said to have weathered Caledonian snows and Libyan summers, to have 'struck terror to the Moors, subjected the coasts of Britain' ('*Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni* / *litoris*') another phrase underlined by Jonson, who, a couple of lines later, underlined a further reference to the warming of these cold northern regions with the blood of slaughtered Picts and Scots.[72] An exceptional passage, where Britannia, clad in an ocean-rivalling blue, her cheeks marked with iron (*ferro picta genas*), is joined by the figure of a sunburnt Africa (*calido rubicunda die*), each to beg Stilicho to be their consul, is not only underlined by Jonson, but marked with several marginal flowers and a manicule.[73] Such an empire-evoking pageant might just have inspired Jonson to turn Queen Anne's request to dance as a blackamoor into his vision of an entertainment in which '*Niger, in form and colour of an Ethiop*' could appear with '*Oceanus … the colour of his flesh blue*' to usher in the rediscovery of Britannia-as-island and the transformation of Ethiopian dames into Britons (28, 31).

Jonson's extraordinary conception of an African river's westward voyage, ending not in the discovery of a new world, but the recovery of Britannia's ancient Roman nomination or 'style', may owe something to Claudian. At the same time, his poetry sceptically foregrounds the quality of *poesis* that renders his master Camden's race-making conjectures plausible. When Niger complains of the sorrow his daughters feel, being deprived of their beauty by a new myth of racial origin, he says that poets let their 'wingèd fictions fly / To infect all climates' (119–20). In the seventeenth century, 'infect' carried the primary sense of 'to instil an opinion or belief', especially a pernicious one, but it was also used to mean 'to dye, to colour, to stain or steep in', a participle from the Latin

inficere. Buchanan contrasted the Britons who stained themselves blue (*se inficiebant*) from the Picts who inscribed figures on their skin with iron (I.88; 1582, fol. 19r) and Camden, whom Jonson followed closely, defined the Britons, from '*Brith*' as '*infecti*' and '*colorati*', 'dyed' and 'coloured' (1587: 24). In Niger's complaint that poetry 'infects' all climates, a sense of resistance to the masque's central conceit of blackness as paint or dye irrupts with momentary if somewhat incoherent reflexive force. To build arguments of racial origin on stories of how skin came to be *infecti* or *colorati* is, Jonson seems to quip, globally *infectious*.

For all that Jonson revered Camden, his former master's concern with demarcating Britain's races, or managing Anglo-Scots relations were not, in 1605, his. He was not, *pace* Butler, concerned with racial boundaries within Britain, for all that his audience might have been.[74] Rather, Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* inflects Camden's conceit of the Brith-tons as 'painted people' through an appropriation of Claudian's vision of a multiracial Roman empire, stretching from Libya to Thule, Africa to Britain. In Jonson's vision, this empire-to-be centres on the shared *political* allegiance of all James's subjects to the monarch's personal sovereignty, separate nations notwithstanding. The rites of integration that give admission to this empire's centre are figured simultaneously as the washing off of painted dyes and infectious fictions, and as subjection to the sun-like monarch's discriminating gaze. What these imagined rituals and processes of integration imply, consequently, is that the unity of Britain-as-future-empire will be achieved by what may not be assimilated, which is abstracted as *blackness itself*. Thus, Britain-as-future-empire emerges, in Jonson's vision, as defined by its global reach over territories and peoples who may not be assimilated. Their unassimilable quality is abstracted as blackness itself. Indeed, Jonson's use of the unusual abstract noun, 'blackness', is itself telling in this respect, for 'blackness' as a substantive describing 'the state of being black' in material ingredients (e.g., in alchemical contexts) appears with greater frequency between 1350 and 1650 than 'blackness' meaning 'dark skin colour'. In Jonson's masque, the fiction of the whitening of Niger's daughters at the island's bounds, while Niger himself returns, unchanged, to Africa, conjures the vision of a multiracial empire radiating out from a future Britain as it once radiated from Rome. But beyond the centre, the putative empire is pre-emptively marked out and identified by the unalterable hue of all those who remain beyond the island's circumference. The concluding invitation to fulfil the

rites of passage that will admit them to Britannia – these rites consist of steeping their bodies in the seas about the island, 'the wholesome dew called rosemarine' – works its unifying magic by undoing the divisiveness of histories of painted peoples in Britain, but in its place seems to constitute the removal of pigment as the price of admission to Britain. The echoes and reverberations of this implication down the centuries to the present day seem to haunt the masque, as if it were presciently defining generations who would, from beyond Britannia, produce and sustain the greatness and wealth of the unpainted Britons of the future. What we can be certain of, however, is that tracing the masque's play with rites of exclusion and inclusion that constitute the skin's pigment as a removable material ornament becomes a way of understanding, in Toni Morrison's words, 'the nature – even the cause – of literary "whiteness"'.[75] *The Masque of Blackness* helps us see how high the stakes are and how rich and complex the layers of artifice in the rhetorical and performative 'discovery' or 'invention' of whiteness as the underlying 'cause' of Britain's unity as an island nation.

Notes

Parts of this chapter appear in a different form in Lorna Hutson, *England's Insular Imagining: The Elizabethan Erasure of Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023), chapter 7.

1. Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp. 95, 109. Butler's study revises such accounts as Stephen Orgel's *The Illusion of Power* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1975).
2. For example, Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton, 'Introduction', in *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), pp. 1–36; Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 1–54; Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
3. 'Black-up' and 'black dance' are two of the 'scripts of blackness' helpfully categorised by Noémie Ndiaye in her wide-ranging *Scripts of Blackness: Early Modern Performance Culture and the Making of Race* (Philadelphia PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2022), pp. 3, 16. Ndiaye's work valuably analyses these 'scripts of blackness' across the performance cultures of Spain,

France and England, three of the European powers involved in colour-based slavery in the Atlantic world. She sees performance as culture as contributing to 'the formation of blackness as a racial category, as phenotype entered the racial matrix' (p. 8). See also Anthony G. Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race* (Baton Rouge LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1987) pp. 18–41; Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1995) pp. 128–41; Bernadette Andrea, 'Black, the Queen's Masques: Africanist Ambivalence and Feminine Author(ity) in the Masques of Blackness and Beauty', *ELR*, 29/2 (1999), 246–81. Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, pp. 214–17, speculates on the kinesic influence of French and Scottish black dance cultures on Jonson's masque.

4. An exception is Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 111–31.
5. Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, p. 5.
6. Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*, p. 5.
7. *The Masque of Blackness*, in David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson (eds), *The Complete Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 2.505–28; 525, 297–8. Further references to this edition will be given by line number in the text.
8. Andrea Stevens argues that *Blackness* innovates precisely in its material methods: Queen Anne and her ladies were painted black like professional actors, rather than, as would be usual for courtiers, wearing black fabric. See Stevens, *Inventions of the Skin: The Painted Body in Early English Drama, 1400–1642* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 87–100.
9. Joe Moshenska, *Iconoclasm as Child's Play* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2019), p. 20.
10. Craig Koslofsky, 'Livery, Skin and the Early Modern Origins of Whiteness', talk at the Oxford Centre for Early Modern Studies, 21 February 2023. See Craig Koslofsky, 'Knowing Skin in Early Modern Europe, *c.*1450–1750', *History Compass*, 12/10 (2014), 794–806.
11. F. R. Levy, 'The Making of Camden's Britannia', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26/1 (1964), 70–97.
12. William Rockett, 'The Structural Plan of Camden's *Britannia*', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26/4 (1995), 829–41.
13. Rockett, 'Structural Plan', 831–2.
14. John Leland, *The Assertion of King Arthure*, ed. W. E. Mead, trans. Richard Robinson (London: EETS, os, no. 165, 1925); Leland, *Cygnea Cantio* (London, 1545); Humphrey Llwyd, *Commentaroli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum* (London, 1572), trans. Thomas Twyne as *The Breviary of Britain*, ed. Philip Schwyzer (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2011); William Harrison, 'An Historical Description of the

Iland of Britaine', *Holinshed's Chronicles*, 6 vols, (New York: Ams Press, 1976) 1.1–220. Further references to these editions will appear in the text by page or folio number.

15. George Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* (Edinburgh, 1582); George Buchanan, *The History of Scotland*, trans. James Aikman, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1827), 1.1–148; See Roger Mason, '"The 'hodgepodge trash of *Lud*"': George Buchanan on Humphrey Llwyd's Vision of Britain', Chapter 5, this volume.
16. William Camden, *Britain*, trans. Philemon Holland (London: George Bishop, 1610), p. 124; William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1587), p. 51. Further references to these two editions will appear in the text, by date and page number.
17. On the probable peaceful transition of cultural power from Pictish to Alban kings around the time of Cinaed, see Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789–1070* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 87–121.
18. The pervasive assumption is that Camden aimed to be racially inclusive but was impeded by the 'facts'. Juliet Fleming's comment is revealing: 'In discussing the history of the Scots, Camden underlines his purpose in arguing for the racial unity of the peoples of Britain, and incidentally demonstrates the difficulty of producing a tactful account of Britain's past'; Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts in Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion, 2001), p. 119. Here, the discourse of Scottish abjection that underwrites the 'racial unity of the peoples of Britain' is rewritten as the tact of the disinterested scholar.
19. Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Volume I: Books 1–8*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library 42 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1916), pp. 76–7, lines 235–6, translation adjusted.
20. See Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 62–122. On the importance of similitude as argument, see Kathy Eden, *Rhetorical Renaissance: The Mistress Art and her Masterworks* (Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2022), pp. 93-124.
21. As Philip Schwyzer observes, the English meaning of Welsh 'Brith' is given as 'Pyed' in William Salesbury, *A Dictionary in Englysh and Welsh* (London, 1547) sig. B3r. Wyman Herendeen reports that Camden hired a servant to teach him Welsh. Wyman Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 45, 110–11, 185. Not all his etymological conjectures were accepted by such experts in Welsh as lexicographer John Davies (1570–1644). See David Baker, 'Etymology, Antiquarianism and Unchanging Languages in Johannes Goropius Becanus's *Origines Antwerpianae* and William Camden's *Britannia*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 72 (2019), 1326–61, 1331, 1336. 'Brith' as 'pied' or parti-coloured, however, might usefully extend to cover a variety of kinds of body-marking.

