

An Edition of John Dee's "Brytanici Imperii Limites" (1578)

Edited and with an Introduction and Notes

by

Jennifer T. Abeles

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

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Advisor: Professor Catherine McKenna

The reputation of John Dee (1572-1608) has been difficult to fix, both amongst his contemporaries and in succeeding generations as scholars of intellectual history try to ascertain whether he deserves to be hailed as an influential man of science or a charlatan barred from arenas of power. The 1578 work "Brytanici Imperii Limites," extant in a single manuscript and edited and annotated here, sheds further light on the intellectual pursuits of its author, as well as on Renaissance geography, early British bids for mastery of the New World, British attitudes toward Spanish imperialism, ideas of Britishness vis a vis the "four nations" comprising it, and the status of Galfridian history in the Renaissance. The introduction addresses each of these themes, the latter two receiving fullest treatment. Dee offers King Arthur as both motivation and legitimization for a British Empire extending overseas (being the earliest thinker to define the British Empire in this way), providing later and more observably influential authors such as Richard Hakluyt the evidence necessary to rationalize British colonization of the New World. Since fully 1/4 of Dee's treatise is concerned with the historicity, conquests and arctic explorations of King Arthur, the introduction provides an overview of the contemporary debate over the veracity of the British History and posits Dee's positioning within this debate.

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This dissertation owes its existence to a network of friends, family, and fellow scholars, all of whom it is a pleasure to remember here. The Graduate Center at the City University of New York supported my work for many years with tuition scholarships, teaching fellowships, writing fellowships, and finally the Helene Newstead Dissertation Fellowship; I am deeply grateful for the generosity of this institution, as well as for its tradition of excellent public education and the friendship and guidance of its esteemed faculty. In particular, I owe a special debt of gratitude to my dissertation committee W. Speed Hill, Scott Westrem, and Catherine McKenna, the most patient and vigilant committee any student could want. In addition to alerting me to errors and oversights, they helped make me aware of new areas of research and inspired me to rethink my work throughout the writing process. I thank them for their help and kindness, and I acknowledge, of course, any remaining errors to be my responsibility. I could not close this paragraph without giving a special word of thanks to Catherine for her mentorship over the course of the last decade. Whenever I glean evidence of her influence in my own scholarship, teaching, and general approach to the world, I feel profoundly happy and fortunate.

The Folger Shakespeare Library funded my study of textual editing there in the Fall of 2001, and the staff members at the British Library, the Mina Rees Library at the Graduate Center, the Smith College Libraries, and the Amherst College Library were extremely helpful to me throughout. I also must thank the Hunneybolls and the Nickpaschos' for their unforgettable hospitality during my research trips to England. William Sherman's *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* has been a powerful influence on this project, and, more directly, the work of Kenneth MacMillan helped me to determine the scope of this dissertation. I owe him many thanks for the long and fruitful discussions we have had on the many topics this project covers, and I should acknowledge that I benefited greatly from the work we did together on an edition of John Dee's *Brytanici Imperii Limites* for Praeger Press. In completing this project, I strove to disentangle and differentiate my work and ideas from his, and I believe I have succeeded in drawing an independent work out of the experience of our collaboration, though readers will no doubt become aware of the significance of Ken's influence on this edition. Our Latin translator for the Praeger Press edition, Elisabeth Leedham-Greene, also deserves many thanks both for her advice to me about transcription early on and for her excellent translations. Her emendations and readings made my own attempt at Latin translation much less excruciating.

While working closely with Latin dictionaries, I came across many words one isn't likely to encounter anywhere else, and one of these that resonated with me at the time was *psychophthoros*, which means "soul-destroyer." That is exactly what this project would have become had it not been for the family and friends who offered me support, love, and necessary diversions over the past five years. Special thanks to my parents, Wendy and David; Ethan, Desi, and Uly; Lauren, Marsha, and Rob; Nan and Mike; Maryann and Cesare; David N.; Beverly and Shannon; Jackie and Denise; Beth, Tim, and LeeAnne; my new friends at the Del Raye; and my wonderful students at Drew University, with whom I shared many of these ideas for the first time and who proved to be unerringly discerning. At the last minute, Philip Price rescued me from seemingly insoluble technical problems. I reserve my greatest gratitude for my husband David, who not only lived with John Dee almost as intimately as I did, but who never lost faith in my work in those moments when I doubted. Without his support, I wouldn't have either begun or finished this dissertation.

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Introduction: Chapter 1
 “one extraordinary studious Ientleman”¹
 The Life and Work of Dr. John Dee

Few figures of the English Renaissance have posed such vivid contradictions in their lifetimes or have been as subject to various interpretations by subsequent generations as the author of “*Brytanicj Imperii Limites*,” Dr. John Dee. Lacunae in the historical record account for some of the mystery that surrounds him; for example, it is not known where or how he earned the title “doctor,” although it has been speculated that priestly orders were conferred on this ardent supporter of Elizabeth by none other than “Burning” Bishop Bonner, or that the title was earned on the Continent in some other capacity, perhaps medicine. His dates are also subject to some speculation, his birth year recorded nowhere but on his own astrological chart (as 1527), and the year of his death disputed as either 1608 or 1609.

But even those facts that are well-documented, either by Dee himself or by other sources, can often appear misleading or contradictory. Dee’s stance on the topicalities of religion, for instance, remains too subtle for positive identification, for he seems to have associated with both Catholics and Protestants, depending on circumstances, before developing his own idiosyncratic spiritual practice (so idiosyncratic, in fact, as to come dangerously close to heresy). Under Edward VI, Dee was a tutor in the household of the Duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded for attempting to put the Protestant Jane

¹ This phrase was written anonymously by Dee in reference to himself in “A Necessary Advertisement, by an unknown freend,” which acted as preface to his *General and Rare Memorials* (London: John Daye, 1577), and included in *Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee*, edited by James Crossley (London: Chetham Society, 1851). The aims of this preface were to refute certain slanders against Dee as well as to plead his case as inventor of the “paradoxall cumpass,” and apparently Dee reckoned that such arguments might sound more effective coming from an “unknown freend” rather than from himself.

Grey on the throne instead of Queen Mary. Yet, during the violently Counter-Reformation reign that followed, he impressed and befriended Bishop Bonner—a despiser of magic—from the uncomfortable confines of an imprisonment in which he awaited sentence for working enchantments, and then within a few years he became a valued tutor and friend to some of Elizabeth’s most ardent Protestant courtiers, as well as her ladies of the court. Finally, Dee managed to elude the Pope’s reach as he wandered the Continent during the 1580s, openly conducting conversations with angels who, he believed, had appointed him God’s minister on earth. Giordano Bruno, an acquaintance of Dee’s, was to die at the stake less than two decades later for spiritual activities that could be considered comparable.

Dee’s value to the crown and state is also difficult to construe. For all his considerable learning, contacts at court, international reputation, and services rendered to the state,² the Dee household never lived in better than moderate comfort, often facing the most extreme poverty, and eventually Dee was reduced to selling his plate and books in order to keep himself alive. Finally, and perhaps most pertinently for scholars of Renaissance culture, the matter of how one of the most learned men of his time could engage in activities easily taken to be charlatanism of the crudest sort has confounded scholars of many generations and disciplines. That Dee was deservedly recognized for his learning is well documented. It is known that Dee’s library was one of the ornaments of Renaissance learning, containing more books and manuscripts—likely between 3,000 and 4,000 volumes at its most complete—than either Cambridge or Oxford University

² In an effort to secure a living as well as restitution for his damaged library, Dee outlines his own value in great detail and clarity in his “Compendious Rehearsal” (1592) to Queen Elizabeth. The “Rehearsal” is published in *Autobiographical Tracts*.

and on a par with the greatest libraries found on the Continent; indeed, it has been said that “the whole Renaissance is in this library” (Yates, *Theatre* 12).³ As a student at Cambridge, Dee studied for eighteen hours a day,⁴ and throughout his life sought and befriended the most illustrious scholars of England and Europe; he wrote treatises on calendar reform, navigation, geography, astronomy, mathematics, alchemy, genealogy and other antiquarian subjects, and various subjects pertaining to contemporary and historical Britain,⁵ and he lectured sensationally on Euclid in Paris in 1550, “a thing never done publicly in any university in Christendom,” according to his *Compendious Rehearsal* (8). And yet, this internationally famed intellect decided in the end to set aside scholarly endeavors in favor of traveling from one European court to the next trying to convince the crowned heads of Europe of an urgent and unusual spiritual platform that he discovered through “actions with spirits” with the infamous medium Edward Kelley. It is this last point that has caused posterity the most confusion and consternation, for this “giant of Elizabethan science,” as F.R. Johnson names Dee, produced transcripts of his angelic conversations—the *Libri Mysteriorum*—the volume of which “dwarfs” his other, more scientific and scholarly works, to use the phrasing of Nicholas Clulee, who goes on to comment that, “The greatest irony of Dee’s career is that his attempts to get progressively closer to the truths of nature in fact lead to a progressive distancing from nature” (*Natural Philosophy* 216).

³ For those interested in Dee’s library, there are two invaluable resources: R.J. Roberts and A.G. Watson, eds., *John Dee’s Library Catalogue* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990) and William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

⁴ Dee was a student at St. John’s College from 1542 to 1546, and after receiving his B.A. became a reader in Greek at Trinity College.

⁵ For Dee’s own complete list of his works published and unpublished, see *Autobiographical Tracts* 73-77.

And so scholars have traditionally been divided on the subject of Dee, identifying him alternately as a prescient scientist, a man of uncommon historical and bibliographical perspective, a brilliant visionary, a charlatan, a madman, a fool. His works exist in modern editions published by presses ranging from Magickal Childe to Science History Publications, and his name has hallmarked the careers of people as different as Aleister Crowley and Dame Frances Yates. Dee's work influenced the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn as well as the development of navigation, geography, and the British Empire.⁶ If his name has been overwhelmingly associated with magic, however, it is likely due to the emphasis of early Dee editors and biographers. Half a century after Dee's death, Meric Casaubon published a selection of Dee's angelic transcriptions together with a damning editor's preface under the title *A True and Faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits* (1659). Although the title page accounts Dee "A Mathematician of Great Fame," on the frontispiece Dee's picture abides amongst pictures of figures deemed to be magicians by seventeenth-century standards—Mahomet, Apollonius of Tyre, Roger Bacon, Paracelsus, and Dee's own medium, Edward Kelley. It is possible that this frontispiece did as much as or more than the rest of the preface to fix Dee's character, for in the preface itself, Casaubon lauds Dee's piety and true Christianity, claiming "his only (but great and dreadful) error [to be], that he mistook false lying Spirits for the Angels of Light, the Divil of Hell (as we commonly term him) for the God of Heaven" (n.p.). According to Casaubon, Dee tended toward holiness but was led by vanity into gullibility and error, thereafter creating a work

⁶ Yates' work on Dee will be discussed further in this chapter. For theoretical connections between Dee and Crowley and the Golden Dawn movement, see Richard Deacon, *John Dee: Scientist, Geographer, Astrologer, and Secret Agent to Elizabeth I* (London: Frederick Muller, 1968).

that “might be deemed and termed, *A Work of Darknesse*,” as Casaubon sensationally impugns the *Relation* in the opening sentence of his preface.

Dee’s earliest biographer, Thomas Smith, is even less generous, agreeing that Dee was “deluded in a most horrible manner” (43), but laying greater blame than Casaubon on Dee for his “greatest folly,” “impiety,” and “fanatical fury” in pursuing such a radical path to knowledge. Although Smith includes Dee in a compilation of biographical sketches of “the most learned and illustrious men” (1707), he makes more of Dee’s endeavors as a conjuror than as a scholar or scientist, asserting that it was his reputation as such that kept him from procuring greater recognition in Queen Elizabeth’s court (82), and in connection to Dee’s mission through the Continent, refers to him as “that famous Ambassador of Daemons” (59). Nor was Dee’s posthumous reputation helped by the fact that his biography appeared in William Godwin’s *Lives of the Necromancers* (1834), in which Godwin attests:

Had Dee gone no further than this [astrology], he would undoubtedly have ranked among the profoundest scholars and most eminent geniuses that adorned the reign of the maiden queen. But he was unfortunately cursed with an ambition that nothing could satisfy; and having accustomed his mind to the wildest reveries, and wrought himself up to an extravagant pitch of enthusiasm, he pursued a course that involved him in much calamity, and clouded all his latter days with misery and ruin (227).

So, in these early records of Dee’s life and activity, he is accorded some respect for his learning, and even for his Christian faith, but it is nonetheless the more scandalous and sensational details of Dee’s great spiritual enterprise that quickly overshadow any assessment of the range of his accomplishments and activities. This point of view became the accepted narrative of Dee’s life—that Dee’s occult studies distracted him

from and even neutralized the influence of his scientific work and led him into disrepute and isolation—until twentieth-century scholars began turning to his other contributions, desiring to understand the depth and breadth of Dee’s engagement in civic, social, and intellectual arenas.

Although his “spiritual actions” can never be dismissed as insignificant or uninteresting, it is reasonable to complement study of this aspect of his life and work with explorations into Dee’s other interests in order not to deprive him the full breadth of his identity and influence. And thus, more recently, many biographers and other scholars who take on the subject of Dee tend to act as apologists or revealers of the “real” Dee, highlighting a previously overlooked aspect of his studies or claiming to have discovered the thread that binds all the disparate and mysterious characteristics of his experiences and endeavors into one coherent story. Famously, Frances Yates recovered some of Dee’s significance for his own time by positing that instead of having been isolated in his studies, Dee was rather the “characteristic philosopher of the Elizabethan Age” (*Occult Philosophy* 88), an idea that was elaborated upon by Peter French, who emphasizes Dee’s conscious self-portrayal as a Renaissance magus, and I.R.F. Calder, who sees a current of Neoplatonism running consistently through Dee’s career.⁷ Contradictions and aberrations can prove inconvenient for scholars intent on uncovering and explaining what the people and events of history mean, and often scholars have been reductive in their efforts to make individual ideas and figures conform to the broader ideological or intellectual movements of history. Nicholas Clulee delivered Dee from this fate by pointing out that rather than fitting Dee into a Neoplatonic or Hermetic trajectory, a scholar might more

⁷ For a more discursive critique on the influence the “Yates thesis” has had on Dee studies, see Sherman’s “Preface” in *John Dee*.

fruitfully begin by examining the works Dee produced over the course of his long career in order to discover the development, alterations, and shifts that occurred as Dee acquired new books, knowledge, acquaintances, and experience. This shift in approach has probably influenced the work of Roberts and Watson (whose edition of *John Dee's Library Catalogue* has become an indispensable resource for Dee scholars), of Sherman and others interested in Dee's political writings, and of Deborah Harkness. In their different ways, Frances Yates, F.R. Johnson, E.G.R. Taylor, Charlotte Fell-Smith, Peter French, Nicholas Clulee, Deborah Harkness, and William Sherman have succeeded in redeeming Dee's reputation as a thinker esteemed by his contemporaries, countering the impression set by early editors and biographers who were more scandalized by Dee's supernatural endeavors than impressed by other aspects of his varied career.

Although the events most excoriated by Dee scholars occurred from c.1582 to 1589, rather late in his career, there had always been the proverbial "whiff of sulphur" about him, recognized by later scholars as due more often to his scientific endeavors than to his magical ones. As a student at St. John's, Dee was involved in a production of Aristophanes' *Pax*, in which he rigged a mechanical scarab that so amazed the audience when it flew across the stage that many of them ran for the doors of the theater, an early example of mechanical stagecraft mistaken for outright magic. After this ingenious feat, it seems, Dee was never able to shake the reputation of conjuror. The accusation was plainly leveled against him in 1555 "by one George Ferrys and Prideaux" who claimed that Dee was attempting to enchant Queen Mary.⁸ Dee was imprisoned at Hampton Court at the same time that Princess Elizabeth was also a prisoner there (Dee reminds her

⁸ The incident is described in the *Compendious Rehearsal* 20.

later in his “Compendious Rehearsal”), and his cellmate Barthlet Grene was later burned at the stake. The notorious Bishop Bonner, however, was evidently convinced of Dee’s innocence, for Dee was taken into his household and thereafter even accompanied him during interrogations of other accused heretics. Although neither Elizabeth nor her favorite courtiers held this against Dee after the death of Queen Mary⁹—indeed, Dee was approached by Robert Dudley to ascertain the most auspicious coronation date for Elizabeth—John Foxe nevertheless named Dee as “the great Conjuror” in his 1563 edition of *Actes and Monuments*, to which Dee objected so strongly and effectively in “A Necessary Advertisement” (1576) that the condemnation was withheld from future editions.¹⁰ Dee’s casting of horoscopes could also be accounted amongst his occult interests, his astrological chart for Sir Philip Sidney noted by modern historians for its accuracy (Wooley 9).¹¹

And yet, for all the magical activity attributed to Dee, he was apparently not a blindly superstitious man, and there were a number of occasions when his learning and level-headedness were prevailed upon to quell the superstition of others. He was

⁹ The fact that Dee entered the good graces of Elizabeth’s circle of courtiers despite the role he played in Bishop Bonner’s household has been taken as evidence in the argument that Dee was a Protestant spy, an argument most fully enhanced by Richard Deacon’s *John Dee: Scientist, Geographer, Astrologer and Secret Agent to Elizabeth I*, which also uses the spy explanation to make sense of Dee’s later wanderings around the courts of Europe.

¹⁰ Dee’s passionate defense led him to elaborate a bit on Foxe’s charge, causing one to wonder if he were not, in fact, just a little proud of his infamy: he says that he has been accused of being “. . . not onely, a *Conjuror*, or caller of divels : but, a *great* doer therein : yea, the *great coniurer* : and so, (as some would say) the *arche coniurer*, of this whole kingdom” (*Autobiographical Tracts* 53).

¹¹ Although Dee also did astrological charts for Queen Mary and Princess Elizabeth, Wooley explains that they are no longer extant due to the political sensitivity of forecasting the future of a monarch. He also points out ways in which Dee’s own chart is consistent with what we know of him today.

summoned to court in 1577 and remained there for three days as all Europe quaked under the appearance of a new comet in the sky, popularly taken to signify the end of days as foretold in The Book of Revelation. After consulting with the great Bohemian astrologer Tycho Brahe, however, Dee assured Elizabeth that if the comet signified anything, it was her increasing success rather than her doom. He was able to reassure her again when a wax doll with a pin stuck through the breast was found in Lincoln's Inn fields, causing distress through the court lest Elizabeth should become the victim of enchantment. Dee was called upon to explain or counteract the effect of the charm and succeeded in laying fears to rest once again, encouraging others to dismiss as he did the poppet's power to harm the queen. Upon first meeting Edward Kelley in 1582, Dee chastised him for his sinful and, to his mind, not altogether reasonable offer to engage the fairies on Dee's behalf. And much later in life, when Dee had finally secured an income as warden of Manchester College, he refused to consult in the many cases of witchcraft and demonic possession that arose in Lancashire, offering only his books as a resource to the men overseeing these trials, punishments, and exorcisms.¹²

It was not a folksy brand of superstition that Dee adhered to, then, but a much grander set of beliefs about the mystical nature of a universe that hid its secrets from all but the most learned and most worthy of men. Dee sought to be this man, this unlocker of secrets, privy to the mind of God. It has been speculated that Christopher Marlowe's representation of Doctor Faustus was inspired by Dee,¹³ and truly Dee did crave nothing

¹² This latter part of Dee's life is most fully discussed, often with much authorial speculation, in Charlotte Fell-Smith, *John Dee, 1527-1608* (London: Constable and Co., 1909).

¹³ "Faustus is not a medieval sorcerer; he is a Renaissance scholar who has taken all learning for his province with a particular bent toward the natural sciences. . . .

less than “God’s secrets.” Initially he sought universal truths through science and mathematics, subjects that were not much better regarded in England than sorcery at the time. Inasmuch as it was available at Cambridge, he pursued the “new learning,” a curriculum less focused on the traditional subjects of the trivium and more on the arts of the quadrivium, that is, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, and music. Recently, it has been demonstrated that the English universities were not as inimical to the sciences as was previously believed,¹⁴ but it does appear as though mathematics and explorations into the natural world were mistrusted, even to the point that books on mathematics were burned as heretical in Cambridge.

Considering that we still inhabit a world in which many Christians deem scientific inquiry to be inimical to Christian doctrine, it is easy to see how early scientists could be accused of heresy. Information about the physical world gleaned from the Bible, such as God’s creation of heaven and earth, was likely to be considered a physics sufficient for a good Christian, and certain ancients, such as Aristotle, were enlisted by Christian thinkers to support this economy of scientific knowledge. But during the Renaissance, the long-standing reign of Aristotle as “The Philosopher” was challenged with the reintroduction of Plato into Western European culture, and the Platonic corpus influenced how scholars were able to envision the earth and heavens; whereas the universe in Aristotelian and Ptolemaic cosmologies was geocentric, eternal, and changeless, and in those ways consistent with Christian cosmology, Platonism, with its emphasis on the sun, showed the

Audiences would inevitably have recognised Faustus as an unfavourable reference to Dee” (Yates, *Occult Philosophy* 141). Yates obviously thinks Dee a very inspiring character as she also suggests he is the model for Lear, Prospero, and Subtle from Ben Jonson’s *The Alchemist*.

¹⁴ See Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematician’s Apprenticeship: Science, Universities, and Society in England, 1560-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

possibility of envisioning the cosmos differently, perhaps opening the door for Copernican heliocentric theory. The new science, which consisted of mechanical and practical arts such as navigation, engineering, surveying, and so forth, and which was bolstered by Neoplatonic and Pythagorean theories of a universe discoverable to those who understood its occult mechanisms, could be perceived as threatening to the established order, an order arranged as a hierarchy, described in Aristotle, confirmed in orthodox Christianity, and reflected in political and ecclesiastical structure.

It is likely accurate that Oxford and Cambridge lagged behind the universities of the Continent in making mathematics and science a necessary part of the curriculum. Cambridge, for example, did not install a chair of astronomy until 1619, and the majority of early English scientists, including Dee, did not make either of the universities their intellectual home, preferring to work in the burgeoning arenas of industry and trade, at court, or in “libratories,” such as Dee’s, of their own devising.¹⁵ From the time of his moving into his mother’s home in 1565, Dee made Mortlake into a center for study and the exchange of ideas, receiving pilots and philosophers, engineers and nobility as guests, at times for lengthy durations as is suggested by his reference to his home as “*Mortlacensi Hospitali Philosophorum peregrinantium*,” (*Compendious Rehearsal* 40), the Mortlake Hostel for Wandering Philosophers. Dee dreamed of overseeing a workshop where men of learning and men of practical skills worked together on scientific projects, perhaps similar to the workshop of his acquaintance Tycho Brahe, who was given an island by the Danish king and supplied with whatever he might need to pursue

¹⁵ I heard the charming and wonderfully accurate coinage “libratory” from William Sherman during the 2003 New Jersey Shakespeare Conference. I have been unable to locate it in his published works.

his projects, including a printing press in order to disseminate his findings. Despite his lack of regular patronage, however, it has been posited that “Dee’s house at Mortlake, where he had three laboratories, a quantity of mathematical instruments, and above all his library of books and manuscripts, became the focal point of all scientific advance in mathematics and allied subjects in the first half of the reign of Elizabeth” (McLean 134).

After completing his degree at Cambridge, Dee departed for the Low Countries in 1547, where he sought out the luminaries of the new science, such as Gemma Frisius and Gerard Mercator, and collected astronomical instruments, books, and acquaintances to help him in his quest for knowledge. He returned to England in 1551 with uncommon knowledge of scientific and mathematical developments, as well as an opinion on the possible roles an erudite man might assume within a court and nation. Apparently he had been recognized as such a man by scholars and princes in Europe, having turned down a lucrative offer from the French king, and upon his return to his native country, Dee auspiciously began his career as a tutor for the Duke of Northumberland’s household. Even if the new learning had not yet given way to the scientific revolution in England, there was a coterie of men committed to this field of inquiry, and Dee did not hesitate to dispatch his learning and his “libratory” in their service. Even without the kind of patronage Brahe and other European scientists enjoyed, Dee’s circle at Mortlake has been referred to as a kind of prototype for the Royal Academy, and it has been posited that after the death of Richard Recorde in 1558, Dee was acknowledged “as the supreme scientific authority in England” (Johnson 136).¹⁶

¹⁶ Similar opinions of Dee can be found in Antonia McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England* (London: Heinemann, 1972). Readers may wish to also consult Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford:

Dee's printed works of natural philosophy are *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* (1558), *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), and *Praeface to the Elements of Geometry of Euclid of Megara* (1570); these purportedly represent the results of Dee's mathematical and scientific thinking, but it is impossible to generalize about their value or influence.¹⁷ The *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* is a list of 120 aphorisms on the subject of astrology, and the *Monas* is an abstruse work dealing with mystical mathematics, the idea that number is the link between material and immaterial truths. The *Praeface* remains of particular interest to historians of science and intellectual history as it provides descriptions of the various sciences ("cosmographie," "anthropographie," "hydragogie," etc.)¹⁸ that "combined an understanding of experimental method with an emphasis on the importance of mathematics and quantification for the study of nature" (Clulee, *Natural Philosophy* 146). As much emphasis as Dee laid on "experience" and "experiment," giving the impression of a genuine early empiricist, the modern distinction between religion and science, or revelation and ratiocination, does not hold up in regard to Dee. Consistent with the spirit of science of his time, he searched into the mysteries of nature

Clarendon Press, 1965) for more discursive accounts of the new learning in England during the Renaissance. Johnson goes on to say, "During the third quarter of the century, John Dee and his friends and pupils constituted the scientific academy of England" (138).

¹⁷ Perhaps the most helpful book dealing with Dee's scientific works is Nicholas Clulee's *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1988). Other resources include Deborah Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and to a lesser extent, Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972). For a list of Dee's other works, both printed and manuscript, see *Autobiographical Tracts* 73-77.

¹⁸ See the editor's introduction to this work for a complete explanation of these various sciences: *The Mathematicall Praeface to the Elements of Geometry of Euclid's of Megara* (1570), edited and introduction by Allen G. Debus (New York: Science History Publications, 1975).

not in order to banish God, but in order to better extol and understand the beauty and complexity of His creation. Dee explains in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

It so pleased [God] (even from my youth, by his divine favor, grace, and helpe), to insinuate into my hart, an insatiable zeale, and desire, to knowe his truth : and in him, incessantly to seeke, and listen after the same ; by the true philosophicall method and harmony : proceeding and ascending (as it were), *gradatim*, from things visible, to consider of thinges invisible : from thinges bodily, to conceive of thinges spirituall : from things transitorie, and momentarie, to meditate of things permanent : by thinges mortall (*visible and invisible*) to have some perceiverance of immortality, and to conclude, most briefly ; by the most mervailous frame of the *whole World*, philosophically viewed, and circumspectly wayed, numbred, and measured . . . most faithfully to love, honore, and glorifie alwaies, the *Framer*, and *Creator* thereof (*Autobiographical Tracts* 72).

Greater knowledge of the creation led to a closer relationship with the Creator, or as Clulee puts it, “Natural philosophy was to him a religious quest for an understanding of divinity” (*Natural Philosophy* 15). And yet the conventional avenues of seeking knowledge, the passion with which he studied the traditional curriculum at Cambridge and the great initiative and expense of mastering the new learning abroad, eventually came to strike Dee as not entirely effective in achieving the results he hungered for. Harkness points out the relevance of Henry Cornelius Agrippa’s advice to adepts in his *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* (1526),¹⁹ wherein he tells readers to “descend into your selves you whiche are desirous of the truthe, depart from the clouds of mans traditions, and cleave to the true light: beholde a voice from Heaven, a voice that teacheth from above” (*Conversations* 101-102). Abandoning his other scientific studies, Dee turned toward revelation as a means of accessing the secrets occluded by God himself

¹⁹ Dee owned a copy of this work: *Library Catalogue* (hereafter *LC*) no. 1118.

within the folds of His creation, explaining the shift in the course of his approach this way:

I had read in books and records how Enoch enjoyed God's favor and conversation, and how God was familiar with Moses, and how good angels were sent to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joshua, Gideon, Esdias, Daniel, Tobias, and sundry others, to instruct them, inform them, and help them in worldly and domestic affairs, and even sometimes to satisfy their desire, doubts, and questions of God's secrets. . . . Therefore I was sufficiently taught and confirmed that I would never attain wisdom by man's hand or by human power, but only from God, directly or indirectly (quoted in James xiv).

In the early 1580s, Dee took note in his diary of meeting with Barnabas Saul, a scryer. This was not a fruitful partnership, however, and two days after Saul took his leave of Dee in 1582, Dee was introduced to another scryer, Edward Kelley.

For those influenced by the Yatesian view of Dee as the archetypal Renaissance magus, Dee's pursuit of divination may seem surprising given the distinctions between natural magic and demonic magic made explicit in works by those philosophers trying to redeem magic by wresting it away from infernal connotations. The Renaissance magus of the type idealized and exemplified by Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola was a practitioner of natural magic, a seeker after the sympathies that existed between various components of the universe in an attempt to direct and control cosmic energies. The natural magician worked within God's order rather than against it, although certainly according humanity more power than it had enjoyed during the Middle Ages. The Renaissance magus repeated the Hermetic maxim, so contrary to medieval notions of humanity's subjection not only to God, but to the Goddess Fortuna, "The wise man rules the stars." Ficino, for example, used music, stones, and color to summon

specific planetary energies to offset his own natural temperament; the healthful and literally jovial influence of Jupiter was sought, for example, to balance the more dour effects of Saturn in his astrological chart and character.²⁰ Although Ficino makes reference to “star daemons,” he is eager to demonstrate that these are not ensouled entities, fallen angels, or false gods so much as pockets of cosmic power, and the magus does not worship the stars and planets as agents in their own right, but uses material objects and his own soulful longing to be united with the divine to direct cosmic energy as he will. A practitioner of natural magic, then, summoned no intermediaries between himself and the powers of the cosmos, but, following a disciplined philosophical path, he developed an “operational power” that made him equal to a god.²¹ This is the man as magus described in Pico’s “Oration on the Dignity of Man”:

If you see a philosopher determining all things by means of right reason, him you shall reverence: he is a heavenly being and not of this earth. If you see a pure contemplator, one unaware of the body and confined to the inner reaches of the mind, he is neither an earthly or a heavenly being; he is more a reverend divinity vested in human flesh (226).

Demonic magic, on the other hand, was considered by Renaissance philosophers “a thing to be abhorred, . . . and a monstrous thing” (Pico 247), its practitioner a conjuror of spirits like the one famously depicted in the frontispiece of the 1620 edition of Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* which shows a magician in symbol-covered regalia standing within a magic circle, *grimoire* in hand, speaking to a black demon that seems to be

²⁰ These philosophies and practices are outlined in Marsilio Ficino, *The Book of Life*, translated by Charles Boer (Woodstock, CT: Spring Publications, 1980).

²¹ A useful article on this subject is Brian P. Copenhaver’s “Scholastic Philosophy and Renaissance Magic in the *De Vita* of Marsilio Ficino,” in *Renaissance Magic*, edited by Brian P. Levack (New York and London: Garland, 1992).

emerging through the floorboards directly from Hell. The summoning of devils was considered in most quarters to be a most perilous and heretical activity, but its defenders, many of them clerics, claimed that they were enmeshing demons to make them do their will, as Merlin does in Book III of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and no harm to their own souls could come from such a contract. Others claimed to eschew demons altogether, concentrating instead on angels or the other kinds of spirits envisioned in a Pseudo-Dionysian interpretation of Platonic cosmology, those beings that comprised the orders of the "celestial hierarchy." Whereas the distinction may have originally been between natural and daemonic magic, the difference between "white" and "black" magic was altered by the extremely controversial philosopher Henry Cornelius Agrippa in his *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (1531) and depends upon which type of spiritual creature was summoned. He states "that it is necessary . . . that every magician know that very God, that is the First Cause, and Creator of all things" (457), thereby establishing that magicians, even ones that summon spirits, are not necessarily heretics, but can be true Christians depending on which entities they summon and for what purpose, as Agrippa explains in chapter xxxii of his third book entitled "How good spirits may be called up by us, and how evil spirits may be overcome by us" (566-570).²² According to Agrippa, every individual is swarmed by good and evil spirits, and the more one knows about them, the less likely one is to fall prey to an undesirable spiritual agenda. It becomes, in an Agrippan framework, almost imperative to foster good relations with the teeming

²² A readily accessible modern edition of this is *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, edited and annotated by Donald Tyson, translated by James Freake (St. Paul, MN: Llywellyn, 2003). This is not a scholarly press but nevertheless seems a well-documented and -researched edition.

angels and other good spirits of the universe through magical means in order to safeguard one's virtue.²³

Not only did Dee own Agrippa's *Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, but it is known that he owned multiple editions, presumably in order to collate and compare them.²⁴ Dee objected strongly to the charge of being a conjuror of spirits because in his mind he was no mean necromancer, seeking personal favors, wealth, and position from the spiritual world, as the Faustian stereotype goes, but rather God's appointed in the tradition of Moses and Abraham conversing with His angels on the subject of the end of the world and the restitution of nature. His stated intention was to deal only with God's angels, an intention supported by his expressions of disgust in the spiritual transcripts when he believes an evil spirit is present and vehemently insisted upon when accused of un-Christian practices. Dee frequently uses the word "spirit," drawing on the Latin word "spiritus" translated as "angel" (Harkness, *Conversations* 46), and indeed Casaubon's title *True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Years Between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits* may obscure the point that Dee was not speaking to spirits of the dead.

In his Letter to the Archbishop (1595), Dee swears,

Before the Almighty our God, and your Lordships good grace, this day, on perill of my soules damnation (if I lie, or take his name in vaine herein) I take the same God, to be my witnesse ; that, with all my hart, with all my

²³ This has been only the most elementary description of Renaissance magic, a subject that is too rich and complex to adequately explore here. For fuller treatments of the subject, see E.M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948); D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); *ibid.* *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1979).

²⁴ He had a 1531 quarto edition of the first book (no. 1271), a 1550 octavo edition of the three books (no. 742), and a 1559 octavo edition of the fourth book (no. 743), according to the *LC*.

soule, with all my strength, power, and understanding (according to the measure thereof, which the Almighty hath given me) for the most part of the time, from my youth hitherto, I have used, and still use, good, lawfull, honest, christian, and divinely prescribed meanes, to attain to the knowledge of those truthes, which are meet, and necessary for me to know (*Autobiographical Tracts* 70).

The very passion and extent of this defense, though by no means uncharacteristic for Dee, suggests that he is aware that his practices potentially jeopardized his freedom to work, if not his life itself. Yet Dee remained adamant that he was practicing neither demonic nor natural magic, but that he was talking to God's angels as did the prophets of biblical times. In the apocalyptic literature of the Renaissance, there was a belief that God would speak to certain appointed men to help Him carry out the end of days. There is precedent for such things, as Harkness explains:

Important to Dee's establishment of the angel conversations as a universal science was the long and authoritative biblical history of the role angels played in helping humans to understand God's plan through visionary revelations. From his Bible, Dee would have been familiar with angels as divine messengers, guides on revelatory journeys, and agents of the Apocalypse (*Conversations* 105).

Dee believed that he had been appointed one of these men, and that his work with Kelley was essential to nothing less than the most anticipated event of Christian times, the Apocalypse.

There had been a great variety of speculations about what the Apocalypse was and how it would affect the course of history; some believed that it would be a punctuation of history, ending life, earth, and time at once, and others believed that it would occur within the course of history, offering man and nature a redemptive opportunity to cleanse themselves of corruption and enter a new golden age. Dee's

interpretation was more closely aligned with the latter, and his study of alchemy, therefore, delved much further than merely exploring the potentialities of base metals in the hope of turning them to gold; the object of his alchemical experiment was the human soul itself, together with the entire natural world. Regeneration of the kind foretold in The Book of Revelation and the books of the prophets was the project undertaken by Dee—the *renovatio mundi*—and he very sensibly admitted that angelic guidance was essential in the establishment of the new earth and heaven.²⁵

There is also biblical authority for Dee's method of communicating with the angels. Scrying is the practice of receiving visions or messages from the spiritual world by gazing into a shiny surface such as a glass, a polished stone, or a bowl of water.²⁶ Although the 1541-1542 statute against witchcraft and conjuring forbids scrying, Dee may have looked beyond secular edicts to precedents set in the Old Testament, for Joseph used a certain "silver cup" "for drinking and divining (Genesis XLIV.45)" (Whitby, "Scrying" 27). Although Dee did take pains to keep the details of his spiritual actions secret, it appears that many powerful men of the court knew of his practices. Queen Elizabeth had promised him protection, and presumably had more than an inkling of his unorthodox work, for he notes how she asked him, "to fetch my glass so famous and to shew unto her some of the properties of it" (*Compendious Rehearsal* 17). It seems that

²⁵ Perhaps the most discursive and contextualized explanation of Dee's angelic conversations is Harkness' *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature*. For more about interpretations of apocalyptic prophecy in general, see Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

²⁶ For a very informative essay on the subject, see C.L. Whitby, "John Dee and Renaissance Scrying," *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, 3 (1985): 25-37. See also his edition of *John Dee's Actions with Spirits*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1991).

Dee's conscience was clear in regard to this means of gathering knowledge; he insisted upon the true Christianity of his practices to anyone who would listen and grew increasingly enthusiastic about the results of his actions, never seeming to doubt that the voices and visions Kelley relayed to him were from the best possible spirits, angels of God imparting sacred wisdom to their elect philosopher for the regeneration of the world.

Whitby notes that scrying “belongs to the tradition of the charlatan and the vagrant” (“Scrying” 26), and indeed this is how most Dee scholars have classified Edward Kelley.²⁷ Fell-Smith notes his “extraordinary mediumistic talents,” and there is no doubt that Dee valued Kelley for the same, although it may be difficult to understand how Dee could have formed and maintained trust in him. Kelley first introduced himself as Edward Talbot, and after a mysterious vanishing and reappearance, Dee learned that Kelley had been involved in some legal tangles involving forgery and fraud, one of which crimes had been punished by the cropping of Kelley's ears. Dee's personal and spiritual diaries reveal Kelley's irascible temper; he openly hated his wife and frequently abused Dee himself, behavior that left Dee praying for Kelley's better nature to emerge, as he notes fervently in his diaries. Despite warning signs about Kelley—it is apparent from Dee's diary that his wife Jane greatly disliked him—and having secured a patron in “the Polonian Prince Lord Albert Lasky” (*Private Diary* 20), the Dees, the Kelleys and their new patron left England by boat on the night of September 21, 1583.

²⁷ Geoffrey James, the editor of *The Enochian Evocation*, is an exception to this rule and an advocate of Kelley. “It is ironic that Kelley is so often viewed as victimizing Dee. Kelley was forced to stay with Dee because the money that the doctor gave him supported Kelley's wife and brother. When Kelley tried to leave, Dee would coerce him to remain by playing on his guilt and fear. It was Dee, not Kelley, who was gaining the benefit from the magical ceremonies, for it sated his lust for ‘radical truths’” (xxv).

It is not certain why the departure was so hasty and secret; the mysteriousness of this incident gives Richard Deacon further evidence for his theory that Dee was “Bond’s Elizabethan counterpart” (5), a theory that is hard to substantiate, as is the common conjecture that Dee was losing popularity both in court and amongst the commons surrounding Mortlake as a result of the course of his occult studies. If anything, it seems Dee had become convinced that Elizabeth was not interested in becoming the just ruler whose government would become the model for the purified, post-Apocalyptic new earth foretold, and the angels bade him to find another ruler to fit the role. As the small party progressed through Europe, it became clear that he was embarking on a very difficult and humbling part of his spiritual project; as Harkness delicately puts it, “Communicating his angelic revelations to a wider audience was one of Dee’s more problematic responsibilities, but he took it seriously . . .” (*Conversations* 136). Laski arranged an audience with the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II—to whose grandfather Dee had dedicated the *Monas* in 1564—on September 3, 1584, “and during their interview he rebuked the emperor for his sins and demanded that Rudolf put total faith in the angelic revelations” (Harkness, *Conversations* 55). Having described his use of medium and showstone, Dee offered to demonstrate his intimacy with the heavenly orders, but Rudolf complained of the late hour and promised another interview, which, not surprisingly, never transpired. Dee and Kelley were able to demonstrate their spiritual work for King Stephen of Poland but failed to convince him of the worth of their project or their ability to make the Philosopher’s Stone. Laski’s funds were not as abundant as they might have been, and his participation in the project diminished over time; nervousness mounted as

Dee found his party barred from royal houses. Papal authorities exhibited more interest in Dee's doings than anyone else, which did nothing to allay Dee's anxiety.

Years now into this quest, Dee turned to the angels for help and they gave some surprising advice, stating that in order to fully become God's appointed, Dee and Kelley must "share all things between them," an injunction that was elucidated as referring to their wives. Dee was in a panic lest he had misunderstood, and Mrs. Dee even more so, but further consultations with the angels revealed the same message. Shortly after the pact was fulfilled, the Dees and Kelleys took leave of one another, Dee for England and Kelley for a developing career as an alchemist, a pursuit which landed him a knightship from Rudolf II before the Emperor changed his mind and put him in prison where he spent the greater portion of the rest of his life.²⁸

Despite the tempests in their partnership, even after their parting of ways in 1589, Dee makes frequent notes in his diary of news and dreams of Kelley; for example, one August evening in 1589, Dee dreamed "... that Mr. Kelly wold by force bereave me of my bokes" (*Private Diary* 31), and on November 25, 1595, Dee records "the newes that Sir Edward Kelley was slayne" (*Private Diary* 54). Kelley's part in the story is difficult to gauge, but Dee has been interpreted as a sincere believer in the angels and the mission they entrusted to him. The now-famous episode of wife-sharing shows how committed Dee was to the course the angels set before him and his obedient willingness to defy convention, as did the biblical prophets, in meeting the challenges God presented Dee in

²⁸ This is an extremely brief account of these six interesting years. For a more discursive account, see Charlotte Fell-Smith, *John Dee, 1527-1608*, for although she disapproves of Dee's association and work with Kelley, she devotes almost half of her biography to their eight years together. See also Peter French's *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus*, C.L. Whitby's *John Dee's Actions with Spirits*, and Deborah Harkness' *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*.

his straining after worthiness and wisdom. All evidence suggests that Dee did not hand over his wife easily, and so when the partnership between Kelley, Dee, and their angelic friends disintegrated shortly thereafter with angelic promises left unfulfilled, it is difficult to imagine how Dee handled the failure. There is no record of his thoughts on the matter, either immediate or retrospective, but it is known that he did not relinquish the practice of scrying after the debacle with Kelley. His diaries tell us that he continued his work with a scryer named Bartholomew Hickman from 1591 to 1607, though most of the transcriptions from these conversations were burned in 1600 by Dee, so it may prove impossible to garner the nature of this phase of the project. Dee continued to seek out the angels during his last decade of life, but this period, marked by the death of his queen who was if not generous, then at least loyally protective of “hyr philosopher,” the loss of his wife and, it appears, some of his children to plague, and by increasingly desperate poverty, are not as thoroughly documented by Dee.²⁹

One of the most infamous and, in my opinion, unjust indictments of Dee’s work is found in Lynn Thorndike’s monumental *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, referring to Dee’s prescient support of Copernican heliocentric theory: “In any case Dee, with his mystical inclination towards every form of the occult, would hardly bring the Copernican party into good repute by his accession to its ranks. And he believed in so many things that were wrong, that we could not give him personally any high credit, even if in this one instance he believed something that happened to be true” (V.vi.26). But since the publication of this work (1923-1958), there has been a movement in scholarship

²⁹ Sherman energetically counters the vision of Dee bereft of friends and patrons in his declining years, stating, “far from having fallen from grace, he seems to have reached as high a position as was possible for someone of his class and occupation” (*John Dee* 16).

to give Dee credit for his contributions to mathematics, bibliography, navigation, mechanics, astronomy, optics, and so on. Most of the scholars who attempt such redress of Dee's besmirched reputation treat his angelic experiment with tactful discretion, if they treat it at all. Antonia McLean, for example, who calls Dee "the formative figure in the history of Elizabethan science" (145), goes on to describe this monumental part of his life thus: "[The angelic conversations] ended for Dee in disillusion and defeat At their worst they were a waste of a brilliant man's time; at their best they represent something unique which occurs in every age, a genuine desire to reach Truth" (144).

This tendency in Dee scholarship has perhaps culminated in Sherman's compelling critique of "the myth of the magus" inasmuch as it pertains to Dee, and his decision to address "his neglected writings" (xiv), meaning his political tracts, emphasizing Dee's embeddedness in the court and the culture around him over his increasingly lonely, mystical wanderings with Kelley. Sherman's approach to Dee begins, perhaps necessarily, with a negation of the stereotype that had developed around Dee: "Dee's career was *not* fashioned in the mold of Hermes Trismegistus" (xiv, my emphasis); he shows how the "Yates Thesis" as propounded by French (among others) unnecessarily limits and distorts scholarly perception of Dee. Whereas French insists that, "When dealing with Renaissance thought, . . . it must be clearly recognized that humanism appealed to one type of mind, and Ficinian neoplatonism appealed to another type" (22), Sherman illustrates how Dee, particularly, exemplifies how the Hermetic and Humanist strands of Renaissance philosophy are not always discrete modes of thought and activity, and how scrutiny beyond the magus myth that has been woven around Dee reveals that he was capable of operating within both modes, a philosopher, indeed, and

one particularly interested in the most arcane forms of wisdom, but far from being desolate and isolated in his obscure pursuits, Dee was an “Aristotle” craving an “Alexander.” He wanted to make use of his knowledge in the political sphere, and the “Brytanici Imperii Limites” (hereafter, the “Limits”) is likely his most succinct, developed, and pointed attempt to alter the course of his nation’s history. The present edition is an effort to continue in the vein of scholarship initiated by Sherman and to shed light on Dee’s vision for a corporate entity he called the “British Empire.”

Sherman was the first scholar to recognize the value of the “Limits,” and other scholars have begun to peer therein in order to illuminate subjects as various as the British History, medieval Scottish succession, and early British imperial legitimization. The work itself has had a mysterious existence. Long considered lost, the “Limits” was acquired by the British Library in 1976 and was catalogued as BL Add. MS 59681. It is a quarto with roughly 200 pages of paper, 106 of which are blank, and a vellum cover on which is written in red ink in italic capital letters, “BRYTANICI IMPERII LIMITES,” the Limits of the British Empire, “Jo: D 1576.” The first six pages of the codex are blank, followed by ninety-four ruled and numbered pages containing four documents written at different times for different purposes, according to Kenneth MacMillan, who also postulates that the four documents were compiled in 1593 at the request of the Crown.³⁰ The first two documents are brief (together totaling five pages of text) geographical treatises written in Latin in an italic hand, the titles of which are translated

³⁰ The British Library catalogue describes this as a “copy of unpublished treatises” and gives the date of compilation as “*circa* 1593.” Regarding the purposes and dates of each document in the codex, see Kenneth MacMillan, “John Dee’s ‘Brytanici Imperii Limites’,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 64 (2001): 151-159, and *ibid.*, “Introduction: Discourse on History, Geography and Law,” in John Dee, *The Limits of the British Empire*, with Jennifer Abeles (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004): 1-29.

in MacMillan/Abeles as “Concerning a New Location for the Island of Estotilant and the Province of Drogio” and “Concerning This Example of Geographical Reform.” As MacMillan describes, they were written in 1577 to correct the placement of Estotilant and Drogio as represented on the maps of both Gerard Mercator and Abraham Ortelius (“Introduction,” *Limits* 10). While these indicate Dee’s geographical knowledge as well as his participation in discussions of English expansion (they were prepared and presented at court just as arguments were being made for English settlements in these regions [MacMillan *John Dee* 5]), they are distinct in purpose and in nature from the other two documents in the compilation. While the MacMillan/Abeles edition focuses on Dee’s geographical and legal arguments, thereby making good use of the first two documents in this codex, the present edition is more concerned with Dee’s use of British History, a subject that is not treated in the first two documents. There is evidence that Dee, too, saw documents three and four closely linked; he refers to IV as an “appendix” to III a number of times, and the “quadripartite method” he sets out in the beginning of III is followed closely in IV (as he reminds us in IV when he warns that doing so will result in “a booke of no small volume” (128). For these reasons, the present edition represents only the third and fourth documents of BL Add. MS 59681.

Documents III and IV are written in English in a clear secretary hand, though document IV contains long Latin quotations from various historical, court, and legal records written in italic. Document III is found on pages 13-21 of the codex and is entitled “Unto your Maiesties Tytle Royall to these forene Regions, & Ilands” dated “1578 Maij 4”. This consists of an enumerated list of discoveries in the New World and outlying islands made by subjects of the British Crown, a list extending from voyages

made by King Arthur c. 530 to a voyage undertaken by Martin Frobisher in 1577, a voyage which Dee himself consulted on, provided maps for, and invested in.

Document IV spans pages 25-94 of the manuscript and is entitled “*Brytaniej Imperii Limites*.” This then, is the document for which the volume collectively is named, and it was almost certainly created as a companion piece to III as it more discursively takes up much of the information given there, particularly the Arthurian material. This document is dated “1576: Iulij 22,” though it is unlikely that this date is correct. As MacMillan has adequately demonstrated, internal evidence in the manuscript as well as biographical evidence place the creation of this work in 1578, rather, making this the last in a series of national and imperial writings. Sherman notes that Dee records in his diary visiting the Queen with “my two rolls of the Quene’s Maiesties title” in 1580, and he speculates that these rolls are very likely the original textual embodiment of “*Brytanici Imperii Limites*” (187), for on page 75 of the codex, there is a note, “Heareafter are sett downe such additions . . . as were noted in the margents of the longe rolle,” indicating that the fourth document has rather radically changed formats—from a scroll wide enough to accommodate lengthy annotations in its margins to a codex wherein these marginal notes must be reassigned as nineteen pages of endnotes.

The endnotes also illustrate that although this compilation was fair-written by someone other than Dee—someone without the knowledge of Greek and Latin that Dee had, according to Elisabeth Leedham-Green, who translated the Latin for the MacMillan/Abeles edition—it was overseen by Dee himself, who added his own annotational devices to both the main text and the final nineteen pages of notes. Page

numbers written in Dee's hand are accompanied by symbols and drawings, such as a flower, a zed with a line through it, the astrological symbol of the sun, and so on.

The endnotes are just one feature of the manuscript that makes this a challenging project for a modern editor. Many notes remain in the main text, and not all of these are restrained to the margins. Some constitute blocks of text that cut into and interrupt the main text, and attempts to seamlessly integrate these notes into the main narrative failed since the two texts are obviously meant to be read as compatible yet distinct. The result is a text that might seem unfamiliar to a modern reader in some ways, though certainly an easier reading experience than reading the manuscript would be.

As modern readers, we are accustomed to pages of text, occasionally given in different fonts or within different margins, sometimes together with tables, graphs, and charts. We find all of the above in Documents III and IV of *Brytanicj Imperii Limites*, but with much less regard to the boundaries that have come to separate these various modes of relaying information. Dee, or perhaps his anonymous amanuensis, often interrupts the main narrative with outcroppings of information, textboxes containing either an aside or quotation, a chart or a table, with the main text flowing around it. Meanwhile, in the margins of the text, there can be found additions, emendations, lists, referencing systems, dates, and drawings. For a seasoned scholar of Renaissance texts, all this may be par for the course, but for students or first-time editors, such use of textual space can present problems.

I have attempted to deal with these questions by finding a middle way between the document housed in the British Library and the conventional printed book of the early twenty-first century. While modern readers will not be taken aback by the choice of the

Times New Roman font in its normal, bold, and italicized forms, it will not be too long before one realizes that I have taken liberties with conventional textual space. For example, the textboxes inserted into the main narrative have been retained, the text therein given in a slightly smaller font (11 point rather than 12) to better distinguish it from the main text. This has been done because the alternative narrative of the textboxes is distinct from the main narrative and cannot gracefully be pasted therein without affecting its tone or style, or the flow of its argument, and neither can it be left out. I have been less reverent with the content of the marginal space, however, depending on the function of each marginal entry. Alongside the main text, Dee occasionally lists place names exactly as they are given in the main text; in the present format of this work, these lists appear redundant and so I have not included them. At other times, the scribe has realized that he has left out a word or phrase, and so adds it marked with an asterisk in the margins; these I have silently inserted into the main text (preserving, too, the asterisks) since it was due only to pre-word-processing, human error that it was not there in the first place. The most substantial marginal additions appear as Dee's commentary on, additions to, or clarifications of his many Latin sources. In order to accommodate these, I have formatted the long quotations similarly to the way Dee has, as two columns of text, the wider, right-hand space for quotations, and the narrower, left-hand space for Dee's marginal material. Although this solution at times leaves an unconventional blank space along the left side of the page, it is actually no more space than is left according to modern conventions of quoting, which indents the quote at both the right and left sides. In this edition, quotations will be justified along the right-hand margin with a larger left hand margin for Dee's various remarks.

The lineation of the text has been normalized, and original page numbers appear in square brackets and bold font where original page breaks occur within the text. On the occasion that words, phrases, or passages appear in the manuscript on one page and in the edition on another, there is a footnote pointing this out and explaining why. This does not happen too often, but when it does, it has to do with the text of a marginal note being interrupted by a folio break, and the whole note has been relocated closer to its logical referent in the main text.

Dee's additions to the main text are identified by his own annotation system, but there will be an additional editorial endnote directing the reader to the page of the intended addition. It is suggested that the reader refer to these additions, Dee's own endnotes, as he or she reads through the text since reading all the additions last will make for a disjunctive and anti-climactic reading experience. Dee's hand—apparent only in the annotational devices—is given in 14-point, italicized font.

Further, I have provided endnotes of my own that are meant to elucidate this work. This is not a reader-friendly text, and so I have done my best through annotating to help readers better understand the details and logistics that are so familiar to Dee and, one would presume, to his intended reader, Queen Elizabeth I. I have attempted to provide relevant information about the names, works, and events referred to here, as well as to further explicate textual features. At times I have offered an opinion or interpretation of a statement or a trajectory of Dee's argument, and these are meant to assist the reader through complicated and at times muddled language and argumentation, but not to impose upon the reader's own interpretation. Finally, my endnotes provide English translations of the Latin retained in the text and definitions of rare or archaic words. My

notes are by no means exhaustive, and I refer the reader to the MacMillan/Abeles edition for more extensive notes dealing with geographical and legal matters.

Scribal cross-outs have been silently removed and interlineal and marginal additions have been silently included. There are a handful of instances in which the scribe has made an obvious error, such as dittography, and these have been silently emended; otherwise emendations are noted in a note. All abbreviations have been silently expanded, including the frequently appearing Ma:^{tie} to “Maiestie”, Io: to “Iohn”, Hi: to “Highness”, and so on; two exceptions are St. for “Saint” and Mr. for “Master,” which have been left abbreviated according to modern practice. Original spelling has been retained except that the thorn has been regularized to “th” and “ff” to “F”. Capitalization has been modernized in that all proper names, “God” and referent pronouns, “Maiesty” and “Highness,” and book titles have been capitalized. Where book titles such as Dee’s own *Famous and Riche Discoveries* are not italicized or underlined in the manuscript, they are left that way in the edition.

Most of the manuscript is written in secretary hand, but where the italic hand appears in the manuscript, italics have been retained in the edition; typically in this manuscript, italics are used to emphasize or offset a proper name or an important word, or to indicate Latin quotations. Occasionally the scribe has not italicized a word though he obviously meant to, but since changing secretary hand to italics or vice versa could easily turn into a guessing game, I have simply retained the style of each word as it is given in the manuscript.

In translating Latin passages, I have attempted not to modernize the tone, but readers will notice that spelling is modernized in the translations, and as all Latin appears

in italic hand, the translations also appear in italics, but to further indicate the shift from Dee's own writing to my translation of Latin quotations, carets < > surround translated text. The carets and the italics should ease the transition from Dee's Elizabethan English to translations from Latin into potentially incongruous modern-day English. Dee's use of Latin assumes the understanding of his audience, namely Queen Elizabeth I, whose command of the language was impressive even by the standards of the Renaissance aristocracy. While Latin plays less of a role in modern academia, it is not altogether unfamiliar, and for that reason, quotations, proverbs, words, and terms that might be familiar to a modern audience have been retained in their Latin form in the main text, accompanied by a translation in a note.

Dee relied heavily on commas and colons, forms of punctuation that allowed him to add continuously to his sentences, some of which easily cover a quarter or even half a page. Since these vast sentences are not easily navigated by the modern reader, I have removed hundreds of commas and attempted to introduce many more periods into this work. I hope this will make it easier for the reader to see the grammatical relationships between subjects and verbs, subjects and referent pronouns, and various phrases and clauses. Where these relationships are entirely ambiguous to me, I have not attempted to use punctuation to impose one interpretation, but have striven to keep the ambiguity intact. Given the dearth of subject nouns, the reader should be advised that the pronoun "Which" has been solicited in some instances to act as a subject. Periods punctuate the numbers in this manuscript, whether these are at the end of a sentence or in the middle of it; I have removed these so that numbers are only punctuated if they are being used to indicate items in a list. Numbers that occur within sentences are not spelled out as they

usually would be in a modern text. Occasionally the scribe has given only one of the customary set of parentheses, and I have either provided its mate where it seems logical to do so or have deleted the solitary parenthesis from the text.

I do not presume to offer readers of this edition the same experience they might have reading BL Add. MS. 59681 or the same experience a Renaissance queen had reading her “humbell and faithful servant[’s]” work. This edition is meant to be a resource for both scholars and students interested in both textual features and the content of the work. Whereas the text’s transmission from “large rolls” to codex radically transformed the reading experience of it, this rendering is meant to minimize alterations while making the text more accessible and—due to typescript and notes—more comprehensible to modern readers. While I am for the most part enthusiastic about treating historical texts sociologically, that is, representing the document as faithfully as possible in an edition, there are a couple reasons that in this case particularly I am inclined to produce an edition more accessible to a modern reader than a documentary or diplomatic edition would be. For one thing, BL Add. MS 59681, as interesting as it, is itself a copy of Dee’s original work, the “longe rolle” now lost. Given that someone other than Dee, an anonymous amanuensis, penned this manuscript, there is little to be learned about the process of Dee himself from the manuscript, except that he meticulously read it and added his own annotational system, a system consisting of sketched flowers and other symbols that cannot be reproduced exactly in typescript anyway.³¹ It is possible that the present edition propels the work Dee wanted to create

³¹ In reaching my editorial decisions, I have been influenced by the work of G. Thomas Tanselle. Here I am reminded of his quotation: “Editors of the texts of documents will further realize that what they are attempting cannot be fully achieved: if the interpretation

further from its intended quiddity, a Platonic trajectory traveling further and further from its true reality, but my intention as editor, in part, is to mark a place in the history of this work with this particular edition, offering readers an experience as rooted in our present historical moment as the original “longe rolle” was in its own.

of a text depends in part of the physical evidence of the document in which the text appears, they must perforce deprive their readers of that evidence, for whatever kind of reproduction they make cannot be the same physical document” (*Rationale of Textual Criticism* 58).

Chapter 2:

“new worldes, new peoples, new kings, & new knowledge of a new Gouvernement”³²
 The “Limits” in the Context of Exploration and Renaissance Empire-Building

At the time that John Dee undertook the writing of his “recovery & discovery” of the British Empire project, the general understanding of the world was undergoing a radical shift. New ideas about cosmology and geography liberated Early Modern thinkers from the knowledge of the ancients, once thought unimpeachable but now expanded upon, altered, and even contradicted by such thinkers as Cornelius Copernicus, Galileo Galilei, and Girolamo Cardano and explorers such as Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, and Sir Francis Drake. The very fact of a *New World*, one undetected by Pliny, Ptolemy, Solinus, and Isidore of Seville, made the *whole* world new in a sense, and it is generally thought today that the efforts of Europeans to respond to, interpret, and possess this new world constitute one of the defining features of the Renaissance.³³ It seemed impossible simply to discover a new world, to make a place for it on maps and in chorographies, and then to leave it alone. Rather, the discovery of the new world heralded an era of expansion not just of knowledge, but of economic, military, and political potentialities; it initiated the reshaping of national identities and the promulgation of religious beliefs as the powers of the old world sought to imprint the open geography of the new world, as Europeans saw it, with their various national and religious characteristics.

³² This quotation is from Dee’s *Actions with Spirits*, vol. II, edited by C. L. Whitby (New York: Garland, 1991) 200.

³³ This is the subject of Anthony Grafton’s *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*, with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1992).

English national identity was radically altered by this new understanding of the world's geography, for *Britannia* was no longer a small island on the northwestern edge of the world; rather, on maps being made in the sixteenth century, England and Ireland have the appearance of being connected to a larger realm that spanned the great North Atlantic ocean, poised between the old world of Europe and the new American world. Still, the earliest and most immediately successful nation to benefit from Columbus' "discovery" was, of course, Spain, which began a campaign of converting to the "true faith" the heathen natives of the southwestern portions of the Americas, the cloak used to hide the dagger of incursion. Precious metals and spices were exported from the shores of the Americas, along which Christian missions and Spanish military garrisons were erected. The royal treasury of Isabella and Ferdinand swelled with riches as the natives from whom these riches were taken were reduced to slavery and subjection. As Sir Walter Raleigh observed in 1596, "it is [Spain's] Indian golde that indaungereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe" (127).

As the Spanish imperial reach extended threateningly over the globe, England successfully defended itself from Spanish military aggression, the most sensational example perhaps, being the defeat of the 1588 Armada, and also developed nationalistic and imperialistic rhetoric that criticized and undermined Spanish successes in the New World. It has been observed that the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were marked by unexceptional failure in the realm of English expansion into the Americas,³⁴ and their deficient attempts to acquire wealth, trade, and colonies were disguised by idealistic rhetoric as well as disparagement of what it meant to succeed. Jeffrey Knapp

³⁴ See, for example, Michael Foss, *Undreamed Shores: England's Wasted Empire in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974).

points out that England more and more constructed itself against the Spanish type (13): Spain was a large empire, and England a tiny island; Philip II was an aggressive and powerful man, and Elizabeth I, because of her sex, perceived as weak and fragile; Spain was hungry for further acquisitions, and England was retiringly insular; Spain possessed power and wealth while England was endowed with spiritual resources and strength; and if Spain achieved conquest through violence and brutality, then England would do it through friendship, peaceful trade, and colonization to the mutual benefit to the natives and their kindly English conquerors. It was, as English nationalists strove to depict it, precisely the strength and wealth of Spain that made it, in a larger perspective, weak and prone to decay. And, by the same token, “[w]hat would otherwise have appeared dispiriting tokens of England’s weakness—its littleness, its circumscription by enemies, its female monarch—could signify instead England’s abjuration of material or worldly means to power and its extraordinary reliance on God” (Knapp 4).

While this made a flattering portrait in terms of propaganda and ideology, the reality was that Spain grew richer while English nobles and merchants alike lost money and lives in the pursuit of equaling Spanish gains in this new continent of almost miraculous abundance. Further, while Spain added whole populations to the Catholic majority, many Protestants in England looked on with desperation, losing the battle for souls as surely as they were failing to achieve material wealth and influence. Even despite the inadequacy of their New World forays, the English had to be certain to legitimize whatever steps they took toward establishing colonies and trade agreements so as to not antagonize Spain and the international community at large. While spectacular acts of piracy—such as Sir Francis Drake’s marauding of the gold fleet in 1573—might

be a source of wealth and a secret source of pride for the English, any enduring attempts to make parts of the New World permanent additions to English commerce and settlement had to be diplomatic, internationally recognized, and legitimately rationalized.

Dee understood this necessity, and the “Limits” may be his most pointed contribution to the cause of legitimate English expansion.³⁵ In one of the documents in his *Autobiographical Tracts*, Dee states that if there were “a constant and assistant CHRISTIAN ALEXANDER, BRYTAN should not haue bin now destitute of a CHRISTIAN ARISTOTLE” (63), putting himself forward as the sixteenth-century philosopher able to conceive of and legitimize a British Empire. The “Limits” occupies a place in a series of works written by Dee in the 1570s dealing with British exploration, navigation, and empire. Others that treat this subject are *Brittannicæ Republicæ Synopsis* (1570), *Of Famous and Rich Discoveries* (1577), *The Brytish Complement*, *Of the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1576/1577), and *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1576/1577).³⁶ Lesley B. Cormack notes that “the English needed an imperial ideology before they could begin to construct an empire in deed” (“Britannia” 10), and goes on to credit Dee as a leader in forming this ideology. These works, then, attest to Dee’s civic humanism, showing how his mystical, hermetic tendencies did not exclude an active interest in England’s political life and a desire to become a philosopher who influenced the fate of nations.

³⁵ For a more thorough contextualization of the “Limits” in Dee’s political writings, see William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

³⁶ Again, Sherman discusses these works at length in *John Dee*. See especially Chapter 7, 148-200.

Although Dee wrote many tracts on the subject of increasing the wealth, honor, and security of Britain, none so specifically or forcefully endorses and justifies Elizabeth's sovereignty over foreign lands—the creation of a British Empire as a political reality rather than as a poetic conceit³⁷—as the “Limits.” More so than others in Dee's corpus, this work deals with the “discovery, and recovery” of the British Empire, a name coined by Dee,³⁸ rehearsing how the Queen might legally proceed “to recover the premisses and likewise by conquest to enlarge the bownde of your Maiesties forsaid title royall” (118), but unlike similar tracts written in his time and into the next generation, and to a greater degree than Dee's previous political works, the “Limits” attempts to justify British claims in the New World and elsewhere with arguments other than those provided by English Common Law, using instead, “partlie *Iure Gentium*, partlie *Iure Civilj*; and partlie *Iure Divino*” (119), the law of nations, civil law, and divine or canon law. In geopolitical terms, the “Limits” is an important document for two demonstrable

³⁷ Yates discusses the extent to which Elizabeth was figured as Astraea, Goddess of Imperial Justice, in poetry, drama, and entertainments throughout her reign in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth-Century* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975). Knapp, too, treats the matter of Britain's poetic potential, in *An Empire Nowhere* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Other Elizabethans were known to characterize England or Britain as an Empire, but this was in the sense described by Anthony Pagden in which a country or nation is an independent political sovereignty unto itself (13), while Dee intended “empire” in another sense Pagden describes: “as a territory embracing more than one political community” (17), political power extending beyond the bounds of one discrete nation. See his *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)

³⁸ Bruce Ward Henry in his article, “John Dee, Humphrey Llwyd, and the Name ‘British Empire’,” shows that although Llywd may have used the term “British Empire” before Dee did, Dee was the first to use it to refer to an empire that included overseas holdings, and thus in the modern *translatio* of the term. Kenneth MacMillan insists that Dee's “Limits” is “the earliest and most comprehensive justification for the expansion of the British Empire to be offered in Elizabethan England” (159) in his article “John Dee's ‘Brytanici Imperii Limites’.”

reasons: first, it is the earliest treatise to speak of a “British Empire” in terms of dominion over lands overseas; and second, it legitimizes such dominion according to principles readily understood by Southern powers, who indeed *were* the European powers in the New World in the sixteenth century.³⁹ In contrast to assertions by recent scholars that each European nation in the Renaissance maintained a rationale for extending the borders of their political power through assiduously ethnocentric terms and ideologies, Dee presented a work to Queen Elizabeth in 1578 that argues her sovereign rights in foreign territories in terms closer to the arguments of Southern European nations—those of discovery and divine injunction—than to the ordinances of English Common Law. Dee demonstrates an understanding of Southern European justifications for their actions in the New World:

It is well knowne that the Spanish and Portingall kinges by two manner of wayes eche of them pretend some right and clayme to parte of *Atlantis* and the ilandes neere and about the same, which their two waies of clayme are these: the one as by the first discouery of such landes made by their subiectes; the second, as by Pope *Alexander* (the 6.) his very liberall gift, or rather frendlie wishe vnto them, of conqueringe such heathenish possessions (181).

He addresses each of these justifications to the benefit of the British Crown and in the process attempts to create a pan-European dialogue about territorial rights, a feature of the “Limits” that may prove to identify it as a unique sixteenth-century British treatise.

The obscurity of this manuscript may account for the current belief that national platforms for imperial expansion were unexceptionally discrete, comprehensible only

³⁹ Independently of his work, I have come to many conclusions similar to those of Kenneth MacMillan about the position of the “Limits” in an international debate about overseas possession although his articles have subsequently greatly enhanced my understanding of this situation.

within the individual contexts of each nation. In *Ceremonies of Possession*, Patricia Seed recounts how the language and culture of England, France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Portugal contributed both to the physical ways they individually exhibited possession of New World territories and to the indignant miscomprehension with which each of these national powers regarded the rituals enacted by their competitors. While an Englishman readily understood the raising of houses, hedges, fences, and gardens as clear signs of private property in the Old World and the New, a Spaniard might consider such demonstrations in the New World rashly presumptuous. Seed maintains that, “Every European legal code defined the meaning (and history) of possession, dominion, lordship, and regal sovereignty differently” (10), to such an extent that each nation was incapable of recognizing legitimacy in the laws and practices of other nations. According to Seed, even those few who criticized the codes and conduct of their own nation in gaining and using power in the New World nonetheless sought solutions within their own culturally circumscribed ideology, so unthinkable was it to draw from the ideologies of competing nations. “What is more surprising is that European participants in colonialism never tried to understand each other. No European power ever expressed curiosity about another’s ceremonial practices or legal beliefs or sought to understand them on their own terms” (12). Seed lists no exceptions to this condition of insular reasoning, and yet it seems clear that Dee’s “Limits” does in fact attempt to convince Elizabeth of her sovereignty in foreign lands in terms that might also seem legitimate to Spanish and Portuguese powers.

This Northern/Southern European dichotomy is spelled out more clearly still in John Juricek’s article, “English Territorial Claims in North America under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts,” in which he attributes the “dominative” code to the Northern powers

of England, France, and the Netherlands and the “preemptive” (or “prescriptive”) code to the Spanish and Portuguese, who had a century-long head-start in their New World explorations and were therefore more inclined to equate possession with initial discovery. In the Southern paradigm, possession could be legitimized completely and instantaneously, putting the whole of the Americas under Spain’s control the moment Columbus disembarked somewhere in the West Indies. Understandably, the response of the English and Dutch concentrated on decelerating and problematizing the process of legitimizing imperial claims. Rather than agreeing that possession occurred synchronously with discovery, Northern powers allowed that discovery was only the first step, after which began a long process of possession, identified vaguely as “domination” (10). “[Elizabeth’s] emphasis on possession was so strong that she practically ignored discovery—dismissing it altogether in 1562, and making only perfunctory references to it afterward” (12). Again, the dividing line between Southern and Northern European methods of justifying their rights in the New World is firmly defined. An incident sparked by Sir Francis Drake’s circumnavigation of the world illustrates just how polemical the debate was, England and Spain occupying polarized positions in their struggle for power. In 1580, the Spanish ambassador to England, Bernardino de Mendoza, reported Spain’s objection to Drake’s gift of California to Queen Elizabeth, to which Elizabeth officially (and after consulting Dee) replied,

She understood not why her or any other Princes Subjects should be debarred from the Indies, which she could not perswade herself the Spaniard had any just Title to by the Bishop of Rome’s donation, ... nor yet by any other Claim, than as they had touched here and there upon the Coasts, built Cottages, and given Names to a river or a Cape: which things cannot entitle them to a Propriety . . . this imaginary Propriety, cannot hinder other Princes from trading into those Countrys, and, without Breach of the Law of Nations, from transporting Colonies into those parts

thereof where the Spaniards inhabit not, (forasmuch as Prescription without Possession is [of] little worth) [quoted in Juricek 12].⁴⁰

This response negates the Spanish assumptions that the 1493 “donation” of Pope Alexander VI gives Spain and Portugal rights to the whole of the New World, that the Spanish had adequately demonstrated possession in tandem with discovery, that they had exclusive trading rights to the lands they inhabited, and that they (through prescription, which could be as simple as a mere declaration) had sole rights to even those lands they did not inhabit, thus unequivocally thwarting every claim made by Spain. Although Dee may have influenced this response, and certainly he would not have agreed to Spain’s wholesale possession of the New World, the ideas set forth in the “Limits” work to legitimate British claims while conceding the legitimacy of some aspects of the preemptive code and divine law as used by the Spanish.

Comparing Dee’s experiences and acquaintances to those of most of his English contemporaries, it is easy to infer how Dee might come to create such an “internationally comprehensible” platform, as MacMillan calls it (“Discourse” 10). *Britannia* had long been considered to occupy the far margin of the world, a geographical reality that may have been internalized by the peoples there, but even so the Elizabethan era is often noted as a particularly insular time for England; many scholars assert that in the sixteenth century, there evolved a new British national identity evident in the poetry of Drayton and Spenser, the prose of Sidney and various antiquarian and chorographical works, and the plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare, which revealed greater depth and subtlety in the

⁴⁰ Here Juricek quotes from William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England* 4th ed. (London, 1688) 255. Apparently there is no record of this response in the State annals.

English language than had been heard before.⁴¹ During this period, too, there was much discussion regarding the entirety of *Britain*, some preferring linguistic, legal, and political unity as a reflection of geographical wholeness over the divisions that demarcated Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland.⁴² Furthermore, although there was a general wish for Elizabeth to marry and produce Tudor heirs, no suggestion of marriage to a foreign prince was met by either peers or commoners with hearty approval. This situation was aggravated by wariness regarding princes from Catholic countries, as English Protestantism was a looming factor in further separating England from a predominantly Catholic Europe which bent to the authority of the Pope as well as to the economic and martial might of the Catholic Spanish monarchs.

Yet, Dee's steadfast loyalty to his "undoubted Brytish Empresse" notwithstanding, he was likely more worldly than most Englishmen of the period, even among Elizabeth's courtiers, his hunger for knowledge, as we have seen, driving Dee farther abroad and to more various places than most sixteenth-century British subjects. As mentioned in Chapter One, Dee studied, lectured, and consulted with scholars in Louvain, Paris, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Prague, and Krakow—just to name a few of the larger and more important cities he visited in his lifetime. With scholars and sovereigns both, Dee enjoyed an international reputation. A loyal servant of the British monarchy, when this scholar directed his

⁴¹ See Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580-1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

⁴² See Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds., *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

attention to penning tracts for the political and cultural enhancement of Britain,⁴³ his perspective was broad enough to consider his proposed empire within the larger context of the known world.

Turning to the “Limits” itself, it becomes obvious at once that Dee values “discovery” as a legitimate consideration for foreign possession. Document III outlines the New World discoveries of—in the order of their appearance in the manuscript—Prince Madoc (1170), Sebastian and John Cabot (1494 and 1497), Saint Brendan (560), Martin Frobisher (1576 and 1577), King Arthur (560 and 530), King Malgo (583), “a frier of Oxford” (1360), and Stephen Aborough (1556). This list reveals Dee’s emphatic nature, for the voyages of John Cabot—a Genoese subject working for Henry VII—alone satisfies the conditions of possession by prescription, or initial discovery. Since it was possible to prove British discovery more succinctly, this list of British explorers may serve another purpose, the abundance of examples implying a long-standing intimacy between England and the islands and continents of the North Atlantic, a relationship that entails fishing, exploration, and colonization over many centuries to rival the sudden and momentous character of Spanish incursion in the New World. British familiarity with the New World is still more explicitly stated:

Although I name here but the sea coastes of *Atlantis*, yet it is certayne that longe sythens the huge mayne land of *Atlantis* northen portion was discovered and inhabited in divers manners by these and such men but whom your Maiestie hath and is nowe growen a due tyle for clayme and royall superioretie, in and to more then all the rest which the *Spaniard* occupieth not (119).

⁴³ For his own bibliography, see the section in *Autobiographical Tracts* entitled, “My labors and paines bestowed at divers times, to pleasure my native Country” (73).

Dee's use of the ancient name *Atlantis*, which, as Plato posits in his *Timaeus* and *Critias*, was a continent sunk in the depths of the Atlantic Ocean, undermines both the idea that this is a *new* world and that the Spanish discovered it. Rather, this continent had been known since antique times and, furthermore, had been known for at least a thousand years by the British. The Spanish may believe that they have discovered the Americas, but the British discovered it first, Dee says, and, moreover, have occupied portions of it and seen things in it the Spanish could not imagine. Later in the work, Dee mentions that neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese have "espied the black, most marveilous and great rocke directlie under the North *Pole*, or brought home any of the Brasill⁴⁴ wood of those subpolarie regions" (182). Although the sailing home of tons of the worthless black rock had been a financial disaster for investors, both Dee and the Queen among them, here Dee turns the rock to gold by using it to demonstrate British familiarity with things native to the northeast of America, a portion of the New World not yet bearing a Spanish stamp.

Although this impressive list does insinuate steady British presence in America, not all of the explorers identified in Document III can be considered with equal weight. Together with the Cabots, the only explorers in this list whose explorations are rooted in historical record are Aborrough and Frobisher, the voyages of the latter having been advised and partially financed by Dee himself. Frobisher's voyages to "Meta Incognita" were, in part, expensive attempts to replicate the lucrative incursions of the Spanish. Encouraged by an alchemist that the black rock taken from Meta Incognita would yield gold, Frobisher undertook a second voyage, funded by the queen and many of her

⁴⁴ Brazil was long thought to be an island in the North Atlantic, appearing between Ireland and the New World on Abraham Ortelius' *Septentrionalium Regionum Descrip.* (1570), for example.

courtiers, and returned to England with several tons of it. But the “marvelous” black rock disappointed hopes for state and personal wealth, however, resulting, rather, in great loss.

The existence and explorations of Prince Madoc, Saint Brendan, King Arthur, King Malgo, and “a frier of Oxford” are much more shadowy. Saint Brendan is an historical figure of the sixth century whose voyages are accounted for in *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, a largely metaphorical travel narrative, which describes both adventures—such as sailing upon the mouth of hell and encountering Judas—and islands, which scholars long sought to identify geographically as well as figuratively. Brendan may have sailed as far as Iceland (Allen 503), and is thought by Dee to have landed on the mainland of the New World although this is obviously, perhaps wildly, speculative. The voyages of the others in the list are even less empirically sound. The story of Prince Madoc is fascinating: allegedly a son of Owein Gwynedd, Madoc is said by Humphrey Llwyd, Dee, and others to have left the twelfth-century Welsh civil wars and sailed to the New World in 1170, a claim cited to the Spanish in official English policy beginning around 1580. Historical record does not substantiate Madoc’s existence, much less his New World adventures, however; medieval chronicles are unanimously silent on the subject of a Madoc who sails to distant places, discovers new lands, or even exists as a son of Owein Gwynedd.⁴⁵

King Malgo and King Arthur both figure into Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136), a work now generally considered to be closer to fiction than to history, but in it Arthur is credited with conquering all of Great Britain, the six

⁴⁵ For more about this interesting myth, see Gwyn Williams’ excellent book *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

“Comprovincial” or collateral isles (i.e. Ireland, Iceland, Gelandia, the Orkneys, Norway and Denmark), and Sweden, as well as all the islands in the seas around these places. In addition, Arthur’s voyages to the Arctic and northernmost regions of the New World are related in a story connected to the unnamed “frier of Oxford,” also treated by Dee in the “Limits.” The story about the Oxford Minorite’s Arctic explorations is mentioned in Document III and further elaborated upon in Document IV, where Dee includes a letter written to him from Gerard Mercator accounting the geography and other features of the Arctic. Mercator (1512-1594) was a Flemish cartographer of widespread influence. Dee met him in Louvain in 1547, establishing a friendship lasting nearly fifty years and seemingly based on the exchange of information and instruments as well as on mutual esteem. Dee had used Mercator’s letter previously to augment his *Famous and Rich Discoveries*, where the letter appears in a more complete form. However, due to the Cotton Collection fire of 1731, parts of this version of the letter have been damaged.⁴⁶ In *Famous and Rich Discoveries*, Dee’s main objective is to demonstrate his knowledge of Arctic geography, while in the “Limits,” he wishes to prove King Arthur’s rights to the New World through both discovery and possession, the latter established due to the fact that Arthur’s men created lasting colonies on Greenland and other North Atlantic islands. Given this purpose, rather than quoting the letter in its entirety, Dee has excerpted

⁴⁶ The Cotton Collection was compiled by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631) as a way of preserving manuscripts from destruction following Henry VIII’s closing of the monasteries, and he also succeeded in acquiring part of Dee’s library. A fire in the Ashburnum House in Westminster in 1731, however, damaged or destroyed a full quarter of this collection, the manuscript containing *Famous and Rich Discoveries* among them. For a transcription and an analysis of Mercator’s letter from *Discoveries*, see E.G.R. Taylor, “A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee,” *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 56-68.

material germane to this particular argument, as is apparent in his many uses of “&caet.” to show where the letter continues unquoted.

It is worthwhile to pause here and reflect on this section of Document IV as Dee draws on no fewer than three works no longer extant today and possibly never consulted by Dee himself in order to make his point, and the trip back and forth between the textual looking-glasses of fiction and history can be disorienting for the modern reader, who lacks access to the various works Mercator discusses in his letter. The first missing work is a travel narrative written by Jacobus Cnoyen s’Hertogenbosch, who—as Mercator says—“*traveled the world, like Mandeville*” (“Limits” 170). The modern view is that John Mandeville, alleged author of the medieval “bestseller” *The Book of John Mandeville* (which first appeared around 1356/1360), was not actually a world-traveler and likely not even a real person, for that matter, and it is equally possible that Cnoyen garnered his material from some source other than personal experience. Since his narrative, called simply *The Itinerary*, is not now extant, however, Mercator provides all we know about Cnoyen’s text. Cnoyen quotes at length from another lost work, the anonymous *Arthuri Gestis*, mentioning, for example: “*These are the mountains of which it is written that there were among them certain cities, as you can find mentioned in the Arthuri Gestis, &caet. And over against them dwell a people of small stature, mentioned in the Arthuri Gestis, &caet.*” (171). Mercator goes on to report Cnoyen’s summary of the legend that four-thousand of Arthur’s men were shipwrecked due to the currents of the indrawing seas, a legend verified—for Mercator and Dee, anyway—by Cnoyen’s account of how in 1364 eight descendents of the survivors managed to find their way to the court of the Norwegian king, “*and among them were two priests, one of whom had an*

astrolabe” (172).⁴⁷ The astrolabe is significant since it could be seen to explain how these survivors navigated their course from Greenland to Norway, and it also indicates a connection to the third and final lost work, the *Inventio Fortunata*: “*The priest who had the astrolabe told the King of Norway that there had come to the Northern Isles in 1360 an English Minorite from Oxford, who was a good astronomer, &caet. He, leaving the others who had come to these islands, set off further throughout all the Northern regions and described all the wonders of those islands, and he gave a book to the King of England which he called Inuentio fortunae*” (173).

Of all the lost works mentioned in Mercator’s letter, the *Inventio Fortunata* appears the most frequently both in Renaissance texts as well as in historiography thereafter. The earliest mention of it, as Tryggvi J. Oleson observes, is in a letter dated 1497 from John Day to the Lord Grand Admiral of Spain in response to his request to borrow the book.⁴⁸ Day replies that although he thought he had brought the book with him, he is very sorry to discover that in fact he had not. Oleson postulates that, “This establishes beyond question the existence of the *Inventio Fortunata* but tells us nothing about it” (66). As much as I benefited from Oleson’s article generally, I am not sure I agree with either part of this statement. There is at least one thing we learn from this brief mention: when he wanted to know about Arctic geography, the Lord Grand Admiral of Spain, possibly Christopher Columbus, requested this particular work. We do not

⁴⁷ Scholars today posit the more reasonable theory that these eight travelers were Icelandic colonizers of Greenland rather than descendents of Arthur’s lost knights.

⁴⁸ This letter is reproduced in James A. Williams’ *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962) 212-214. For a contextual analysis of Day’s Letter, see L.A. Vigneras, “The Cape Breton Landfall: 1494 or 1497: Note on a Letter from John Day,” *Canadian Historical Review* 38 (1957): 219-228.

know whether or not this Admiral ever achieved his desire of reading the *Inventio*, but it is plain that he was specifically inquiring after it.

Secondly, the fact that Day claims that he wished to, but could not supply the loan of the book, by no means unquestionably establishes its existence. If the *Inventio* were indeed a desired book, it would likely be a point of pride amongst scholars and explorers to have read it, and more so to actually possess it. While it is very true that due to the inevitabilities of time and inconsistencies of human care, manuscripts that we know to have once been extant no longer are so, it is also true that men are capable of perpetuating the myth of certain desirable works for the sake of their own reputations.⁴⁹ I am not suggesting that the *Inventio* is a spurious work although, apart from a few references to it, there is no hard evidence that this work ever existed. Other references to it that pre-date the 1577 publication of *Famous and Rich Discoveries* are in four cartouches on Johann Ruysch's world map of 1507 and a casual mention by Bartolome de las Casas (c.1552-1561). The author of the *Inventio* is unknown, though Nicholas of Lynn and Hugh of Hibernia have been suggested, neither to general satisfaction. Furthermore, whoever the author may be, it is unlikely that he made the voyage to the regions he describes—unless he then purposely misrepresented what he found there, that is, for the erroneous descriptions of the Northern polar regions given in Cnoyen's account of the *Inventio* and illustrated in maps and narratives by Mercator, Dee, Abraham Ortelius, Richard Hakluyt, and others have perpetuated a misunderstanding of Arctic geography that remained uncorrected until the explorations of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁹ For example, Dee claims to have many times seen Geoffrey of Monmouth's lost source, a work most scholars agree never existed. I discuss this further in the next chapter. For Dee's claim to have seen Geoffrey's source, see "Limits" 135.