22. The honourable exception here is Arthur H. Williamson, who writes: 'Although he did not directly confute any of Buchanan's assertions on this matter, the notion in the *History of Scotland* of various Celtic peoples completely drops out of Camden's formulation. For Camden there were only Britons and Anglo-Saxons … The Picts were simply northern Britons who, after the coming of the Romans, formed a new nation in the icy clime (no doubt with the help of some southern refugees). The Scots could not readily be identified.' See Arthur Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979), p. 126.
23. *DGB*, 6.91–2 (pp. 112–15); 8.120 (pp. 162–3).
24. *DGB*, pp. 6–7.
25. John Gillingham, 'The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1990), 99–118; Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286–1815* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), pp. 60–84; R. James Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland* (Lincoln NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); E. L. G. Stones and Grant G. Simpson (eds), *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290–1296*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the University of Glasgow, 1978); Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings of Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 265–89.
26. Marie de France, *Lais de Marie de France*, ed. and trans. Alexandre Micha (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), p. 142.
27. See John of Fordun, *John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation*, ed. W. F. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1872); Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. F. Watt, 9 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989); Hector Boece, *The History and Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. John Bellenden (Edinburgh, 1821). See also Dauvit Broun, 'National History', in *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 215–84; Ulrike Hogg and Martin MacGregor, 'Historiography in the Highlands and Lowlands', in Nicola Royan (ed.), *The International Companion to Scottish Literature, 1400–1650* (Glasgow: ASL, 2018), pp. 100–23; Mason, 'Scotching the Brut'.
28. See John Collis, 'George Buchanan and the Celts in Britain', in William Gillies, Ronald Black and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (eds), *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Celtic Studies, volume 1* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 91–107; William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), pp. 79–97; Guto Rhys, 'Approaching the Pictish

Language: Historiography, Early Evidence and the Question of Pritenic' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2015), pp. 64–8.

29. See, for example, Harrison, 'Description', p. 5; Tacitus, *Agricola*, trans. M. Hutton, rev. R. M. Ogilvie (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), Introduction, p. 17; *Agricola*, pp. 3–5.
30. Roger Mason, 'From Buchanan to Blaeu: The Politics of Scottish Chorography, 1582–1654', in Caroline Erskine and Roger A. Mason (eds), *George Buchanan: Political Thought in Early Modern Britain and Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 13–47.
31. Collis, 'Buchanan and the Celts', p. 101.
32. Rhys, 'Approaching the Pictish language', p. 65.
33. For the consequences of James Aikman's misleading translation of '*sermone Gallico*' as 'Gothic', see William Ferguson, 'George Buchanan and the Picts', *Scottish Tradition*, 16 (1991), 18–32, 26–9. This and other passages from Buchanan appear without specific acknowledgement in Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*.
34. Collis, 'Buchanan and the Celts', p. 101.
35. Rhys, 'Approaching the Pictish language', p. 67.
36. William Camden, *Gulielmi Camdeni … Epistolae*, ed. T. Smith (London, 1691), 11; BL Add MSS 36294, fol. 6v. These comments are noted and translated in the context of a discussion of Llwyd in Stephanus Parmenius, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius*, trans. David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 113.
37. Camden owned Georgii Buchanani, *Franciscanus et Fratres, Elegiarum Liber I, Siluarum Liber I* (Geneva, 1584); see pp. 114–7, 'Genethliacon Iacobi Sexti Regis Scotorum', Westminster Abbey Library, CB.30 (1). See George Buchanan, *The Political Poetry*, ed. and trans. Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur H. Williamson (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1995), pp. 154–62.
38. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History, Volume I: Books 1–3*, trans. J. E. King. Loeb Classical Library 246 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), pp. 16–17.
39. Rhys, 'Approaching the Pictish language', p. 66.
40. Gillian Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity in Later Iron Age and Early Roman Britain', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24/3 (2005), 273–92, Appendix 288–9.
41. Fleming, *Graffiti*, p. 81.
42. Fleming, *Graffiti*, p. 105; Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (London, 1590), 'Some Picture of the Pictes', sigs E2v, E3v.
43. Tacitus, *Germania*, trans. M. Hutton, rev. E. H. Warmington (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1970) chapter 43, pp. 200–1: 'As

for the Cotini and the Osi, the Gallic tongue of the first and the Pannonian of the second prove them not to be Germans.' See, on the importance of this, Ferguson, *Identity*, pp. 90–1.

44. Fleming, *Graffiti*, pp. 88–9; *OED*.
45. Alan Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 180.
46. Claudius Claudianus, *Claudian*, trans. Maurice Platnauer, 2 vols (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1922), 2.156–7, lines 417–8. I am following Cameron in referring to the poem as *De bello Getico*.
47. Claudian, 1.274–5, lines 54–5. Llwyd had quoted these verses, *Commentarioli*, fol. 38v, to show that Picts had come from Thule and Scots from Ireland – unlike Camden, Llwyd stresses Claudian's juxtaposition of Pict and Scot.
48. Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 9.2.103.
49. Carr, 'Woad, Tattooing and Identity', 282.
50. Paul Hulton explores the complex relation between John White's 1585 watercolours labelled 'Picts' and their publication as part of De Bry's *America*; see Paul Hulton, *America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina and British Museum Publications, 1984), pp. 17–18. The caption, 'Pict', was added to the engraving of White's original 1585 watercolours by Hariot or De Bry for the 1590 publication. See K. Sloan, *A New World: England's First View of America* (London: British Museum, 2007), pp. 153–5.
51. Hariot, *briefe and true report*, sig. E1v.
52. John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1627).
53. See Lorna Hutson, 'On the Knees of the Body Politic', *Representations*, 152 (2020), 25–54.
54. Mason, 'Scotching the Brut'; Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland*; Stones and Simpson, *Edward I*; Marcus Merriman, *Rough Wooings*; Dale Hoak, 'Sir William Cecil, Sir Thomas Smith, and the Monarchical Republic of Tudor England', in John F. McDiarmid (ed.), *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 37–54.
55. Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, pp. 346–8; Hoak, 'Sir William Cecil'.
56. Henry VIII, *A Declaration, Conteyning the Ivst Causes and Consyderations of this present warre with the Scottis, wherin alsoo appereth the trewe & right title, that the kynges most royall maiesty hath to the souerayntie of Scotlande* (London, 1542); John Hardyng, *Chronicle* (London, 1543); Nicholas Adams, alias Bodrugan, *An Epitome of the title that the Kinges Maiestie of Englande, hath to the soueraigntie of Scotlande* (London, 1548). On these and others, see Hoak, 'Sir William Cecil'.