While elsewhere the travels of this mysterious “frier of Oxford” were used to establish incentive and legitimization for the English search for the Northeast Passage, in the “Limits” Dee uses the story of the Greenlanders’ visit to Norway to prove the colonization of Arthur’s shipwrecked knights of the islands of the North Atlantic. Fanciful though it may seem to base solid arguments on the voyages of a legendary king, it was by no means a fancy idiosyncratic to Dee. As late as 1881, a scholar posited: “Thus it appears that Iceland was well known to the people of the British Isles long before it was inhabited by the men from Norway, . . . The narrative of Geoffrey of Monmouth is, therefore, perfectly consistent with known facts, and the expedition of Arthur to Iceland may be regarded as historic” (DeCosta 7). Mercator’s letter was apparently convincing to DeCosta in 1881, and Dee, too, seems to take the account as historical truth, despite the inaccessibility of all three of Mercator’s sources, confidently including it in two of his imperial works.

In Document III, then, Dee seems purposely to be outlining a long-standing British relationship with the northeast of the Americas, deliberately distinguishing these areas from the southwestern part of the Continent already occupied by Spain and Portugal. The discoveries of the various British subjects and kings cited in Document III cause Dee to conclude:

Of a great parte of the sea coastes of *Atlantis* (otherwise called *America*) next vnto vs, and of all the iles nere vnto the same, from *Florida* northerly, and cheiflie of all the *Ilands Septentrionall*, great and small, the tytle royall and supreme governement is due, and appropriate vnto your most gracious Maiestie, and that partlie *Iure Gentium*, partlie *Iure Civilj*, and partlie *Iure Divino*, no other prince or potentate els in the whole world beinge able to alledge therto any clayme the like (119).

Dee lists discoveries of those lands that were not already occupied by other European powers, apparently dismissive of the notion that discovery of one shore justifies a claim to the entirety of all adjacent land. Acknowledging that the Spanish and Portuguese have a current interest in the south and west of the Americas, Dee concentrates on those lands along the east coast, “from *Florida* northerly,” and into Canada and islands off its coast (Estotiland, Newfoundland, Greenland, Labrador, etc., as well as the mysterious *Meta Incognita* discovered by Martin Frobisher). Later in the manuscript, Dee puts it forcefully: “neither the Portingall nor *Spaniard* did in or to any parte of *Atlantis* or the iles about the same arive or make any voyage before that some . . . subiects to the British and English monarches had both discried and discovered the easterlie and northerlie coastes therof. And not only the sea coastes but also within the mayne of *Atlantis*...” (181). Dee also hastens to remind his prince of the virtue of timeliness in this international contest for foreign possessions, for since “other Christian princes do nowe a dayes make entrances and conquestes vpon the heathen people, your highnes hath also to procead herein” (118). The power of other European nations grew due to their conquests, and Elizabeth is being reminded to join the conquerors lest she become one of the conquered. Furthermore, new lands were distinctly finite, and while the European princes of Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands had not yet directed their ships to these places, it might still be done, rendering the initial discoveries of the British less powerful in the legal process of empire-building. Underlying the rational argumentation of the “Limits,” one can detect an urgent tone made all the more insistent due to the significance of the message.

Together with emphasizing the particularly un-British argument of initial discovery, Dee also—contrariwise to his sovereign, the official head of the Protestant Church in England (who referred to the Pope as “the Bishop of Rome”)—acknowledges the authority of Pope Alexander VI’s bulls giving the Spanish rights to the Americas in order to convert foreign peoples to Christianity. Alexander VI, a Spaniard named Rodrigo Borja, had been elected Pope with the help of Isabella and Ferdinand, and immediately upon learning of Columbus’ discovery, these monarchs appealed to him to sanction Spanish sovereignty not only of “all the mainlands and islands” Columbus had already happened upon, but to whatever lands might yet be discovered, as long as they were not already occupied by other Christian monarchs. In response, Alexander VI issued a series of documents satisfying the requests of the Spanish king and queen, namely, “Eximie devotionis” 1 (3 May 1493), *Inter cetera* 1 (3 May 1493) and 2 (4 May 1493), and “Dudum siquidem” (25 September 1493).⁵⁰

Dee does not take exception to the Pope’s rights in this matter, for to do so, as Dee sees it, would also de-legitimize his justification of British foreign possession for the sake of spreading Protestantism, a goal he mentions several times throughout the “Limits.” The three goals of “this Brytische discovery, and recovery Enterprise” are stated as “the true service of God cheiflie advancing, secondlie, for your Maiesties incomparable and immortall honour, and thirdlie, for the wealth publik, of your Maiesties true and obedient subiectes” (174). No doubt all three of these aims seem worthy to Dee,

⁵⁰ The dating of these documents most likely does not reflect the actual timeline of their creation since it was common practice to postdate papal bulls. Copies of these documents in both the original Latin and English translation as well as a helpful analysis of them can be found in *Italian Reports on America, 1493-1522*, edited by Geoffrey Symcox and translated by Peter D. Diehl (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001).

but there does seem to be a particular emphasis on a Protestant missionary project.

Elsewhere in the manuscript, he says

And cheiflie this recovery & discovery enterprise ys speedely and carefully to be taken in hand and followed with the intent of setting forth the glorie of Christ and spreadinge abrode the heavenly tydings of the gospell among the heathen, which pointe of all Christian princes ough more to be esteemed then all their most glorious worldlye tryvmphes (118-119).

Dee's consistent placement of the service of God in a primary position in his list of objectives could be a reflection of the unquestioned priorities of his age, but it might also reflect a more particular and personal priority. It is known that Dee had connections to the "Sidney Circle,"⁵¹ a group of courtiers revolving around the dynamic Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586), who zealously desired to defeat Catholicism and spread Protestantism in its place. His political and religious convictions were such that after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of thousands of Protestants in France,⁵² Sidney called for a League of Protestant Princes to be formed in order to combat more effectively Catholic forces. In 1586, Sidney died in battle at the age of thirty-one defending the Low Countries from the Spanish, but his persistent wish had been to meet Philip II in battle in the New World. During the course of Dee's close relationship with Sidney, which began when Dee became Sidney's childhood tutor, it is entirely possible that the two shared

⁵¹ See Graham Yewbrey, "John Dee and the 'Sidney Group': Cosmopolitics and Protestant Activism in the 1570s." (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1981). Regarding Sidney's Protestant activism, see Roger Howell, Jr., "The Sidney Circle and the Protestant Cause in Elizabethan Foreign Policy," *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 19 (1975): 31-46; R. Kuin, "Querre-Muhau: Sir Philip Sidney and the New World," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 549-585.

⁵² This massacre began on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August in 1572, allegedly by the order of Queen Catherine, but the killings of Huguenots continued through several months, the total tally possibly reaching as high as 70,000.

some ideas about a Protestant New World. When Dee claims, therefore, that his chief reason for urging Elizabeth to claim her possessions in North America is to institute there “the *true* service of God” (my emphasis), there is no reason to doubt him.

Still, it is clearly not warfare between Protestants and Catholics in the New World that Dee envisions. This was a time when Protestants and Catholics took turns brutalizing each other in attempts to establish “true Christianity,” violence seemingly the most satisfactory means of communication considering that the dialogue between Catholics and Protestants most often consisted of mutual, passionate accusations of heresy. The Pope was denounced as the Antichrist and Elizabeth was clearly a witch and a whore. Given this general stalemate, it is notable that rather than attack Pope Alexander’s basic right as spiritual leader to grant new lands and missionary projects to his people, Dee actually attempts to engage Catholic leaders in conversation about where the reasonable limits of the Pope’s “gift” lay. Dee’s religious beliefs are not exactly made explicit, as discussed in the last chapter, but here we see his assessment of the contest between Protestant and Catholic powers not as a matter of righteousness and damnation, but as a legal and geographical matter of mutual rights to land and trade. He is proposing an even-handed division of the New World, the south and west bowing to the Pope, and the north and east to Elizabeth as spiritual leader of the British, a strange proposal given the climate of religious strife in the Old World at the time. This vision is even stranger when one considers how accurately it represents the cultural and spiritual development of the various nations of South and North America.

As impassioned a Protestant missionary as Dee seems in this treatise, he legitimates the rights of both Elizabeth and Alexander as leaders of their respective

churches, but examines the first Bull *Inter Cetera* according to geographical principles in order to interpret the reasonable limits of its *donatio*.⁵³ First, Dee draws attention to the fact that the Portuguese and Spanish could not agree between themselves which territories were individually granted by the Pope, emphasizing the confusing nature of the geographical terms of the Bull and the greed of the rival parties of the South:

therfore seinge that neither of them hath done it, much les they both are yet agreed what places from pole to pole ly vnder that halfe of their partition *Meridian* next vnto vs. But in the meane while, till they performe that worke, this I can assure and warne the Portingales of that your Maiesties province of *Meta Incognita* is not within the *Meridian* of their imadgined lawfull iurisdiction, neither as it was of Pope *Alexander*: his limitation, neither as it was afterward (by their last request made to the Castillians) agreed vppon to be drawne. And secondlie I would advise both *Castillien** and *Portingall* never to trouble them selves or to be at the coast to travaile by sea or land above the *paralell* of 50. degrees of latitude to survey their imagined Popish donation, nor to mayntaine that dreame or insatiable wish in their fantazies any longer. For Pope *Alexander* the 6. his *Bull* of Limitation (dated at Rome Anno Domini 1493 4^o Nonas Maii) hath no such warrant or intent of graunt vnto *Ferdinando* and *Elizabeth*, the Kinge and Quene of *Castile* and *Leon*, to them their heires and successors. Nor any of their desires ever was to vse those Septentrionall coasts to any other ther great commodetie than for a nerrer passage of sailing to *The Iles of Spices*. As for the Pops Bull, yf it be examined, yt will appere that only *Versus Occidentem & Meridiem* the Pope made his gift, or, at the least, did so (arbiter like) prevent and staie the contention betwene the *Castillians* and *Portingalls*. Which phrase of *Versus Occidentem et Meridiem* can by no reason be imadgined to have execution higher to the north then is the latitude of the most northerlie parte of the province of *Leon* in the kingdom of *Spaine*, which exceedeth not 45 degrees of *Latitude Septentrionall*. And that might seme to be sufficient for them and as much as they would desire by reason that they imagined neither golde, pearle, precious stons, or spices naturallie to be more to the northward then that latitude of their owne native countrie, so that their imaginations weare all to the west and sowtherlie, to the whole countries.

⁵³ The following argument is much indebted to Kenneth MacMillan's "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.

That waie was all their appetite, all their good successe and great wealth gotten (182-183).

The gist of this long and contentious passage is in the sentence, “Which phrase of *Versus Occidentem et Meridiem* can by no reason be imadgined to have execution higher to the north then is the latitude of the most northerlie parte of the province of *Leon* in the kingdom of *Spaine*, which exceedeth not 45 degrees of *Latitude Septentrionall*,” an interpretation substantiated by Dee’s reputation as a geographer and cartographer. MacMillan posits that had Dee’s interest been in regions south of forty-five degrees, which is roughly central Iberia and Italy, he would have argued otherwise (“Discourse” 10), but his main purpose was to wrest the northern and eastern parts of America away from southern European factions and save it for the British who had, anyway, rights of initial discovery there. Remarkably, Dee chooses not to deny the validity of papal gifts—an unusual stance for a British Protestant—but instead argues the details of the bull in order to salvage territories desired by the British. The rights he accords the Pope might be part of his intention overall of creating an argument not just for his queen, but for her to use in negotiations with southern powers. Here Dee shows diplomacy and tact, wishing to create a document that enters into a conversation rather than stalling one with statements informed only by myopic nationalism. Dee concludes that his arguments are so sound that should southern powers take issue with them, “yt importeth not a Portingall fig” (108).

The “Limits,” then, exceeds mere anti-Spain/Catholic propaganda and truly attempts to engage the subject of the New World in language that could be used in international diplomacy. If this document were intended to act as an initiation into

international negotiations, it did not succeed, never having left London. It is possible that Elizabeth's Privy Council found the document subversive and wanted it suppressed for ideological reasons, and it is also entirely possible that Elizabeth and her most influential advisor, Lord Burghley, both of them conservative economically and otherwise, simply did not want to embark on the imperialistic expansion enterprise of Dr. Dee. Indeed, when sovereignty of the Netherlands was freely offered Elizabeth in the 1580s, she declined, perhaps indicating her lack of imperial ambition. After all, the Crown had enough difficult work to do in maintaining stable government within the borders of its island-nation, and—while the increasing power and wealth of Spain was surely a threat—Elizabeth's procrastination when it came to actions and decisions had often succeeded in giving her enemies, including the Spanish, enough rope to hang themselves.⁵⁴ For whatever reason, and much to Dee's dissatisfaction, Elizabeth returned the "Limits" to its author courteously, but decisively, and did not thereafter pursue the empire Dee "verie zealouslie commended" ("Limits" 174).

Nevertheless, from our present vantage point, it is interesting to note how many of Dee's ideas were acted upon in succeeding years. He was correct in his belief that naval power was Britain's key to wealth and expansion, a point proved in his lifetime with the defeat of the Armada in 1588 and the increasing wealth brought to Britain through its international shipping trade. Although Elizabeth would not tolerate to hear of discovery as a legitimizing factor in territorial expansion, "[b]etween 1609 and 1620 the English gradually abandoned the dominative code of territorial appropriation, and embraced instead the central doctrines of the once-despised preemptive code" (Juricek 19).

⁵⁴ Which is, according to Pagden, exactly what they did, their power undermined by decadence. See chapter 3, *Lords of All the World*.

According to Juricek, “the Cabot voyages were conclusively persuasive in proving first discovery of the eastern coast of the New World, providing too tempting a case for the preemptive code of legitimization” (22), and were therefore used by thinkers such as Richard Hakluyt and monarchs such as James I to legally support the presence of British colonies in the New World. Furthermore, the Puritan colonies of America disseminated a Protestant influence so potent that the United States of America did not elect a Catholic president until 1960, and America is still characterized as “Puritanical” in journalistic, political, religious, and philosophical literature today. Finally, Dee’s “British Empire,” an empire that existed only in his tracts and imagination in 1578, did indeed flourish, growing and amassing power and wealth well into the twentieth century. Although many Dee scholars today struggle to free him from his reputation as a magus, there remains a touch of the prophet in him, viewing promised lands from an intellectual promontory, dying before his imperialistic visions satisfactorily materialized.

Chapter Three: “reviued by my payns and industrie”:
John Dee’s Resurrection of King Arthur’s Empire in “The Limits of the British Empire”

Openly they go around saying it, strongly they go around threatening us that in the end they’ll have it all, by Arthur they’ll recover it, and thus this country they’ll take away from the Romanic⁵⁵ people. To the land they’ll give back its name: *Britain* they’ll call it again.

--“Description of England”

As discussed above, John Dee is the first thinker to mention a “British Empire” in regard to foreign territories, and in the “Limits,” he sets the geographical borders for such an empire, historically and legally substantiating the legitimacy of it.⁵⁶ Its intended audience is Queen Elizabeth I, who, as history tells us, only tentatively and incipiently pursued Dee’s imperial plans.⁵⁷ However, her successors, beginning with King James I of England (and VI of Scotland), did initiate more ambitious imperial projects in the New World using arguments outlined in the “Limits” (MacMillan, “Discourse” 12). Dee’s long discourse on King Arthur in Document IV is central to the “Limits” as a whole in that, in the tradition of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *History of the Kings of Britain* and Lawman’s *Brut*, it provides crucial justification for, first, the unification of the cultures of Britain and, second, for British overseas holdings; it is the center of Document IV, with other topics such as Scottish sovereignty and Spanish rights to the New World, pertinent

⁵⁵ Here we see the Normans referred to as “Romanic,” when in fact they were Northmen. The Scandinavian war-leader Gongü Hrolf was granted the region of Normandy in 911 in exchange for vassalage to King Charles and conversion to Christianity. These Northmen assimilated very quickly to French culture, so by the time of the invasion in 1066, the English considered their conquerors French rather than Norse. See Norman Davies, *The Isles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Chapter 5.

⁵⁶ See p. 40, n.38.

⁵⁷ It is safe to say that, despite the imperialistic ventures of some of her courtiers, Elizabeth was not an imperialist. The New World territories claimed for Elizabeth by Sir Francis Drake and Raleigh did not inspire her to act as sovereign of these places, and lack of royal support for the Virginia colonies of the 1580s contributed greatly to their failure. For a more discursive account, see Kenneth Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*.

in their own right, in fact connecting in subsidiary ways to the main Arthurian argument. Together Documents III and IV comprise ninety pages, and despite Dee's protest that he must say "a worde ot two of so worthie a prince" (123), approximately twenty-four of these are given to detailing the exploits, acts, and greatness of King Arthur. In the earliest rationalization for a British Empire extending overseas, therefore, more than a quarter of the text is spent directly discussing King Arthur in an attempt to impress on Queen Elizabeth I her responsibility to assume her "iust Arthurien clayme and title imperiall" (170).

The editors of *John Dee's Library Catalogue* attest to the extent of Dee's research into ancient British history: "The number of surviving books where passages relating to the British History or to the history of the Welsh have been annotated is impressive, and the name 'Arthurus' written in the margin or underlined is almost diagnostic of Dee's ownership" (40).⁵⁸ Document IV opens with a seventeen-page section about Arthur that reads as part paean and part defense, Dee's own enthusiasm augmented by testimonies of such writers and historians as William Lambarde (1536-1601), Hector Boethius (1465-1436), Joannes Magnus Gothus (1488-1544), Roger of Hovedon (first half of the thirteenth century), John Major (c.1469-c.1549), John Tritemius (1462-1516), Gerard Mercator (1512-1594), and Geoffrey of Monmouth (first half of the twelfth century). These writers are enlisted not just to affirm the historical veracity of Arthur, but to demonstrate that Arthur provides Britain with rights of first discovery and prescription to the New World as well as legal rights to Scotland, "the six Comprovincial Isles," and

⁵⁸ The fact that Dee named his eldest son Arthur could suggest that his interest in the legendary king is personal as well as scholarly and political.

Sweden, effectively creating an expansive North Atlantic empire.⁵⁹ Arthur connects the old and the new worlds in this work, uniting the cultures of Britain, conquering Scandinavian territories, and colonizing Arctic regions on the new continent.

Similarly, as many scholars have indicated, Arthur provides a link between Britain's glorious past and its glorious future, for popular prophecies foretold Arthur's messianic return to lead Britain into an age of renewed greatness, and there is ample evidence that Arthur was awaited beginning no later than the twelfth century and continuing into the Renaissance. The "British hope," as it was called both enthusiastically and disparagingly, was the expectation that upon Arthur's return everything lost to the Britons, namely their culture, lands, and status, would be restored. Andrew Escobedo illuminates how Elizabethans inhabited a present alienated from its culturally discontinuous and textually inaccessible past as well as from its prophesied future ("Tudor Search" 132). This observation resounds pertinently in the phrase found on Arthur's putative grave in Glastonbury, "rex quondam rexque futurus," the once and future king, for the present, poised between an unpreserved past and preordained future, is uniquely left out of this attribution; only the present is denied Arthur's glorious sovereignty. Since Dee's rationalization for a British Empire extending overseas rests to a large extent on Arthur's historicity, his attention in the "Limits" is divided between history and destiny, the future of the British Empire largely resting on the ancient claims established by a King Arthur who is both conqueror and explorer. Escobedo observes that both ancient history and foretold destiny are elusive in the particular Tudor moment

⁵⁹ For a valuable treatment of Dee's use of geography in this work, see Kenneth MacMillan's "Discourse on History, Geography, and Law: John Dee and the Limits of the British Empire, 1576-80," *Canadian Journal of History* 36 (April 2001): 1-25. See also MacMillan's introduction in John Dee, *The Limits of the British Empire*.

of his writing (144), and so as Dee casts forward in the hopes of achieving empire (and thereby fulfilling the prophecies), he must also necessarily cast backward into ancient history in an attempt to draw up convincing evidence of Arthur. He cannot advance his empire without

. . . confirming by King *Arthur* his incomperable actes and forayne conquestes . . . The halfe of whose merveilous prowesse and true gestes is not in these dayes any where in your Maiesties British *Monarchie* knowne, had, or hard [heard] of: *As Truth the daughter of Time teaches*, somewhat reviued by my payns and industrie, God spare me health and habilitie but for a few years (169).

Escobedo accounts for those “few years” Dee hopes for by positing that Dee “can defend Arthur for the most part only with physical evidence yet to be discovered” (144). The use of the word “revive” discloses the inaccessibility of his subject in the present; it is a subject that must be brought back to life in Dee’s present day in order to adequately bridge the historical and prophetic realities of the “British Empire.” Establishing this continuity seems essential to Dee’s argument. Escobedo rightly observes that antiquarians who sought to support Arthurian history against its detractors were put in the position of waiting for lost texts to resurface (144), and certainly John Leland and Dee, among others, strove to impress upon Tudor sovereigns the importance of preserving ancient texts in royal archives. But even though Dee’s interest in preserving and collecting texts is indisputable, it is possible that his urgency to recover lost ancient texts as a means to imperial ends has been overstated. There is a call to action implicit in Dee’s scheme that may suggest another means of legitimating the Brittonic history quite

different from the passivity of waiting for lost texts to resurface.⁶⁰ If Dee could convince people of the reality of Arthur's empire sufficiently to inspire its recovery, this revived British Empire, foretold in ancient histories, would perforce accredit those prophetic voices. Were the emphasis exclusively on uncovering ancient texts, then time might not be considered an ally to Dee's cause, but an enemy, because it is time that has obfuscated or destroyed the materials bearing the truth of Brittonic History that Dee wishes to secure. The phrase "truth is the daughter of time," then, does not appropriately address the problem of ancient textual remains; however, time can be relied upon to continue to move forward, and, if used expediently, to progress toward inevitable fulfillment, the actualization of prophesied destiny that bears witness to the truth of legendary utterances.

The phrase "Veritas filia temporis" was commonplace in the writings of the Greek and Roman poets and philosophers, as well as in those of the Church Fathers; it became a motto for both the Protestant Reformation and for the counter-Reformation reign of Mary Tudor.⁶¹ So while it serves the purpose of different and even contradictory causes, it is overwhelmingly used in reference to political, religious, and even personal endeavors: "Time is the deliverer of Truth from persecution and oppression, and in the end brings honour and reputation" (Saxl 202). This phrase may have been especially resonant for Dee's intended audience, Elizabeth I, who, during the resplendent pageants marking her coronation, was handed "The Book of Truth" by a small child. The crowd was impressed

⁶⁰ I use "Brittonic" to mean "ancient British," and I wish to emphasize the distinction between *ancient British* and *British* history, the latter being a far more confounding notion, as we see later in this chapter.

⁶¹ My understanding of this phrase was greatly improved by Fritz Saxl's article "Veritas Filia Temporis," *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, edited by Raymond Klibansky and H.J. Paton (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, 1963) 197-222.

by Elizabeth's improvisation, for having received the book, she kissed it, held it up to God, and then embraced it (Anglo, *Spectacle* 351). Enwrapped in this phrase, then, is the memory of both Elizabeth's deliverance from prison into power and her popular success with her people. Dee summons the inherently just figure of Time to help him in the resuscitation of a figure from ancient history and the transformation of that figure into a spur for overseas imperial projects; and aware of the resonance of this phrase with his queen, Dee may have hoped to secure her sympathy for his imperial platform. The elusive historical texts of the ancient past, even if they were to resurface, could do no better to rehabilitate the martial and political reputation of the ancient Britons.

In this way, the "Limits" reveals Dee's present to be dynamically embedded in a continuous and cyclical historical pattern; this work itself served a most urgent purpose, poised as it was on the inevitability of destiny, for in spurring Britain to imperial aims, Dee sought to repair a broken history, unite people of fractured cultural backgrounds, and lead Britain into the contest with Spain that had empire as its prize. In the "Limits," Dee establishes a conduit between a textual past (evident in extant and rumored histories) and a textual future (provided in prophecy), his own text designed to be both a reminder of what has been and an invitation to achieve what was meant to be. The "Limits" is, then, itself a prophetic work, showing a prophet's concern for all three aspects of time, for both past and future, certainly, but perhaps particularly for the present, which he uses to *prophemi*, to speak for something, in this case, the cause of empire.⁶² Dee has recognized his

⁶² My understanding of prophecy owes much to Angus Fletcher's *The Prophetic Moment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), in which he explains that "the broader tradition [of prophecy], which is only partially predictive, [is] a tradition that balances anticipation of the future with a concern for the past and even more important, for the present" (4).

to be what Angus Fletcher has famously called “the prophetic moment,” “that critical juncture when the prophetic order of history is revealed. . . . It is the hour, as in the phrase ‘man of the hour.’ Prophetic tradition understands it as the ‘right time,’ the suitable season, the auspicious moment” (45). This accounts for the sense of urgency underlying the “Limits;” the British Empire must be recovered *now*. And toward that end, Dee must therefore resist the contemporary movement spear-headed by Polydore Vergil (c.1470-1555) to “un-Arthurianize” history, a movement that would leave the Elizabethan present adrift and make space for a dangerously undetermined futurity. His weapons against this threat are the textual remains of the Brittonic past, most patently embodied in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136), as well as the “recovery & discovery” of the British Empire. In his most complete and studied imperial treatise, then, Dee relies to such a great extent on his vindication of Arthur as an historical conqueror that this component of his argument threatens to overwhelm the work as a whole, as though he realizes that achieving empire might be the best vindication the Arthurian history will receive. In using Arthur’s imperialism as a rationale for Elizabethan imperial projects, Dee realizes that success in his present day might then confirm the prophetic voices of the ancient past that spoke of Britain’s return to greatness. The logic is confoundingly circular as Dee summons two shadows—Arthur and Empire—to lean on each other and urge each other along into a more substantial realm.

In their recent articles, both Escobedo and Charlotte Artese have focused on Dee’s preoccupation in the “Limits” with the lack or loss of primary historical sources to

support the existence of King Arthur.⁶³ Since in some critiques Dee can emerge looking like a huckster at best and at worst, a fool, it might be helpful to remember that the belief in an historical Arthur found advocates well into the twentieth century (and may continue to find them in the twenty-first) as we try to understand how a man of Dee's education and intelligence could rest as weighty a matter as the "recovery & discovery" of the British Empire on the shoulders of a king as historically fragile as Arthur. The author most closely associated with Arthurian history, and whose influence on Dee cannot be overestimated, is Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britanniae* appeared in England in about 1136 and thereafter took all of Europe by storm, exciting a textual tradition that crossed cultural and linguistic as well as generic boundaries (such as they were), becoming the source not only of other histories, but also of romances, ballads, plays, and courtly entertainments as well. Geoffrey gleaned information about the Britons from such early sources as Gildas and the Venerable Bede, yet his narrative exceeds these in richness of detail, perhaps most noticeably in regard to Arthur, a figure who (inconveniently for advocates of Arthurian history) escaped the notice of both Gildas, the sixth-century historian writing closest to Arthur's own purported lifetime, and Bede, who died in 735. Geoffrey's other acknowledged sources, "a certain very ancient book written in the British language" given to him by his friend Walter Archdeacon of

⁶³ See Charlotte Artese, "King Arthur in America: Making Space in History for *The Faerie Queene* and John Dee's *Brytanici Imperii Limites*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33 (2003): 125-141. Both Artese's and Escobedo's articles are comparative studies of Edmund Spenser and Dee. It is notable that Spenser and Dee each makes an argument for empire in which Arthur strongly figures. The "Limits" precedes the second three books of *Faerie Queene* (wherein the imperial argument is strongest) by almost a decade, and while Spenser's poem had a wider audience, it is uncertain whether his was ultimately the more influential argument.

Oxford and an “oral tradition” in which history was “handed joyfully down” (51), have garnered much scholarly speculation and scepticism over the centuries.

Geoffrey’s *Historia* tells the story of the Britons from their mythological Trojan roots to the death of Cadwalladr in the late seventh century,⁶⁴ yet fully one-fifth of the narrative concerns itself with the life, conquests, and death of a transformed Arthur. He is no longer the *dux bellorum* of the *Historia Brittonum* (c.829), where he had made his first textual appearance, but king, and in addition to sustaining a Brittonic resistance to the Saxon advent, he unites the isles of the Atlantic archipelago by becoming overlord to all its various kings, receives tribute from Scandinavian kings, conquers Iceland and France, and advances toward Rome only to be summoned back to deal with his treacherous nephew Mordred. Famously, this encounter leads to Arthur’s death and the renewed vulnerability of *Britannia* to Saxon invaders, Geoffrey’s story thereby allowing history to proceed in the way that his readers knew it had, albeit with a radical shift in Brittonic self-consciousness. *Britannia*’s history had proven it susceptible to conquest—by the Romans in the first century AD, the Saxons in the fifth, the Vikings in the ninth, and finally, less than a century before Geoffrey wrote his work, by the Normans in the eleventh. But to this history of defeat and disparagement of the Britons, Geoffrey adds a monumental hero, the quintessential Brittonic king who compares to Classical and continental heroes (“one of the Nyne most Valiant Capitains that ever were,” as Dee says in the “Limits,” referencing the tradition of the Nine Worthies), a

⁶⁴ As R. William Leckie reminds his readers throughout *The Passage of Dominion* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), Geoffrey pushes this date back by almost two centuries, contending that the Britons remained in control of their island for far longer than they were.

battle-leader who inspires loyalty and dignity in (nearly) all his followers within the context of Geoffrey's story and barely less so from readers and admirers outside it.

If Geoffrey's work had an incalculable effect on Brittonic self-awareness as well as European perspectives on Brittonic history, we can confidently ascertain that Dee was not immune to this influence.⁶⁵ He had four copies of the *Historia* in his collection, one of which is "very copiously annotated . . . , perhaps, indeed, more than any other of his MSS" (Roberts and Watson 170). Still, it is worth noting that it is only after citing his other historical sources on the subject of "our King *Arthur* his wonderfull foreyn conquestes" (123) that Dee introduces quotations from Geoffrey as further evidence. Dee was likely aware that the Galfridian history was held highly suspect in some quarters. The common debt to Geoffrey amongst authorities haunts the "Limits," and here, as elsewhere in the manuscript, Dee inverts the order of authority. All the other historical sources he cites, from the Scottish Boethius to the Swedish Joannes Magnus, received their idea of Arthur from Geoffrey or neo-Galfridian historians, and yet here, Geoffrey pulls up the rear, seemingly the last to speak. At one point, Dee tells his audience, "And also clere it is that this record is not of *Galfridus Monumuthensis*, either his framinge or

⁶⁵ There have been arguments that Geoffrey's work was meant to please and impress the lords of the Norman ascendancy, but I tend to agree more with John Gillingham that Geoffrey resists the Norman portrayal of the Welsh as barbaric by depicting their ancient kings as emperors, law-givers, town-builders, and agriculturists. The Normans in no way needed such a history while the Welsh assuredly did. See John Gillingham, "The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991): 99-118. Brynley Roberts suggests a satisfactory intermediary position: "[T]he *Historia* filled a gap in British history, providing for Normans a history of their adopted land which seemed to be a precedent for Angevin imperialism, and granting the Welsh their first coherent history of themselves, a glorious view of their past, critical of them in some parts, perhaps, but suggesting for the reader wishing to find it, the possibility of a new British age." See "Historical Writing," *A Guide to Welsh Literature* I, edited by A.O.H. Jarman and Gwilym Rees Hughes (Swansea: Christopher Davies, 1976) 245.

in the British ancient monument of the translatinge” (135). These details likely reveal Dee’s consciousness of the contemporary debate on the veracity of the Briton History.

Due to the advances in historical scholarship made in the sixteenth century, it is tempting to cast the Renaissance as a time when newly enlightened humanist historians came to their senses about a legendary past that had enjoyed unexceptional enthusiasm throughout the Middle Ages, and at times some modern scholars veer close to this opinion, but this dichotomy of medieval and Renaissance historiography is not, in fact, easy to sustain. For on the one hand, medieval critiques of Geoffrey could be even more scathing than those of the Renaissance, causing one to agree with Schichtman and Finke that “[t]he strength of the humanist critique of Galfridian history perhaps gains in hindsight” (“Profiting From the Past” 8). And on the other hand, humanist methodologies were used by both detractors and defenders of the Galfridian history during the Renaissance, who nonetheless came to very different opinions on the subject more on the basis of their personal inclinations than their mutually adept use of new ideas and methods (Ferguson, *Antiquity* 91).

In fact, Renaissance skeptics often merely echoed the skepticism of Geoffrey’s close contemporaries, who tended to interrogate such new material with greater scrutiny than later historians to whom it had become familiar. Geoffrey’s contemporary William of Newburgh (1135-1198) attacked the *Historia* as “the most laughable web of fiction,” (29) and accused Geoffrey of “wanton and shameless lying virtually throughout his book” (31), while Alfred of Beverly, writing in the first half of the twelfth century, and Ranulph Higden in the early fourteenth century questioned both the authenticity of Geoffrey’s sources and the silence of historians of other countries on the subject of

Arthur, particularly in those countries purportedly subdued by him. In fact, the ancient chronicles of France, for example, do not mention the invasion of the Britons or the death of their king by Arthur's hand. R. William Leckie describes how these problems were not so much resolved as forgotten by later medieval historians (101), and how even in the Renaissance it was virtually impossible to prove or disprove the Galfridian history despite the blows struck by both sides. Again, the positions taken by contenders in the debate were the consequence of subjective tastes at least as much as of antiquarian expertise, which was used admirably by both camps (Leckie 19).

The sixteenth-century arch-detractor of Geoffrey, Polydore Vergil, also cites the lack of confirmation from foreign historians, inquiring why neither Livy nor Dionysius Helicarnassus tells the story of Aeneas' great-grandson Brutus colonizing an island-nation of his own (Vergil 33). Having arrived in England in 1502 from Venice, Vergil worked in the papal collectorship under Henry VII.⁶⁶ He published his *Anglica Historia* in 1534, and the reaction to it was virulent. John Leland, John Price, Edward Hall, Humphrey Llwyd, and Richard Stow all wrote outraged responses to Vergil's history, a work which in fact did little more than point out the same inconsistencies noticed by earlier English historians.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Vergil's main objection appears to have been

⁶⁶ For more biographical information as well as analysis of Vergil's works, see Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952).

⁶⁷ The *Library Catalogue* does not record the *Anglica Historia*, and it seems possible that Dee formed his impression of it on the basis of the retorts it inspired. He owned works by Bale (LC no. 548), Leland (no. 597), Price (no. 669), and Llwyd (no. 1200). For more in-depth discussions of this debate, see James P. Carley, "Polydore Vergil & John Leland on King Arthur: The Battle of the Books," *Interpretations* 15 (1984): 86-100; Christopher Dean, *Arthur of England: English Attitudes to King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Toronto: University of

with the figure of Brutus, the mythological Trojan founder of Britain, not with Arthur, the imperialist king who had come to occupy a far more crucial role in Tudor nationalism than the ancient Brutus. While his comparison of Arthur to the fictional Roland was seen as a gauntlet, Vergil nonetheless very mildly repeats the standard Arthurian material, albeit followed by a quotation from “William Newberie, an Englishman,” who accuses Geoffrey of “enhauncinge [the Britons] with moste impudent lyeing.” Vergil then covers his tracks regarding his statement of the ancient Britons’ moral deficiencies: “This saithe he, and Gildas before him; but not I, which write nothing but that which hath ben written beefore, wherefore there is noe man which justlie can be angrie with mee for this sainge (that they were nether valiaunte in battaile nether true in leage). . .” (29). But Arthurian enthusiasts such as Leland, Bale, and Price “realized that British History was indivisible: if Brutus were to lose his historical credentials, the whole tradition would be in trouble, Arthur included” (Ferguson, *Antiquity* 98). Vergil’s status as a foreigner and, to Protestant writers later, a papist did not recommend him as an historian who could safely disillusion the people of England about their legendary history.

Perhaps an even worse offence was Vergil’s discovery of Gildas’ *De Excidio Britannice*, long unread, which he resuscitated in the form of a new edition. This work, together with leaving Arthur out of the momentous events of the sixth century, excoriated the Britons as cowardly, weak, luxurious, and irreligious, too morally and martially lax to deserve God’s help in defending their island from the heathen Anglo-Saxon invaders.⁶⁸ A moral history modeled self-consciously on the Bible, as N.J. Higham has noted, *De*

Toronto Press, 1987); and Antonia Grandsen, *Historical Writing in England*, v. II 1307-early 16th c. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).

⁶⁸ Dee owned Vergil’s 1525 edition of Gildas bound together with John Joscelyn’s 1568 edition (no. 1087).

Excidio succeeded not only in admonishing the people of Britain to become better Christians, but also worked to provide enemies of the Britons with fuel for their own attacks. It was Gildas' extremely negative portrayal of the Britons that became "the lynchpin of each and every insular history of the sub-Roman period thereafter" (Higham 45), so that, for example, the English historian Bede had no need to look further than Gildas for sources when constructing his own rationale for English conquest of a savage and unworthy Brittonic people. Editing and publishing this obscure work was one of Vergil's contributions to a sixteenth-century understanding of Brittonic history. As vehemently as many antiquarians reviled and countered Vergil, he nonetheless had something they did not have: an indisputably early manuscript, and against this manuscript Geoffrey's Arthur and his Normanized court at Caerleon do indeed look like "fables without substance" (William of Newburgh 31).

Bibliophile and scholar that he was, Dee could not but have known of the questionable authority of Geoffrey's work, and statements within the "Limits" indicate that he is well aware of the Arthurian debate of his own time. For whatever reason—his particular scholarship or his own character or desire for such an ancestor—he passionately aligns himself with defenders of Arthur. Reading through the "Limits," it becomes clear that Dee finds Arthur an inspiring figure, and he explains how his "cheife purpose" for his Arthurian discourse is "to stire upp your Maiesties most noble hart and to directe your godlie conscience to vndertake this Brytishe discovery and recovery enterprise" (128). It seems likely that Dee must verify Arthur's existence and conquests in order to legitimately use him in his own imperialist rationale, but one can imagine that Dee felt his own heart stirred by Arthur's deeds—his language throughout the "Limits"

suggests it—and desired to show that these feelings were not inspired by an airy figment, a mere fiction, but an historical king. In the “Limits,” therefore, he answers charges against Geoffrey’s source and authority, incorporates the reportage by foreign authors of Arthur’s doings, and addresses the nuances of the contemporary debate on “the matter of Britain.”

Dee also expresses hope in the “Limits” that “very merveilous histories [of] the *Brytish* antiquities” (123) would soon be found, but his interest in salvaging ancient texts predates the “Limits” and abides throughout his writings and life. During the reign of Queen Mary, Dee wrote a short tract called “A Supplication to Q. Mary, by John Dee, for the Recovery and Preservation of Ancient Writers and Monuments.”⁶⁹ In this earlier work, Dee points out that the dissolution of the monasteries resulted in “not the least calamity, the spoile and destruction of so many notable libraries,” the contents of which now find themselves

dispersed and scattered, yea and many of them in the unlearned men’s hands, do still yet (in this time of reconciliation) dayly perish; and perchance of purpose by some envious person enclosed in walls, or buried in the ground, to the great iniurie of the famous and worthy authors, and the pitifull hindrance of the learned in this your Highnes realm (46).

Dee’s ultimate purpose in raising this issue to Queen Mary is to persuade her of the necessity for “a most notable library” where texts will be safe from “private mens negligence (and sometimes malice).” Dee worries over conspiracies to hide or distort extant texts and the wilful destruction of texts by enemies of Britain, as well as the simple

⁶⁹ *Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee*, edited by James Crossley (London: Chetham Society, 1851) 46-49.

problem of not being able to locate the earliest historical works that bear testimony to Arthur's existence. His fear for the safety of texts is also apparent in the "Limits," where he says of Brittonic monuments that "partlye our enemys or light frendes kepe backe from our sight and knowledg; and parte of them lye either vncome by or vnexamined yet" (135). The Scots, for example, are listed among those sulky peoples "who [when they] felt the force and dinte of his sworde did what they could to deface or vtterlie to raze out the memorie of [Arthur]" (124). Some authors have seen this attitude as grandiose, if not paranoid. For example, Escobedo says, "Such a statement gives the impression that the entire world set out to annihilate the British past" (64), yet Celtic bibliographic scholars even today are confronted with an inexplicable absence of ancient Welsh manuscripts. Patrick Sims-Williams writes,

For some reason such as poor storage conditions, early codices, whether Latin or vernacular, survived badly in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and most of the famous early Celtic manuscripts are extant because at an early stage they were taken to the Continent or, as in the case of the *Juvenius* and other surviving manuscripts from Wales, to England. Such manuscripts were preserved abroad for the sake of their Latin contents, rather than for any incidental vernacular glosses and marginalia; and completely vernacular manuscripts would not have warranted preservation (35).

If Dee, Leland, and other Renaissance antiquarians were confounded by the loss of ancient British history embodied in manuscripts, modern scholars have been no less so. Sims-Williams' vague "For some reason . . ." does not reassure a modern audience that Dee's speculations about the ill intent of "enemys or light frendes" were not in fact justified, particularly in light of nearly a millenium of war and conquest, oppression,

cultural assimilation, and migration, conditions that might indeed have made casualties of the kinds of records Dee hoped to find and preserve.

Rather than an early manuscript, what Dee and other advocates of Arthurian history had was the *hearsay* of a manuscript, Geoffrey of Monmouth's source, the "liber uetustissimus," perhaps the most mysterious and oft-debated work in medieval British scholarship. Dee makes almost casual reference to this missing work in the "Limits," mentioning offhandedly in parentheses "(which sondry tymes I have sene, thoughe some Englishmen thinke that book not to be extant)" (135). If Dee did see Geoffrey's source, he may be the only person on record to have done so. By way of addressing the scarcity of this work, which he has many times seen, Dee launches a familiar attack on Polydore Vergil, who "mischevously," "traiterously," "wilfully and wickedlie (as by sondrie credible gentlemen I have heard it testefied) . . . burnt [ancient manuscripts], yea a cartload almost" (137). When writing of this polemical passage, neither Artese nor Escobedo mentions the significant fact that Dee has not originated this story and does not personally accuse Vergil, an omission that furthers the impression of his personal paranoia, but in fact Dee quotes from and cites his source for this event, the "credible" John Caius (or Keys), co-founder of Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge, whose *History of Cambridge* includes the following quotation:

[Polydore Vergil], *as rumor has it and indeed it is known beyond dispute, so his errors would never be perceived, he committed to fire (monstrous crime!) our ancient histories and manuscripts, so many that even a wagon could not hold them all, so that, I believe, he would have sole authority in the field* (137-my translation).

It should be noted that here, as well, even Caius is reporting as hearsay the incident of the jealous Italian historian immolating ancient books so that no one would be able to prove his *Anglica Historia* incorrect. No one has gone on record as an eyewitness in this matter. The story of a rumor circulating about an historian burning books that never existed would satisfy an audience of Surrealist literature, but it is important for our purposes to point out that this story did not originate in Dee's writings; it was, rather, one generally thought to be true ("known beyond dispute"), one reported in an institutional history by a prominent scholar. The rumor might very well be outrageous, but it was entirely consistent with the climate of the debate that ensued between antiquarians as their methodologies and principles became increasingly rigorous, thereby causing foundational cultural beliefs to erode.

Erosion is a very slow process, however, and the *Brut* history did not die a quick death. Geoffrey's history, as free from fact as it may have been, had an unparalleled influence on the hearts and minds of people throughout Britain and far beyond. Vergil's indictment of ancient British history did not immediately quell either historical or poetic works that drew on Geoffrey's influence. William Shakespeare (1564-1616), Thomas Hughes (second half of the sixteenth century), Ben Jonson (1572-1637), Thomas Middleton (1580-1627), and William Rowley (c.1585-c.1642) all wrote plays and entertainments drawing on Galfridian themes in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁷⁰ Edmund Spenser's (1552-1599) *Faerie Queene* may seem anomalous in its use of Arthuriana to modern readers, but his near contemporaries Thomas Heywood

⁷⁰ For an interesting treatment of this subject, see Elisabeth Michelsson's *Appropriating King Arthur: The Arthurian Legend in English Drama and Entertainments 1485-1625* (Ph.D Dissertation, University of Uppsala, 1999).

(c.1575-c.1650), Michael Drayton (1563-1631), Christopher Middleton (c.1560-1628), and Richard Johnson (1573-1659) also composed poems in which Arthur or other Galfridian elements strongly figured. As we have seen above, many antiquarians lent their energies to the passionate defense of Geoffrey's history, but even in more general chorographical and historical works, such as Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577), William Warner's *Albions England* (1586), John Stow's *Chronicles of England* (1580), and William Camden's *Britannia* (1586), features of the *Historia* are repeated with neutrality and even, occasionally, enthusiasm. In relying so heavily upon the Galfridian narrative to support his notion of a British Empire, Dee was not lagging behind the cultural mainstream, but immersed within it, his advocacy for empire becoming entangled with advocacy for a British past that had included emperors and heroes.

And indeed, seemingly incontrovertible traces of Arthur lingered in the landscape as well as in the cultural atmosphere of Tudor England. Features of the landscape from Brittany to Scotland were named for Arthur, a kind of testimonial that John Leland finds extremely compelling, challenging Arthur's detractors to confront for themselves "those Rockes and monuments, the true witnesses of *Arthures* renoume and maiestie" (54). The putative grave of Arthur and Guinever had been uncovered in Glastonbury in 1191, likely a publicity scam that remained undetected into the sixteenth century, and, as Dee cites from the historian Roger of Hovedon in the "Limits," Richard I made a gift of Arthur's famous sword Caliburn to Tancred of Sicily in 1191. These kinds of artifactual and archeological traces of an Arthurian world would satisfy the antiquarian principles of Dee's time, much more so than a heap of manuscripts that, upon close scrutiny, seem

almost unmistakably copied from a common source. Still, there is often an understanding amongst scholars today that “serious” historians could be distinguished from their presumably not so serious counterparts, from Geoffrey’s time forward, by their dismissing of Geoffrey’s work as history.⁷¹ Many scholars who may have entertained doubts about Galfridian history, such as Camden (whose language is by no means enthusiastic) nonetheless included reports of Arthurian history and artifacts, thereby contributing to a continued presence, and even prevalence, of Arthuriana in Renaissance culture. Today it often falls to literary critics to praise Geoffrey’s achievement and historians to condemn it, but a scholar of any discipline would be hard-put to suggest that the *Historia* did not affect and itself become a part of British history.⁷²

To recapitulate, all the authorities cited by Dee to support Arthur’s existence and imperial claims have a common debt to the Galfridian narrative, though this was not commonly acknowledged in the Renaissance. Rather, Dee and others noted that there are “so evident and so manyfold testimonis” (124), perhaps not realizing that they had all sprung from a single source, that they must together attest to historical actuality. As Higham has observed, the “where-there’s-smoke-there’s-fire” theory of Arthur’s historicity persisted into the early twentieth century (12). Dee explicitly tells us that “many good and credible authors have written of King Arthur” and that much of what he cites is not to be found in Geoffrey (135). He also repeats the Humanist trope that so many “fables, glosinges, vntruthes, and impossibilities” have been “incerted in the true

⁷¹ Schichtman and Finke, for example, observe that “serious” historians of the Middle Ages, such as William of Newburgh, dismissed the *Historia* (“Profiting” 5, 35).

⁷² This point is powerfully made by an historian who is an exception to my generalization above. See R.R. Davies, *The Matter of Britain and the Matter of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

historie of Kinge Arthure” that some truths have been replaced with untruths and others have been lost altogether (124).⁷³ A commonly noted problem in medieval and Renaissance historiography was that foreign historians did not report of Arthur’s activities in their lands, and so Dee makes certain to include an assortment of non-British historians in his narrative. He accuses the “Saxons, Scotese, Picts, Danes, Norwegians, and others who have felt the force and dint of his blade” of trying to erase their own shame by suppressing all mention of Arthur’s conquests in their histories (124), and deliberately quotes from Scottish historians—Hector Boethius (1465-1536) and John Major (born c. 1467)—as well as the Swedish Johannes Magnus Gothus (1488-1544) before briefly quoting from other foreign scholars who are “more indifferent witnesses in this matter” (144), John Trithemius (1462-1516), Felix Maleolus (c.1388-c.1460), and the author of *Fasciculus Temporum* (published in 1474). He quotes from “homish antiquaries” more sparingly, claiming, for example, that “Your Maiestie may perceive that I borrow heere no parcell either of Mr. *Leyland* or of Sir John Ap *Rhese* ther notable *Arthurien* pamphlets” (126), but hastily slips in a list of points that can be found in Leland and Price’s said works. Similarly, after ostending the names and quotations from many other

⁷³ Artese accuses Dee of “ostentatiously championing” Arthurian history against “fond fainors” and the like, but this kind of statement seems purely conventional in the works of Galfridian advocates. Richard Robinson, for example, in his 1582 translation of Leland’s “Assertio,” denounces “fables which haue crept into the history of *Arthure*” (17). As early as the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury says, “This Arthur is the hero of many wild tales among the Britons even in our own day, but assuredly deserves to be the subject of reliable history rather than of false and dreaming fable” (27). Roberta Brinkley notes that “Drayton inveighs bitterly against those who would discard as false the whole story of Arthur just because some ‘fictive ornament’ has crept in” (66). In his mid-eighteenth century *The History of England*, David Hume says, “[Arthur’s] military achievements have been blended with so many fables, as even to give occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence. But poets, . . . , have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations” (qtd in Higham 243). Dee is being conventional rather than ostentatious.

authors, pointing out that these do *not* come from Geoffrey, Dee then commences to quote long sections from the *Historia*, having, it seems, earned the right to draw from the most important Arthurian historian by quoting so many others first. He seems to be implying, and is certainly correct, that it is easy to prove Arthur's personal and martial greatness using British authorities and that foreign sources are more disinterested and therefore more impressive.

Dee rallies his authorities around different parts of his argument: Boethius, a "Sweden Archbishopp" (who we later learn is Johannes Magnus Gothus), Leland, Price, Roger of Hovedon, and Godfrey of Viterbo all testify in an introductory way to Arthur's "chivalrous excellencie" (123), his general worth; William Lambarde (as compiler of the "laws of good king Edward"), Boethius again, Magnus again, Major, Tritemius, Maleolus, the *Fasciculus Temporum*, and finally Geoffrey attest to Arthur's conquest of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and the Orkneys; and finally, Gerard Mercator affirms Arthur's discovery of the northeastern regions of the New World.⁷⁴ It would not have been difficult to find sources that praise Arthur in a general way since his story was popular and even beloved throughout Europe, as his being counted amongst the Nine Worthies illustrates, so Dee is showing some restraint by quoting only six authors on that topic. The brevity of this section may be a sign of his eagerness to move ahead to his real purpose, to demonstrate, "how large only King Arthur had extended the boundes of this Britishe Impiere" (129). Except perhaps in small details, all the information regarding

⁷⁴ Dee owned copies of works by Boethius (LC no. 1766), Magnus (no. 253), Leland (Dee's list claims that he owned but lost the *Assertio*), Price (no. 669), Hovedon (nos. DM18 and DM 43), Godfrey (no. 285), Lambarde (no. 681), Major (no. 378), and Tritemius (nos. 678, 969, 1884). Mercator's material comes from a letter written to Dee, indeed the only known document to make mention of the lost work *Arthuri Gestis*.

Arthur's British and European conquests can be found in Geoffrey, even though he is the last to be cited. Certainly of fresher interest, to readers today no less than to Queen Elizabeth, is the appearance of two documents written by the renowned geographer (and Dee's close friend) Gerard Mercator regarding Arthur's discovery of the New World—a letter written to Dee and a quotation from a cartouche appearing on Mercator's map *De Novum Orbis Terrarum*, which was first printed in 1569 and reprinted frequently thereafter. The two documents tell approximately the same story, and Dee may include the latter in order to demonstrate that the former wasn't written merely as a favor or friendly gesture to "his much revered master and patron," as Mercator hails Dee in the letter. As discussed in the previous chapter, the "fact" of Arthur's Arctic exploration establishes prescriptive rights to the northern and eastern areas of the New World, and Mercator's confirmation of these voyages fuels Dee's contestation of the papal bull granting the whole of the New World to Spain and Portugal. These then are the limits of the British Empire, borders that include northern Europe and North America as well as the entire Atlantic archipelago, more commonly known as the British Isles.⁷⁵ For Dee, these obviously seem like achievable territories, unlike Arthur's legendary conquests of France and Rome, which, though part of the historical record, Dee considers to be marked by "great imperfection" and about which he "will say nothings here" (124). These geographical distinctions show some judgment on Dee's part about where the limits of his empire can reasonably be placed, rationalized, and realized.

⁷⁵ Pocock defines the more "neutral term" Atlantic archipelago as "denoting everything from Shetland to Sark and from Dingle Bay to the Dogger Bank" ("Limits and Divisions" 318). The Shetland Isles are north of Scotland while Sark is a small Channel Island about 80 miles south off the coast of England. Dingle Bay is on the southwestern end of Ireland in between Kerry and Limerick, and the Dogger Bank is a large sandbank in the North Sea about halfway to Denmark.

First discovery and/or conquest establish the case for British dominance in foreign territories, and these are themselves vexed issues, but the argument for “British” dominance of the different cultures of the British Isles may be more vexed still. I have used quotation marks to offset the word “British” in order to draw the reader’s attention to a distinction I have been making throughout this discussion between “Brittonic” and “Britain,” terms that are not defined in the “Limits” and remain slippery (or have grown even more so) today. Since Dee is so insistent in his use of the term “British Empire,” some examination of what he means by “British” would appear necessary.

The isle of *Britannia*—Latin for *Pretaniké*, as Greek geographers called it—is the site of Brittonic and much of British history, though each narrative encompasses different peoples, aims, and perspectives. *Britannia* was subdued by the Romans and annexed to the Roman Empire, though despite the imperial impulse toward homogenization, the native Britons kept their own language and appeared to have resisted identification with Rome. Saint Patrick notably regards “his own (British) ‘fellow-citizens’ as quite distinct from, and capable of contrast with, the *cives sanctorum Romanorum* (‘citizens of the saintly Romans’)” (Higham 42). The “Britons,” then, are the eponymous inhabitants of *Britannia* who, in Geoffrey’s *Historia*, were descendants of the legendary founder of the nation, the Trojan Brutus, and “once occupied the land from sea to sea, until the others came” (Geoffrey of Monmouth 54). It is with these “others”—the Scots, Picts, Saxons, and Norman-French who also inhabited Britain at the time of Geoffrey’s writing—that the descriptive appellation “British” becomes confoundingly multivalent. Many authors of various disciplines have remarked on the bewildering diversity and cultural identity

confusion that lurk within this deceptively cocksure national attribution.⁷⁶ Because historically it has been the location of power, the cultural norm by which other cultures of the Atlantic archipelago were judged, England has often been assumed to have been synonymous with “Britain” (Pocock 311; Frame 1). Roger A. Mason puts it bluntly: “To all intents and purposes . . . England was Britain and Britain England” (“Reformation” 245). With the dominion of the sixth-century Anglo-Saxon newcomers from whose name “England” derives, Britons may have succumbed to the strong cultural pressures of assimilation or migrated to the literal margins of the isle they once dominated, to Wales, Cornwall, southern Scotland and across the Channel to Brittany. In either case, the Britons became a marginalized people who, despite the retention of their cultural identity and ongoing efforts to resist English and Anglo-Norman domination, never regained their position of prominence on the isle. Geoffrey affirms that after the Saxons secured their dominant position on the isle, Britons “were given the name Welsh . . . [possibly] from their being so barbarous” (284). In this introduction, therefore, “Briton” refers to the cultural group for whom Geoffrey provides a most impressive history, the ancient

⁷⁶ The authors who have explored and problematized the notion of Britishness are too numerous to list, but some particularly seminal or interesting works include J.G.A. Pocock, “British History: A Plea for a New Subject,” *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975): 601-28 and “The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of an Unknown Subject,” *American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 311-86; Robin Frame, *The Political Development of the British Isles, 1100-1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); David J. Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); R.R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) and *The Matter of Britain and the Matter of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds., *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Brian P. Levack. *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union, 1603-1707* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).

inhabitants of the isle who were known to their conquerors as the Welsh. The significant correlation between the naming of peoples and political autonomy is highlighted by the fact that these people are known to us only by names given to them by others, the Romans and Anglo-Saxons, while the name by which they have long known themselves, the *Cymry*, remains much more obscure in usage.

As mentioned above, the meaning of “British” is more difficult to determine. Part of the problem is that the idea of the cohering agent amongst people called a “nation” is relatively new to human history, so even though they resided in a geographical place called (by others) *Britannia*, the Scots and Picts would not have necessarily considered themselves British.⁷⁷ Incursions by Vikings between the seventh and eleventh centuries, as well as conquest and settlement by the Normans in the eleventh, also imprinted cultural traits on the people of the isles and further confused issues of identity, history, and heritage. Even the “Britain” in Geoffrey’s title became less definite as, within a century of the work’s appearance, English historians such as Lawman and Robert of Gloucester were adapting the Brittonic, or Brut, history as their own, transforming it into a testimonial to the greatness of both the Britons and the English in the aftermath of the Norman conquest (Davies, *Matter* 17; Warren 84; MacColl 7-14). Lawman even repeats Merlin’s prophecy “Of how an Arthur once again would come to aid the English (365), his historical enemies. To further complicate things, when an historian of the early twentieth century spoke of “British history,” s/he might be referring to the history of the geographical place alternately called “Albion” or “Britain” or “England,” or invoking the

⁷⁷ Some informal research amongst friends from the isles confirms that a Scotsman considers himself primarily Scottish and only secondarily British. The same idea seems shared amongst Irish and, ironically, the Welsh, who were after all the original Britons.

disparate histories of the many cultures—Scots and Welsh among them—vying for power in the British Isles, or casting his or her thoughts to the wider geography of the New World, Australia and New Zealand, India, Africa, and Hong Kong, all places changed through their contact with British imperialist power. More recently, J.G.A. Pocock has observed that “British” historiography has almost unexceptionally dealt with the history of England, while the Irish, Scots, Welsh, and peoples from various colonies figure into the narrative only inasmuch they are English subjects or affect England (“Limits and Divisions” 311). There is inherent fragmentation and discontinuity in the very notion of British history or British identity. Are the British the conquered or the conquerors, and if the latter, which conquerors? Ironically, in the “Limits,” it is the Britons, themselves subject to conquest and colonization, who provide an historical narrative that participates in the fashioning of a rationalization for “Britain,” the multi-ethnic imperial power that would eventually colonize regions across the globe.

In the “Limits,” Dee’s ideas about Britishness are bound by history and law: the ancient Welsh, or Britons (from whom, Dee reminds us, both he and his queen are descended), constitute true “Britishness,” which has ascended triumphantly in the House of Tudor to the throne of England, while other cultures of the isles are invited to be “British,” as well, albeit in a tributary dispensation. The multi-cultural aspects of Dee’s notion of “Britishness” are apparent in Document III, which consists of “A briefe remembraunce of sondrye foreyne regions discovered, inhabited, and partlie conquered by the subiectes of this *Brytish Monarchie*” (italics are reproduced from the manuscript but also conveniently emphasize the point I am trying to make—111); the subjects of the British crown are identified as English, Welsh (both ancient Briton and medieval Welsh),

Irish, and, more controversially, Scottish. As discussed above, the mere discovery of foreign territories uninhabited by Christians grants inchoate rights to the Christian monarchs of the explorers, and so it is important for Dee to demonstrate that the explorers he lists are indeed subjects of the British Crown. Together with the English explorers (mostly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), Martin Frobisher, John Cabot,⁷⁸ Sebastian Cabot, “a frier from Oxford,” and Stephen Aborough, non-English subjects such as Prince Madoc of Wales, the Irish St. Brendan, King Arthur, and King Malgo are also listed. While Dee’s contemporaries may have found the more recent—and more indubitably historical—English explorers of greater value in his argument (barring, perhaps, the anonymous friar), the inclusion of the others cannot be overlooked. Arthur and Malgo are ancient Britons from Geoffrey’s *Historia*, and Madoc was a figure of Welsh legend, a twelfth-century prince said to have sailed to lands in the west. Brendan lived in the sixth century, and on the basis of his *Vita* and the *Navigatio Brendani Abbatis*, it was widely believed throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance that he discovered many western islands. It is interesting to note that as an Irishman, Brendan is included here as a subject of the British Crown. The Irish Act of Union linking Ireland to the larger British entity did not happen until 1800, yet Elizabeth’s reign was a time of intense struggle between the English and Irish. The “new English” immigrated to plantations in Ireland in an attempt to subdue both the land and its people, and Sir Francis Drake and John Hawkins—among Elizabeth’s more successful explorer/privateers—began their careers by earning bloody reputations in Ireland, indicating a close

⁷⁸ John Cabot was not an English subject but was sailing for the English Crown when he made the discoveries Dee attributes him. Later, he settled in Bristol where his son Sebastian was raised.

connection between consolidating English influence over the isles and expanding that influence overseas. The Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543 legitimately bound Wales to the Crown of England, and thus Dee is going by the letter of the law when he lists Wales and England as components of an overarching “British” entity, but Ireland is here included according to a possibly prevailing contemporary English theory that it *should* be rather than by constitutional union.

A further problem of legitimacy in a “British” union occurs in item fourteen where Dee describes the various ways the island Icaria can be claimed by the British crown: firstly by Arthur’s “purchas” and

secondlie & cheiflie, by the last conquest therof which was atcheived by a noble man, a subiect vnto one of your Maiesties auncestors, or at the least a subiect of the Kinge of *Scotland*, vassal vnto your Maiesties said auncestor (116).

That is all Dee has to say on the subject in Document III, but the matter of Scotland and its debated subjection to the British monarchy becomes noticeably vexed in Document IV, where Dee spends much time rehearsing the arguments for considering Scotland a vassal territory to English overlordship, and therefore British. This “zealous digression” (as he terms it) effectively interrupts Dee’s discussion of Arthur’s overseas conquests, proceeding for thirteen pages of the manuscript and continuing in eleven pages of endnotes; the sheer volume suggests that this matter is of great significance, in Dee’s mind, to his argument. Some of the documents quoted to support England’s claim of overlordship draw on Arthurian history as evidence, suggesting that Dee did not intend to digress as much as he did from his Arthurian theme. Nevertheless, the Scottish digression is one of the more unwieldy portions of the manuscript, long enough to make it difficult to remember why this is being hashed out so painstakingly. Dee’s purpose is

to show that Scotland is part of Britain rather than having political integrity of its own, and Arthur appears repeatedly as a legitimizing force for this position.⁷⁹

The constituency of Scotland was an increasingly urgent issue through Dee's lifetime, reaching real crisis when James VI of Scotland ascended the English throne in 1603, threatening constitutional union between his two monarchies. The question is both convoluted and crucial in Dee's argument, so it behooves us to reflect on it closely here. Once again, Dee's argument is twofold—historical and legal. The sixteenth-century Scottish historian John Major is quoted as naming Arthur overlord in Scotland, albeit this statement is made with a *caveat*: “*He [Arthur] cast out the Saxons from the island. If the British annals are to be believed, he tamed the Scots and the Picts and forced them to serve him*” (“Limits” 142). Rather than confront the current debate on the subject of the British history here, Dee explains away Major's parenthetical conditional in a marginal note: “The Scote of custom doth doubt when the true historie any thinge semeth to deminish his countrie glorie” (143). Additionally, Dee resorts to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who reports that among the kings who promise “homage and service” to Arthur, “there came Auguselus, King of Albany (which is now called Scotland)” (149).

Again, while Dee's use of Geoffrey here appears to provide additional support for Major's claim, Geoffrey is in fact one of Major's sources, if not the primary one, as Major indicates when he recites the fact of Arthur's threatening “to destroy all the Scots

⁷⁹ For useful discussions about how Scottish historians dealt with the *Historia*, see Karl Heinz Göller, “King Arthur in the Scottish Chronicles,” translated by E.D. Kennedy in *King Arthur: A Casebook*, edited by E.D. Kennedy (New York and London: Garland, 1996) 173-84; Roger A. Mason, “Scotching the Brut: Politics, History, and National Myth in 16th c. Britain,” *Scotland and England, 1286-1815*, edited by Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987) 60-84; and Nicola Royan, “‘Na Les Vailyeant Than Ony Uthir Princis of Britane’: Representations of Arthur in Scotland 1480-1540,” *Scottish Studies Review* 3 (2002): 9-21.

as a stroke, and would have done so if the Scots had not come to him as suppliants.” To this Major adds, whether in an effort to disown the incident or to cast doubt upon it, “Thus reports Geoffrey of Monmouth” (143). The appearance of a common debt to the Galfridian narrative is consistently masked in the “Limits,” but here is another example of how it haunts the work just the same. Perhaps in acknowledgement of the tenuousness of Geoffrey’s claims in the eyes of some, Dee wisely supports his insistence upon “the Britishe and . . . direct and vndoubted title to the kingdome of *Scotland*” (148) by using more recent historical and legal documents, such as sections of Thomas Walsingham’s *Historia brevis* (written in the early fifteenth century and published in 1574, and including documents from the Council of Lincoln and letters patent that passed between Edward I and the cheiftains of Scotland) and Henry VIII’s *A Declaration containing . . . the true and right title, that the Kinges most Royall Maiesty hath to his Souerayntie of Scotland* (1542).

Dee opens his digression with three sections from the Council of Lincoln letters excerpted from Walsingham’s history, a correspondence between King Edward I and his peers on the one hand and Pope Boniface VIII on the other attesting to the recalcitrance of King John (John Baliol) in colluding with the French against their English overlord in 1295. This act of treason occurred amidst the drama of the problematic succession of Alexander III, who had died in 1286, after a contest between John Baliol and Robert the Bruce that was decided by Edward I in favor of Baliol. Baliol’s broken pledge of fealty, however, alienated him from Edward’s good graces, and after Baliol’s murder, Robert the Bruce had himself crowned in 1306. This was an act of resistance to the overlordship of Edward, but, significantly for Dee, Edward had removed the Coronation Stone from

Scone, providing another reason that Bruce's claim to Scotland's crown was illegitimate. Hugh Kearny has argued that this was actually a drama of three Norman lords holding different ideas of power, Robert the Bruce upholding a traditional position of local authority against Edward's more revolutionary bid for imperial dominance (101). Dee, however, treats the matter as a conflict between two discrete nations resolved by the annexation of the weaker nation to the stronger. In those sections of the Council of Lincoln letters quoted by Dee are cited the conquest and authority of the Brittonic kings Dunwallo and Arthur (taken, no doubt, from Geoffrey) over Scotland.

Although Dee selectively uses Major to support his Arthurian claims over Scotland, in this section, Dee also becomes noticeably vitriolic toward him, especially regarding Major's questioning of the legitimacy of Edward I's choice of John Baliol to rule Scotland. Dee calls his arguments "Scottish sophistications" (164) and "Sorbonist syllogismes" (150), drawing attention to Major's French education and, subtly, the "auld alliance" between Scotland and France. While Major's actual argument gets less attention from Dee than Walsingham's narrative, which Dee then concludes "vtterly disgraced and displaced" (164) Major's argument, it is a nuanced one, deserving some description here so we might better understand wherein lies Dee's contention. Drawing on Walsingham, Dee simply states historical examples of Scottish kings showing obedience to English kings and illustrating how primogeniture works, but Major treats the subject philosophically, asking from whence kings derive their power and under what conditions they might lose it, questions ignored by Dee.

Edward I legitimized his choice of Baliol according to the dictates of primogeniture, wherein the eldest child or the offspring of the eldest child succeed the

king or heir to the throne. In this case, after the death of Alexander III's only grandchild Margaret of Norway in 1290, the claim reverted to the children of Earl David of Huntingdon (d. 1219), a grandson of David I of Scotland (1124-1153). John Baliol is the grandson of David's eldest daughter Margaret, and was therefore chosen to rule. Major contests even this point, arguing that Robert Bruce (V), also a claimant, was not only older than John, but a grandson of David rather than a great-grandson, and therefore "closer in degree" (212-213).⁸⁰ Dee attempts to disprove this argument in his endnotes by casting doubt on Robert's actual degree of descent from David, but it is likely that Dee himself is confused on this point, understandably, given that there are four generations of men named "Robert Bruce" relevant to this succession, the one who finally became king the grandson of the original claimant who was passed over in favor of John Baliol.

Dee wishes to show without doubt that the King John I who swears obedience to Edward I is the rightful king of Scotland, but in order to do this, he must ignore the more philosophical aspects of Major's argument. Whereas for Dee, primogeniture is the final word on rightful succession, Major reasons further:

If you tell me that Henry the Eighth traces his claim to Henry the Seventh, I will mount up to the first of the English kings, and ask, Whence did he, then, derive his right to be king? And so I would proceed throughout the history of the world. And it is impossible to deny that a king held from his people his right to rule (213).

Not only do kings derive their right from the people they rule, but an offense against the people is just cause to remove a king from power, according to Major. Thereby, Baliol, "relinquishing his claim to Edward of England, showed himself . . . unfit to reign" (213).

⁸⁰ All quotations from Major that are not cited by Dee come from John Major's *History of Greater Britain*, edited by Archibald Constable (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1892).

In the act of acknowledging Edward as permanent overlord of Scotland, then, Baliol betrays his kingdom and the people in it, making way for the rightful resistance of Robert Bruce (VII) to Edward and his seizure of the crown of Scotland. For the Scots and for Major, Edward's insistence on overlordship was intrinsically unjust, and therefore any oaths of fealty sworn under pressure were not binding, and indeed Scotland did remain a sovereign nation until 1707, successfully resisting martial bids of domination as well as the kind of historical and legal arguments mounted by Dee and others.

In addition to the passages from Walsingham, Dee thinks "it not superfluous here to put your Highnes in remembraunce of the little pamphlet set furth Anno 1542 by your Maiesties most deere father" (167), in which pamphlet Henry VIII contends that since A.D. 900, there have only been thirteen years that Scotland has not been subject to England, and those occurred during his reign, yet Dee hastens to add that "the residewe then added to the foresaid 13 years will not amount to a terme of tyme sufficient to establishe any proscription preiuditiall or dammageable to your Maiesties very iust claime and chalenge to the Scottish homage, service, and fealtie royall" (168). Given the space Dee dedicates to this subject, one must assume that rights of overlordship of Scotland are crucial for him, and that more than possession of the small island Icaria hangs in the balance.

Dee's insistence on Scottish vassalage is interesting for two reasons. First, Dee seems to be speaking from or for a position of dominance, a central position of Anglo-Norman—or should we say "British?"—power rather than the marginal position of Celtic subordination. Robin Frame discusses how, under the expanding royal authority of Edward I, the Celtic cultures of the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish began to form "a sense of a

shared cause and a common past” (197) which had the potential of unifying these political groups against the encroachments of the English crown. The story of Arthur in all its forms had been developed along the geographical margins of power, as Michelle Warren demonstrates in *History on the Edge*. Here, however, Dee rejects the marginal voice of resistance, illustrating how fully his idea of “Britishness” had become conflated with political dominance. No longer were Britons a conquered people barred from the arenas of power, but having been included by the Tudor monarchs in the share of power lately held by English and Anglo-Norman kings, they had become transfigured into “the British,” a transfiguration Dee is intent on subjecting the Scots to as well. He quotes from other documents that also use the history of a marginalized people to serve the power center, but the difference is that here it is a Welshman doing it.

Second, Scotland is needed in order to complete the image of British dominion over “the whole island,” which is for Geoffrey the condition from which Arthur’s ancient Brittonic empire develops. While medieval and Renaissance proponents of Welsh independence claimed regnal rights to “regions” or “kingdoms,” it appears that Dee wanted to restore “the whole island,” as Geoffrey had envisioned it, to Brittonic/British control. This could explain why Ireland, Brendan’s voyage excepting, is noticeably missing from the “Limits.” Unlike Scotland, Ireland existed under British overlordship in both Arthur’s legendary day and Elizabeth’s historical one, and it is geographically distinct from the poetically nostalgic island-entirety of Albion. In 1578, when Dee was writing the “Limits,” Scotland remained a viable kingdom in its own right, with laws, aristocratic dynasties, and European diplomatic relations quite distinct from those of England, and this political and cultural coherence threatened Dee’s vision of the

fulfillment of “the whole island” under the unifying sobriquet “Britain.” Were Scotland as effectively dominated by England as Ireland or Wales, it probably would not have warranted such discussion in this manuscript; Dee’s prolixity on the subject is fueled by anxiety caused by Scotland’s continuing successful resistance to English overlordship.

Tension between “British” and “English” extends to Dee’s treatment of Elizabeth and her royal predecessors, as well, most particularly in Dee’s reference to “your Maiesties ancestors and progenitours, Brytish and English” (151). Elizabeth is hailed throughout the manuscript as “our true British Empresse” and similar titles; likewise her jurisdictions, lands, and crown are continually referred to as British. At times Dee makes reference to her grandfather Henry VII, her father Henry VIII, and her sister Queen Mary—all forbears who clearly issue from the same Welsh (Brittonic) blood as Elizabeth, but when it is convenient Dee also reminds Elizabeth of her descent from the Anglo-Norman king Edward I (152). Edward I was a scion of the Plantagenet dynasty, a line that merged with the Tudors when Henry VII married Elizabeth of York in 1486, uniting the Lancasters and Yorks in the blood of their offspring. Edward’s violence toward the Welsh is famous, causing modern historians to suggest that his nickname the “hammer of the Scots” be changed to the “hammer of the Welsh” (Cannon and Hargreaves 206; Norman Davies 367).⁸¹ In other words, Elizabeth’s Anglo-Norman ancestors were the oppressors and conquerors of her “British” ones, yet Dee gives the impression of an unbroken line of monarchs in England that smoothes over the conquests of foreign invaders and the conflicts, often bloody, between the different kingdoms and

⁸¹ Scott Westrem has pointed out to me that this sobriquet is meant to reflect that of Alexander the Great, *Malleus Mundi*, “the hammer of the world,” thus highlighting Edward’s imperial ambitions.

cultures of the isles. Summoning the ghosts of the battlefields of Badon, Hastings, Bannockburn, Banbury, Stirling Bridge, and Bosworth would interfere with the impression of unity and all-embracing “Britishness” Dee was working to create. He may have considered himself forewarned by Geoffrey’s *Historia*, throughout which, as Leckie observes, discord and division wreak terrible consequences on the communities of Britain (57).

Dee asserts that this unbroken line of kings stretches back even to Arthur, whom Dee also recommends to Elizabeth as her ancestor. Not only “British,” Arthur is called by Dee again and again, “*our* British Arthur” (my emphasis), and this insistence could reflect two different aims not entirely in opposition to each other. The general possessive pronoun is meant to bestow Arthur on any contemporary person considered British, whether that person resides in Cardiff, Edinburgh, or London. At the same time, Dee’s use of “our” subtly undermines his own effort to minimize conflict and disruption in the British history as it could be seen to emphasize both the heritage Dee, as a Welshman, shares with his queen, and Arthur’s identity as a Brittonic rather than an English king. This might provide a clue to Dee’s attitude toward the adoption of the Arthurian theme by English kings, such as, notably, Edward I, with the result that Arthur was transmuted from a Brittonic to an English hero. A Dutch historian attending a tournament feast at Edward I’s court in 1284 records how part of the entertainment consisted of the repeated appearance of pages with stories of Welsh villainy that must be avenged by Edward’s “Arthurian” knights. The English knights swore oaths against the Welsh, and Edward

demanding they keep these oaths on impending battlefields.⁸² Even one of the authorities quoted by Dee in the “Limits,” Joannes Magnus Gothus, a Swedish archbishop of the sixteenth century and therefore quite removed from the struggles of the Britons against the English, marks Arthur as a fierce *English* warrior when he tells of how the Danes “tried, again and again, to shake off the yoke of the English, [but] appeared only to provoke Arthur to implacable wrath” (“Limits” 139).

Without accusing the English of co-opting Arthur or denying their right to do so, Dee seems to reclaim him for the British, and in so doing, reminds Elizabeth of her Welsh descent. Although Edward I’s suzerainty over the cultures of the British Isles was impressive, at his death his title remained “king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine”; yet Elizabeth is, according to Dee, “our true, lawfull, and vndoubted Brytish Empresse” (128). Although Elizabeth’s predecessors on the throne were called kings and queens of England, she was exhorted to become the sovereign of a “British Empire,” a political structure that did, in fact, go on to enjoy a vivid life in the centuries following the completion of Dee’s treatise, and not the “English Empire.” It would appear that this nomenclature is given according to the limits of the empire initially and influentially drawn according to the conquests of “that incomperable Britain [sic],” as Dee hails him, King Arthur. As the editors of the *Library Catalogue* put it, “When Dee, for the first time, used the phrase ‘British Empire’ he envisaged something into which he, as a ‘British gentleman’ was inviting the English and perhaps the Scots” (39). Dee prevails upon his reader(s) to understand that Arthur was not English, and that his foretold empire therefore could not be merely English.

⁸² This story is repeated more completely in Roger Sherman Loomis, “Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast,” *Speculum* 28 (1953): 114-127.

If the notion of a British Empire ultimately has its source in Geoffrey, the belief in Arthur's predestined return is likely more ancient, the oral tradition that perpetuated it "very widely known" by the twelfth century, as Bullock-Davies reckons (437). When examining the early literature of the Britons, it becomes apparent that the theme of loss is both powerful and resilient, the loss of their lands due to the fifth-century Anglo-Saxon advent haunting Welsh poetry through the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. In such early poems as the *Gododdin* and the *Armes Prydein*, loss and defeat go hand in hand with hope in a returning hero that will ultimately prevail against all enemies. While in early prophecies, Cadwaladr and Cynan are cited as Deliverers-to-be, Welsh poets later kept hope in this hero alive through the eras of Owain Glyndwr, who successfully resisted the English in the fourteenth century, and Henry Tudwr, who marched at the head of a predominantly Welsh army against Richard III in 1485. Each hero who arose against enemies of the Britons was hailed in turn as the fulfillment of ancient prophecies.

Geoffrey, too, participated in this atmosphere of expectation and hope. There are three prophetic moments in the *Historia*, which taken together indicate a resurgence of Brittonic sovereignty and an extension of Brittonic rule over distant lands across the earth. The first episode occurs early in the narrative, when Brutus stops at a deserted temple to ask direction of the goddess Diana; the goddess responds:

Brutus, beyond the setting of the sun, past the realms of Gaul, there lies an island in the sea, once occupied by giants. Now it is empty and ready for your folk. Down the years this will prove an abode suited to you and your people; and for your descendants it will be a second Troy. A race of kings will be born there from your stock and the round circle of the whole earth will be subject to them (65).

This prophecy sets the stage both for Geoffrey's subject, a history of British kings descended from Brutus, and for the historical eventuality not yet achieved in Geoffrey's time, the creation of an empire under the rule of this "island in the sea." The second prophetic moment occurs at the crucial moment before Arthur is introduced, at the onset of Saxon aggression. Geoffrey pauses in his history to report that due to a growing popular interest in Merlin's prophecies (generated, possibly, by his own *Vita Merlini*), he has decided to include them in his work, and he tells the story of how, in a "prophetic trance," Merlin relates to an awestruck Vortigern the future of the Britons in veiled allegories, some of which episodes could be correlated by Geoffrey's audience to known historical events and personages, others extending beyond his own historical moment to be creatively interpreted against future happenings and figures.⁸³ The final prophetic episode occurs at the very end of the work, when Cadwaladr sets about amassing a fleet to counter the invading Anglo-Saxons. He is halted by an "Angelic Voice" that reveals that "God did not wish the Britons to rule in Britain anymore, until the moment should come which Merlin had prophesied to Arthur" (282). The Voice adds that the island would be restored to the British people at an appointed time in the future. Taken together, these prophecies both drew on and perpetuated older traditions of the Britons

⁸³ The subject of Merlin's prophecies has attracted much scholarly attention, and although it is not feasible to elaborate further on the subject here, the reader is referred to the following: Basil Clark, Editor and translator, *The Life of Merlin* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1973); Howard Dobin, *Merlin's Disciples: Prophecy, Poetry, and Power in Renaissance England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Enid M. Griffiths, *Early Vaticination in Welsh* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1937); Susan Martha Shwartz, "The Prophecies of Merlin and Medieval Political Propaganda in England" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1977); Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner's, 1971), particularly chapter 13.

that promised the return of their lands and sovereignty, and anticipated the messianic return of their heroes to lead them in that struggle.

Although the British hope of return to sovereignty is a theme in this work, nowhere in the *Historia* does Geoffrey specifically identify Arthur as the returning hero of the British people. In fact, the moment spoken of by the Angelic Voice, when Merlin prophesies to Arthur, never occurs in the work (at least not in copies of it extant today, of which there are more than one-hundred). However, Arthur's name was already well knit to the cause of Welsh sovereignty. Bullock-Davies discusses how through a popular oral tradition "Arthur, the early post-Roman *dux bellorum* grew into a dream-Messiah, a 'King' whose victorious second coming could be confidently believed in and looked forward to without fear of future disappointment" (437). That the expectation of Arthur's return preceded Geoffrey's work is made apparent in the case of an encounter between a group of canons visiting from Laon and some local Cornishmen in 1113. A riot was narrowly averted after one of the canons expressed an incredulous attitude toward Arthur's promised return from Avalon to restore Britain.⁸⁴ Similarly, William of Malmesbury sounded a familiar trope of chastising the British for their "insane" faith in the British hope. Peter of Blois wrote in around 1190, "Such is the laughable belief and wanton credulity of the Britons that they are waiting for Arthur—and they will be waiting for him for ever." And Gerald of Wales insists "We see no one returning from the dead . . . if you believe anyone can, you will be like the Britons, waiting for Arthur." Less critically, Lawman reports, "The Britons believe yet that [Arthur] is alive, and dwelleth in Avalun with the fairest of all elves; and the Britons ever yet expect when Arthur shall

⁸⁴ This story is often repeated. One article that treats it more thoroughly is O.J. Padel, "The Nature of Arthur," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 27 (1994): 1-31.

return” (365). Bullock-Davies has compiled a longer list of such quotations (438), and even if all these learned men exaggerated the extent and intensity of the British hope in Arthur, it does seem irrefutable that their critiques have some basis in fact.

English sovereigns seemed to take the hope in Arthur more seriously. In 1278 Edward I opened the Glastonbury tomb and moved the alleged bodies of Arthur and Guinevere elsewhere; traditionally it has been thought he did this to remind the Welsh that their hero was in fact dead and would not be returning to lead a Celtic rebellion against him. On the other hand, some monarchs adopted the Arthurian “theme” to win the loyalty of their subjects and to glorify their reigns. Henry Tudor’s victory at Bosworth Field in 1485 under Cadwaladr’s banner of the red dragon and his assumption of royal power was hailed by the Welsh bards, who “deliberately fostered enthusiasm for Henry VII against Richard III” (Anglo, *Spectacle* 45), as the fulfillment of the promise of the return of Arthur’s line, a belief the Welsh-speaking king probably did little to discourage. Henry VII was only a quarter Welsh, and his royal blood did not flow from this quarter, but still he portentously named his first son Arthur in obvious reference to his kinship to the ancient Britons. His victorious army had been largely comprised of Welshmen, and his loyalty to the original “Britons” was evident in royal policy. Whereas under previous English kings, it was illegal for Welsh to enter cities even in Wales, Welshmen now immigrated to London, a center of power whence they were appointed to offices and given rights to conduct business and own property.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ See Hugh Kearny, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Gwyn Williams, *Welsh Wizard and British Empire: Dr. John Dee and a Welsh Identity* (Cardiff: University College of Cardiff Press, 1980); Norman Davies, *The Isles: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

It was due to this new age of opportunity for the Welsh, in fact, that Dee's father Roland moved his family from Wales to London where he held the position of "gentleman server" in Henry VIII's court. This was a climate in which faith in the British hope seemed to have been rewarded, Arthur's line renewed in the Tudor dynasty.⁸⁶ Peter Roberts notes that

the blessings of the Tudors had been cumulative: Henry VII had delivered the Welsh from servitude, Henry VIII had completed their enfranchisement by making them equal with the English before the common law, while Elizabeth was to present them with the Scriptures in their own tongue. . . . In the Welsh, English and Latin prose of these Elizabethan Protestant writers, the benevolence of the Tudors to the Welsh nation is consistently linked to the British inheritance ("Tudor Wales" 23).

Scholars today disagree about in which Tudor sovereign the Arthurian theme, manifest in the poetry and pageants that participated in creating the atmosphere of a reign, emerged more forcibly, but regardless of who made *best* use of this legend, there is ample evidence to illustrate that the Tudors *did* use it to help identify and stabilize their reigns.⁸⁷ While it is uncertain whether the monarchs who drew on Arthurian imagery in their personal legends and regalia actually believed in the prophecies, the preacher and naturalist Edward Topsell claimed in 1599 that, "above all the simple and vulgar people imagine that there is no Scripture like to Merlin's prophecie" (quoted in Dobin 110). The

⁸⁶ Roberta Brinkley, among others, has observed that "the Tudors held that the correct interpretation of Merlin's prophecy concerning the return of King Arthur was to be found not in the actual restoration of the long-awaited Arthur, but in the return of his line" (1).