57. Odet de Selve, *Correspondence Politique de Odet de Selve Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre (1546–1549)*, ed. Germain Lefèvre-Pontalis (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1888), pp. 268–70, my translation.
58. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 107–47; Lesley Cormack, *Charting an Empire* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 163–202.
59. John Leland, *Assertio inclytissimi Arturij Regis Britanniae Joanne Lelando Antiquario autore* (London, 1544).
60. Leland, *Cygnea Cantio*, sigs B2r, B3r, B3v, C1r.
61. BL MS Cotton Domitian A XVIII, fols 98v–99r.
62. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Britanniem vtriusque Regum*, owned by John Dee, now in Christ Church College special collections W.b5, 12, sig. k1r, fol. XXXIIv.
63. See John Dee, *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (London, 1577), sigs A2v, A3v. In 1972 Bruce Ward Henry argued that Llwyd was the first to use the term 'British empire' (see 'John Dee, Humphrey Llwyd, and the Name "British Empire"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 35 (1972), 189–90). As Ward himself acknowledges, and my preceding paragraph shows, however, the phrase 'Empire of Great Britain' was being used by English policy-makers during the attempted conquest of Scotland in the 1540s to claim the island for England. Dale Hoak has analysed variants on the term 'thempire of great Briteigne' in his 'Sir William Cecil, Sir Thomas Smith and the Monarchical republic of Tudor England', in *The Monarchical Republic of Tudor England*, pp. 37–54, 51–2. It seems likely that both Llwyd and Dee would have been aware of a widely disseminated war literature that gave currency to the notion of a Galfridian 'British empire' even if Llwyd was the first to coin that precise term.
64. Harrison, *Description*, pp. 196–214.
65. I quote from Basil Kennet's 1695 translation as it appears in George Burke Johnson, 'Poems by William Camden', *Studies in Philology*, 72/5 (1975), v–x, 1–143, at 138. Camden added to the poem in successive editions and these lines first appeared in Latin in the 1607 edition of *Britannia*, 272–3, sigs. Cc2v–Dd1r. I thank Dr Emily Mayne for researching its first published appearance.
66. Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, p. 27. The assumption that 'Great Britain' was a novel project invented by James I permeates literary studies of the period to the extent that citation of examples is superfluous. Hoak, 'Sir William Cecil', proves the contrary.
67. See Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland, 1603–1608* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986); Sarah Waurechen, 'Imagined Polities, Failed Dreams, and the Beginnings of an Unacknowledged Britain: English

Responses to James VI and I's Vision of Perfect Union', *Journal of British Studies*, 52 (2013), 575–96.

68. David McPherson, 'Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia', *Studies in Philology*, 71/5 (1974), 1–106, item 30, 32–3.
69. Victoria Moul, 'England's Stilicho: Claudian's Political Poetry in Early Modern England', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 28 (2021), 25–6.
70. Claudius Claudianus, *Claudius Claudianus*, ed. T. Pullman (Antwerp: Plantin, 1585) Seld 8º C 90, p. 166.
71. See J. A. Martiz, 'The Classical Image of Africa: Evidence from Claudian', *Acta Classica*, 43 (2000), 81–99.
72. *Claudianus*, p. 172.
73. *Claudianus*, p. 245.
74. Butler, *Stuart Court Masque*, pp. 111–15.
75. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark* (New York: Random House, 1992), p. 9.

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APPENDIX

In praise of Humphrey Llwyd: Poems by Gruffudd Hiraethog, Lewis ab Edward and Wiliam Cynwal, with translations by Mary Burdett-Jones

This appendix compiles three *cywyddau* composed in honour of Humphrey Llwyd between 1563 and the period following his death in 1568.[1] The first is a eulogy by Gruffudd Hiraethog (d.1564), the poet and bardic teacher most closely associated with the humanist scholars of north-east Wales, including Llwyd and William Salesbury (d.1584). The elegies by Lewis ab Edward of Bodfari (*fl. c.*1560) and Wiliam Cynwal of Ysbyty Ifan (d.1587/8) are probably to be dated to within a month of Llwyd's death, and may have been composed for the traditional gathering of the family at this time. All three poems, especially the elegies, employ the conventional elements of Welsh bardic poetry, including praise of Llwyd's lineage and learning (and, in the case of the elegies, expressions of grief at his passing). Gruffudd Hiraethog's eulogy offers a more detailed picture of Llwyd's achievements as a scholar, particularly emphasising his mastery of astronomy, the subject of two of Llwyd's lost works. The eulogy also has important implications for Llwyd's biography in commending his otherwise unattested role in the passage of the Act for the translation of the Bible into Welsh in 1563, when Llwyd was sitting as MP for the Denbigh boroughs.