⁸⁷ While Sidney Anglo rejects the idea that the symbolism and pageantry of Tudor reigns were particularly marked by Arthurian motifs, David Starkey has more recently contended that both Henry VII and Henry VIII were likely to have been influenced by Malory's representation of Arthur, Henry VIII to the extent that he was emboldened by Arthur's example of attacking Rome rather than pay tribute to break with the Roman Church. See Sydney Anglo, "The British History in Early Tudor Propaganda," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 44 (1961-2): 17-48, and David Starkey, "King Henry and King Arthur," *Arthurian Literature* 16 (1998): 171-196.

name of Arthur, then, was far from politically neutral, and the atmosphere in which Dee wrote remained saturated with that blend of expectation and wonder inspired by prophecy.

Nowhere in the “Limits” does Dee actually say that the achievement of his proposed empire is the fulfillment of ancient prophecies. Rather, he cites the reasons for pursuing empire as glorification of Elizabeth, the enrichment of British people, and the spread of true religion throughout the world. However, the idea of the messianic return of Arthur was so prevalent throughout Britain even at the time of Dee’s writing that it is an implicit subtext of the “Limits.” The link between an Arthurian past and the return of the king in the future was so strong that the juxtaposition of Arthur and empire in a political text inevitably signals the idea of his return to lead Britain to renewed glory. One of the tropes of contemporary antiquarians writing about Arthur is to disavow popular belief in Arthur’s return, and although Dee adopts many conventions used by these writers, he does not even allude to the British Hope, a theme so predominant that its very absence from this text must be considered telling. As described above, the “Limits” is not a work penned for popular consumption, but rather is directed toward a specific audience—Queen Elizabeth and her Privy Council. Even if Dee were predisposed to believe in ancient political prophecies, he might think twice about including prophecy as a prominent component of his tract to Queen Elizabeth. Prophetic voices did not tend to extol the goodness and justness of current political regimes. On the contrary, prophecies arose within certain factions, mostly marginalized ones, providing divine and providential

authority to counter the otherwise indomitable authority of worldly powers.⁸⁸ Elizabeth herself outlawed prophesizing in 1577. In the “Limits,” Dee is working to secure the trust and respect of his monarch; it would be unwise to intimate belief in an expectation of the return of an ancient king to power. Dee reiterates much common knowledge about Arthur’s greatness in his imperial tract but stops short of repeating the claim that Arthur will return to re-establish his British Empire; of course the evocative power of Arthur’s name was so compelling in the Renaissance that it scarcely would have been necessary anyway.

Although it is not explicit, there is some evidence that Dee has even grander designs than political empire in mind, that he is in fact working from an understanding of a divinely inspired plan. While considering the impact on Dee of the Angelic Voice that speaks to Cadwaladr in Geoffrey’s *Historia*, arguably his favorite work, it is probably worthwhile to remember that Dee himself talked to angels. Diaries of his “angelic conversations” cover the years 1581-1586 as well as 1607, but much of Dee’s activity in this area was not recorded, and some of his records have been lost or destroyed.⁸⁹ It is

⁸⁸ These issues are discussed at length in Howard Dobin, *Merlin’s Disciples: Prophecy, Poetry, and Power in Renaissance England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Rupert Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1911); and chapter 13 of Keith Thomas’ *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner’s, 1971).

⁸⁹ For more about Dee’s angelic conversations, see John Dee, *A True and Faithful Relation of what passed for many years between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits*, edited by Meric Casaubon (London, 1659); Deborah Harkness, “Shows in the Showstone: A Theater of Alchemy and Apocalypse in the Angel Conversations of John Dee,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 49 (1996): 707-37 and *John Dee’s Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy, and the End of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Wayne Shumaker, “John Dee’s Conversations with Angels,” *Renaissance Curiousa* (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982) 15-52; C.L. Whitby, *John Dee’s Actions with Spirits*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland,

not improbable that Dee's interest in angels was nearly life-long, beginning with his scholarly interest in Neoplatonism and informing all of his own work thereafter. In *John Dee's Conversations with Angels*, Deborah Harkness discusses how Dee's philosophical and spiritual aims infuse not only the angelic diaries, but the *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* (1558), the *Monas Hieroglyphica* (1564), and his "Mathematicall Preface" to Billingsly's translation of Euclid's *Elements* (1570). She says that "a veil falls" over Dee's interest in angels between the years 1570 and 1581 (98), which is not to say that Dee was not engaged in spiritual pursuits, but only that there is no evidence of such activity, and it is during these years that Dee is constructing his geographical, political, and imperial works.

Regarding the angelic and alchemical work in which Dee was engaged through the 1580s, Harkness claims that Dee considered himself "God's prophet on earth," given the task of seeing nature through its end and renewal in a new golden age. In the sense that "prophecy" is to *pro phemi*, 'to speak out for something', we can say that Dee assumed the role of prophet even earlier, in the 1570s, as he tried to create a just British Empire to counteract the unholy terror of the Spanish Empire (as many Europeans as well as English characterized Spanish activity in the New World), to mastermind "*new worldes, new peoples, new kings, & new knowledge of a new Government*" (*Actions* II 200). Yet throughout the "Limits," Dee draws on the authority of law rather than prophecy to support his propositions, evidence of an even higher authority appearing only in brief flashes. One of these can be found toward the end of his manuscript:

1991); and Whitby's "John Dee and Renaissance Scrying," *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* 3 (1985): 25-37.

besides that portion of the world which remaineth free as well for your Maiesties subiectes as for any other Christain princes els their subiects to be dealinge with all amonge the miscreants, infideles, and heathenistes who have no true vnderstandinge of our omnipotent Creator, much les of our Redemer, and least of all of our sanctifier and comforter, to whose glorie cheiflie I have of late byn stranglie and vehementlie stirred upp, and by the aide of the same devyne Trinitye cheiflie I have of late byn ordered to pen divers advises and treatises in the Englishe language, the vnderstandinge and practice of some parte wherof doth principallie appertaine to the subiects of this your Maiesties Britishe Kingdome (191).

The syntax of this sentence does not help us easily understand by whom Dee has “of late byn ordered to pen divers advises and treatises,” although it is well known that Elizabeth herself commissioned this and other political tracts from him. Dee admits to being lately “stranglie and vehementlie stirred upp” by the glory of God and indicates that the order “to pen divers advises and treatises” has come “by the aide of the same devyne Trinitye.” While he does not claim to be speaking God’s will as a biblical prophet, Dee explicitly lays claim to divine influence and aid in creating the plans and justifications for an expansion of political power sanctioned by history and law, a just and implicitly inevitable fulfillment. Early in document IV, Dee explains that his political works “did very speedelie passe my hands, and in lesser tyme then almost is credible. To God therfor all thanks and glorie be ascribed” (121). God’s “disposition and merveilous providence” has allegedly contributed to Dee’s imperial platform, and Dee closes the “Limits” with a verse from Psalm 118, “I shall not die but live and declare the works of the Lord.”

Dee’s stated intention in the “Limits” is “to recorde that which appertaineth to continew the memorie of your Maiesties iust title royall vnto an other sorte of sondrie forrein regions and countris as which are vndewlie and disloyallie by some Christian

princes alienated and wrested from the government of your Highnes ancestors there *Brytish Septer Royall*” (121-122). He draws on law and history in the process of illustrating the legitimate holdings of the British crown, and it is here that Dee’s purpose in the manuscript becomes splintered, for the history of an ancient British Empire is itself a subject of some debate, and the simple plan of mapping a new empire shaped by figures from the *Historia Regum Britanniae* and most pertinently King Arthur, is interrupted by an effort to prove the existence and conquests of this ancient Brittonic king. As others have pointed out, successfully proving Arthur’s ancient conquests could ease the path to a new British Empire. Arthur and British greatness were said to reside in the future as well as the past, and a British Empire under the governance of Elizabeth Tudor could validate the dubious ancient British History even as that history legitimated the creation of a new British empire. Was Dee’s intention to spur the government toward achieving Empire, or to prove the historical validity of Arthur’s conquests? Probably both.

With his ascension to the throne of England in 1603, James VI of Scotland, who has been called “the first British king” (Merriman and Wormald 113) strove to unite the two nations subject to his crown under the name “Britain,” an onomastic change which was commonly thought of as fulfilling the ominous “HEMPE prophecy,” which read “When Hempe is spun, England’s done.” The letters of HEMPE were thought to stand for Henry, Edward, Mary and Philip, and Elizabeth, and therefore accelerated the already present anxiety about Elizabeth’s succession, since after her death, England, too, would be “done.” The prophecy was thought to have been harmlessly fulfilled, as Francis Bacon describes in his essay “On Prophecy,” “thanks be to God, [the prophecy] is verified only in the change of the name, for that the king’s style is now no more of

England, but of Britain” (171). It was also in the reign of James that the first English attempts to colonize the New World were made, efforts that were destined to flourish (albeit not immediately), assuring British instead of Spanish control of North America. And Diana’s prophecy to Brutus was realized (insofar as the kings and queens of Britain could be considered descendents of Brutus): from the small island in the West issued an imperial project that left almost no continent on earth untouched, an empire that thrived for over four centuries, and one with whose legacy nations across the globe are still grappling in their academies, their economies, and the lives of their people. The prudent and conservative Queen addressed by Dee had no use for his grandiloquent imperial plans—in his lifetime, Dee’s British Empire remained “a textual affair” (Roberts and Watson 152). Yet those plans took shape and burgeoned, though the prophet did not live to see the much-expanded promised land.

Despite the fulfillment of Dee’s imperial prophecies, Arthur’s reputation remains attached to the arena of romance and fiction rather than to history. Dee was not able, after all, to prove “the true historie” of Arthur, but considering the world-changing events the idea of Arthur helped inspire and legitimate, he is nonetheless, as Gwyn Williams says in *Madoc*, “an idea-that-walks, an idea that became material force.” Williams goes on to say that his book is not about myth, “but about the way people have used myths to make history” (i), which is a succinct explanation of the use of Arthur in the “Limits.” Dee created, outlined, and legitimated the “British Impiere” based overwhelmingly on the voyages and conquests of the legendary King Arthur, proving the words of Thomas Browne (1605-1682) true: “What is prophetic in one age proves historical in another” (quoted in Dobin 78).

Document III

[13]¹ Vnto your Maiesties Tytle Royall

to these forene regions & ilandes

do appertayne 4 poyntes:

1.	2.	3.	4.
<i>The clayme in perticuler</i>	<i>The reasons of the clayme</i>	<i>The credit of the reason</i>	<i>The value of the credit by force of law</i>

A briefe remembraunce of sondrye foreyne regions discovered, inhabited, and partlie conquered by the subiectes of this *Brytish Monarchie*: and so your lawfull tytle (our most gratus Soveraigne Quene Elizabeth) for the dewe clayme and iust recovery of the same disclosed, which (in effect) ys a title royall to all the coastes and ilandes beginning at or about *Terra Florida*, and so alongst or neere vnto *Atlantis*,² goinge northerly, and then to all the most northen ilandes great and small, and so compassinge about *Groenland*, eastwards* untill the territoris opposite unto the farthest easterlie³ and northen boundes of the Duke of Moscovia his domynions, which last boundes are from our *Albion*⁴ more then halfe the sea voyage to the *Cathayen* westerly and northen sea coastes, as most evidently, and at large it is declared in the greate volum of Famous and Riche Discoveris, very latlie collected, and yet in the Englishe language only to be had.⁵

[14] 1. *Circa Anno 1170.*⁶ The Lord Madoc, sonne to *Owen Gwynedd* Prince of North Wales, leaving his brother in contention and warrs for their inheritance, sought by sea (westerlie from Irland) for some forein and apt region to plant hym selfe in with

soverainty.⁷ Which region when he had found, he returned to Wales againe & furnished hym selfe with shippes, victuales, armour, men, and women sufficient for the *colony*, which speedely he leed into the province then named *Iaquaza* (but of late *Florida*) or into some of the provinces and territories neere ther aboutes, as in *Apalchen*, *Mocosa*, or *Norombega*, eache or these 4 beinge notable portions of the ancient *Atlantjs*, not longe synce nowe named *America*.⁸

2. *Circa Anno 1494*. Mr. Sebastian Caboto⁹ saylinge from England purposlie vppon a discovery voyage by licence and privilege of your Highnes grandfather King Henry the 7 (and that vppon certaine conditions) did discover *Baccalaos Ilandes*. And he gave them name first the land of *Baccalaos*, amonge which one little ile hath also the peculier name *The Ile of Baccalaos*.¹⁰

3. *Circa Anno 1494*. Mr. Iohn Caboto and his sonne *Sebastian*, with Mr. Robert Thorns father and Mr. Eliot of Bristow, discovered that portion of *America*, which they then named *Newefound Lande*, and so is recorded in geographers chartes. But some name it *Terra Corterealis* wheras more iustlie it might have bine called *Terra Cabotina*.¹¹

4. *Circa Anno 1494*. The same Mr. Caboto and his sonne with his companie did first discover that notable iland in the coasts of *Newefound Land*, wherein they perceived whit lions [15] to be, which beinge found by them on Midsomer daye in the morninge they named *Sainct Iohns Iland*.¹²

5. *Circa Anno 560.*¹³ Brendan, the great learned man, and the excellent *Cambrien Machutus* and others in their companie discovered very much of the westernne partes about and toward *Atlantis*, but cheiflie notable ilandes, vnto one of which he gave name *Brandans* Iland, and so is it named by the cosmographers of this adge.¹⁴

6. [*Circa Anno 560.*] The great ile (likewise) of terrible apparitions and phantazies (commonlie in Latin named *Insula Demonum*) doth seme to have bine by the said Brendan his discovery and to have bine well knowne vnto hym by almost incredible eventes then happening vnto hym and his companie. And because it is full of goodlie woodes and forrestes and voide of all humaine habitation, yt hath latelie byn named *Dos Arboredos*.¹⁵

7. [*Circa Anno 560.*] Also the iland, of some named *Orbellanda*, was of his discovery, which ile other men do name *Dus Cirnes*, and others *Drogio*, erroneously vnderstandinge the historie of *Estotiland Iland*.¹⁶

8. [*Circa Anno 560.*] Of fovre or five other ilandes by hym and his companie discovered, and for 7 yeares space continewallie, once every yeare, visited (as it were in circuit), I omyt in this place the recitall, or my coniecture, which and whear they are.¹⁷

9. *Circa Anno 1497.* Mr. Sebastian Caboto (besides other his discoveries of *Atlantis* sea coastes made sowtherly) when he was sent by your Maiesties grandfather Kinge Henry the Seventh, he did [16] discovere from *Newefound land*, so far northerlie, that not only

he entered into and discovered the greate square *Goulf*, otherwise called the *Goulf of Merosre*, lyenge next on the north side of *Newfoundland* (which he hoped well to have bin a straight apt for passage to *Cathay*), and ther in diligent search with dangers manifold spent two monethes, and among other thinges ther don, he sailed and made upwardes in the River of *Torment* (*so* called) 10 or 12 leagues¹⁸ and likewise landed on the Ile of *Caravelle*, but also (more northerly yet) he sailed so far alonge & abowt the coastes of *Laborador*, till at length, settinge his cours *Alla volta di Ponente, & quarta di Maestro*¹⁹ on the northen coaste therof (beinge maine land or ilandes), that he came to the latitude of 67 degrees and 1/2, and in that course, still found the seas open before hym, and therfor would that waye have followed the voyage towardes Cathay yf the dangerous mutiny and murmurors of his company had not forced hym to retorne.²⁰

10. *Anno 1576 & 1577*. The ilandes and broken land of *Atlantis Sea* coastes (or the same beinge parcell of *Laborador*, nere to *Pyncemay Province*)²¹ weere more particulerlie discovered and possessed Anno 1576, and the last yeare by Martyn Frobysher esquire, and presentlie (by your Maiesties cheife aid and authoretie) are by your people to be inhabited. The totall content of which ilandes and parcell of land therabout, by your highness circumspect consideration, is latlie named *Meta Incognita*.²²

11. *Recorded Circa Anno 1060*. In *Priscis Anglorus Legibus*,²³ the famous ilande called *Groenland & Island*²⁴ &c. are accorded to be *De Appendicijs Coronæ Brytaniæ*, as of Kinge Arthur his conquest.

[17] 12. *Circa Anno 530.* Kinge Arthure not only conquered and gott vnder his subiection the Ilandes of *Irlande, Iseland, Groenland, Friseland* (otherwise called *Gelandia*, as by circumspect examining of auncient histories and cheiflie by aid devine I have bowllled²⁵ out only) with the lesser Ilands appertaninge to the said *Friseland*, which are many (the cheife wherof are *Duilo, Monaco, Ledovo, and Ilofe*),²⁶ but even vnto the *North Poll* also, in manner did extend his iurisdiction and sent colonies thether, and into all the iles betwene *Scotland* and *Irland*, wherof some are thus named *Griseland* (by *Iseland*), *Farre Ilands* (otherwise named *Estland*), *Podalida* and the Iles of *Orknay*. And also seinge *Grocland* (beyond *Groenland*) did receive his inhabitantes (a colonye of *Swedens* the most parte) sent by Kinge Arthur, yt is probable (in respecte of the directe and shortest course towards the said *Grocland*) that not only the foresaid *Friseland* with the appertenances, but also the populous pretie *Ile Icaria* was by his folke also possessed.²⁷

13. *Circa Anno 530.* And seinge Kinge Arthure his subiectes²⁸ weere possessers of *Grocland*, beinge nere vnto that faire, fortunat, and famous Ile called *Estotiland*; and seinge Kinge Arthur is recorded to have bin lord over all the Northen Iles vnto the pole in manner; and thirdlie, seinge the termination of this worde *Estotilant*, or *Estotiland*, is most like to be of the *Germanicall* or *Sweden* framing; and fourthly seinge above 200 yeares synce there were yet remaninge in the kinge of *Estotiland* his library a number of Latin bookes, but they so longe before brought thether that none of the ile could either tell how they cam thether [18] first, or yet did then vnderstand the Latin tounge; and fiftlie, seinge they of the Iland had all manner of handicraftes as we have (or had 200

yeares past): in respecte of all theise circumstaunces and allegations, yt is very probable that either by Kinge Arthur his people, either originally (as *Grocland* was) or by colony from *Grocland* (being not far of), this *Estotiland* was first possessed and named. And that the same Latin bookes were of Christian religion, thither directlie sent by Kinge Arthurs commandement, or from *Grocland* imparted and transported for settlinge and maytaninge of the Christian religion in those partes, wherin by sondrie recordes Kinge Arthur is commended to have bin merveilous zealous. And all this is so much the rather to be ascribed vnto Kinge Arthur his actes and ordonaunces, seinge to no other man by any other meanes or in any other thinge els, all the former circumstaunces so reasonable can agree or be appropriated. Nay, seinge no historie or recorde (yet in our hands) doth make mention of any other prince or potentate his conquestes, discoverys, or saylinge beyonde *Groenland*, from his tyme (about Anno 520) till within these 200 yeares last past when we cam by the memorie of *Estotilant* renued by the noble *Venetians*, whose historie therof I exhibited vnto your Maiestie the last yeare at Windesore Castell.²⁹

14.³⁰ The populus stronge iland *Icaria*³¹ is by your Maiestie very iustlie to be claymed. The reason why is in two* sortes, first by Kinge Arthur his purchas, secondlie & cheiflie, by the last conquest therof which was atcheived by a noble man, a subiecte [19] vnto one of your Maiesties auncestors, or at the least a subiect of the kinge of *Scotland*, vassal vnto your Maiesties said auncestors or at the least a subiect of the kinge of *Scotland*, vassall vnto your Maiesties said auncestor. The credit of this reason is the testimony of one of the 10 interpretours belonginge to the Kinge of *Icaria* recorded almost 200 yeares synce

by the two noble *Venetiens*, wherby I iudge that by force of lawe the said Icaria ought now be at your Maiesties disposition.

*Wheras I have noted here only a twofold reason for the clayme of *Icaria*, your Maiestie can very prudentlie consider that a third reason (and the same allowable amongst Christians) may be alleadged for your highnes clayme not only to Icaria, but to *Estotiland* also, & to the province of *Drogio*, and to sondry other particulers, discovered first by the aboue specified fishermen of Frisland, which (most auncientlie) was one of the six Comprovinciall Iles appropriat vnto your Maiesties *Brytish* Kingdom.³²

Here may your Maiestie perceive a breife manner of proceadinge in the quadripartite method, dew to your Maiesties claime.³³

15. *Circa Anno 583*. Kinge Malgo the 4 Brytische kinge in succession (after Kinge Arthur his death) not only enioyed the monarchie of the whole Ile of *Albion*, but by most sharpe warre, did recover againe the 6 Comprovinciall Iles in the *Ocean* Sea, otherwise called the Collaterall Iles; wherof (besides the Iles of *Orkney*) in this place I consider only *Irland*, *Iseland*, and the foresaid *Friseland*, (otherwise called *Gelandia*, but corruptlie *Golandia*, and very vntrulie *Godlandia* or *Gotlandia*.³⁴ For *Gotia*, *Gothia*, *Gotlandia*, *Gothlania*, ys an ile inded but not on the *Ocean* Sea, nor is it to be demed Comprovinciall or Colaterall to your Maiesties *Albion*, seeinge it lieth beyond the most easterlie boundes of [20] *Denmark* kingdom, and ther, in the *Sweden* or *Baltick* Sea or Bay.³⁵

16. *Anno Dominj 1360.* Anno 1360 (that is to wete, in the 34 yere of the raigne of Kinge Edward the 3)³⁶ a frier of Oxford, being a good astronomer, went in compani with others to the most *Northen Ilands* of the world. And there leaving his company together, he travailled alone and purposedie discribed all the *Northen Iles* with the indrawinge seas.³⁷ And the recorde therof at ther retorne he delivered to the Kinge of England, the name of which his booke is *Inuentio fortunate (alv: Fortunæ.) Quo liber incipit a Gradu 54 perueniens vsque ad Polum.* Which frier, for sondrye purposes after that, did five tymes repaire to the Kinge of England, and it is probable that this frier was the great travailour abrode named *Hugo de Hibernia* who wrote his owne *Itinerary* and was famous about the yeare 1360.³⁸

17. *Anno Dominj 1556.* Mr. Stephen Aborowgh and his company (in your Maiesties Sisters Quene Mary her tyme) did discover in the *Scythian Ocean* divers ilandes and landed in them, as *Colgoyeue, Nova Zemla, and Vaygatz.*³⁹

And generallie by the same order that other Christian princes do nowe a dayes make entrances and conquestes vpon the heathen people, your highnes hath also to proceed herein, both to recover the premisses and likewise by conquest to enlarge the bownde of your Maiesties forsaid Title Royall, thus (somewhat in particuler) expressed. And cheiflie this recovery & discovery enterprise ys speedely and carefully to be taken in hand and followed with the intent of settinge forth the glorie of Christ and spreadinge [21] abrode the heavenly tydings of the gospell among the heathen, which pointe of all

Christian princes ough more to be esteemed then all their most glorious worldlye tryvmphes.

*Ergo. The Conclusion.*⁴⁰

Of a great parte of the sea *coastes of *Atlantis* (otherwise called *America*) next vnto vs, and of all the iles nere vnto the same, from *Florida* northerly, and cheiflie of all the *Ilands Septentrionall* great and small, the Tytle Royall and supreme gouvernement is due and appropriate vnto your most gracious Maiestie, and that partlie *Iure Gentium*, partlie *Iure Civilj*, and partlie *Iure Divino*,⁴¹ no other prince or potentate els in the whole world beinge able to alledge therto any clayme the like.

*Althoughe I name here but the sea coastes of *Atlantis*, yet it is certayne that longe sythens the huge mayne land of *Atlantis* northen portion was discovered and inhabited in divers manners by those and such men by whom to your Maiestie hath and is nowe growen a due tytle for clayme of royall superioretie, in and to more then all the rest which the *Spaniard* occupieth not, as partlie by the premisses in Lattin and Engleshe of this record, and partlie in other places is declared, and thirdlie, by evidence shortlie to be recovered, maye sufficientlie be testefied.

*A note out of the auncient Law Recordes of England.*⁴² <It is indeed the duty of the lawfull king to watch over all the lands and honors, all the dignities, laws and liberties of the crown of this kingdom, to keep them intact in all soundness and without diminution, and

to defend those that are dispersed and, with all his power, to restore from disuse and loss laws of the kingdom to their former and proper status.>

Vincat Veritas.⁴³ Anno 1578. Maij 4.

Document IV

[25]⁴⁴ <THE LIMITS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE>

For as much as one parte of the title prefixed to the litle charte (of *geography* to be reformed) was *Imperij Brytanici Limites*, which phrase, without farder advertisement, geuen vnto your Maiestie, what is mente therby maye seme either improperlie or to darkly annexed. I thought it convenient therfore to add heere a fewe *⁴⁵ lynes sufficient both to give light to the meaninge of that phrase and also to make somewhat manifest the veritie therof. And wheras I have purposelie in the forepart of this recorde⁴⁶ rehersed only such lands, ilandes, and territoris (which all or the most parte of them) without offence givinge or wronge doinge to any Christian prince or potentate, your Maiestie maie not only clayme and vse the tytle therof, but also royallie resume, posses, and enioy.

*(The aboue said phrase of a fewe lynes to be written hereof may seme vndewly applied yf your Maiestie considere the great booke ensuinge, but thus it is evident how truly the old Latin sentence is commonly vsed—*Homo Proponit Deus autem disponit*.⁴⁷ My intent (as God knoweth) was even so as the phrase espresseth, but by God his disposition and marveilous providence such a consequence of matter as appereth did very speedelie passe my handes, and in lesser tyme then almost is credible. To God therfor all thankes and glorie be ascribed.)

Heere now in this other parte,⁴⁸ I intend to recorde that which appertaineth to continewe the memorie of your Maiesties iust title royall vnto an other sorte of sondrie forrein

regions and countris as which are vndewlie and disloyallie by some Christian princes alienated and wrested from the gouvernement of your Highnes ancestors there *Brytish Septer Royall*. Wherin (so longe and so far as may well stand with your Maiesties honour Imperiall and also be for the publicque commodetie of your highnes subiectes) some would deme yt Christian policy that good peace maie be continewed, yea rather encreased, with such Christian princes who (longe since) have intruded into or vniustlie vsurped and still do enioye any such of your Maiesties ancient royalties, honours, and Britishe iurisdictions. But wher no Christian prince hath presentlie possession or iurisdiction actuall in any parte of the Britishe Impiere (as both dewtifullie and dewlie I have heere laid out the lawfull bowndes therof) not only by wishe, but by most humble request, I ame (in this [26] recorde) a fervent petitioner vnto your Sovereigne Maiestie by entrie and reentry to recover againe, and by your most circumspect royall ordonaunce, to enioye the same, which thinge not only by lawfull and sufficiently preavailable meanes maye within very fewe yeares be atcheived, but also without any diminishinge of your highnes threasour may be brought to passe, nay (most certenlie) both with the merveilous encreasinge of the same, and also with the great relife and enritchinge of many thowsandes of your Maiesties true & lovinge subiectes, and with many other (almost incredible) publicke commodeties ensuinge. Wherof in this place, or of the foresaid means, how to bringe this royall purposse to passe farder discours is not to be holden. Retorninge therfore againe to the memoriall records of such landes, provinces, and territoris as remayne vnduly alienated from the *Brytish Crowne*; albeit this note vnderwritten may give a sufficient testimony of the iniurie sustayned therein, yet somewhat more I can say in the confirmation herof, and that by forrayn testimonies. But

my reasonable hope is that out of some libraries, publique or private, in *Norwaye*, *Denmarke*, or *Sweden*, or out of some monumentes yet exstant in your Maiesties *Brytish Iles of Friseland* (otherwise called *Gelandia*), *Icaria*, *Iseland*, *Groenland*, or in *Estotiland*, or in some of their next lese ilandes, to vnderstand of very merveilous histories to the *Brytish* antiquities and your highnes royalties greatlie apperteyninge.⁴⁹

And because the promised records ensuinge depende cheiflie vppon our Kinge *Arthur* his wonderfull foreyn conquestes, I thinke yt not impertinent first to saye a worde or two of so worthie a prince, who for his chivalrous excellencie with sondrie forraine Christyane nations (by their common consent) is recorded on of the nyne most valiant captains that ever have byn since the world begane.⁵⁰ Ytt is agreed vppon amonge all the best, most circumspect, and vnpartiall serchers of ancient monimentes and notable historis pertaininge to the state, actes, and exploytes of kinges, princes, and governours, livinge and rulyng (within and neere the boundes here prescribed for parte of the *Brytish Emperie*) about the yeare betwene 500 and 550 (after the birth of our Redemer) that *Arthur*, the sonne of *Vther* kinge of Brytans, not only was kinge of this monarchie after his father, but also that within this kingdome he wane 12 great battailles against the *Saxons*,⁵¹ and that he both restored and for certaine yeares heald this *Brytish* Monarchie in the old prosperous estate, the Saxons beinge partlie slaine, partlie expulsed, and partlie become his tributaris, the *Picts* and *Scots* beinge vtterlie subdued. And so he wan opportunitie for to vse his valiantnes abroad to the advauncinge of god glorie with the enlarginge of his Emperie. But as concerninge his triumphant conquestes, victories, and purchases [27] in and for foreyn landes, not so many wrytters or antiquaries have agreed

vppon as have on his forsaid homish and British victories againste the *Saxons*, *Picts*, and *Scotes*.⁵² And I my selfe ame assured that some ignorant or negligent copiers of written bookes and some overbould witters of their coniecturs or opinions in the margents of their bookes, yea in the text, and other fonde fainers, vaine flatteringe paynters (as concerninge the wonderous actes and prowesses of the *Brytish* Kinge Arthure) have by sundrie their undiscere meanes both confounded the truth with their vntruthes, and also have made the truth yt selfe to be doubted of or the les regarded for the aboundance of their fables, glosinges, vntruthes, and impossibilities incerted in the true historie of Kinge Arthure his life and actes. Yea some wholly vntruthes have bine substitute in the place of truthes, and the truthes them selves vtterlie suppressed and extinguished.

Besides that, the Saxons, Scotese, Picts, Danes, Norwayns, and others (who felt the force and dinte of his sworde) did what they could to deface or vtterlie to raze out the memorie of that incomperable Brytain, who (maugre all their powre and policy) did still prevaile against them till vppon and after the last tyme of his being out of this realme, by wicked *Mordred* his treason (wherto all witters of hym do agree) so vertuous and godlie a Prince was brought to his fatall end.⁵³ Of the place and manner of which his last beinge abroad or of his dealinge with the Romans and Gaules, I will say nothinge heere, but acknowledge great imperfection to be in that parcell of the vulger recordes by the divers means heere before specified, and cheiflie because the common guyse hath auncientlie byn with all nations excessively to extolle some one of their most notable princes, nothinge dreadinge the censure of the circumspect and sage posteretie who should mete with such their registred fantazies.⁵⁴ But so evident and so manyfold testimonis are yet of

our incomperable Arthure that the very smooth tunded *Hector Boethius* (who would have bereaved vs of our Brytische Prince *Caratacus* and would have made the world beleve that he was a Scottish kinge) neither he could nor durst either denye our worthy and invincible Arthure to have byn (as some light heeded and shallowe witted both historie writers and historie readers have don) nor yet fashion and disguise or transubstantiat hym into some Scottishe prince, and then to avouch his victoris to have byn all atcheived by that his incomperable Scottish Arthur.⁵⁵ But this at the least, yea, that *Boethius* (a Scote) was forced to record of hym yf he would probablie write his Scottishe historie: *<Truly, the circulating old wives' tales of doubtful authority appear to have stained their own reputations more than Arthur's (whose worth guarantees a brilliant reputation forever).>*

[28] And a littell before that.

<In truth, as the matter stands (for we will not diminish the glory of anyone here) King Arthur, due to the extraordinary glory and grandeur of his deeds, was no less than the British kings who lived before him, the evidence of which being the great wealth and strength of Britain during his reign.>*

*Then must he (at the least) be nothinge inferior to Caratacus so marveilously by hym selfe, but more truly by the *Romans* extolled, as *Cornelius Tacitus* doth testifie.

*Annalium lib: 12.*⁵⁶

But though this *Boethius* could not or would not steale our Arthur his name or victories to bestowe vppon some Scote (as he did our *Caratacus*), yet a *Sweden* Archbishopp did presume to do so much for his *Arthur Suetius*, sayinge⁵⁷ –

*<This is that Arthus of Sweden who some wish to place among the
nine most excellent princes, although there are those who assign to
that place Arthur of Britain, an incomperable prince, indeed, due
to his great deeds. However, this Swedish Arthus is considered to
be no less. The first .1. ruled many peoples* and lands. The other
one .2. held an empire of vast tracts of land from the river Tanais
in the east to Albion in the west.>*⁵⁸

1. *<Arthur of Britain>*
2. *<Arthus of Sweden>*
**<The many peoples
and lands under the
empire of Arthur of
Britain>*

And before that.

*<At that time the ruler of Britain was the most invincible King Arthur, of whose most
magnificent empire and marvellous triumphs more things are held in the historical
monuments than can easily be believed.>*

But this Archbishopp his subtle sophisticall shapinge of his victorious and vertuous
Arthus Suetius by the shadowe of our Brytishe *Arthur* is at large disciphred and very
evidently discussed in the volume of *Famous and Rich Discoveris*. And
notwithstandinge that large discours, I thought in this place these littel notes of these two
historiographers, they beinge neighbourlie foreyners, and the same halfe the enemyes of
the Britishe name and the disgracers (as much as they dare for shame) of the immortall
glorye dew to our Brytans are of no littell importaunce to our purposse. Your Maiestie
may perceiue that I borrow heere no parcell either of Mr. [29] *Leyland* or of Sir John Ap
Rhese knight ther notable *Arthurien* pamphletes wherwith to make heere some shew
answerable to Kinge *Arthur* his due commendations.⁵⁹ But neither this nor all their
collections is the tenth due to our Britishe *Arthur* his vertuous life and prosperous

conquests worthely recordyng. In dede, that which they have collected is sufficient to demonstrate to all manner of men, *<That Arthur existed, and that he was the most unconquerable of British monarchs; that many Saxons, Picts, and Scots were overcome and yoked by him; and many other things which, without the intervention of the suitable care of this our age, would not seem worthy of belief.>* And though they have alledged vndoubted testimonyes of Kinge Arthur his princelie vertus, his manyfold battailes, his marveilous victoris, his death, his buriall, of his carkas sene, of his carkas translated, of his crowne by Kinge Edward (the first after the conquest) received from the Welsh Brytans, of his seale with the inscription imperiall, and of sundrye such poynts of importaunce,⁶⁰ yet this may I heere ad and contribute to their collections (which is not to be slightlie regarded and remembred) out of the notable and true historiographer *Roger Hovedon*.⁶¹

<In the year 1191, at the beginning of the month of March, Richard King of England gave to Tancred that greatest of swords which the Britons call Caliburn, which was once the sword of Arthur the noble king, &cæt.>

And to fynish this my digression of the incomperable Britishe Kinge Arthur (your Maiesties Ancestor) these homly verses (written by *Godefridum Viterbiensem*, *<at that time notary to King Conrad III, to the Emperor Frederick I and to his son Henry VI et cæt.>*) may perhaps to forein disdayners or dowters of Kinge *Arthur* his wonderfull trivmphant fame be a more credible, yea and forcible testimony, then any of our owne country mens recordes such as yet are in common and vulger handlinge or knowledge.⁶² And theise be that circumspect notarie his three forsaid verses.

*<Arthur, who was so great, if war were required
Col. 617.⁶³ He was able to vanquish all by wonderful means,
And he ruled men by force and military might.>*

Nowe (at lenth) ame I come to my cheife purpose of some recordes settinge downe which wil be found sufficient for to stire upp your Maiesties most noble hart and to directe your godlie conscience to vndertake this Brytishe discovery and recovery enterprise in your owne royall interest, for the great good service of God, for your Highnes immortall fame, and the marvailous wealth publick of your Brytish Impire, and that with all opportunitye. [30] Whearvnto your Highnes very royall clayme in particuler, the reason of the clayme, the creditt of that reason, and the lawfull force of that credit will also be somewhat evidentlie (though very brieflie) laid here before your Maiesties most gracious and prudent consyderation. But the whole argument handled at full accordinge to this quadripartie method will become a booke of no small volume. Wherof to my aftercommers I have here prepared the cheife ground plate,⁶⁴ trustinge that I have don therin a pece of service to your Maiestie—our true, lawfull, and vndoubted Brytish Empresse— somewhat acceptable, and for the advauncement of the Christian religion, not litle available, yf the opportunitie of these later days be carefullie, lovinglie, and syncerlie embraced.⁶⁵

First, as for a generall advertisement, how large only Kinge Arthur had extended the boundes of this Britishe Impiere, this record may serve, the same beinge written

anciently, amonge the lawes . . . of good King Edward, which William the Bastard⁶⁶ later confirmed . . . which lawes begin thus:

*<After the conquest of England, in the fourth year of his reign, the aforesaid King William of England, on the advice of his barons, caused a council to be summoned for all English noblemen, learned men, and lawyers so that he could hear from them about their laws, rights, and customs. Then twelve men from each part of the country were chosen and first openly swore an oath to the king that as much as they could, they would walk the right path, veering neither right nor left, they would reveal their hallow laws and customs, passing by nothing, adding nothing and changing nothing with lies. & cæt.>*⁶⁷

And ther toward the ende, this title is prefixed with the record ensuinge.

<Of the Rights and Appurtances of the British Crown

Arthur, who was once the most famous King of the

Britons, was a great man, and spirited, and an

illustrious warrior. Too small was his kingdom; his

*spirit was not content with the realm of Britain:**

Therefore he energetically subdued all of Scantia,

which is presently called Norway, and all the isles

beyond Scantia, such as Iceland and Greenland,

which are dependencies of Norway, and Snehorda

and Scotland and Gotland and Dacia, [31] Semeland,

Winlandia, Curlandia, Row, Femelandia, Wirelandia,

Flanders, Cherrela, Lapland, and all the other lands

*Here I omytt purposlye very much that may be said, how *Albion* and *Iernia* became first called *Insulæ Brytanicae*, or how and wherfor all the huge great bosome of the *Septentrional Ocean* vntill and beyond *Iseland* was called *Oceanus Brytanicus*.⁶⁸ In so much that an ancient authore noted Θψλω το βε βορειοτατην των Βρεττανικων.⁶⁹ I omytt also some advertisementes giving vpon that enlarging of the easterlie bowndes of the Brytish Monarchy, in our first Christened Kinge *Lucius* his dayes, by the assignement of *Eleutherius* Archbischopp of *Rome* Anno 147 after the Passion of Christ, which was that all the iles betwene *Albion* and *Denmark* should be *<of the rights and appurtenances of the*

British Crown>: as is recorded also amonge these Lawes <of Good King Edward>.⁷⁰ But cheifely I record heere a brefe declaration and confirmation of that *Brytish* plate Imperiall, which by our *Brytish* Arthur was so valiantlie and prosperously laid forth that his Imperium in divers historicall monumentes (as *Ioannes Magnus* saith) was recorded to have bine <very extensive>; and that, <not without blood and sweat>, but <by wonderful victories> so brought to passe.⁷¹

*and isles of the eastern ocean all the way to Russia (of course Lippe acts as the eastern boundary of the British realm) and many other isles beyond Scantia, continuously to the far north, which are among the dependencies of Scantia, now called Norway.**⁷²

*They were fierce and indomitable people, and they did not have love for God or neighbor, since from the north all evil spreads.*⁷³ *There were, however, some secret Christians there (several examples are omitted). However, Arthur was the best Christian, and he baptised them, so that through all Norway one God was worshipped and one faith in Christ kept and maintained always inviolable. At that time, all the Norwegian chieftains took wives from the noble families of Britain; hence, Norwegians say that they come from the people and blood of this kingdom. During those times, King Arthur requested from the Lord Pope and Roman curia that Norway be confirmed in perpetuity to the crown of Britain in augmentation of this kingdom: and the said Arthur called it the vault of Britain. This is the true reason Norwegians say that they ought to live with us in this realm, and they say that they are a part of the body of*

this realm. Indeed they preferred to remain in this kingdom rather than in their own particular land, which is dry and mountainous and infertile, and there are no crops there, except in a few places. But truly, this land is rich and fertile, and corn⁷⁴ and everything else springs forth here. This is the reason there are the most horrible wars between the English and the Norwegians, and countless people killed. In truth, the Norwegians have occupied many lands and isles of this kingdom, which they have hithertofore held in occupation, nor could they be plucked out from hence at any time thereafter. Ultimately they are united with us by our sacraments and faith and by their later taking wives of our blood, and by affinity and marriage. So at long last, good King Edward, our last king (who was a great son of peace) granted them concessions through the common council of the whole realm. For this reason, they should be able to live together with us, and [32] remain in this land as our sworn brothers.>⁷⁵

I thinke it needfull heer to advertise your Maiestie that one parcell of these here rehersed landes, ilandes, and terretoris comprehended vnder the name of *Scantia* (of *Plinie* called

Scandinavia) is that very great portion of *Europ*, which your Highnes may easlie conceive by drawinge an imaginative lyne from the mouth of the River *Onega*, in the westerne corner of *Moschouite* or *St: Nicholas Bay*, vntill the mouth of the River *Polna* in the northeren and easterlie ende of *Fynland Bay*; for all that is conteyned within that lyne and invironied of the sea westerley from that line is the same *Peninsula* which was called *Scantia* or *Scandinavia* in tymes past.⁷⁶ The rest of that part of the Brytish Impier in this record expressed is not only all the provincis, seigneuris, and terretories alonge the easterlie coast of *Finland* Sea, or Bay, and along all the east and sowtherly sea coasts of the *Sueden* sea (which tracte of the sea coast ys thus orderlie confronted: first of *Livonia*, then of *Samogitia*, *Prussia*, *Vandalia*, *Pomerania*, and *Meckelburgia*) but also is *Dania*, *Frisia*, *Holandia*, *Zelandia*, *Brabantia* [33] *Flandria*, & *Picardia*.⁷⁷ All which names be better knowne then some of those ancient names (which appertayne to the nowe expressed parcell of your royall Impier) I can make sufficientlie manifest. And heare your Maiestie may also vnderstand that this name *Zeland* is ancerable both to the famous great iland (otherwise called *Zialandia*) wherin *Coppen Hagen* the Danish kinge his royall seat is. And also the name of *Zeland* is belonginge to those ilandes lyenge next to the east side of our Albion kingdom against the Themis mouth. Likewise ther is *Gothia*, a parcell of *Suetia* (vulgerlie called *Sweden*), and by the same a notable iland likewise called *Gothia*.⁷⁸ More over, it is worth the notinge that all *Scantia*, or *Scandinavia*, of *Plinie* and *Solinus* was iudged to be an ile wher indede yt is a most large *Peninsula*, but by very rigoure of discription of the woord *insula* (seinge with water fresh and salt it is enclosed), yt may as well be called an iland as the riche countrie of *Cefala* in *Africa* sowtheast coast is of sondrie esteemed to be an iland.⁷⁹ In the little chart your Maiestie

may perceive that the lake called *Vladiskoy Lacus* doth send into the *Moschouy Bay* one great river called *Onega*, and that from the said *Vladiskoy Lake* to the great lake called *Ladoga*, otherwise *Neoa*, a river is stretched. And so into this *Ladoga* the great River *Lowat* fallinge doth with great force run into the *Finnish Bay*, havinge his mouth at the towne called *Coperaia*.⁸⁰ And thus are *Plinie*, and *Solinus*, and other auncient authors their wordes veriefied in respecte of callinge that *Scantia* an iland, after which sort of respect, a great parte of Norway may be called an iland, and *Denmark*, or *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (called also *Dacia*)⁸¹ hath of some byn esteemed an ile.

And in the forsaid whole *Peninsula* of *Scantia* ancientlye have bin counted the iurisdictions but of two mightie kinges, cheiflie (though *Gothia* of it selfe hath byn a great kingdom), yt is to vete of *Norway* and *Sweden*. That part of *Scantia* which is on

<i>Scantia tota</i>		
<i>Noruegia</i>	<i>Suetia</i>	
<i>finmarchia & cæt</i>	<i>Estboddia (et Ins: omnes in Westboddia (Sinu Boddico</i>	<i>Gothia Gothia Insula</i>
	<i>Finlandia (Et Ins: omnes in (Sinu Finnico</i>	<i>Et omnes Insula in Sinu Suetico</i>
<i>Lippia. Seriefinia. Biarmia. Finlappia. Corelia</i>		

the westerlie side of the huge and marvelous mountaynes (runinge in manner *north & south*) beinge appropriate to *Norway*, and the large kingdom of *Sweden* to be all that part of *Scantia* which lyeth on the easterlie side of the forsaid mountayns. Two iurisdictions I saye, though the said kingdoms their proper boundes did not strech so far, for vnder [34] *Norwegians* iurisdiction was and is tributarie the province of *Finmarch*, and vnder the *Sweden* iurisdiction was *Gothia* (and the iland *Gothia*, with all the other iles in the *Sweden Sea* conteyned), East *Boddia* and West *Boddia* (with all the iles in *Boddico Sinu* conteyned), *Finlandia* with all the ils lienge in *Sinu Finnico*, *Lappia*, *Seriefinia*, *Biarmia*, *Finlappia*, and *Corelia* Province, wherof one parte lieth on the sea coast of the *Moschovy*

Bay and an other on the seacoast of *Finland Bay*.⁸² And because the coast wher the first arrivinge of our Brytans on *Scantia Sea* coast was *Norway*, and the same a very large kingdom, the whole peninsula of *Scantia* hath vulgerlie in tymes past byn called *Norway*, as in the forsaid recorde it is. And with *Plinie* all *Scantia* is noted by the name of *Bergion* or *Vergion*, by reason of *Bergen*, the cheife city and most ancient of all *Norway*.⁸³ And wheras in the alleadged record, after the woord *Lappam* followeth this parcell: <*And all other lands and isles in the eastern ocean as far as Russia.*>

Seinge the principall landes (heere intended) I have sufficientlie (for this place) expressed, now of some of the ilandes which are betwene your Maiesties *Albion* and *Russia* (nowe called *Moschovia*), I deme it not superfluous to leave some memorie by their names, in this adge vulgerlie knowne. Beginning therfore at *Schetland Ilandes* with *Fayer Ile* and *Fowle Ile* (commonly called *Fowly*), I will proceed onward in the cours of our yearlie Moschoviticall navigation. Easterlie of *Schetland Ilandes* and neere *Norway* coast lyeth *Askow Iland*; northerlie of it is *Kind*, then *Femo*, *Scorpena*, *Giska*, *Cracowad*, *Fosen*, *Varo*, *Langanas*, *Ondingia*, *Scassuuen*, *Lofote*, *Vastrall*, *Quedesior*, *Trondanas*, *Andanas*, and the priklie Ile of *Saniam* (which our saillors name *Zenam*). And yet more onward is *Rodesholm*, *Trunis*, *Hielso*, and *Stappen*.⁸⁴ And here I must stay, beinge on this side the north *Cape*, as our saillors have iustly named it, beinge the most northen parte of all the said *Peninsula* named *Scantia* and otherwise *Scandia*, *Scandinavia*, *Balthia*, and *Bergion*. And that parcell of the former recorde: <*And many other islands beyond Scantia right up to the farthest north.*> Besides other Northen Iles, yt respecteth cheiflie the 4 great iles about the North Pole, with the other lesser iles [35] in the

mowthes of the 4 swallowing *Downfalls* or *Indrawing Seas*,⁸⁵ which in the forepart of this record are also specified and in the *Charte* expressed. But by sondry other very rare and stronge testimonis, they are in an other place notified and confirmed. Thus much in this place ma[y] suffice of *Scantia* and of some of the ilandes which were the ancient appertinances therof vnder Kinge *Arthur*.

And because, *In Ore duorum vel trium stabit omne verbum*,⁸⁶ amonge Christians (as our heavenly and Almighty God teacheth vs), albeit the former record carieth with it the circumstances of greater creditt then as to have byn reported or testefied of the mowthes of only two or three witnesses (as the preamble prefixed doth declare), yet to content the forreyne and homyshe antiquary more fully, I will presentlie bringe forth sundry other witnesses wherby yt wilbe evident that this royall record is not doutfull or vntrue. And also clere it is that this record is not of *Galfridus Monumuthensis*, either his framinge or in the British ancient monument of the translatinge (which sondry tymes I have sene, though some Englishmen thinke that booke not to be extant).⁸⁷ For neither in *Monumuthensis* Latyn translation nor in the Brytish monument therof, in like forme of wordes or intent of matter, the same is conteyned. But nowe it wilbe manifest, that many good and credible authors have written of Kinge *Arthur*, his actes and conquests, which bookes partlie our enemys or light frendes kepe yet backe from our sight and knowledg; and parte of them lye either vncome by or vnexamined yet, not only of Scote, Sweden, or Dane, but also of your Maiesties British subiectes of *Albion* and *Iernia*, your kingdoms. And to prove the most parte of this my (somewhat longe) advertisement to be probable,

your Maiestie may heare what it hath pleased the Scottishe *Hector Boethius* (vnrequested or vnconstrained) to record of this matter.

* These plurall numbers declare more then one authore to have written on this manner.

<*There are those* who write that King Arthur through these times seized by force Scotland, Ireland, Iceland, Finmarchia, the Orkney Isles, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Lithuania, Prussia, Pomerania, Zealand, Gotland, Holland, the other Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, the Pas de Calais (or, in some sources, the region of Boulogne), Normandy, Brittany and finally all of France, and took them under his leadership with tribute being paid by the peoples and their leaders.>⁸⁸

[36] And here I stayer. The rest there ensuinge, I refuse as a reasonable *Aristarchus*.⁸⁹

And in this also I note a littell imperfection, as of *Lituania* (vulgerly named *Litow*) vnduly inserted, and *Norvegia* and *Gelandia* vnduly left out, and wheras the alphabetary register in the *Index* (annexed to *Hector Boethius* his historie) hath vppon this place of *Boethius* registred thus: <Arthur is falsely said to have conquered many regions.> This glosing register hath very fallsly there put in the worde, <falsely>, and otherwise than *Hector Boethius* woordes (by me heare alledged and made perfect) with circumspect antiquaris and indifferent iudges doo importe, and otherwise then *Hector Boethius* his owne intent there was, yea otherwise then the slight obiections by *Hector* propounded against that parcell there insuinge (which before I did refuse) could induce, direct, or warrant this register so absolutlie to annex <falsely>. And yf those obiections shoulde by some wrangler be wrested to have some respecte also to the parcell here of me

received to creditt, yet I could so aptlie and reasonable dissolve & repulse them, as this recorde admitted out of *Boethius* should thereby receive no great disgrace and much lesse vtterly be overthrowne.

And well knewe this *Hector* what he did, when he in the plurall number (as with <are> and <Those who write>) notified the writers of our *Arthure* his foreyn conquestes, because ther were so many that he could never hope to supres all, though Polidor *Virgil* did begine such a tragedy mischevously enough.⁹⁰ Therin traiterouslie (in manner) abusinge and diminishing the honour imperiall, lineallie derived and due vnto your Maiesties father (of most renowned memorie Kinge Henri the 8), and also by like meanes hindered (as much as laye in hym) your highnes title to the same, beinge your Maiesties most lawfull inheritaunce imperiall, as very habundantlie in those ancient monuments did appere, which wilfully and wickedlie (as by sondrie credible gentelmen I have heard it testified), this *Polydor** burnt, yea a whole carte load almost.

But by *Boethius* leave I will bringe other credible witnesses for *Arthur* his great victoris

<*Who, rumor has it and indeed it is known beyond dispute, so his errors would never be perceived, he committed to fire (monstrous crime!) our ancient histories and manuscripts, so many that even a wagon could not hold them all, so that, I believe, he would have sole authority in the field. So testifies John Caius in his little book of the antiquity of Cambridge University. pag. 70. lib: i.>⁹¹

and Impiere in and nere about *Scantia* (noted also by the name of only *Norway* though it comprehend *Norwegia*, *Suevia*, and *Gothia*), and first I will set downe a percell of the History of

Ioannes Magnus Gothus. (Who was <Primate of Sweden and Gotland>, and <Archbishop of Uppsala>) out of his eight booke and xxxi chapter <*History of the Goths and the Swedes*>, the first sentence wherof I have also before alleadged.

[37] *<At that time in Britain ruled the most invincible King*

*<The most magnificent
empire and marvelous
triumphs of Arthur.>*

Arthur, of whose most magnificent empire and marvelous triumphs more things are held in the historical monuments than can easily be believed. He, then, when asked by Herold for help against Tordo,⁹² agreed with haste, as there was nothing as pleasurable as acting in war with a most supreme king who had been surrounded by the most brave Goth and Swedish races and other most powerful peoples. And so, from Britain, Gaul, and Holland was led the greatest fleet of innumerable warriors intent on the liberation of Denmark. This fleet, made greater still by a host of Scots led by their King *Angnischelus,⁹³ was intercepted by Tordo with no less of a force, prepared for navy battle in the channel that separates the Cimbrians from the Goths, and having arrived they joined in battle and fought for the whole of three days with such tenacious spirit, due to the supreme worth of both parties, neither of them were able to surmise how victory would incline. At last the German fleet, which followed Arthur's command, invaded the Goths and Swedes from the rear, making him the master of victory at once and compelling the enemy to save themselves and their homeland rather than attend to controlling Denmark. Thus, Arthur, having secured such a glorious victory, wished the Danes to be subject not to themselves (as they had hoped), but to him, and his own Britons and also the*

*<This kings of the Scots
is called by some
Auguselus and others
Ancelmus.>*

Scots. By which the unlucky Danes, who had thought to liberate themselves from the one yoke of the Swedes and Goths, found themselves long beset by a doubled—indeed, a multiplex—severity, beneath which they were even longer oppressed, not merely at the hands of the English and Scots, but truly also by the Norwegians, over whom Arthur (according to Scottish History) had set his kinsman Loth. Besides this, they were often beset by Vandals, Teutronics, Gauls, Frisians, and other peoples subject to Arthur. However frequently they attempted to shake off the yoke of the English, they were seen to provoke Arthur to obstinate indignation. &cæt.>

And in thend of the same chapter, it followeth:

<But now we will return to Tordo who, once peace was put in place between himself and Arthur, reigned for many happy and quiet years, and whose grave some say is among the Ostrogoths in the state of Scara, and others say is among the Swedes in Uppsala.⁹⁴ But not all among these histories which assert that Arthur conquered the Swedes and Goths, are thought credible, though we have now said he was once exerting force to capture them.>

Note (I besech your Maiestie) the rash and vndiscrete pevishnes of this Archebishopp, who denieth *Suedon* and *Gothland* to have bin vnder Kinge Arthur his royall government, thoughe at large he confesseth that Kinge Arthur was so valiant and in those contries (with redie powre) so mightie that he became there *<without delay, the*

master of victory> against *Tordo* Kinge of the *Suedens* and *Gothes*, even then, when the *Sweden* and *Gothland* forces and powre weere assembled greatest, and their souldiers and mariners bodyes lustiest, and their courages liveliest. How could the *Sweden* resist after that from beinge brought vnder Kinge Arthur his subiection or iurisdiction immediatlie? Seinge they were by Kinge Arthure and his army many thowsandes of them slaine, and all the rest (with three daies continewall fight) tyred, discomfeted, and discouradged? And seinge, on the contrary side, the noble and glorious champion Kinge Arthure hym selfe by that great victorie was (or might be) the more allured to procead in conquest ther, and his souldiours, also, by the same victorie the more enflamed (for greater honour and larger gayne) manfullie to stand to that conqueringe enterprise. And can it seme probable that Arthur, even then and ther, should want will, couradge, or habilitie to subdewe the *Suedens* and *Gothes* both when he and his souldiers weare excellentlie flesht⁹⁵ and encouradged with so glorious a victorie? And wher also he was in the midst of so many nations and provinces (yet freshe and not here put in arms), and the same subiecte vnto hym, as by this Archbishopp, in this very place, yt maie appere? As namlie, that the *Norway* Kingdom was at his commandement by his kinsman Kinge Loth, whom he had made and enstalled Kinge of Norway.⁹⁶ And (besides the *Danes*, now his subiectes) that the *Vandales*, the *Teutonians* (or *Dutchmen*), the *Frisiens*, the *Gaules*, and other people therabouts were (in those daies) Kinge Arthure his subiectes. Therfor, seinge in our first *Maxima* (of this second sorte of recordes)⁹⁷ by the whoale bodie of this your Maiesties realme of England, (and that vppon their othes) yt was avouched to Kinge William the first (your Maiesties triumphant ancestor) that all *Scantia* was by Kinge Arthure subdued (wherof *Suetia* and *Gothia* are a greate parte). And also seinge this Archbishopp taketh

witnes of *Historia* [39] *Scotica* (as to be credited) and the same expreslie affirmeth divers to have plainlie testified that *Suetia* was of Kinge Arthur his conquest (aswell as it is vndoubtedlie confessed of *Norway*); of what force then (I praie yow) ought this Archbishopp his conclusionall doubt or awkward denyall be? Mary (perhaps) that Gothish Archbishop meant that he⁹⁸ did not *<hold absolute sway>* in *Suetia* actually on this manner, as in kepinge personall residence Imperiall there, or not permyttinge *Tordo* to vse the name of kinge of *Sweden & Gothland* after he was become vassall to our Arthur, and so the rigour of his negative spech mought have some shewe of veretie. For otherwise, the Archbishopp hath brought in to much evidence of probabilitie that Kinge Arthure did even at that tyme subdue *Suetia*, or els not longe after, vsing therto (yf need were) the aid of those very many and mightie people thearabout beinge his subiectes. Or, at the least, that all *Suetia*, and *Gothia*, yea an *Livonia*, and *Samogotia* provinces liing by the *Sweden & Balthik Sea* coast—perceivinge Kinge Arthure his mightie powre present and his victorious valiantnes in overcominge *Tordo* his great host, even before their faces (in manner) and hard by them, and consideringe *Frisios*, *Teutonas*, *Gallos*, and the other countries therabout (as is said) to be subiectes alredie to Kinge Arthure—did also submyte them selves and their countries to his royall gouvernement and courtosy. Wherfore this phrase, *<But not all among these accounts seem to me credible, & cæt.>* can not with me seme reasonable left behind hym. Which phrase, also, at the very conclusion of that Arthuriene conquest or tryvmphe, so cuttedlie⁹⁹ penned, did rather shew and detect his greife conceived of the truth of Arthurs conquest or royall purchase of *Sweden* and *Gothland* (this Archbishops naturall countrie), pinchinge hym and gnawing his conscience, then any whyt prove or perswade that Kinge Arthur, beinge *<ever most*

eager for military glory> (as a Scot¹⁰⁰ also recordeth), was not or became not the soveraigne ruler and commander of all the *Sweden* and *Gothland* dominions, *Tordo* their kinge becominge his vassall royall, beinge by hym overcome in so great and bluddie a battaile as here by the said Archbishopp is specified.

And seinge this Archbishopp (in this alledged chapter) hath somewhat taken witnes of the *Scottish* historie, I also (in this matter) will vse likewise one record more out of the Scottishe historie written to Kinge Iames the fifthe by *Ioannes Maior*, a Scot and a theologien, and the same booke (as well as *Hector Boethius* and *Galfridus Monnumuthensis* were) beinge published even in Fraunce though it contayneth the auncient Britishe Title to the Kingdom of Fraunce.¹⁰¹ But as concerninge Fraunce and your Maiesties manifold iust title royall therto, yt is a thinge most manifest, though e oppertunetie serve not yet to make your vassall duly to do his duty as well as he knoweth yt, though he will not acknowlege it. In the meane tyme [40] animatinge his owne conscience with <*the Salic Law*>,¹⁰² so longe as with sword and policy he can make that his argument good. The Scottishe forsaide record of *Ioannes Maior* ys this *Verbatim*, as followeth:¹⁰³

<Arthur was declared king of the Britons while yet at a green age. But his character was superlatively distinguished, his body beautiful and excellently formed, and his spirit most generous. He was ever eager for military glory. He cast out the Saxons from the island. If the British Annals are to be believed, he tamed the Scots

*The Scote of custom doth doubt when the true historie any thinge semeth to deminish his countrie glorie. And yf he know certenly that it were falls, why did he leve it recorded in his owne booke & not confuted?

ΔHere also is evident record for your Maiesties title royall to *Friseland* Iland and the appertenances, which from your Maiesties Brytish kingdome lyeth westerlie and is the first notable Ile westerlie betwene your kingdom of *Irland* and your Maiesties province of *Meta Incognita* and withall in the right waie thitherward. And that the phrase *Circa Britanniam* in this consideration may reach so farre as *Friseland* the *Epithetons* of comprovinciall and collaterall in other places applied to *Iseland* and *Friseland* (in respect of *Brytayne*) doth plainly exprese and confirme.

*and Picts and forced them to serve him.*¹⁰⁴ *Arthur's seat in the kingdom of Scotland was in Edinburgh. And there is even now a place near Edinburgh that has that name. But at that time, these parts were not held by the Scots. The King of Scots advanced to war with this Arthur (as * they say). Because he had been subdued by Arthur, they were joined by necessity in great friendship. He had once intended to efface all Scots, and he would have done it if they had not come to him as supplicants. Thus reports Geoffrey of Monmouth. And not only did he add all Britannia to his empire, but Ireland, Norway, and all the western isles Δ¹⁰⁵ and peninsulas around Britainnia, and he ruled not only these but Gaulish and German vicinities. And with his illustrious men, he amassed a great dominion. To his kinsman Loth he bestowed as a gift the kingdom of Norway and all of Lothian (where I come from). That is why in the "Arthuri Gestis,"¹⁰⁶ Loth is generally called "of Lothian." Glorious men and eager warriors from all regions had flocked to him; he loyally and courteously took up all of them and heaped upon them the most splendid gifts, &c.>*

Now I thinke it convenient to alledge an other sorte of forayne writers who may be demed more indifferent witnesses in this matter of ours then either the *Scottish* or *Gothish* historiographers were for that the glorie of their countrie, by the truth of this case expressed (in their opinion), did seme to be somewhat dyminished, and therfore such their testimonies which they do spare vs (beinge to our present purpose) ar so much [41] the more to be regarded. And this second sort of writers have vndoubtedlie made greate search for knowledge of the auncient histories almost vniversally, and that vnpartially, in respecte of the Brytische renowne advancing, and amonge them is none of greater name and credit then *Iohannes Tritemius* whose little booke written to the Emperour *Maximilian* (the first of that name) *De Septem Secundeis* doth yeald vs this testimony of Kinge Arthure and his conquests.¹⁰⁷

<Barbarians
conquered by Arthur,
all of Gaul, Norway,
Denmark, and many
Provinces

Thirty kingdoms
under the rule of
Arthur>

<Arcturus (who the people called Arcus) the most famous king of the Britons, conquered the barbarians, returned the peace of the church, carried out many worthy victories, increased faith in Christ, and subjugated all of Gaul, Norway, Denmark, and many provinces to his empire. In his time, he was the most glorious king of all; after he had achieved many distinguished deeds, the Britons expected and prepared for his return for many years, which extraordinary things were widely proclaimed by the old songs of bards. During Arthur's reign, England flourished with thirty kings serving him. &cæt.>

And before this marvelously well learned *Tritemius* his dayes, the very ingenious, discreet, and zealous Doctor of Lawe, *Felix Maleolus*, in his excellent worke de *Nobilitate Cap: 26.* did most breiflie thus register Kinge Arthur his incomperable title imperiall.¹⁰⁸

<Arthur, the most glorious monarch of all the nobles of the world, and the most Christian king, and the peace-maker of the kingdom of Britain, about whose wonders and excellence will be written in noble gests throughout the kingdoms of the world.> And in the 27 chapter of the same booke, glauncinglie, thus he titleth Kinge Arthure: <King Arthur, Prince of Britain, the monarch of all human nobility.>

Likewise the compendious record called *Fasciculus Temporum* doth leave vnto vs this testimony of Kinge Arthure:¹⁰⁹

<Arcturus, the most famous king of Britain, in his victories destroyed 460 men by sword, succored the church of God and greatly increased faith, and he compelled all the lands of France, Denmark, Norway, &cæt. to serve him.>

And nowe (at lenght) I doute not but our Britishe historie and the translator therof *Galfridus Monumuthensis* may with all forrayners, [42] and (much rather) ought with all your Maiestis lovinge and true subiectes, have good creditt for these fewe parcells ensuing, especiallie the same beinge (in manner) evidently confirmed, partlie by the premisses, and partlie by that which here shalbe annexed immediatlie vnto *Monemuthensis* record. I meane in respect of Kinge Arthure his foreyn conquests, for against *Malgo* his recovery againe of the 6 Comprovinciall Ils or ilandishe kingdoms in

the Ocean Sea (vpon their rebelling or revoltinge from the British Impiere after Kinge Arthur his dayes) no credible author hath written that I have sene or herd of. *In Monemuthensis* thus is recorded. *Lib: 7. Capo: 3.*

<And therefore, having subdued every part of Ireland, he directed his fleet to Iceland, subdued the people. Thereafter the report issued through the other islands that no province was able to resist him, and Doldonius, King of Gelandia, and Gimnasius, King of the Orkneys, came to him of their own accord and promised taxes and made their homage.>¹¹⁰

And within a few lines after that:

<His ships prepared, he first approached Norway, where he distinguished his brother-in-law Loth with a crown, &cæt. When victory was possible, the Britons attacked with abundant fire and, dispersing the people of the coutryside, they did not cease indulging their severity until Norway and Denmark submitted to the dominion of Arthur. That done, with Lot advanced as King of Norway, Arthur sailed to Gaul, made up squadrons, and began to plunder the country on all sides, et cæt. For Arthur was accompanied by the young men of all the isles he had conquered; hence he held an army so great, how difficult would it be for anyone to surmount it? He was also being served by the better part of the Gallic province, which he made beholden to him through his largesse, et cæt. After another nine years, with every region of Gaul submissive to him, Arthur returned to Paris and held court there, & cæt.>¹¹¹

And in the chapter followinge.

<Thereafter, ambassadors were sent forth in different directions, from Gaul to the Collateral Isles of the ocean, with the message

** <to be celebrated,
no doubt in the City
of Legions>¹¹²*

** <otherwise
Gillomaurus>*

** <otherwise Attilius>*

*that all should come to the court. * Thus came Augusehus, King of
Albany (which is now called Scotland), Urian, King of Moray, et
cæt. Also from the Collateral Isles came Gillomaurus, King of
Ireland; Maluasius, King of Iceland; Doldonius, King of
Gelandia; Gimnatius, King of the Orkneys; Lot, King of Norway;
[43] Acellius, * King of Denmark; et cæt. >¹¹³*

In the 5 chapter of the same booke, thus it is written.

*<Homage and
service is promised to
Arthur by the kings of
Albany, Morayshire,
Ireland, Iceland,
Gotland, the Orkneys,
Norway, Denmark>*

*<Afterward, all the rest also made the statement; promising to him
one at a time, they gave due homage to him. So that besides those
promised by the Duke of Brittany, sixty thousand men, all armed
warriors, were reckoned from the isle of Britain alone. But the
kings of all the other isles, because they were not in the habit of
having cavalry, promised foot soldiers. And so from the six isles,
namely, Ireland, Iceland, Gelandia, the Orkneys, Norway, and
Denmark, six times twenty-thousand men had been counted. >¹¹⁴*

And in the 8 booke and first chapter thus.

** <Evidently
Vortiporius, for that
was Malgo, the fourth
king of Britain after
Arthur. >*

** <The printed text
misprints as
'Golandia'. >*

*<Whose * successor was Malgo, nearly the most handsome man of
all Britain, an averter of many tyrants, strong in arms, et cæt. He
also held the whole island and through most horrible battles, he
added to his control the six Comprovinciall isles, Ireland, namely,
as well as Iceland, Gelandia, * the Orkneys, Norway, and
Denmark. ¹¹⁵*

And amonge other sufficient confirmations of the verity conteyned in these few parceles recited out of *Monemuthensis* translation of the Britishe Historie, I may not well omit one (both answerable to one parte therof, and also to other our present purposes necessary) which is recorded in Kinge Edward the First (your Maiesties ancestor) his name and behalfe, for the Britishe and his direct and vndoubted title to the kingdome of *Scotland*. And the same (<*From the deliberations of the Council of Lincoln*>) was by hym (*Anno* 1301) in his royall letters missive expressed and they directed to *Pope Boniface*,¹¹⁶ who (wrongfully and not piterlicke¹¹⁷) chalenged and avouched to Kinge Edward <*that from ancient times, by law the kingdom of Scotland had fully belonged to and even now was held by the Roman Church.*>¹¹⁸ But Kinge Edward for frendlie answer vnto the said Romish Bishop (by the counsaile and advise of his nobility and best learned men of his kingdom) sent a very large discours in which these few places somewhat pertinent to the matter in hand I thought worthie to be continually remembred, as tyme and occasion maye best serve thervnto:

[44] <*The Most High, who looks into our hearts, renews the message indelibly written in your serene memory, that our forbears, the kings of England, were from the most ancient times back, lawfully situated above and the direct lords of the kingdom of Scotland and all its kings, temporalities, and appendages. And they ever received from the kingdom of Scotland and its nobles (from whom they wanted to have) legal homage and due oaths of loyalty. And we continue to enjoy dominion even now; into our times, we receive the same oaths from the king of Scotland and his chieftains. But indeed they [the chieftains]*

delight in such prerogatives of right and dominion over Scotland and its kings, that they and their followers together rule the kingdom. They have even, for just cause, removed kings and have established in their place others to rule, which, far from being in doubt, has from ancient times been the case and is believed by all, & cæt.>

And afterward in the same letteres.

<Thereafter, Dunwallo, the King of the Britons, struck down Staterius, King of the Scots, a rebel against him, and took his land in unconditional surrender. And so Dunwallo's two sons, namely Belinus and Brennius, divided their father's kingdom between themselves. Because Belinus was the elder, he possessed the crown of the isle with Britain, Wales and Cornwall. In truth, Brennius ruled under him, accepting Scotland. Indeed, this was derived from Trojan custom, in which rank was attained through hereditary primogeniture.¹¹⁹ Likewise, Arthur, the most famous King of Britain, subdued the Scottish rebellion against him and annihilated nearly all its people. And afterwards he set up someone named Auguselus as King of Scotland. And thereafter, in the City of Legions, this King Arthur solemnized a feast, partaken in by all the kings subject to him, throughout which Auguselus King of Scotland displayed homage for the kingdom of Scotland, carrying the sword of King Arthur before him.¹²⁰ And all the succeeding kings of Scotland made homage to all the kings of Britain, and moreover, to all the succeeding kings of England who consequently maintained the same monarchy and dominion, & cæt.>

[45] And this parcell followinge (in the same letters), not only in *Scotland* causes but in your Highnes tytle and right to other provinces, dominions, and territories by sinister

means (yet) deteyned from your Maiestie, is worthy (proportionally) to be considered & thought vpon.

<And since we are distinguished by possession of that same kingdom by right of full dominion, we are not able nor should we restrain our royal rights when met with insolence in our rebellious subjects if it is seen to be expedient. Because, truly, from what has gone before and from other evidence, the kingdom of Scotland, not so much by a calculation of possession as by actual possession, extends to us by full right, and we have guarded against and done nothing in writing or in deed (just as we are able) through which our foresaid rights or holding ought in any way be diminished. We humbly beseech your Holiness, prudently considering what we have here said, to fashion from your soul a worthy cause, & ct.>¹²¹

Wheras in the first of these three notes selected out of the foresaid letters royall, yt is mentioned that vnto Kinge Edward the First not only the Kinge of Scotcs hym selfe but his Scottish nobility also did their due homage (such at the least, of the noble men and other of *Scotland*, as the said Kinge Edward, your Maiesties progenitour thought good to charge with that their deutie doinge). But seeinge a certaine Scott might contrariwise and dangerouslie perswad some men (vnskillfull of the lawfull British and English iurisdiction over Scotland) with his wily argument (puplished), wherby he maketh a great shew of exact discussing and iust deciding the intricate right and title betwene *Iohn Baliol*, *Robert Bruse*, and the Lord Hastings, competitors to the crowne of Scotland after Kinge Alexander the Third his death.¹²² Amonge which his Sorbonist syllogismes, he hath that *Iohn Baliol* Kinge of Scots, thoughe he cam of thelder daughter, yet that he ought not to have byn preferred before Robert *Bruse*.¹²³ And that the said *Iohn Baliol* Kinge of Scots

did not homage to Kinge Edward the First (or any other kinge of *Scots* to any other kinge of England) <*not as King of Scotland*>, but <*as Duke of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland, &c.*>¹²⁴ And thirdlie, that <*the Scots have never recognized English superiority over the Scots.*> And fourthlie, admittinge Iohn *Baliol* to have byn lawfull kinge and admyttinge hym to have submitted and subiected hym selfe and his [46] kingdom vnto Kinge Edward the first, yet that the same his act was not in lawe of any force because (saith he) that the said Iohn *Baliol* was not in *Libertate constitutus*¹²⁵ at the tyme of his submission and homage doinge.

I thought it therfore very necessarie here to annexe and revive the memorie of the true forme of the foresaid homages (*rude & pure*)¹²⁶ don to your Maiesties said progenitor Kinge Edward the First by Iohn *Baliol*, lawfull and true Kinge of *Scotes*, and also by the nobilitie of *Scotland* at the same season. And therby not only wilbe manifest the *Scottishe* vndue handling of so waightie a matter, but also your Maiesties lovinge and faithfull subiectes may be the more encouradged (and with a safe concience) to doo their dewties manfullie and constantlie, when tyme shall serve, for the defence and recoverie of your highnes royall interest and right by all princleie, politike, and godlie meanes. I meane not of *Scotland* only and the *Ilands of Orknay* with other the *Scottishe* and homishe appertenances, but of the *Iland Icaria* also and other royalties which either are derived and purchased farther of, from and by some vnder your Maiesties ancestors and progenitours, Brytishe and Englishe, their royall superioretie to *Scotland* or *Ireland*, or were somtyme the due roall provinces and seigniories of Kinge Doldonius and Kinge *Malusiasius*,¹²⁷ or other who were true, lovinge, and obedient vassalls to your Maiesties

most famous British predecessor Kinge *Arthur*, by whom also, as well as by any other, this Kinge Edward the First claymed his full, direct and due title to *Scotland* with the appertenances. The intent of which my most humble advertisement (I trust) your most excellent Maiestie not only maie easlie conceive by theise fewe wordes, but also will very graciouslie accept and take in good parte such my symple service most faithfullie (and that divers wais) employed, as much as in me lieth, for the immortall honour, abundant wealth, and invincible strenght of your Maiesties Brytishe Empier procuringe and advauncing.

Abundantlie testefied by ancient recordes, yt doth appere that Kinge Edward the First (your Maiesties most noble progenitour), after the death of Alexander (the Third) Kinge of Scotese, perceivinge it to be somewhat doubtfull and debatable who to take Scottish royall function was next lawfull inheritour and wiselie consideringe that the handlinge and issue of that weightie cause was most circumspectlie and throughlie to be sene vnto by hym, did therupon goo into *Northumberland*, and at *Norham*,¹²⁸ *<consulting with bishops and experts in both laws, and scrolling back through annals of past times, he did call the bishops and great men of the kingdom of Scotland, and publicly in the parish church at Norham, he faithfully declared to them his rights of dominion in the kingdom of Scotland, [47] and he requested that they acknowledge this, protesting that he would himself defend the rights of his crown to the point of spilling blood. On account of which cause, that year the king did search through all the monasteries of England, Scotland, and Wales to discern what sources were able to agree with him on this point. And it was discovered in the Chronicles of Marianus Scotus, William of Malmesbury, Roger of*

Hovedon, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph of Diceto¹²⁹ that in the year of our Lord 910, King Edward the Elder¹³⁰ subdued to himself the kings of Scotland and Cumbria, and also, in the same, that in the year of our Lord 921, the foresaid peoples elected the foresaid Edward as their lord and patron. And also, in the same, in the year 926, King Athelstan of England¹³¹ conquered King Constantine of Scotland,¹³² and again, permitted him to reign under himself. And Edward, the brother of Athelstan, King of England, conquered the men of Scotland and Northumberland, who submitted themselves and swore oaths of loyalty to him. And in the same sources, Edgar King of England¹³³ overcame Cinead Mac Alpin,¹³⁴ the King of Scots, who swore oaths of loyalty to him. And in the same, Canute the King of England and Denmark,¹³⁵ in the sixteenth year of his reign conquered Malcolm,¹³⁶ &cæt.>¹³⁷

And so furth (proceedeth *Thomas Walsingham*) lineally downe to the crowne in the succession of England vntill the said Edward the First, recordinge the superioretie and lordshipp therof over the crowne of Scotland as these approved cronicles have iustefied. Secondlie the same superioretie was then evident by divers the lettres patents¹³⁸ then extant of the *Scottish* kinge, acknowledginge the Kinge of England their superioure and immediat Lord. Thirdlie, <*It was discovered in the Papal Bulls directed to Scotland that kings of Scotland were excommunicated because they would not obey their overlords, the kings of England.*> Fourthly, <*The chief men of Scotland and England who called forth the right of succession in the kingdom of Scotland acknowledged in their letters patent that they were willing to receive justice publicly according to the word of King Edward, as their acknowledged overlord, and to hold firmly to what he decreed in the preamble of*

the letters of the lords of both kingdoms who claimed rights of succession in Scottish dominions. > As by the said letters, vnder this tenore of wordes followinge doth appere here:¹³⁹

Z

Folio - 77.78.¹⁴⁰ <To all who see or hear the present letters Florence, Earl of Holland, Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annadale, John de Balliol, Lord of Galloway, John de Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March, John de Vesci, for his father, Nicholas de Sules and William de Ross send greetings in the Lord.¹⁴¹ Since we believe ourselves to have rights to the kingdom of Scotland, and are able to hold that right through one who has [48] greater jurisdiction and who has reason to examine our right, we intend to declare, call forth, and approve that jurisdiction. And the noble prince, Lord Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, through good and sufficient reasons has confirmed¹⁴² for us, who look to him, that he has superior dominion over the kingdom of Scotland, and is recognized to hear, examine, and define our rights. We of our own will, without any violence or coercion, do wish, agree, and concede to publicly receive our rights from him as superior lord of the land. Moreover, we wish and promise to have and to hold firmly and steadily to his judgment and that that man shall hold the kingdom who he publicly holds to have the best right thereto. In this testimony, to our letters, we affix our seals. Given at Norham, on

the third day after the Feast of the Ascension, & cæt.>¹⁴³

Fiftly, *<Made in recognition of superior lordship, and the submission to receive whatever the king of England by right will mark out. The King requests that all castles and lands should be delivered to him, so through peaceful seisin,¹⁴⁴ his right of overlordship, as acknowledged in these letters, shall be declared universally. They immediately agreed to the request of the king, producing letters concerning this, inscribed by them and containing in French (as the previous letters) this tenor:¹⁴⁵*

*Letters of seisin granted to the King of England
for the whole kingdom of Scotland.*

To all who see or hear the present letters: Florence, Earl of Holland, Robert le Bruce, Lord of Annandale, John de Balliol, Lord of Galloway, John de Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, John de Vesci, for his father, Nicholas de Sules and William de Ross send greetings in the Lord. Since of our own good will and common assent without any coercion, we have agreed and conceded that the noble prince Lord Edward by the grace of God King of England, because he is himself the overlord of the lands of Scotland, is able to hear, examine and define our defenses which we intend [49] to offer and to approve our rights just as received publicly from the superior lord of the land. Moreover, we promise

that we will hold firmly and steadily to his judgment and that he will possess the kingdom of Scotland, over which he has publicly declared his better right. But since it is not possible for the aforesaid king of England to undertake an investigation at this time, or to complete it without judgment, nor should there be judgment handed down without its execution, nor is it possible to hand down execution now without possession of seisin of these same lands and castles, we wish, agree, and concede that this overlord, until his task is accomplished, has seisin over all the lands of Scotland and its castles for as long as it will satisfy those claiming rights of kingship. However, before he has seisin, he should make good and sufficient security to the petitioners and gaurdians expressing restitution of the kingdom of Scotland, namely, the kingdom with all its royalty, dignity, dominion, freedom, customs, rights, laws, usages, possessions, and whatever else belongs to it in the same state that they were in before seisin was surrendered to him; he will release these to whoever is owed right following his regal judgment; whoever will be king will offer homage to the king of England. And he owes this restitution within two months from the day on which this right is discussed and confirmed. In the meantime, the revenues of the said lands are to be received, put aside in safe deposit, and well gaurded by the hand of who is now Treasurer of Scotland and by someone to be

<These two letters the King sent under his private seal to several monasteries in his kingdom so that they might be entered in the chronicles as a

*permanent record of
the event.>*

*assigned to this by the king of England, and this will be under their
seals, except for the reasonable supports of the lands, castles, and
ministers of the king. In testimony of all the foresaid things, we
affix our seals to these letters. Given at Norham on the Wednesday
after the Ascension of our Lord.¹⁴⁶*

*The King assents to restore the kingdom
of Scotland to whom it is owed.*

*On that account (as before shown, the king of England having
given surety to the Scots of restitution of their kingdom within two
months under penalty of 1,000 pieces of sterling paid to the Holy
Lands of Rome, [50] and also under penalty of excommunication
and injunction against the king's person and the kingdom of
England if he did not make restitution), the Scots did surrender to
King Edward the kingdom of Scotland with its castles, rights, and
customs, and they appointed gaurdians who in the meantime would
watch over the revenues from the land and the labor of those who
worked it, for as long, of course, as due discussion¹⁴⁷ was held
about the legitimate heir.>¹⁴⁸*

Sixtly, at the same tyme, <Eric the King of Norway¹⁴⁹ through his attorneys attended the
council of the king of England, and presented certain writings in these words: To all who

see or hear the present letters, may it be clearly evident that we, Eric by the grace of God King of Norway, in the present tenor, have made, established, and appointed as well as we are able to do by law and deed, our true and legitimate attorneys, viceroys, and special messengers, the nobleman Aven de Hagr, Master H. Plebanum, a Castillian commoner from Aretino, chaplain of our lord the Pope, and Master Peter Algoti to settle for us, and on our behalf, with the most excellent prince by the grace of God, Edward, the noble King of England and overlord of the kingdom of Scotland,¹⁵⁰ to award our superior claim to the kingdom of Scotland, with all its rights and appurtenances, since this kingdom through the death of our daughter Lady Margaret, then Mistress and Queen of Scotland, was lawfully inherited by us. Et cæt.>¹⁵¹

Seventhly, *<After careful discussion of this business, through common assent, I O A N N I de B A L L I O L O, who was descended from the eldest daughter of David, King of Scots, was awarded by the king this entire kingdom. Truly, Robert le Bruce, between whom and this John de Balliol (not to mention others) this question was ruminated, although he was one degree closer, still he was descended from the second daughter of King David.¹⁵² John de Balliol was solemnly crowned on the next Feast of St. Andrew, sitting above the Stone of Destiny¹⁵³ in the church of regular canons in Scone. Truly, after the coronation, he approached the king of England, who held a feast for the Nativity of our Lord at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and made homage to him in these words:*

*Thoughe I omyte heare the settinge downe verbatym (out of the record authentically) divers notable protestations partlie made by Kinge Edward hym selfe (<out of his own mouth :>) [51] and partlie (at the kinges commandement) by Robert Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Chauncellor of England, declared to the nobilitie and prelates of both realmes then present at the plea and processe betwene Iohn *Balliol* and Rober *Brus* &c., yet I thinke it very needfull to reiterate here the tenor of this one, beinge of no small importaunce, which somewhat expoundeth that clause in those records (so often repeated) <Saving the rights of ourself and our heirs when we wish to speak of them>. Which protestation beinge formalie first made by the said Bishopp of *Bath and Welles* in the Kinges name was also againe repeated in French the same daie by the kinge hym selfe (*Anno 1291. Iunij.3.*), the precise sense wherof in Latin is thus recorded:

*<And even though we are the superior and direct overlord of the kingdom and that the exercise or execution of superior right and overlordship extends to us, we do not intend to exclude from this kingdom what is proper to it. Although we exercise our right by displaying justice to others, yet in such ways and at such times as by right we can, we shall see that our right is acknowledged and declared among the claimants of the throne.>

*Lord Edward King
of England and
overlord* of
Scotland, I, John
de Balliol, King of
Scots, [51]
recognize myself as
your vassal for the
entire kingdom of
Scotland and all its*

appurtenances, and those things relating to it, and I recognize¹⁵⁴ that I hold my kingdom, and I rightfully owe it, and I claim to hold it by heredity from you and your heirs the kings of England, with life and limb and all earthly honor, against all mortal men.>¹⁵⁵

*Folio. 82.¹⁵⁶ <And the King of England received homage in due form, saving the rights*¹⁵⁷ of himself and others. But having received the homage of King John, the king of England at once restored the entire kingdom of Scotland with all appurtenances.>*