All three poems feature extensive references to Llwyd's ancestry, as well as to that of his wife, Barbara. As a general gloss to what follows, Llwyd was descended on his father's side from the Llwyd-Rossendales of Foxhall, Henllan, tracing his ancestry to Henry of Rossendale, who received lands in the district from Henry de Lacy, Lord of Denbigh, in 1287; his ancestors on this side of the family also included Henry

Hookes (Hwcs), Rhisiart Peg and Robert Piggott (Pigod). Piggotts feature on both sides of Llwyd's family tree as his mother, Joan, was the daughter of Lewis Piggott. Llwyd's wife, Barbara, was the sister of John, Lord Lumley, descended (as Gruffudd Hiraethog notes) from Edward III in the Neville line.[2]

Gruffudd Hiraethog
O Dduw lle mae'n gweddïau
Iôr gwarder mawr Greawdr mau
Na bai bawb yn byw'n y byd
4 Fal undyn pwy fwy'i lendyd
Cariad hir ddyco hiroes
Ar hwn fy nghalon a'i rhoes
Ar ddwyswalch a urddaswyd
8 Ym hoff yw'r lle Wmffre Llwyd
O Rosndal aur seined lân
O'r brenhinllwybr yn Henllan
Felly fry yn fy llyfr iach
12 Pawb o'i lin pwy byw lanach
Fal crybwyll afal croywber
Yn breinio parch o bren pêr
Fal aur wrth afal arall
16 Ydyw'r llin o'r Llwyd i'r llall
Ffurfol freiniol farwnwaed
Ffocsol a'i urddasol ddaed
Teg addas ato gwedda
20 Tid aur o lawer tŷ da
Pa irwaed piau'i euro
Pigod fal Peg ydyw fo
Awdur ddwyswaed urddasol
24 Yw Henri Hw[cs] yn y rhôl
Llin Ieuan gloyw-lydan gledd
Llew dinam Llwyd o Wynedd
Ac oen Duw o gwna du
28 I'w radd osod urddasu
Diryfedd goreuwedd gras
I ryw Iarddur roi urddas
Chwaer Arglwydd heb dramgwydd drwg

32 Lwmle bryd grasol amlwg
Arglwyddryw da yw ei daed
Yn hon gyda brenhinwaed
Nawed o iarll ei hen daid
36 Nefil Wesmrlond hynafiaid
Hon gynt o Siôn o Gawnt sydd
At ryw Edwart y Trydydd
Bo hir barhau Barbra hon
40 I blaid enaid y dynion
Od adwaen y daw da i neb
Daioni daw i'w wyneb
Maint bonedd a rhinweddau
44 Mae i ffriw N S Wmffre nesáu
Ei gorff ddull goroff a'i ddaed
Gŵr disegur dwysowgwaed
Astudio yn wastadol
48 Astronmer eler i'w ôl
Holl awyr-gwrs lloer a gwynt
A'r haul a'r sêr a'u helynt
Oriau raddau'r arwyddion
52 Ateb am ym mhob tu bôn'
Perffaith wybod rhod barhau
P'le newidia'r planedau
Os gwaith philosphers i gyd
56 Hyfedr a phob peth hefyd
Tyb agos lle tebygwn
Ym mhob stronomi yw hwn
Trwy wybod diarhebwaith
60 Tolomëws yw talm o waith
Colofn dysg pawb a'i coelien'
Clod sy fal Ewcleides hen
Gwael fyddai'r Saith Gelfyddyd
64 Oni bai'i fod yn y byd
Gramer loetsig rhedrig wraidd
Goleuswn miwsig lwysaidd
Arthmetig rifedig ran
68 Ef yw'r cof ar y cyfan
A fu mewn geomtri mo'i fath

Neu stronmi ystyr unmath
Pwy air gystadl pur gwestiwn
72 Perl mewn Tŷ Parlment yw hwn
Peibl wyneb pob haelioni
A wnaeth yn Act o'n iaith ni
At hynny fo gytunwyd
76 O bariad llew Robert Llwyd
Ffynnodd a fynnodd ei fod
Ffyniant i'w ddewrgorff hynod
A ffynadwy fwyfwy fo
80 Amen pawb a'i dymuno.

Translation

O God, to whom our prayers go, clement lord, my great Creator, would that everyone who lives in the world be like one man; who could be fairer? May he have a long life, the one to whom my heart gave love, an intense hawk who rose in honour; I'm fond of the place of Humphrey Llwyd of Rossendale, of the royal path of Henllan; let gold sound fair. Thus it is in my book of genealogy, everyone with his ancestry; who could be fairer? Like saying a bright sweet apple accords respect to a sweet tree, like gold compared with another apple is the lineage from one Llwyd to the next, formally of the privileged blood of a baron of Foxhall, with its dignified virtue. Suitably fair, to it is yoked the golden harness of many a good house.

What pure blood can gild him? He is, like Peg, a Piggott. Henry Hwcs is author in the roll. The lineage of Ieuan Llwyd of Gwynedd, a faultless lion and a lamb of God, if black can add dignity to his high degree, it is no wonder that, with the appearance of grace, Iarddur gives dignity.

The sister of Lord Lumley of no evil offence is she, of a gracious glowing countenance, lordly lineage, royal blood and great virtue. Her great-grandfather, Earl Neville, came of Westmoreland ancestors. She is through John of Gaunt of the lineage of Edward the Third. Long may you live, Barbara, for the host of the souls of men.

If he knows that something good comes to someone, goodness is seen in his face. There is so much nobility and virtue in

his countenance. His body, endearing manner, and his goodness – an active man of princely blood.

Studying constantly – we should follow in his footsteps – the Astronomer of the course through the air of moon and winds, the sun and the stars and their journey, the hours of the degrees of the signs of the Zodiac. He can account for wherever they are with perfect knowledge, a continuing wheel, where the planets change course. Of the work of all the philosophers, I think it likely, he is knowledgeable in every aspect of Astronomy. Through much work he is proverbially a Ptolemy. A pillar of learning whom everyone believes, he has the reputation of Euclid. The Seven Arts would be poor if he were not in the world: Grammar, Logic, the fundamentals of Rhetoric, the bright sound of sweet Music, Arithmetic and counting, he embodies the lore of them all; was there ever in Geometry or in Astronomy the like?