Now consideringe all this most royall, iust and circumspect proceedinge of Kinge Edward the First for the preferment of this Iohn *Baliol* to the Crowne of Scotland with the appertenances, the sutes of the competitours beinge almost three yeares in discussinge

vnder and before Kinge Edward (the First) as cheife Lord of all Scotland, and consideringe also these sondrie infallible argumentes here remembred for the superioretie of *Scotland* to be due and appropriate to the kinge of England. And the same so confessed, protested and confirmed in dewe & lawfull order and manner not only by this *Iohn Balliol* Kinge of *Scotes* hym selfe, but by *Rober Bruse* also, and all the rest who then pretended any right or title to the noble government of *Scotland*. What foule termes of reproch (at mans hand) and what iust revenge (at Gods hand) did *Iohn Baliol* the *Scotish* Kinge, or any of the forsaid sutors, for their interest and right to the crowne of *Scotland* (yea or any of their heires) deserve, yf at any tyme after any of them did, or have done, contrarie to the forsaid most royall ordonances, decrees, and covenantes concerninge the kinge or kinges of England their superiority over *Scotland*. But behold, within a shorte space after, yt [52] came to pas that <*Iohn King of Scots forgetful of his fixed homage and fidelity, wrote to the king of the French, &ct. Secretly, he entered into a pact against the king of the English, et cæt. promising himself to attack the king of England with all his strength and impede the war with the French king, &cæt*>¹⁵⁸

And, <*The Scots at this time chose from amongst themselves twelve peers; namely, four bishops, four earls, and four barons, by whose counsel the king should govern his kingdom. Through these he was yet persuaded to agree to treason, &cæt.*>¹⁵⁹ So that immediatlye the said kinge of *Scotes* (rebelliouslie and traiteruslie) made open warre vppon England. But so did the iustice of God, the royall industrie, and valiantnes of Kinge Edward prevaile, by the faithfull, and true service of his Englishe and Welsh subiects, that not longe after Kinge Edward recovered from the Scots the castells of *Dunbar*,

*Rokesburg, Edinburg and Striuelyn.*¹⁶⁰ And then *Thomas Walsingham* thus recordeth farther:

<While these things were being done, seeing that he did not have the power to resist, John, King of Scotland sent letters to the king of England imploring for peace and mercy. The king answered benignly, commanding him to come to the castle of Brythin with the great men of his land within fifteen days to handle this with messengers sent by the king. And the king sent Anthony Bishop of Durham with full royal power. The king of Scots and his great men arrived there within the prescribed time. After treating many various things, they plainly and simply submitted themselves and the Scottish kingdom to the king's will. So that this submission would be observed, John King of Scotland surrendered his son as a hostage, and wrote letters in French in this tenor:

John by the grace of God King of Scotland greets all who see or hear the present letters. Through false and wicked counsel, we have gravely offended our own honesty and provoked our Lord Edward by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, namely in that when we were in his loyalty and homage, we gave allegiance to the king of France, who at that time was his enemy, and still is, procuring marriage with the daughter of Lord Charles' [53] brother. And we burdened our lord in helping the king of France, with all of our power, in war and in other ways. Thereafter, through the aforementioned distorted counsel we received, we mistrusted our lord the king of England,

and incapable of loyalty and homage, we sent our people into his lands of England to incite trouble, and perpetrate plunder, murder and many other injuries. And we fortified the land of Scotland, which is in his fee, against him, establishing armed men in villages, castles, and elsewhere in defense of the land against him. For these transgressions, our lord the king of England, as aforesaid, invaded the land of Scotland in his strength, conquering it and taking it by force. No impediments were able to stand against him, just as is his right as feudal lord, to whom we rendered our homage and then afterward made rebellion. Therefore, with free will and still bearing our full powers, we return to him the land of Scotland and all its people with homage. In testimony of these things, we have made these letters patent. Issued at Brithin on the 10th day of July and the fourth year of our reign. Once these letters were signed and the common seal of the kingdom of Scotland was broken, the king left for the Scottish highlands, preceded by one day by the Bishop of Durham, &cæt.>¹⁶²*

Folio 82.¹⁶¹



*

And within 4 or 5 lynes (next after) in the same historie followeth the recorde of the submission, subiection, and homage of the nobilitie of Scotland to Kinge Edward the I both by their othes confirmed and also testefied by their owne letters pattentes <as a perpetual memorial. At that time the king called together a parliament at Berwick, receiving the loyalty and homage of all the great men of Scotland who, as a perpetual

memorial of the king's deeds, dedicated these letters patents, with their seals affixed, in French to this effect:

To all who see or hear these present letters, we John Comin de Badenoch & cæt., who through loyalty and free will answer the summons of the most illustrious prince, our cherished Lord Edward by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, we promise ourselves and our heirs, under penalty of our bodies, castles, and all that we have, that we will serve him [54] well and loyally, against all men who are able to live and die, in every way required or that will be advised by our lord, the king of England or his heirs. And that we will impede any injury to him that we know of with all our strength, and we will give him warning. And holding to and serving this cause, we oblige ourselves, our heirs, and all our goods. Moreover, we have sworn on the Holy Gospel. And after this, each and every one of us made homage in the name of the lord the king of England in these words: "I am made your bound man, of life and limb, and earthly honor, against all mortal men." And this lord our king received this homage with these words, "We receive this for those lands for which you are seized, saving our right or otherwise, and excepting those lands which John Balliol, once king of Scotland, conferred on us after we had given the kingdom of Scotland to him, if he gave any lands." Moreover, each of us, one at a time, pledged loyalty to

the aforesaid lord our king in these words, "I will faithfully and legally serve Edward King of England and his heirs with life, limb, and earthly honor against all mortal men. And never will I bear arms for another, nor will I counsel or assist against him or his heirs in any case whatsoever, but will faithfully recognize and do in loyal service whatever is pertinent to those lands I claim to hold from him, so God and all His Saints help me." In testimony of these things there are these letters patent and seals with our signs. Given at Berwick in the 25th year of the reign of our Lord Edward King of England.>¹⁶³

By these recordes, the cheif apparances of probability in *Ioannes Maior* his Scottish sophistications are vtterlie disgraced and displaced.¹⁶⁴ And fardermore though this *Ioannes Maior* and his like do litle regard Edward Baliol the lawfull Kinge of Scots, his free, full, and absolute submission and homage made to Kinge Edward the Third (your Maiesties triumphant progenitour),¹⁶⁵ yet your Maiesties true and obedient subiectes, for iustice sake and for your Maiesties (most due) royall and imperiall honour, will so highlie esteeme the recorde therof written by the discreet chronicler *Thomas Walsingham*, thus yt is noted:

Anno 1332. [55] *<In this year, on the 5 kalends October,¹⁶⁶ Edward de Balliol, son of John de Balliol, was solemnly crowned king at the monastery of Scone in Scotland.>¹⁶⁷*

The same coronation is of *Ioannes Maior* (the Scottish sillogisticall champion) also confessed *Lib: 5. Cap: 11.*¹⁶⁸ And in *Thomas Walsingham* thus then it is left to our great comfort.

Anno 1333. <The king of England,¹⁷⁰ considering the many blameworthy things done against himself and his precessors by the Scots, and that the peace between himself and the Scots had been broken through treason when he was in the state of a minor and in his mother's custodianship, he now—against the counsel of his mother—rallied an army and marched in force to Berwick, where the castle and town had many crafty meetings with him as they awaited help from outside.

*Anno 1334. On the feast of Saints Gervase and Protharius,*¹⁷¹ *Edward de Balliol, the true King of Scotland, made homage to Edward King of England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the presence of three bishops, the earls and barons, as well as many commoners.>*

But in this large historie of Kinge Edward the Third, thus it is more largelie with other circumstances registred: <*In this year on the 14 July, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the Dominican friary, King Edward made homage and swore fealty to Edward III, King*

of England, for the whole kingdom of Scotland and the adjacent islands.>¹⁷²

And yet for all that, within few years after, the rebellious Scottishe stomakes consented to the dishonourable perswasions of Phillip the Frenche kinge made to David, sonne of Robert Bruse (late vndue possessour of the Scottishe crowne), to invade England. And therby the said David Bruse (their intruded Scottish kinge) was taken by Sir Iohn Copland knight in a sharpe battaile foughten at *Durham (Anno 1346. 17 Octobr)*¹⁷³ yea, agayn, by the permission and consent of the fornamed Edward *Balliol*, the true Scottish Kinge (but a rebellious periured vassall to the forsaid Kinge Edward the 3) in the meane while that our trivmphant Kinge Edward was in Fraunce, Anno 1355. *<The Scots deceitfully and slyly took the town of Berwick, but they were unable to seize the castle. On account of this, the king has turned back to England with haste.>*

Hervppon.

<King Edward left for northern parts with a great [56] army so Anno 1355.¹⁷⁴ that he could recover the town from the hands of the Scots, which, without any preceding resistance, the Scots restored to him on the folio 84.¹⁷⁵ 13th day of January.

25 January: Lord Edward de Balliol, King of Scotland, at the town of Roxbergh surrendered his kingdom and crown and Edward King of England, thereafter concluding the bargain in letters patent and letters manual.>

Being thus far (vnawares almost) trayned on by consequencye of matter (and that waightie) to speake of your Maiesties iust title of soveraintie roiall over the kingdome of Scotland (thoughe that be a matter not so hard or doubtfull for a true and circumspect English subiect to discusse the truth therof, as it is easie and customable with the Scottish nation to vse worse than cavillations rather than they would acknowledge the verity therof many wais made manifest), I thinke it not superfluous here to put your Highnes in remembraunce of the little pamphlet set furth Anno 1542 by your Maiesties most deere father (a prince of imortall renowne) Kinge Henry the 8, thus intitaled *A Declaration contayning the iust causes and considerations of this present warrs with the Scotcs: wherein also appereth the true and right title, that the Kinges most Royall Maiestie hath to his Souerayntie of Scotland.*¹⁷⁶ In which littill booke it is sufficientlie declared that not only from the tyme of this Edward Baliol Kinge of Scots, but from the yeare of Christ 900¹⁷⁷ untill the 34 yeare of your Maiesties father his very victorious and famous raigne, the lawfull possession as well as the proprietie of the supremacy over *Scotland* hath byn continewed in his and your Maiesties noble progenitours hands (kinges of England) without any intermission above the memorie of Man or discontinewance of possession, such as might make a lawfull proscription for losinge his due interest and clayme therto (admittinge the same to be prescriptible, as it is not in dede by the rigor of lawe). Seinge his Maiestie proveth in that little booke that the tyme of the scilence (as it were), omission, or forbearinge of the vsuall manifestation and execution actuall of such English supremacie royall over *Scotland* (wherin he would pretend no lawfull excuse) could not then be found to have byn more than only 13 years, and those passinge within the tyme of his Highnes very prosperous raigne. Therfour your Maiestie likewise maye (nowe) most

honourable and iustlie (if occasion require) alleadge that the tyme of the most princelie clemencie and reasonable forbearinge vsed in the minorities both of the noble mother and sonne, Scottishe quene and kinge (yet livinge),¹⁷⁸ beinge deducted from the whole number of yeares, run and spent, synce your most noble father his said xxxiiij yeare, and [57] the residewe then added to the foresaid 13 years will not amount to a terme of tyme sufficient to establishe any prescription preiudiciall or dammageable to your Maiesties very iust claime and chalenge of the Scottish homage, service, and fealtie royall. So than it is to be concluded that your Highnes maye with all princely honoure and convenientlie avouch to all states of men in your Maiesties owne behalfe a small sentence much like to that which Kinge Edward the First (your Maiesties noble progenitor) in maytenance of his dignetie and soveraignty royall over Scotland with a sound conscience did affirme to the Bishopp of Rome, as before is specefied sainge: *<On these and other premises it is clearly the case that the aforementioned kingdom of Scotland is as much occupied as owned rightfully by us, nor have we done or failed to do anything in writing or in deed (nor is it possible) through which the aforementioned right of possession should in any way be diminished by anyone.>*

But most humblie I besech your Maiestie to pardon me though I may seme in this case to bringe *Vlulas Athenas*¹⁷⁹ in speakinge to your selfe of your Highness title and absolute lawfull cheif superiority over Scotland, beinge a thinge to your Highness a hundred tymes (yea with all the secrets and circumstaunces therto belonging) better knowne than to me. But that notwithstanding (with your Maiesties gracious favoure I trust it maie be spoken), I ame not ignoraunt how much it importeth, such matter as this, to be remembred,

reviued, and dylie regarded and declared in these days, both when your Maiestie of all *British Monarchs* that ever have byn, by iustice, habilitie, and acceptable oportunitie may best recover, enlarge, mayntayne, and enioy your British Imperiall Dominions, far and nere, and also when most danger is (your Maiestie omyttinge the oportunitie yet remanyng), lest your owne vassalls be to your royall and imperiall state most damageable.

And so I ende this my zealous digression and retorne to the conclusion of this appendix¹⁸⁰ fashioning vpp with matter very rare and excellent (as I esteme it) for your *Brytish Impier* (and that breiflie and evedentlie), confirming by Kinge *Arthur* his incomperable actes and forayne conquestes cheiflie, the halfe of whose marveilous prowesse and true gestes is not in these dayes any where in your Maiesties British *Monarchie* knowne, had or hard of: *Veluti Temporis filia docebit veritas*,¹⁸¹ somewhat reviuied by my payns and industrie, God sparinge me health and habilitie but for a fewe years. And wheras (in my tyme of 30 yeres studious rate) I have with no little care and small charges both far and nere made manifold search and requestes, present and absent likewise, by my lettres sent into sondrie regions for the pure verity vnderstandinge and [58] recoveringe of divers secret, ancient, and waightie matters, and some of them appertaninge to histories and discoveris of the world vniversalie. Yt maie please your Highnes to consider the few notes ensuinge which the last yeare I received (by letter) from the famous and vertuous *Gerardus Mercator* (who in historicall and geographicall matters is well knowne to be right excellent and circumspect), seeing the same notes and recordes tend to the marveilous discoverie of the northen complement geographicall, and the same contaning also some

of the cheifest argumentes declaringe and provinge your Highness iust Arthurien clayme
and title imperiall, by me at this present principallie intended.

*<To the most renowned man, Dr. John Dee,
his much revered master and patron,
at Mortlake
by the Thames near London.¹⁸²*

*Distinguished Sir, Your letter sealed, I saw that the messenger was
able to remain with me for some time, so I postponed all
occupations in order to completely write down and send that which
you especially desired of me, fearing that I would not otherwise be
able to send them quickly enough to aid you work. And so I have
written all that I know about the Northern Zones and included it
with these letters, & cæt.*

*Jacobus Cnoyen of s'Hertogenbosch travelled the world, like
Mandeville, but his notes on what he saw show a little more
judgment.¹⁸³ He wrote in the Belgic tongue, but I am following to
the word excerpts of what I have discovered in him concerning the
northern regions. But if I have not reproduced the Latin to a
certain point (due to brevity and speed), even if it is not always
word for word, still the sense is retained.*

*In Northern Norway (which men call 'dark Norway'), there is
darkness for three straight months; the sun never rises above the
horizon. In the meantime, however, it is similar to dawn there, &*

<*The Indrawing
Seas>

<*Great mountains
surrounding the
North Pole in which
there were cities in
King Arthur's time.>

<*perhaps Tyleae>

<*rather, many
straits>

*cæt. The passage to North Norway is not easy due to the 'Fast-
Flowing Seas'* which pass Greenland, which is situated somewhat
further north beyond North Norway. This North Norway extends
to those mountains which encircle the North [59] Pole just like a
great ring, et cæt. These are the mountains* about which it is
written that there were within them certain cities, as you can find
mentioned in the Arthuri Gestis above, & cæt. And against them
live a people of small stature, mentioned in the Arthuri Gestis, &
cæt. These things, and many other things, regarding the Northern
zones can be found at the beginning of the Arthuri Gestis, &
cæt.¹⁸⁴ Formerly, the adjacent isles to the North Pole were called
the Ciliae*, now the Septentrionales, among which were North
Norway and many small rivers* & cæt. which are called the
Indrawing Seas since waters are rushed back and forth
uninterruptedly with such great force that no wind can repel a ship
against their course, & cæt. And in this latitude there are very
high mountains extending into cloudy regions, & cæt. And in this
latitude the air is very often foggy and dark, & ct. In the 78th
degree of latitude (circling like a crown) around the Arctic Pole
there are very high mountains over most of the region. In some
places, it is reported, the Indrawing Seas are 50, 60, or 100
leagues wide¹⁸⁵ (some broader and others narrower) and
everywhere hastening to the north. To this place came a party of*

<*All the Northern Isles (almost up to the Pole) were subdued by Arthur.>

Arthur's noblemen when he was fighting in the Northern isles and making them all subject to him.*

<Δ. 4000 of Arthur's men were swallowed up by these currents>

And it is said in ancient writings that these Indrawing Seas snatched from Arthur about 4,000 Δ men who never returned. But in the year of our Lord 1364 eight descendants of these men

returned to the king in Norway, among whom there were two priests, one of whom carried an astrolabe. They were descended

<* 25 surely: this would equal about 33 years per generation.>

by five generations from Bruxellensis, who, I say, was one of the eight Germans who was in one of the first ships to penetrate those Northern regions.¹⁸⁶ This noble man, who served Arthur, had, in the year 530, sojourned through an entire winter in the northern isles of Scotland, and one of his fleet crossed over to Iceland on 3 May.¹⁸⁷ At that time, four of those twelve ships returned from the North, the captains of which warned Arthur of the dragging force*

<*All the islands between Scotland and Greenland, and Greenland itself were granted by Arthur to his men to settle in: A large colony was sent by Arthur to these northern isles.>

of these straits, so Arthur did not depart from where he was.

Nonetheless, all the islands between Scotland and Iceland, and Greenland, too, were settled by his people, & cæt.*

[60] *When those four ships returned, there were sailors who maintained that they knew there were magnetic rocks under the water because eight ships had perished due to their iron nails. Therefore, Arthur organized a fleet, again of twelve ships but without any iron, and sent out 1800 men and around 400 women. They sailed north on the 5th of May of the same year in which the*

*previous ships had been wrecked. Of these twelve ships, five were wrecked on the rocks in a storm, but those that remained passed the high rocks on the 18th of June, forty-four days after setting sail (*by chance they had penetrated a narrow passage somewhere).¹⁸⁸*

<An English Franciscan explored all the northern isles and described their marvels in the year 1360.>

<*viz. Edward III>

The priest who had the astrolabe told the king of Norway that there had come to the Northern Isles in the year 1360 an English Minorite of Oxford who was a good astronomer.¹⁸⁹ This priest, leaving the others who had come to the islands, advanced further through the north, and described all of the marvels of these isles and dedicated the book, called the Inuentio fortunae, to the king of England. This book begins at the furthest climate, which is to say from 54 degrees, and reaches to the Pole. The Minorite said that these mountains surround the Pole except for those places where the Indrawing Seas are.*

This is everything to the word that I excerpted from this author many years ago, &cæt. Farewell my most learned and cherished man. 1577.

Gerardus Mercator.

The other matters (yt maie please your Maiestie to vnderstand) in the same letters contyned appertayning to so many *et ceteras* as heare are vsed, I have for sondry due respectes now omytted, and the same also are at large sett downe in the volume of Famous and Riche Discoveries, as in a most fit place for such matters discussinge. Many

parcels are heare worthie both of diligent noting and also of waightie consideration, as the affaires of this adg require. But vndoubtedlie by this meanes it appereth that your Maiestie (of all princes this day livinge) is the only iust soveraigne Empres of all the north partes and ilandes, in these ilandes specified which [61] testimonie of so sage and famous a cosmographer, both I deme to be sufficient to confirme some of the particulars of your Maiesties Imperiall clayme (in the first parte of this record expressed) and also it selfe to be the better credible for that the whole body of this realme did (by othe) avouch no les to Kinge William the First, your Maiesties trivmphant progenitor, as in the first record of this second parte I have noted downe,¹⁹⁰ as it weare in a due ground plate, of a great portion of this so large and marveilous a Septentrionall *British Impiere* now first disclosed, discyphred and verie zealouslie commended vnto your Maiestie (by me, your Highnes faithful subiect). And the same also by great and manyfold matters of oportunetie evidentlie (even from God in manner) laid before your Highnes vewe and left vnto your Imperiall and Christian charge and gouvernement, for the true service of God cheiflie advancing, secondlie, for your Maiesties incomparable and immortall honour, and thirdlie, for the wealth publik of your Maiesties true and obedient subiectes. And to the intent that better credit may be geven to the notes gathered out of these lettres of *Gerardus* privatlie to me directed, I think it necessarie to sett hereby some sufficient publick prooffe, both that *Gerardus* hath hearin faithfullie dealt with me (his auncient frend) and also that I have as dutifully delivered to your Maiestie the novelties noted out of his foresaid letters (wherof the very originall *Autographum* is redie to be shewed at your Highnes pleasure and commandement). Wherfour I will here annex verbatim that annotation which the said *Gerardus Mercator* hath publisshed in his chart vniversall

titled, *Nova & Aucta Orbis Terræ Descriptio, &cæt.* with this direction and inscription:
*<To the most illustrious and Gracious Prince and Lord, William Duke of Julich, Cleves
 and Mons, Count of Brandenburg and Ravensburgh, Lord of Ravestein, &ct.>* For in one
 vndercorner of that charte ys printed this advertisement followinge as concerning that this
 strange and newe discription of the subpoler ilandish region, which is the most northen
 parcell both of the whole world, and also (as I have noted) of your Maiesties British
 Impire.¹⁹¹

<On the Depiction of the Northern Regions.

*Since it is not possible to extend our map to the pole (the grades of
 latitude running infinitely), and since we deem it negligence to not
 include a description of this arctic region, we believe it necessary
 to repeat the end of our description here and to add other things
 related to the pole. We have taken that image that greatly
 corresponds with that part of the world and which yields the
 position of those lands [62] as though on a sphere. What pertains
 to the description, we have taken from the Itinerary of Jacobus
 Cnoyen of s'Hertogenbosch, who cites some material from the
 Gestis Arthuri Britanni, but the greater and more preferable part
 was spread abroad by a priest at the court of Norway in the year
 1364. He was descended in the fifth* degree from those sent by
 Arthur to settle these islands, and he reported that in 1360 an
 English Minorite from Oxford, a mathematician, had come to those*

*<*25.^o>*

*isles, and, leaving behind the others, he travelled to the most remote regions, describing everything and measuring with his astrolabe, as we gather from Cnoyen. He said that those four straits were dragged into a whirlpool with such force that once ships entered it, no wind would be able to turn it back, nor, truly, is there ever enough wind there to turn a windmill. Gerald of Wales has it very similarly in his book On the Wonders of Ireland, where he writes, "Not far from the islands (*the Hebrides, Iceland, &c.,)¹⁹² and to the north, there is a strange whirlpool in the sea toward which, from remote parts, all sides of the sea flow and run together as if from a conduit. And there they pour themselves into the secret interior of Nature, as if swallowed by an abyss.¹⁹³ And truly if a ship should happen to pass, it would be seized and pulled with such violent currents that at once it would be irrevocably*
*<*Gerard's addition>*
swallowed into the maelstrom.">*
*<*the maelstrom>*

And yet to make this Mr. *Gerardus Mercator* his said advertisement more evident in that poynt which he heare toucheth by allegation out of the noble *Syluester Giraldus Cambrensis*,¹⁹⁴ yt is to be noted that in the same *Syluester* his booke named *Hibernica Topographia* (Cap: 57.) this very rare instruction immediatly ensueth after these wordes
<it would be sucked in by the force of the maelstrom> (wher Mr. *Mercator* his note doth ende); it is to wete:

<Philosophers describe the four whirlpools of the Ocean from the four opposite parts of the world & cæt.>¹⁹⁵

But vndoubtedlie in the written copy which Mr. *Mercator* did followe (by some mishap) that sentence, and more, was wantinge. And your Maiestie may hereby clerlie perceive that this manner of chorographicall discription of theise ilandishe subpolare regions [63] and the 4 principall Indrawinge Seas hath

* This *Geraldus* was livinge and in great credit and authoretie Anno 1188. He was of noble parentage, yea, of the same Brytish princelie blood that your Maiestie is descended of.

byn commonly knowne, and that very longe *

sythens, Mary (as *Giraldus* sayth), to

philosophers. For some of them (in dede) besides

their published doctrine were wont to knowe and performe more marveilous thinges than in this age the most parte of such as professe great knowledge and are cheiflie esteemed in the eye of the world either do vnderstand or are worthi to heare certayn tydings of.

Now have I sufficientlie, and I trust not superfluously, vnto your most excellent Maiestie delivered great probabilitie that the British Impire and iurisdiction did northerlie strech so far above the latitud paralell of 50 degrees, as I have laid it out. Moreover, albeit at this daie a great portion therof still remayneth alienated from your Maiesties iurisdiction and is vnder the actuall possession and enioying of the Danish and Sueden kinges, &c. yet ther can be no doubt in lawe or danger of warlike impugnance but the rest of all the *Septentrionall Iles* at this howre vnpossessed by the said Danish or Sueden princes may by your Maiesties politik ordonaunces be very shortlie recovered againe for the purpose (before) often rehearsed. And (to the intent that of this appendix <*The last things should respond to the first*>) as out of the ancient lawes of good Kinge Edward (confirmed by

Kinge William the Conquerour), I laid the first plat for your iust clayme to a great portion of your Highnes British Impire. And in the same lawes (and recordes appertenant) yt was remembred that *Groenland* and other Northen Iles were <among the appurtenances of *Scantia*> or <*Norway*>. So must we in this conclusion vnderstand that thoughe we amonge ourselves doo imadgine that cause to be dewlie annexed (deeming allwais the les iles adioyninge or nere vnto any mayn land or greater principall ile to be as the appurtenances of that

mayn land or greater and principall iland lyeng next). Yet neither the Danish* (Folio

Δ. The barring of the *Sweden, Danish, and Norway* kinges or princes hencforward to entermeddle with and of the British ancient iurisdiction vsurping, and farder, then for so much as at this instant actuallie they vnduly do detayne and occupie, vnleast they will endanger them selves to feele the force of iustice and therby be abridged of their manifold intrusions, (as yet) tollerated or winked at by your highnes and your noble and most worthie progenitours. conquered by Kinge Arthure (as hath byn well proved). And so far Δ as the right of those

88)¹⁹⁶ nor Sweden kinges can (by any

reason of their owne) prove the said

Northen Iles of *Island, Groenland & caet.*

to be <appurtenant to *Scantia*>¹⁹⁷ or

<*Norway*>, for they weare immediatlie

iles from the clayme of any Danish or Sweden kinge that for landes & iles which one would deme more lawfullie to appertaine to them, the lawe it selfe is evidentlie against them. And to the prooffe therof this I [64] must recorde and give your highnes to vnderstand, out of the same ancient lawes <of *Good King Edward, which King William later confirmed*>, wher, vnder title *De Inuentione Mordri*, this advise and warrant is left and directed to all English and British Monarchs following them:¹⁹⁸

<*On the Invention of Murder*

In truth, [the statute of] murder was effected and constituted in the days of Cnut King of the Danes, who after acquiring and subduing

England, at the request of the English barons despatched his army back to Denmark. Actually, these barons made sureties with the king, so that all who remained with him in the land would maintain a firm peace through everything. But if any of the English were to murder them, if he could not defend himself respecting this, he would suffer justice by the judgment of God (that is, by water or by the sword). But if he were to flee, it would be solved as said above. Truly this Cnut, the aforesaid King, as well as his father Sweyn, King of the Danes, and Lachmann, King of the Suevi, and Olaf, King of Norway, and Harold Harefoot, King of the Danes, brother of the said Cnut and of Elwina, and Hardicanute, King of the Danes, his brother, son of the said Cnut and of Emma, the sister of Robert Duke of Normandy and mother of the last Edward,¹⁹⁹ alienated from the crown of the kingdom many rights and honors and lands and islands, and they gave them to their Danish and Norwegian followers who weakened the kingdom by their outrages. On that account, their donations and transfers of property were revoked and rendered void, and reduced to nothing and altogether eradicated. Good King Edward did this: he revoked their deeds so far as he could, but he was not able to revoke all. He did not have the power to bring back his kingdom to its pristine state and reform it; he kept his oath, and he did what he could. Truly, in the times of the Danish kings, justice was buried; laws and customs were*

<*aka, Elfgiva>

together laid to rest. In those times, distorted schemes, force, and violence reigned supreme over justice in the land.>

The Danishe and Sueden kinges beinge thus vtterlie and clerlie (by good reason and lawe) barred from the intermedlinge with any more [65] of your Maiesties northen ilands than are at this instant in their governemente, and also (yf might and policy would once be answerable to yor Maiesties right therin), the same Danish kings standinge in danger (by mightie iustice) to be discharged and dispossessed of very many, not only illes, but other landes which by vndue meanes (originally) they are become occupiers and vsurpers of. Ther remayneth one or two forraine princes whose late encroachinges and vsurpinges vppon and within your Highness imperiall bounds, partlie beneath the paralell of 50 degrees and partlie their farder vndue pretence of interest to some other of your Highnes territoris (very lawfullie) of late recovered, and to more yet (by like order) recoverable, amonge the heathen and Christian people (inhabitinge above and within the said paralell of 50 degrees more northerlie) are nowe, of me, to be somewhat notefied to your most royall Maiestie. Wherin I ame assured that my faithfull service will or may be as acceptable to your royall Highness as the newes of *Iohn Sebastian* was to Charles the 5, when the said *Sebastian* assured hym that the Iles of Spices were within the limitation of his iurisdiction.²⁰⁰ And also by the same my industrious disclosing of your Highnes royall right, your true and obedient subiectes will become marveilouslie emboldned and encouradged to spend their travailes, goodes, and lives (yf nede be) in the recovery, possession, and enioying of such your Maiesties imperiall territoris, duly recoverable and to be possessed.

It is well knowne that the Spanish and Portingall kinges by two manner of wayes (eche of them) pretend some right and clayme to parte of *Arlantis* and the ilandes neere and about the same, which their two waies of clayme are these: the one as by the first discouery of such landes made by their subiectes; the second, as by Pope *Alexander* (the 6) his very liberall gift, or rather frendlie wishe vnto them, of conqueringe such heathenish possessions.²⁰¹ As for the right which mought, maye, or shall accrue and fall to any Christian prince by first discoverie of the heathen coastes and dominions Atlanticall, I have in the former parcell of this record (by date annexed) made evident that neither the Portingall nor *Spaniard* did in or to any parte of *Atlantis* or the iles about the same arive or make any voyage before that some subiectes, and other subiectes of subiects to the British and English monarches, had both discried and discovered the easterlie and northerlie coasts thereof. And not only the sea coastes but also within the mayne of *Atlantis*, had gon through the most part of all the ilands provinces of the northerlie parte therof, some of them by the space of 13 yeaes continewallie, beinge ther conversant with above 25 divers heathenish princes of those countris. Which [66] discoverours or travaylers (consideringe the huge largenes of the territories and provinces *Atlanticall* by them passed and repassed over) did in those daies deme it to be a newe world, as before I have noted vnto your Maiestie in the Lattin annotation vpon *Estotiland*.²⁰²

And as for the Popes gift (for they imagine such an act, or their vndue interpretation of his act, to be of force sufficient by Gods lawe or mans lawe against all other Christian princes), admittinge that the authoretis of the Pope were dylie and lawfullie pretended, I

ame then to demand of them, first, whether they have trulie divided the world betwene
 them two yet by that manner of *Meridian* which the Pope assigned for their partition, or
 no. Herein I ame assured that they both will denye yt to be done (yet) in respecte of that
 halfe of the *Meridian* which passeth next the *Iles of Spices*. For eche of them denye and
 impugne the others limitation therof as vntrue by many degrees of longitude. And as for
 the other halfe, which should strech from *pole* to *pole* (passinge most part of it betwene
Africa and *Atlantis*) though betwene the latitude of 45 northward and 54 southward, I
 would admyt vnto them that they both agree and also to have drawne or assigned the
 same parcell of the *Meridian* truly. Yet more northerly than 45 and so to the *North Pole*,
 how it ought to be drawn or what landes and seas ly vnder yt or next on eche side of it,
 neither Portingall nor Spaniard hath yet blown their nailes enough for the discussinge of
 the matter, nor hath yet followed (by cours of navigation or by travaile on land) the
 complement of that *Meridian* vntill they espied the black, most marveilous, and great
 rocke directlie vnder the *North Pole*, or brought home any of the Brasill wood of those
 subpolarie regions to compare with the *Atlanticall* Brasill, therefore seinge that neither of
 them hath done it, much les they both are yet agreed what places from pole to pole ly
 vnder that halfe of their partition *Meridian* next vnto vs.²⁰³ But in the meane while, till
 they performe that worke, this I can assure and warne the Portingales of that your
 Maiesties province of *Meta Incognita* is not within the *Meridian* of their imadgined
 lawfull iurisdiction, neither as it was of Pope *Alexander* his limitation, neither as it was
 afterward (by their last request made to the *Castillians*) agreed vppon to be drawne.

*The disclosing of a great errour commytted by the *Spaniard* and *Portingall* in their untrue reporte of *Pope Alexander* his *Bull* for parting of the world between them, which secret being now revealed vnto your Highness maye be greatlie for your royal honour and the Britishe weale publik advancing, within the large boundes now first notefied for your Maiesties Britishe Impiere.

And secondlie I would advise
both *Castillien** and
Portingall never to troble
them selves or to be at the cost

to travaile [67] by sea or land above the *parallell* of 50 degrees of latitude to survey their imagined Popishe donation, nor to mayntaine that dreame or insatiable wish in their fantazies any longer. For *Pope Alex*: the 6 his *Bull* of *Limitation* (dated at *Rome* Anno *Domini* 1493 4^o *Nonas Maij*)²⁰⁴ hath no such warrant or intent of graunt vnto *Ferdinando* and *Elizabeth*, the Kinge and Quene of *Castile* and *Leon*, to them their heires and successors. Nor any of their desires ever was to vse these Septentrionall coasts to any other ther great commodetie than for a nerrer passage of sailing to *The Iles of Spices*. As for the Pops Bull, yf it be examined, yt will appere that only *Versus Occidentem & Meridiem*²⁰⁵ the Pope made his gift, or, at the least, did so (arbiter like) prevent and staie the contention betwene the *Castillians* and *Portingalls*. Which phrase of *Versus Occidentem et Meridiem* can by no reason be imadgined to have execution higher to the north then is the latitude of the most northerlie parte of the province of *Leon* in the kingdom of *Spaine*, which exceedeth not 45 degrees of *Latitude Septentrionall*. And that might seme to be sufficient for them and as much as they would desire by reason that they imagined neither golde, pearle, precious stons, or spices naturallie to be more to the northward then that latitude of their owne native countrie, so that their imaginations weare all to the west and sowtherlie, to the whote countries. That waie was all their appetite, all their good successe and great wealth gotten. Yea, and all their doinge, purchasinge, and navigations to this howre came not above 45 degrees of latitude

Septentrionall, as *Quiuira* or *Thuchano* westerlie and *Quinsay* easterlie make manifest to all men.²⁰⁶ And higher northerly may neither of them pas by vertue of the *Popes* donation, yet though it be racked to their favour. For, as to the one was limited the navigations *Versus Occidentem & Meridiem*, so the other supposed <using the opposite case,> his lot to be left versus *Orientem et Meridiem*.²⁰⁷ And thoughe the Kinge of *Spaine* have the *Pops Bull* to shew for their possession enlarging *Versus Occidentem & Meridiem*, yet I have not sene or heard of the counterpaine²⁰⁸ therof or absolute like graunt for the *Portingalls*.

And yf they had it, or have any such, yt importeth not a *Portingale* fig in respect of the issue which I will here fall vnto with them. For the *Popes Bull* also out of that his limitation granted *Versus Occidentem & meridiem*, excepteth (divers tymes) <The lands that were discovered earlier by others>, and geveth them such libertie onlie <so by seas which have not thus far been navigated>. And <all isles and mainlands that have not actually been possessed by other Christian kings or princes prior to the beginning of Anno Domini 1493>. Therfor, brieflie I conclude that [68] above the 45 degrees of northerlie latitude of places not yet by Christian men discovered, your Maiesties subiectes haue the world as free as God gave it *filijs hominum*.²⁰⁹ And we maie as iustlie *spoliare Aegiptios ad ditandum Hebraeos*²¹⁰ (for their temporall thinges taken or received, bringinge them the Evangicall glade tydings and bridlinge them under Christian civile government) as any Spaniard or Portingall els doth or maie, wher they can prevaile amonge the heathenistes, besides that which we maie challenge by anticipation of ancient discoverie (yea and possession) somewhat sowertherlie of the said 45 degrees.

And to conclude this appendix with more honourable matter yet, I ame here to crave your Highnes pardon, for that I maie seme to have abridged or very straightlie to have dealt with the privileges graunted to the kinges of *Castile* and *Leon*, and so maie seme to have bin preiudiciall vnto such royalties and privileges as this Pope *Alexander* (asmuch as he had sufficient authoretie therto) gave, *implicité*, vnto your Maiestie or, at the least, as by the rigor of *law* is appliable to your Highnes as the lawfull successor of *Castile* and *Leon*. For by inheritaunce your Maiesties ancestors were to be restored to the said kingdomes longe synce (howsoever so waightie a matter hath so lightlie byn looket to) yf these verses of that notable gentelman, the discreet and faithfull Iohn Harding,²¹¹ servant to Kinge Edward the 4 (your Maiesties noble progenitour) be true, which earnestlie and plainlie (in sence of matter) he repeateth to the forsaid Kinge Edward the 4 as to his father the Duke of Yorke before he had done in this manner:

A. B. This Kinge *Pedro* to give hym to his mede
Folio 90. had nothinge els but daughters two full faire,
 Which he betoke to that Prince indede
 for his wages, for cause they weare his heyre,
 With whom he did to England so repaire.
 And Constance wede vnto his brother Iohn,
 Edmond his Brother the younger had an.

 Dame *Isabell* the yonger hight by name.

betwene those brethern was apointment:
 the first heire male which of the sisters came,
 the kinge should bene, and have the regement.
 To you my Lord of Yorke this doth appent.
 For your vnkle Edward was first heire male,
 To whom your father was heire without faile.

[69] So Kinge of *Spaine*, and also of *Portingale*

C. ye should nowe be, by lyne of blood descent,
*Folio 93.*²¹² by covenant also, and appoyntment whole
 as I have sene of it the munement,
 vnder seall written in all entent,
 Which your vnckell, to my lord *Vmfrevill*
 at London shewed, which I red that while &c.²¹³

And in the 241 chapter, the same thinge is likewise thus remembred, where the kinges
 iust title to all his other kingdoms and domynions is breiflie expressed.

To *Castile* and to *Lion* also, ye bene
 the inheritour also and very heire
 by right of blood descended clere & clene,
 of *Portingale*, wher *Lushborn* is full faire,
 fro kinge *Petro* without any dispaire.
 For the two be the very regions

That named be *Castile* and *Legions*.

Your grandsires mother Duches Isabell,
 full lady like, faire and feminine,
 to Kinge *Petro* as I have heard tell
 was very heire of them by rightfull lyne,
 to whom ye be heire as men determine.
 By small hackneis great coursers men chastise
 as Arthur did by *Scots*, wan all *Franchese*.²¹⁴

Touchinge this covenant betwene the two sisters (heires) made with the advise and consent of their two husbandes (bretheren), Iohn Duke of Lancaster and Edmund Duke of Yorke, what force it had or maie yet be deemed to have by vertue of law, and again, of how smale importaunce the contrarie condicions and covenantes by the said Duke Iohn in the behalfe of *Katharin* his daughter made afterward with Iohn the vnlawfull occupier of the kingdom of *Castile* (as beinge the sonne of the bloodie Bastard *Henry*) in the behalfe of his sonne Henry,²¹⁵ I can not applie enoughe in this place nor convenientlie at this tyme vse any further diligence to examin the same by bookes, recordes, and men furnished and acquainted with farder circumstances and secrets therto appertayning. Likelie it is that [70] *Edward* Prince of Wales (who from *Spaine* in very honourable soute brought *Constance* and *Isabell*, the daughters and heires of *Peter*, Kinge of Castile and *Leon*, to match with his two bretherne, Iohn and Edmond) was (vppon good and honourable respectes) no littell occasion & no slender perswader that the said sisters and

brethern should make the said covenant for the first issue male of either of them to be inheritour of *Castile* and *Leon*. Also likelie it is what conditions and covenantes so euer were concluded vppon in *Spaine* betwene the said Duke Iohn and Iohn the vsurper of *Castile*, that here in England they were taken and deemed as vnlawfull, seinge Iohn Harding in his tyme (havinge as great desire, occasion, and aid to vnderstand all articles therof as we nowe can have) did make no accownt of that *Spanishe* accorde and did so oft and earnestlie sollicite Richard *Plantaginet* Duke of Yorke²¹⁶ to clayme his right to the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, those *covenantes* (☉ *Δfolio* 89)²¹⁷ notwithstandinge. And that secondly semeth to be true, seinge the lawfull heire of *Castile* and *Leon*, Edward Duke of Yorke (vnckell to the foresaid Richard), made great accownte of this Spanish inheritance and consulted with the Lord *Vmfrewill* and other at London about the covenant therof made and sealed betwene his vnckell the Duke of Lancaster & Edmond his father (Duke of Yorke) before he was borne. And thirdlie seinge the said dede of covenaut was not by the Duke of *Lancaster* gotten in in his life tyme nor by any yet cancelled after the said Dukes decease in Edward the 4 his dayes. Fourthlie it did appere that Iohn the Duke of Lancaster was a man of verie dissolute and wilfull behaviour about and before the tyme of his Spanish wars, as partlie it might appere by his owne confession to God made after the great misery and mortalety of his armye sustayned in that *Spanishe* exployt. For (first and last) almost the one halfe of them which went out of *England* to fight in his quarrell were consumed by death at Gods hands, amonge which were 12 great lords, 80 knightes, and 200 esquires, and of the meaner sorte, many hundreds more. Vppon which miserie so dauntinge hym there, after a fewe wordes of consultation had betwene hym and the Kinge of *Portingale* as they rode together,

<Soon> (as *Thomas Walsingham* recordeth) <*The Duke bowed his head (as he was a knight) and wept most bitterly upon his horse; silently pouring forth prayers to Almighty God, remembering in his heart how before in happy and prosperous times, he had not acknowledged God as he should have, nor did he revere him properly. In silence, therefore, with rising sighs, he begged for grace, praying for mercy, and pledging to practice [71] an amended life afterward, and with the eyes of his heart, to always hold God in his gaze, et cæt.*>

Fiftlie, this warfare voiage of the Duke of *Lancaster* into *Spaine* to clayme *Castile* and *Leon* might seme to have byn contrarie to the will and well likinge of Edmond his brother the Duke of *Yorke* in respecte of the foresaid covenaut, for that the said Duke *Edmond* was not willinge either to goe hym selfe with hym or to assist hym with any aide to that clayme mayntayning, which aide and assistaunce vndoubtedlie otherwise their double brotherhood, their common honour, yea and the no litle honour of England would have allured hym to have done. And notwithstandinge his mislikinge of it, yet so mightie (*Folio 94*)²¹⁸ then was this Duke of *Lancaster*, and so favoured of the nobilitie, and so valiant and wilfull of hym selfe, that Duke *Edmond* saw not his tyme then either to complaine to his nephew Kinge Richard for staie of the voyage nor to practize the hinderaunce of his purpose in *Spaine* by detracting or alleadging the former covenant, when also by violence or slight, the monument therof and evidence mought have byn gotten from hym, or the same in *Spain* would not have byn allowed of as lawfull, or at the least, it would have byn avouched to be counterfetted and purposlie forged. Sixthlie, yt is probable that besides other reasons of the Prince of Wales his alledging, which induced

Duke Iohn and *Constance* his wife to agree to the said covenaut of first issue male to be heire of Castile and *Leon*, this was not the least, that both Duke Iohn and Constance his wife hoped betwene them to have a male childe before Duke *Edmond* and *Isabell* his spouse. But when it fell out contrarie to his hope, that Edmond had Edward Δ+ (*folio 92.*)²¹⁹ and Iohn had *Katherin* their first yssus, then did Duke Iohn perceive which waie (that his former covenant notwithstandinge) he might make his case as good in *Spaine* and to the eye of the world commonlie as yf no such covenaut had byn made, wherupon his warrs for clayme to Castile and *Leon* and the vndue convenantes therupon made did ensue.