Who has as great an authority? (A sincere question.) He is a pearl in Parliament. He made an Act for the Bible in our language in the House of Parliament: it was agreed at the instigation of the lion of Robert Llwyd.

He prospered and insisted it came into being; may his brave body have strength. And may he become yet more prosperous. Amen.

Lewis ab Edward

Y mae oer nad mawr a nych
Am ddwyn unben ddoe'n Ninbych
Wmffre'n barch yma ffriw bert
4 Iach rybell wych o Robert
Mae'r llynnau mawr y'u llanwyd
Môr mis drwy'r llu marw Meistr Llwyd
Gwae ni dorfoedd gan derfysg
8 Gŵr oedd yn dwyn gwreiddyn dysg
Ar goll ar led ein gwledydd
Y saith gelfyddyd y sydd
Gramer retrig miwsig maith
12 Geiriau mesur grymuswaith

Arthmetig werth mwy ytoedd
A dewis gwaith mewn dysg oedd
Ni all gŵr o'n gwlad gymradwy
16 Hyder o stronimèr mwy
Loetsig heb gudd ufuddwaith
Meddaf fi siometri saith
Mewn ei arch man a werchyd
20 Man lle'r aeth gwybodaeth byd
Gwyddiad osodiad y sêr
Gall a grymus cell gramer
Gŵr hyddysg gair a haeddef
24 Oedd ddim ar na wyddai ef
Pob celfyddyd byd o'i ben
Penna' fu pwy fwy'i awen
Nid oedd un mewn dyddiau iach
28 Gof ir Adda gyfrwyddach
Dangosai pan fynnai fo
Ddieithrwch i ddau athro
Pob gair ymŵys pob grym iaith
32 Pob ymadrodd pob mydriaith
Ysbysa' os bu oesoedd
O'u blaen yn y Beibl oedd
A gwae'r llu am y gŵr llwyd
36 O bu raddol a briddwyd
A dysgeidiaeth dasg ydoedd
A rhif yn nerth Rhufain oedd
Rhoed doethion gwychion fu'r gwŷr
40 Rhai o fonedd Rhufeinwyr
Pe buasai'n nydd rhydd y rhain
Aethai'n rhif wyth yn Rhufain
Eisiau oes hir i'w diroedd
44 I'n mysg eisiau dysg nid oedd
Os dawn aeth Awstin ieithoedd
Os un call Seneca oedd
Malsysteg a chwanegodd
48 Myfyr iawn mwy fu ei roddw
Y doeth Llwyd od aeth i'r llan
Ond os gwaeth ein dysg weithian

Lle'r oedd clod a gwybodaeth
52 A Mair o nef marw a wnaeth
Pob rhôlau pob rhyw helynt
Pob peth a oedd pob bath wynt
Pob cerdded y planedau
56 Penna' o ddysg pan oedd iau
Ac â'r bêl gradd uchel gron
A lle'r oedd holl arwyddion
A hanes pawb ohonyn'
60 A lled y ddaear a'i llun
Dwys hyddysg nid oes heddiw
Gŵr un fath a gair yn fyw
Na gobaith neb a'i gwybu
64 Ar ben ei fys ir ban fu
Duw gwyn dug ŵr digon doeth
Ddoe gwae ynn na ddug annoeth
Ôl acw oedd wylaw'u caid
68 Ddoe ieirll Lloegr ddŵr o'u llygaid
Iarll Arndel wrth ei wely
Mynnai cyn delai o'i dŷ
Mae'n ŵr o stad mawr ei stôr
72 Ac angen am ei gyngor
Cwyn âi ennyd cyn Ionawr
Fynd plaid y Llwydiaid i'r llawr
Od aeth hwn i daith heno
76 Adwy fawr sy wedi fo
A'i ddwyn yn ei ddaioni
Ŵyr Rosndal gwae'n ardal ni
A heno blin henwi'i blaid
80 O'r Peg waed a'r Pigodiaid
Bwrw ein rhwysg bu aur yn rhodd
Barbra wych bur brawychodd
A'i harglwydd dad drwy gadoedd
84 A'i lu ymlaen Lwmle oedd
Yr un radd o ran yr iaith
Bryd Olwen ei brawd eilwaith
O alar hir wylaw rhawg
88 Alwynau ail i Enawg

Ac o'u rhyw ei gŵr a hon
Trown fwy obaith tri'n feibion
A phob mab o bryd Abel
92 I'r Llwyd o enw iarll a êl
A merched ddwy'n fwy a fydd
A wnân' glod yn y gwledydd
A hyn draw henwau a drig
96 A dyfant o bendefig
Eu tad ef aeth i'r nefoedd
Yn ei wlad gŵr annwyl oedd
Doe Iesu a'i dewisodd
100 Dwy oes i'w mam dewis modd.

Translation

There is lamentation and grief over the taking yesterday of the lord of Denbigh, Humphrey of fair countenance and honoured here, of the long line of Robert. The lakes are overflowing, a month's sea goes through the host at the death of Master Llwyd. Alas for the crowds because of our agitation about a man who bore the root of learning.

Lost across our lands are the seven arts: grammar, rhetoric, extensive music, the measure of words of powerful work, arithmetic was worth more and was a choice of work of scholarship. No man of our praiseworthy country can have confidence in an astronomer any more. Logic is without its hidden obedient work, I say, and the geometry of seven men.

His coffin, a place which is guarded, is where the knowledge of the world went. He knew the placing of the stars, was wise and powerful, a cell of grammar, a learned man, he deserves a word; was there anything he did not know? With every art of the world in his head, he led; who had greater genius? With the fresh memory of Adam, when he was healthy, there was no one more learned.

He showed, when he wished, the peculiar knowledge of two teachers: every ambiguous word, all the power of language, every expression, every metre; if they were old, he explained them in the Bible. Alas for the host about the grey man, a graduate buried. He was a work of scholarship with the honour of the power

of Rome. The wise – splendid were the men – were accorded the status of Roman nobles. If he were living in their free days, he would be number eight in Rome. A long life to his lands; we did not lack scholarship with him in our midst. In ability he was an Augustine of languages; in wisdom, he was Seneca; very studious, he added with his great gift Melchisedec. If the wise Llwyd went to the church to be buried, if he did, our learning decays. Where there was praise and knowledge and Mary from heaven, he died. In every roll, every kind of matter, everything in the past, every kind of wind, the course of all the planets, he was the most learned when he was young, and knew the high round ball, and the place of all the signs, and the history of them all, and the width of the earth and its shape. Today there is no man so intensely learned alive nor hope of anyone who has it at his fingertips since he died.

Holy God took a wise man yesterday, woe to us that he didn't take a fool. There were signs of weeping yesterday of England's earls, water coming from their eyes. The Earl of Arundel insisted on being by his bed before he left the house. He is a man with a great, valuable estate and has need of his advice.

There is complaining because he went before January, and the company of Llwyd is cast down. If he went on his journey tonight, there is a great gap after him; he took with him his goodness, the grandson of Rossendale, alas for our area. And tonight it is distressing to name his family of the blood of Peg and the Piggotts.

At the casting down of our glory when a gift was gold, splendid Barbara was terrified; her lordly father through battles with his host was a Lumley. Of the same degree in the regard of the people is the brother of the one with the countenance of Olwen. From great grief there is weeping now, gallons as in the time of Enoch. And from their kind, her husband and herself, we turn with more hope to the three sons, each with the countenance of Abel, through Llwyd in the earl's line. And two daughters will bring yet more praise to the countries. And further names will remain which grow from a nobleman.

Their father, who went to heaven, was beloved in his country. Yesterday Jesus chose him; would that their mother, if there was a choice, could have two lifetimes.

Wiliam Cynwal

Byd oer sydd bid orseddwr
Bradus gwael byrred oes gŵr
Beth a dal byth o delir
4 Barn hwn yw ceisio byw'n hir
Er bod i ddyn o'r byd dda
Ac aur aml a gwŷr yma
Ni all hyn ennill einioes
8 Naws dir yw nis daw hir oes
Duw gwyn a ŵyr dwg ein hiau
Diyngan y daw angau
A phan ddel dyma ffin ddir
12 Ffens a gyll ffo nis gellir
Felly cwynaf llew cenon
I fil sydd mae'n ofal sôn
Och ganwaith mynych gwynwyd
16 Oer am ffriw Llŷr Wmffre Llwyd
Llu yma a rydd lle mae'r art
Llwyr ebwch marw llew Robart
Er hyn draw aer hynod ras
20 'Mur teml mae aer Tomas
O Dduw obry rhy ddybryd
Rhuthr a bâr anrheithio'r byd
O gladdu'r haul glew ddewr hydd
24 Gwers o boen gwae'r oes beunydd
Baich iâ drud ar Ddinbych draw
[ ]
Di-wres yr hin dros yr hawg
28 Darfu enaid Rhufoniawg
Yn ôl ei ddwyn annel ddig
Y Llwyd ei naid sydd golledig
O bu lwyn drud a'r blaen draw
32 O hen dylwyth yn deiliaw

Iesu obry is wybren
Sy'n dial had Rosndal Hen
Och darfod uwch y dyrfa
36 Angor dysg a chyngor da
On'd trwch yw nid da'r chwedl
Torri canol tir cenedl
O claddwyd llawr ceneddlwaed llu
40 Acw amrant tir Cymru
Wedi'r llew, o darllëir
Un llwgr â hyn yw Lloegr hir
Aeth achos drwy nos a drain
44 I'w bobl ef bawb i lefain
Ac un friw i'w gwyno fry
Yw galar ei gywely
O Fair Wen rhyfawr annwyd
48 Fwrw braw llawn ar Farbra Llwyd
Merch arglwydd iawnrhwydd anrheg
Aml yw ei dawn Lymle deg
Gwae ni fod gwawr hynod had
52 Gwisg ddu am ei gwasg ddiwael
Adwyth byth o daeth i ben
Oes y llew grymus llawen
Y mae plant eglurant glod
56 O hon ac Wmffre hynod
Purllwyn gwyrdd perllan a gaid
Pwmpa aeron pump euraid
Tri charw heirdd trowch ar eu hôl
60 A dwy riain waed reiol
Un yw'r aer glân oreurwyd
Iawn dôn llawn Ysblanden Llwyd
Êl deiroes hylaw doriad
64 Lew brau doeth i lwybr ei dad
Harri a Siôn hirwaed sydd
Helaeth rad ail a thrydydd
Ef ellir rhoi 'fallai 'rhawg
68 Ei ddwy ferch i ddau farchawg
Un yw Siân beunes iawnwych
Ail em loyw yw Lymle wych

Eu tad aeth odiaeth ydoedd
72 I dŷ Dduw Nef diddan oedd
Yn ei borffor byw'n berffaith
A'i wŷr oll yn argae'r iaith
Ust ar adwy Meistr ydoedd
76 Dail draw mewn aur Aldrmon oedd
Ef a wyddai Gwalchmai'r gwŷr
Arfau pawb durfab pybyr
Och gwael fydd iach gelfyddyd
80 A chau'r bedd ar achau'r byd
Pa radd y sydd prudd yw sôn
Priddo addysg prydyddion
Bai unawr ni bu i'w einioes
84 Brad aeth on'd byrred ei oes
Ei ddewr gorff sy'n y dderw gell
Ŵr mawrchwyrn yng nghôr Marchell
A'r enaid aeth yr un dydd
88 Â'i einioes i lawenydd.

Translation

A sad world – there is one who presides – treacherous, wretched, how short man's life is; what is it worth to him whose judgment is to try and live long if he is caught? Although man has the good things of the world and much gold and men here, this cannot win a longer life, that is certain; Holy God, who carries our yoke, knows that death comes silently, and that when it comes it is a certain border, a fence around which man cannot flee.

Thus I lament the lion of the cubs of a thousand people who, it is sad to say, give a hundred sighs and lament; there is grief over the countenance of Llŷr, Humphrey Llwyd – where is art? – a host here sob at the death of the lion of Robert. Since then yonder is the heir of great grace, the wall of a temple, the heir of Thomas. O God above, it is grievous, an assault which plunders the world. In burying the sun, a brave stag, a painful lesson, alas for the age every day, a heavy load of ice on Denbigh yonder, the climate is cold for a while, the soul of Rhufoniog has failed, after the taking of Llwyd, a grievous vain aim. If there is a bush of an old lineage with its further edge putting forth leaves, Jesus

above is taking revenge below heaven on behalf of the seed of old Rossendale.

Alas, gone from above the crowd the anchor of learning and good counsel; is it not sad and infamous to cut the centre of the land of the nation? If he has been buried, the floor of the host of the same people, there is the sleep of the land of Wales after the lion, if it is observed, the same loss as this has wide England. The event went through night and thorns to his people, and every one wept, and with the same countenance laments his widow.

O Holy Mary, too great a chill causes fear in Barbara Llwyd, the daughter of a lord, giving gifts freely, talented, fair Lumley; alas for us that the brightness of an exceptional seed has a black garment around her fair waist. A misfortune for ever if the life of the powerful, cheerful lion has come to an end.

There are children – they manifest the praise – from her and the exceptional Humphrey, a pure, green bush of an orchard, large apples, fruits, five golden ones, three beautiful stags – turn to follow them – and two maidens, of royal blood: one is the fair heir, who has been raised to the nobility, a full true note, Splendian Llwyd, may he have three life spans, a useful measure, the wise, generous lion, following the path of his father; Henry and John of a long lineage, a generous blessing, second and third; his two daughters could be given in time to two knights: one is Jane, a magnificent peahen, the second gem is splendid Lumley.

Their wonderful father went to the house of God in heaven in purple to live perfectly, and to all his men was a bulwark of the people; there is pain at the gap he left, he was a Master with golden leaves, he was an alderman. He knew, the Gwalchmai of men, the arms of everyone, a zealous man of steel. Alas, poor will be the true art, and the grave has closed on the genealogy of the world; no matter the degree, it is melancholy to relate that the education of poets has been buried. If his lifespan was but one hour, it would be treachery, was not his life short? His brave body is in the oaken cell, the great, vigorous man in the choir of Marchell, and his soul went the same day as his life to joy.

Notes

1. The three poetic tributes to Llwyd were published together previously (but without translation) in R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd of Denbigh: Some Documents and a Catalogue', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society*, 17 (1968), 91–9. On Gruffudd Hiraethog's eulogy, see also D. J. Bowen, 'Cywyddau Gruffudd Hiraethog i dri o awduron y Dadeni', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1974 (1975), 103–31. The unique copy of this eulogy (MS Llanstephan 145, 31r) is in the hand of Samuel Williams, *c.*1710–20; see J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (London, 1898–1910), 2, pp. 721–5. The elegy by Lewis ab Edward has been edited by R. W. McDonald, 'Bywyd a Gwaith Lewis ab Edward' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1961), p. 117. Wiliam Cynwal's eulogy survives in two manuscripts (NLW MS 11087B, 123, followed here, and BL Add MS 14881, 119v). The transcriptions are by Paul Bryant-Quinn, and the translations by Mary Burdett-Jones.
2. Llwyd himself traced parts of this shared ancestry in the pedigree that he drew up for his second cousin, Foulk Lloyd of Foxhall (NLW Peniarth MS 134, 370, in the hand of Gruffudd Hiraethog), reproduced in Gruffydd, 'Humphrey Llwyd', 67–8. See also the family tree in Bowen, 'Cywyddau Gruffudd Hiraethog', 111–12.

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It lies close to the roots of the emerging ideology of British Empire, and Llwyd's influence is to be found in the works of major English poets such as Edmund Spenser and Michael Drayton. His history of medieval Wales, *Cronica Walliae*, shaped Welsh historical traditions for centuries to come. Llwyd is also the earliest extant source for the legend of Prince Madoc, whose twelfth-century voyage to America shaped British fantasies of the New World from the reign of Elizabeth to the nineteenth century. This is the first book-length study of Llwyd's works, influence and intellectual milieu, and contributions from scholars in the fields of history, geography and literary studies cover the range of Llwyd's achievement as a cartographer, historian and chorographer of Wales and Britain.

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Cover images: *Humphrey Llwyd* (1591), oil on panel, and Humphrey Llwyd, *Angliae regni florentissimi nova 59 descriptio* (1573), in Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

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