And thus (by the waye)²²⁰ I have shewed some of my reasonable coniecturs to your Maiestie for revivinge the probabilitie of your Highnes interest and title to the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, wherin I trust I have nothinge offended. For (verelie) my earnest intente and vowe (before Christ) is by what so ever commendable meanes that I maie or can possiblie procure, maytaine, yea and advaunce your Maiesties honour, not only royall but imperiall also, incessantlie to vse the same duringe my life vnleast such my faithfull, [72] humble and dutifull meaninge and constant proceadinge shall appere to me either to be mistaken or misliked by any whose favours and better furtheraunce (the eternall omnipotent Kinge doth best knowe) I have most largelie deserved.

Retorninge nowe againe to my formor purpose and admittinge your Highnes lawfull title and due clayme to be successore in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, and admittinge Pope Alexander his graunt to be allowable at this daie amonge all forrain Christien

princes—which graunt and gift was made *Anno* 1493 to the foresaid *Ferdinand* and his Quene *Elizabeth* (the neice of Catherin, daughter to the above named Iohn duke of *Lancaster*) their heires and successors in the kingdoms of *Castile & Leon* for ever—then it is evident what other privileges therby do appertaigne to your Maiesties subiectes to discover, conquer, possesse, and enioye to your Maiesties behoofe (as well as they can) *Versus Occidentem & Meridiem* (beinge vnderstood from the most northerly partes of *Spaine*), besides that which alredie standeth at your Maiesties disposition by former clayme of divers sortes, as before is declared. And also besides that portion of the world which remaineth free as well for your Maiesties subiectes as for any other Christian princes els their subiectes to be dealinge with all amonge the miscreantes, infideles, and heathenistes who have no true vnderstandinge of our omnipotent Creator, much les of our Redemer, and least of all of our sanctifier and comforter, to whose glorie cheiflie I have of late byn stranglie & vehementlie stirred upp, and by the aide of the same devyne Trinity cheiflie byn ordered to pen divers advises and treatises in the Englishe language, the vnderstandinge and practice of some parte wherof doth principallie appertaine to the subiects of this your Maiesties Britishe Kingdome.

So far as the same maye by your Maiestie and your most honourable Privie Counsaile be allowed of to come to the nobilitie and the commons their knowledge and handling, I meane first of the litle booke which by your Maiesties order is yet staid in my handes, beinge the last yeare printed,²²¹ the method wherof, halfe lamentable (& otherwise) covertlie proceedeth (occasion so served) but the most part therof vulgerlie to be vnderstood, as concerninge the politik preservation of your Maiesties Britishe Monarchie

in theis perelous tymes by the spedie service of a Pety Navy Royall to be compassed without any penny charge to your Maiestie and not with any vnpleasaunt contribution of your Highnes true subiectes. [73] The infallible other commodities (most ample) ensuing therof are partlie in that litle booke expressed and partlie therby many mo may consequentlie be thought uppon and inferred. In which booke also many other matters (branchinglie) are advertised, God he best knoweth how humblie, dutifullie, carefullie, and needfully. And secondlie, because neither (1) Famous and Riche Discoveries far hente, nor the preservation of this your Maiesties Britishe Monarchy by the order of the (2) Pety Navie Royall continewally gardinge the same, no nor this (3) Britishe Impiere revived, and in these 2 recordes brieflie demonstrated can well be made, performed, recovered, and arteficially discribed without good skill in the feat of ship government and the appertenances. I did therfore two yeaes sithens, besides the volume of Famous and Riche Discoveries, write also a great booke who title is The British Complement of the Perfect Arte of Navigation, one parte wherof consisteth in a great number of *Arithmetical Tables*, entituled Quene Elizabeth her Tables Gubernautikes, your most Excellent Maiestie I meane, whom now at the last, most humblie on my knees I besech so royallie and princely to interprete and accept all my forsaid intentes and actes as they maye iustlie be deemed to deserve in His infallible iudgment who knoweth the sinceretie and innocence of my harte towards all men, and the zealous fidelity of my dutifull service to your Maiestie alredie done.²²²

And secondlie I besech your Highness to graunt vnto me for the rest of my life free egresse and regresse out of and into all and any of your Maiesties kingdomes, dominions,

and teritoris, as my affaires hearafter shall require. And with all I most reuerentlie desire your Highness speedie supplie royall, when nowe at the last (after many thousand poundes for good learninge spent without any princleie contrebution therto—except the yearlie pension of only one 100 crownes bestowede vppon me by your Maiesties most noble brother of famous memorie Kinge Edward the 6²²³—my owne habilitie and my private frendes ayde is not

*As *Tiberius* the Emperour pleased the oratour *Potaman of Mytilena*, who was the sonne of *Lesbonax*, for at his retorne homeward from *Rome* (wher he had taught but *Rhetorik*) the Emperour did protect hym with his letters patentes contayninge these woordes, as *Suidas* testefieth: ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΑ ΛΕΣΒΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ, ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΑΔΙΚΕΙΝ ΤΟΛΜΗΣΟΙ, ΣΚΕΨΑΣΘΩ, ΕΙ ΜΟΙΔΥΝΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΝ.²²⁴

any further sufficient for my due
mayntenance while I do my best
endeavour (at home & abroad) to
bringe to pas (God spareinge me life
and health, with your Maiesties

fauour and protection* absolute) such a pece of good service for your highnes and your whole Britishe [74] monarchy as no one subiect (vnder the degree of a knight) within all your Maiesties Britishe Empier els, with human aid and policy, can or will do any better or greater as by the Almightye His will and direction I hope to performe for His glorie cheiflie. And withall to your Maiesties vnspeakable consolation and finall contentment, whose prosperous, merrifull, and peaceable governement over this your Maiesties Britishe Monarchie, the Eternall Kinge continewe not only vntill (by the faithfull, discrete, and valient service of your Highness lovinge subiectes) all the westernne and northen partes of your mightie British Impier maie completlie be rediscovered, recovered, and trivmphantlie enjoyed, but till also your easterlie and sowtherlie disdaynfull vassalles and tributaries²²⁵ will in very lovinge wise render such homage and arrerages vnto your Maiestie as by reason, conscience, and lawe they ought to doo.

Amen .

Your Maiesties most Humbell
and Obedient Servant.

Iohn Dee.

*Anno Dominj 1576; Iuly 22.*²²⁶

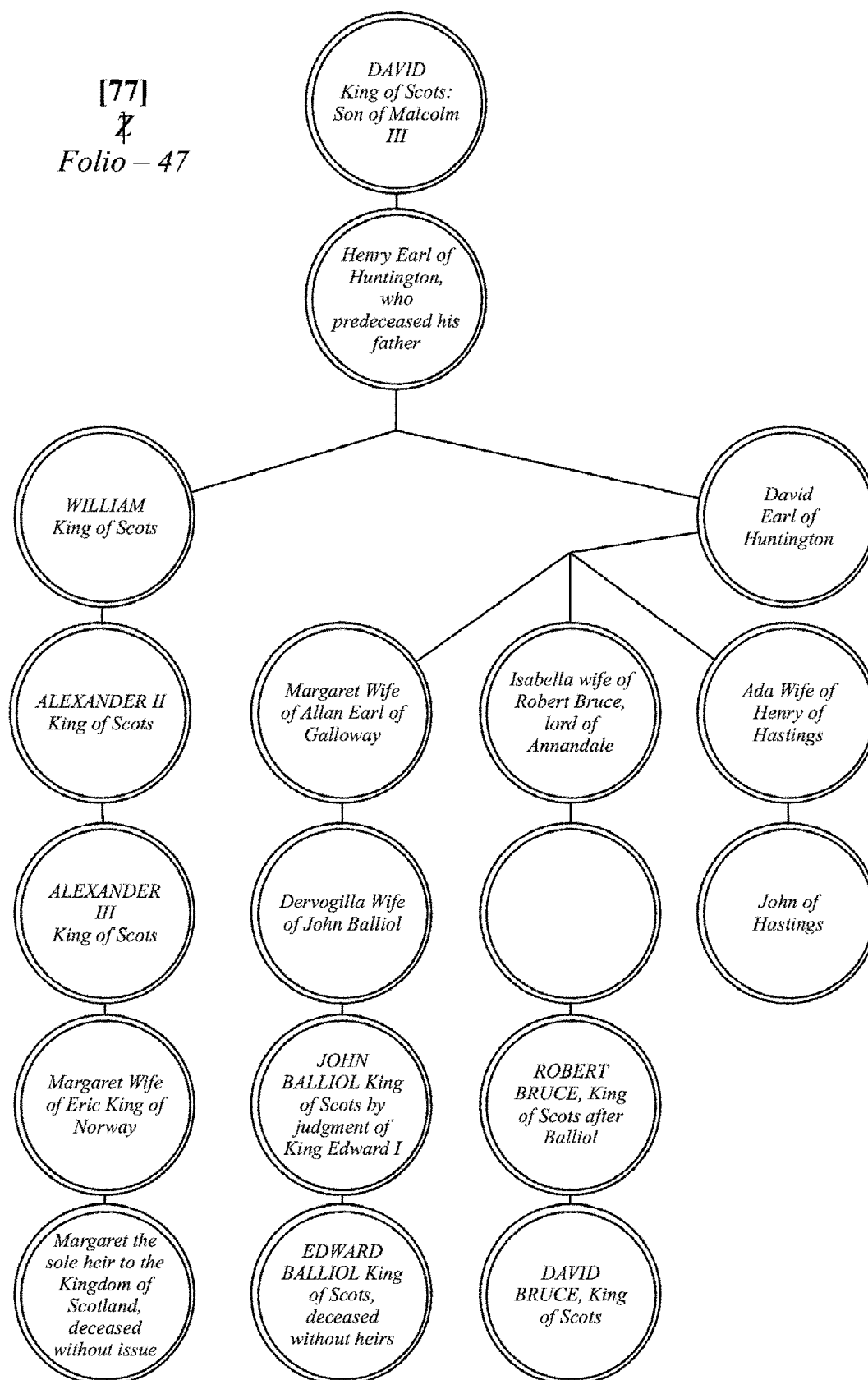
*Non moriar sed vivam, et
narrabo operam Domini*

*Psalm 117*²²⁷

[75] Dee's Endnotes

Hearafter are sett downe such additions (belonginge to that which gooth before) as were noted in the margentes of the longe rolle, which by certaine markes and figures, naminge the *Folio* are easelie to be founde.

[77]
 ‡
 Folio – 47



[78] Z

folio 47. The detractinge and confutinge of a greate error commytted in Robert de *Bruse*, his plea for the crowne of Scotland, and so let pas in Iohn Baliol his reply, or els the notifyinge of a more foule fault in the Scottish chroniclers about Robert *Brus* his pedigree.

Great marveile to me it is to consider that Robert *Bruse* would attempt (without feare of dishonourable reproch to ensue) or that he would so freely cary the matter awaie with probabilitie (havige so many, so wise, so skilfull of his parentage and within their memorie, and so earnest perusers of his plea) to make it seme true that he was the sonne of *Isabell*, daughter to *David*, Earle of Huntingdon. Wheras both *Hector Boethius* and *Ioannes Maior* (the Scottish writers and wrastlers of all matters commonly to the greatest shewe of their countrie glorie or advantage) do make hym (at the nerest) but the nevew of that *Isabell* and declare his mother to have byn *Martha* daughter and heire to Thomas Earle of *Carrik*.²²⁸ He had moreover 4 brethern, *Alexander*, *Nigel*, *Thomas*, and *Edward*, who died all of violent death &c. And for proof of my purpose, I will annex to this record onlie two places out of *Hector Boethius*. First in his 14 booke, thus it is recorded:

<There were two particularly who far preceeded the others in terms of propinquity [of descent]: John Balliol and Robert Bruce, grandson of the one who married Isabella,²²⁹ the younger child of David, from which union he had a son of the same name, Robert (superior due to his unparalleled spirit) of noble surname, Earl of Carrik, who was the father of the one of whom we are thinking. But John Balliol is descended from

Margarita, the elder child of David. For Alan of Galloway acknowledged two daughters by her, one of which, Dervorguilla, was married to the Lord John Balliol, and from him bore a son named John Baliol, of whom I speak now.>²³⁰

And in the 13 booke:

<But Edward, the son of Henry King of England, having left for Africa with Louis when he first heard of his father's death, returned home with a favorable wind. In the same season, Martha, the daughter of the Earl of Carrik (perished with the others in Africa) in adult estate and of proper age for a man, was hunting in the forest for pleasure, following game, and chanced to meet Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale in Scotland and of Cleveland in England, grandson (from Isabella, the second daughter) of David Earl of Huntingdon, and stricken with love from the embraces of this most beautiful young man, she was taken by him [79] to the castle called Turburi,²³¹ and there they celebrated their nuptials most hastily (so no one would hinder them) and were joined in marriage. Born of this union was Robert Bruce, that man who later became King of Scotland (King Alexander lacking in issue).>²³²

Ioannes Maior maketh hym not <grandson> to this Isabell, but <great-grandson>.²³³

Yf his booke be printed accordinge to his mynd (*lib. 4. Cap: 17*) with dowt or difference I leave to the adherents of *Hector* and *Maior* to discusse and dissolve betwene them selves. And also both these *Scottish* historiographers I sett against their owne *Scottish* kinge (this Robert *Bruse*) for his dishonourable manner of sophisticall pleading vppon the equivocation of one name (yt is to wete) Robert *Bruse*, agreeinge to hym selfe and his father, and likewise uppon the amphibologie of the phrase, <From Isabella sprang

Robert the Bruce who now petitions>, then wrasted or vsted to signifie hym selfe to be the sonne of this *Isabell*, which worde *exivit* and *exitus* maie be applied not only to the sonne or newew, but to the hundredth descent or issue in *recta linia*²³⁴ and farder infinitlie. But by Robert the kingly competitour and his lawyers, yt was so avouched and handled in such soute that in the replie made against hym for Iohn *Baliol*, this it is in the Towre Recordes, autographicall of the Publik Notaries then present, and sworne to the true registringe of the whole royall processe, both before in other places, and then beinge *Anno 1292 Oct. 15* at Barwik.²³⁵

<And, about what this same Robert said, that he is closer in degree, in that he says that the foresaid David had three daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Ada, and from Margaret came Dervogilla, from whom John came, and from the aforesaid Isabella, Robert, the present petitioner, who is thus closer in degree, through which he says he has a better right to the foresaid kingdom, following the custom of some kingdoms. And this same John says that whatever is said about other kingdoms and regions, as well as their customs, still in the kingdoms of England and Scotland, in which kings rule in succession in direct descent, and earls and barons succeed in their inheritances the same way, the issue of the younger child, although closer in degree, does not shut out the issue of the first-born, even if less close in degree, when succession in direct descent continues. He said also, and the foresaid Robert agreed, that Margaret, the ancestor of the foresaid John, was the eldest child of the foresaid David, and the foresaid Isabella, mother of the foresaid Robert, was younger. And since the foresaid kingdom of Scotland was not divisible, from what he said, the rights of the kingdom and the kingdom itself should abide with a single person. As he sees it, in this paradigm of succession, following the

laws and customs of both kingdoms, [80] the first-born is preferred to the second-born, and by this same reckoning, the issue of the first-born is preferred to that of the second-born both by reason of primogeniture and the indivisibility of the foresaid kingdom. For these given reasons, while the issue of the eldest remains, the issue of the younger is not able to accrue any rights.>

By which reply for Iohn Baliol, yt is evident that commonlie it was beleved (or partiallie borne downe) that Robert Bruse was the sonne of Isable, and that therfore he was deemed to be one degree nigher to the inheritaunce of succession next after Kinge Alexander the 3 than Iohn *Baliol*, who was but the nevew of Margaret, elder sister to the said Isabell. And to make it more certaine that this Robert *Bruse* avouched him selfe to be the sonne of the foresaid Isabell, this parcell of his plea (had in the same daie and place) may suffice:

*<And thus the rights in this kingdom ought to resort without mediation to the foresaid Robert as a male and of equal degree as the foresaid Dervogilla, & cæt.>*²³⁶

Which error, passinge so many hundred mens examinings & considerations at those daies and since that tyme, vntill this daie remaininge in recorde, historie, and vulger opinion vncontrolled, I thought it my parte to detect and thus to confute that both the truth of so weightie a cause might the better appeare to your Maiestie, and also the royall iudgment of your Highness progenitour Kinge Edward the I might the better against the Scottish vndue reportes therof be iustefied and maintained. Or els (at the least) to make manifest that the Scottish historiographers *Boethius* and *Maiores* in all the circumstances

appertayning to this *Martha* (countesse of *Carrik* by inheritaunce) to be the mother of this Robert Bruse be vtterlie falls and vntruly applied. And perhaps Kinge Robert Bruse his father, named also Robert Bruse, had two wives, Isabell and Martha. And by Isabell had this Kinge Rober, and by Martha had Robert, the noble Earle of *Carrik* and those 4 other brotherne. But the Earldome of *Carrik* cam to Robert, the kinge (survivinge after the decease of the said noble Robert) either by last will or otherwise. And so that noble Robert Erle of *Carrik*, beinge but Kinge Robert his Brother, taken for his father, and Martha, beinge but his mother in lawe, for Isabell who was his owne mother, was the occasion that those chroniclers did differ so much from the verity of Kinge Robert his genealogie, which manner of mistakinge I have often tried out in pedegrees.²³⁷ But which waie so ever the matter standeth with the truth, it is worthie of our knowledg and much for our advantage against such the Scottishe vntrue dealinge in worde and writtinge in matters very waightie. [81] And to give some shew of the probability of my said coniecture or to bringe some light for better solution of this doubt, yt is to be noted that Robert de Bruse, Earl of *Carrik*, was alive at the tyme of this Robert Bruse Earle of *Anandale* his clayme makinge to the crowne of *Scotland*. Yea both with many other of the Realme of *Scotland*, he swore fealtie to our Kinge Edward the I and was also a witnes to some acts of the said processe for the Scottish crowne, as by these two places out of the records therof may appere:

<In the year of our Lord 1291, in the fourth indiction,²³⁸ on the 13th day of the month of June, there publicly assembled before the most excellent prince and lord, the Lord Edward by the grace of God King of England, illustrious overlord and direct lord of the

kingdom, the nobles, prelates and others of the public of the kingdom of Scotland, & cæt.>

And then after the Kinge his associatinge of the Lord Brian fitz Alan, to the other before appointed for the custodie and cheife governement of *Scotland*. And after ther solum othe taken for their faithfull execution of their charge and office, yt followeth:

<Thereupon the said venerable fathers and lord, & cæt. Touching and kissing the gospels, each for himself swore an oath of loyalty to this lord the King of England as overlord and direct lord of the kingdom of Scotland. And all of them noblemen: Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale; John de Balliol, Lord of Galloway; Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick; Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March; & cæt. >

And again in the same recorde in the act of *Anno 1291* the 3 daie of Iune after the orations made by our Kinge Edward and the Bishop of Bath to the nobilitie and commons of *Scotland*, and after consultation, then and there had for the manner and order taken for the election of the 104 comissioners and herers of the whole processe, these are noted as witnesses of this acte, thus:

<The above acts were recorded, & cæt., in the presence of the venerable bishops in Christ, Lord John, by the grace of God Lord Archbishop of York, primate of England, & cæt., and the noblemen Edmund, Earl of Lancaster; William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; Henry de Lacey, Earl of Lincoln; Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshall of England; Donald, Earl of Mar; Gilbert, Earl of Angus; and Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick; & cæt.>

[82] *Folio. 51.*

*Though I omit here the setting downe *verbatim* (owt of the record authentically) divers notable protestations, partlie made by Kinge Edward hym selfe (*Organo Vocis suæ*)²³⁹ and partlie (at the Kinge his commandment) by Robert Bishopp of *Bath* and *Welles*, Chancelour of England declared to the Nobilitie and Prelates &c. of both realmes then present at the *plea* and processe betwene Iohn *Baliol* and Robert Bruse &c. Yet I thinke it verie needfull here to reiterate the tenor of this one, beinge of no small importaunce, which somewhat expoundeth that clause in those recordes (so often repeated) <*saving our rights and the rights of our heirs when we may wish to speak thereupon*>, which protestation beinge formerlie first made by the said Bishop of *Bath* and *Welles* in the kinges name was also againe the same daie repeated in French by the kinge hym selfe, *Anno 1291. Iunij .3.*, the precise sense wherof in Latin is thus recorded:

<*And although we are overlord and direct lord of this kingdom, and exercise or execute the rights of overlord and direct lord extended to us (as you know), we do not intend because of that to exclude our hereditary right that is appropriate to us to the same kingdom due to possession. However much it is our right to deliver justice to others, still it is our right to bestow and declare it between these claimants, settling their rights however and whenever we are able to and see fit to.*>

❧ *Folio. 53.*

This Scottishe seale broken differeth much from that which was *Anno 1292 November 19*, for this was after the last conquest (as it were) of *Scotland* made by Edward the 1,

your Maiesties most noble progenitour, he beinge procured therunto by the traitorous rebellion of *Iohn Baliol*, late Scottishe Kinge. But that other was at the tyme of the Scottish Kingdome beinge delivered into this Iohn Baliol his handes by the most circumspect iudgement of your Maiesties said victorious progenitour Kinge Edward the I, vsinge therein his superioretie royall over the kinge and kingdome of *Scotland*. Also that first breakinge was of the greate Scottishe seale to the custodie of the Scottish Kingdome [83] appropriat, so appointed by King Edward his order till the lawfull succession therein were duly tried out. But this breakinge of the Scottish common and vsuall great seale appropriate to the kingdom ancientlie and continually, and that the first great seale breakinge (appointed to be vsed while the competitors sutes were ended) maie better com to freshe memorie and consideration, yt shall not be impertinent to annexe here a littell parcell (noted out of your Maiesties Towre Records) sufficient for that purpose.

<And on the same day, in the hall of the castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed, before both the nobles and the prelates of the kingdom, on the precepts of the foresaid Lord King of England, overlord and direct lord of the kingdom of Scotland, the seal esteemed to rule the kingdom of Scotland (which seal was used until that day by the guardians of the kingdom appointed by the king from the time of the death of Alexander, the last king of Scotland) was broken into four parts. And these parts were placed in a bag of leather and were saved in the treasury of the lord King of England as a sign and ample evidence of the overlordship and direct sovereignty that he had, and which he and his heirs, the kings of England, were owed for all times in the foresaid kingdom of Scotland; and as a declaration of his right of overlordship and direct lordship offered for posterity.²⁴⁰ These things were done at Berwick-upon-Tweed in the year, indiction, month, day, and locale

previously noted, in the presence of said Lord John of Balliol, then King of Scotland, and the reverend fathers in Christ, Lord John, Archbishop of Dublin; and the Lords John, Bishop of Winchester; Anthony, Bishop of Durham; William, Bishop of Ely; John, Bishop of Caerleon; William, Bishop of St. Andrew's; Robert, Bishop of Glasgow; Mark, Bishop of Sodor; and Henry, Bishop of Aberdeen; with many other bishops of both kingdoms, abbots, and priors, and the noblemen Henry, Earl of Lincoln; Humphrey, Earl of Hereford; Roger, Earl of Norfolk; John, Earl of Buchan; Donald, Earl of Mar; Gilbert, Earl of Angus; Patrick, Earl of March; and Malise, Earl of Strathearn; and twenty-four English and eighty Scottish witnesses nominated, elected, and appointed as above, and also, Master Henry of Newark, Dean of York; John de Lacey, Chancellor of Chichester; and William de Greenfield, Canon of York; Master John Ercuri de Caen, Public Apostolic Notary; and many other nobles, clerics and laymen.>

[84]

Folio 55.

Yt is worthie to be knowne that the lettres patents of the release of the Scottishe homage within this Kinge Edwardes minoretie were traiterouslie framed and delivered. The same were gotten againe from Scotland by Iohn Harding his politike and valiant industrie, which lettres pattentes he delivered (with divers others of great importance) vnto your Maiesties ancestor Kinge Henry the 6, as by the historie maie appeare, which to the same kinge, Iohn Hardinge hym selfe did present. And the same booke is yet to be sene faire and safe in London.²⁴¹

Δ Δ Δ folio 56.

Which lettres patentes beinge of very great importaunce (as I do vnderstand them) and the same not in any publick historie to be had, I thinke it therfore necessarie here to expres the tenour therof, even as that faithfull writer Robert of *Auesbury*²⁴² did verie trulie exemplefie them, and also as some Scote did copie them out above 200 yeares since with this title prefixed:

*<How Lord Edward de Balliol, our King of Scotland, transferred the kingdom and crown of Scotland to the King of England at Roxburgh, while David King of Scotland remained captive in England, having been captured near the city of Durham on the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist in the year of Our Lord 1346.*²⁴³

Let it be manifest to all men through these present letters that Edward, by the grace of God King of Scots, heeding (after gaining the kingdom and crown of Scotland which, after the death of Lord John de Balliol of celebrated memory lately King of Scotland and our father, legitimately devolved to us by hereditary right, and in the possession of which, through both homage and service of bishops and leaders no less than others of this realm, as much as through our lawful hereditary right we have for some time been invested) how through [85] enduring malice and continuing rebellion of certain enemies, we have been for a long while and are still, against God and justice, most vilely assailed by rebels of our said kingdom who, against obligations of loyalty and allegiance, have hostilely and treacherously made insurrection, and although we have thus far sustained great labors for our recovery, heeding the weakness of our body beset by old age, we are

therefore no longer able or willing to labor in this way. But we do not wish for our right to perish utterly in this way, nor for the malice of these rebels to pass unpunished. And remembering the many kindnesses, favors, and honors which the most serene prince and lord our most cherished Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France, lavishly and courteously set before us, and also the bonds of close kinship between us, by which we acknowledge ourselves mutually bound, and also on account of the special affection and sincere esteem that we bear for him above all others of our blood and because he surpasses all other princes in vigor, he will be better able than any other to curb, through God's grace, the malice of said rebels. Of our simple and willing accord, after diligent and mature deliberation of these things, we do give, concede, and confirm by our present document to the aforesaid Edward the kingdom and crown of Scotland together with our royal dignities, the islands of the sea, all royal dues of homage and service from our lords, the feudal services of our prelates and chieftains as well as of others, the appointing of bishops, abbots, and priors of the church, and each and every right belonging to the said kingdom and crown of Scotland, or could pertain to it in any way, just as completely and wholly as any or all of our progenitors, once kings of Scotland, held in former times; and also all the adjacent isles for which any of our forbears held seisin at any time, as well as all our castles, dominions, lands, tenements, possessions, and rights of ours, as explained before, both in the kingdom of England, as well as in Galloway and elsewhere within the said kingdom, or could be ours by hereditary right, or any claim, title, or rights whatsoever; to have and to hold from the day of this present composition, to the foresaid Edward, his heirs, and assigns, forever, all right and claim to the foresaid kingdom and crown with royal dignities and everything

whatsoever pertaining to them; [86] and of the islands and other castles, dominions, lands, tenements, possessions, and rights abovementioned that do or could in any way be connected to us, to the person of the said Lord Edward, for us and our heirs from this time we fully and completely transfer to him and his assigns for all times, excepting any of the rights and claims of the said kingdom and crown of Scotland or in any part of it or in any appurtenances of it, and also the islands or other dominions, lands, tenements, possessions, and rights aforesaid or any of them, which we or our heirs might exact, claim, or have in the future from the foresaid Lord Edward, his heirs, and assigns. But all rights and claims of the kind that pertains or could pertain to us or our heirs from the Lord Edward, his heirs and assigns, we, by the tenor of these present letters, remit, slacken, and quitclaim for us and our heirs forever. Witnessed by the venerable father Thomas, Lord Bishop of Durham; Lords Lionel, Earl of Ulster and the Earl of Richmond; Henry Duke of Lancaster; William Bohun Earl of Northumberland; Roger Mortimer Earl of March; Ralph Earl of Stafford; Gilbert Earl of Angus; the Abbots of Melrose, Kelso, Iodword and Dryburgh; Henry Lord Percy; John Lord Mowbray; Ralph Lord Neville; Walter Lord de Manny; John Charleton Lord de Powys; John Grey Lord de Rotherfield; Geoffrey Lord de Say; William Lord de Latimer; Sir John Strivelin; Sir Thomas Rakby; Sir Robert Erlee; Sir William de Warenne; Sir William de Aldeburgh; and others. Given at Roxburgh on the 25th day of January in the year of our Lord 1355.>

And againe the 27 daie of the same moneth, the leters pattentes were made as hereafter followinge:

<Be it universally known through these present letters that we, Edward de Balliol, son of Lord John de Balliol of illustrious memory, once King of Scots, give and concede for ourselves and our heirs, to the most serene of princes and our Lord Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France, the kingdom and crown of Scotland devolved by lawful inheritance on us by the death of our father, with all the dignities of the kingdom and all the other things whatsoever and wheresoever pertaining to that same kingdom and crown. And also all the other adjacent isles of Scotland, from which some of our progenitors, once kings of Scotland, had seisin in the past. And also all [87] castles, dominions, lands, tenements, possessions, and rights in the kingdom of England, Galloway, and elsewhere under dominion of the kingdom of Scotland that either pertain or could in any way pertain to our hereditary right or title. These things have Lord Edward, his heirs, and assigns, in perpetuity. And in addition, all right and claim of the said kingdom and crown of Scotland and everything else abovesaid, or those things we have or are able to have, we transfer to the foresaid person of Lord Edward for himself and his heirs, as is fully preserved in our writing thereupon completed and certified under our seal, and to him thereafter we freely make seisin. On account of our abundant affection for said Lord Edward, his outstanding merits, we steadfastly have the will to provide as far as it is possible for the security of himself and his heirs for the future, and so we remit and quitclaim, for ourself and our heirs, to the aforesaid Lord Edward, his heirs, and assigns, all right and claim that we have or are able to have in the forementioned kingdom and crown, and also the dignities of the kingdom, honors, dominions, castles, villages, manors, homage, fealty, service, rents, profits, and whatsoever other rights and possessions foresaid manifestly both in Galloway and

foresaid isles, and in other places whithersoever, even if some of the isles are said or could be said to pertain minimally to the kingdom and crown of Scotland. And moreover, so as to remove all ambiguity of our intention in this part, it neither seems nor actually is possible for us or our heirs to have any rights or claims from now on either in the aforementioned or in anything related in any way, even if nowhere particularly articulated in our charter. Witnessed by the venerable father Thomas, Lord Bishop of Durham, and others, as in the charter above. Given at Roxburgh on the 27th day of the month of January in the year abovewritten.>

So that in *Summa Summarum*, it is very evident that vnto [88] your Maiestie iustlie doth appertaine not onlie the superioretie royall over the kinge and kingdome of *Scotland*, but also the very kingdom yt selfe ys by three divers and sufficient [ways or means]²⁴⁴ due vnto your highnes; yt is to wete, by inheritaunce, at sondrie tymes, by conquest, and by gift absolut vnto your Maiesties most noble progenitor Kinge Edward the 3, wherof much matter maie be *pro et contra*²⁴⁵ alleadged, but not in this place to be decided.

+ * + *folio 63.*

Because at this tyme the kinge of *Denmarke* hath also the kingdome of *Norwaye* vnder his subiection, what so ever is to be said in respecte of *Denmark* and *Norwaye* appertenances, as they nowe are vndulie possessed, the same doth urge (for your Maiesties clayme I meane) the Danish king to answer for. And though the kingdom of *Norway* hath byn sometymes vnder the kings of *Sueden*, yet at this instant, only *Sueden* with the very large bounds therof is vnder his iurisdiction.²⁴⁶ But by any *Sueden* kinge,

we never were so much annoyed and endamaged as we have, both long since & of late dayes, byn combred with the Danish dealinges.

This I note because I mentioned not expreslie in this place of the record any kinge of Norway presently. And also I may thinke it not undutifullie done (on my behalfe) to revyve the memorie of your Highnes interest therin. Seinge in these lawes of good Kinge Edward, the same is so plainlie recorded and so earnestlie requested in mannre to be considered continewallie of the lawfull successors royall of this incomperable kingdome, notwithstanding any Danishe ancient clayme in respect of their usurpinge the Englishe crowne for a while by pretence of a conquest here made, but only lawfull conquestes make lawfull possession and delivery iust title of inheritaunce with the blissing of God assistinge the same.

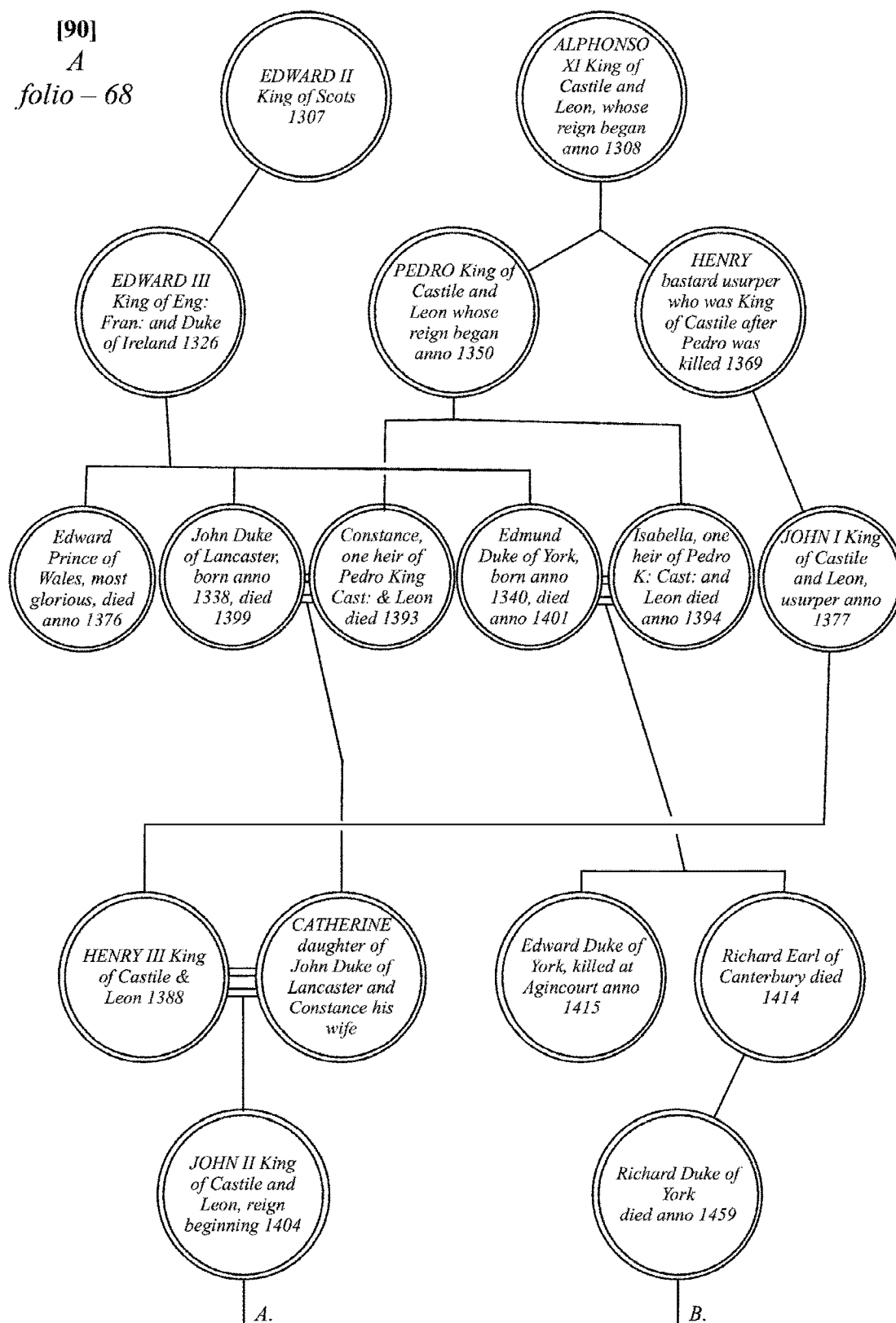
[89] ☉ *Folio 70.*

An argument of no small importaunce to prove that such covenant passed betwene the two bretherne is to be gathered of those writes and monumentes of Kinge Richard the 2 directed to or concerning this Edward, wherunto this Iohn Hardinge geveth testimony (in the 5 stafe before the veares before rehearsed) by these woordes.

This *Edmond* was after Duke of Yorke create,
And had a sonne that Edward had to name;
whom Kinge Richard made to be denominate
in all his writs (exaltinge his fame),

Kinge of *Portugall*, his father yet at hame
livinge in adge; I traw of fourscore yeare
a fayre person as a man might see any wheare. . .²⁴⁷

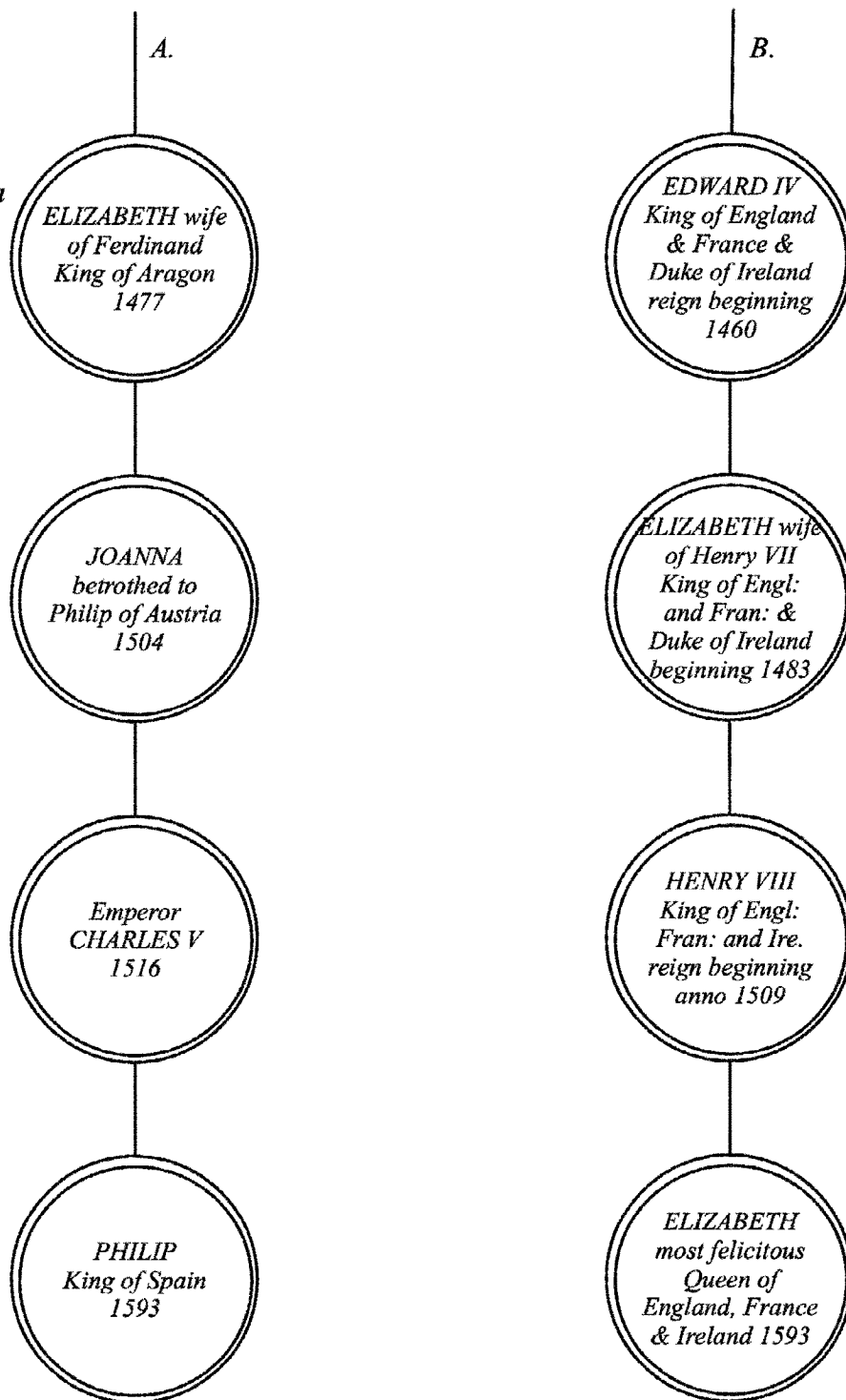
[90]
A
folio – 68



A.

B.

[91]

also Isabella

[92] *Folio 71.*

Certayne it is that the Duke of Lancaster, as much as he could, kept it from beinge publikly knowne that any such former covenant (as *Iohn Harding* sawe in faire record and evidence) was betwene his brother Duke *Edmond* and hym, and therefore carried the matter cleane away with the gretest likelihood of iustice otherwise. Yet that nothwithstandinge, at the very knitting vpp of the matter, in *Spayn*, his conscience was so forced to remember his brothers sonns case and interest, that he made some confused slender shadow therof, and disfigured the body of the former covenaut so as might best serve his owne turne and sufficientlie content *Iohn*, the vsurper of *Spayn*. And therefore, as *Thomas Walsingham* noteth:

*<And it came to pass that the king of Castile accepted the daughter of the duke as a wife for his son, the posterity of which would rejoyce in the kingdom of Spain. And if no issue came forth from them, the inheritance would turn over to the son of the duke of York, whose father was the duke of Lancaster, and betrothed to the younger daughter of Pedro, once the king of Castile. And if it befell him to die without legitimate heirs, then the power of the kingdom would revert to offspring yet to be born to the duke of Lancaster and Constance (the daughter of Pedro aforementioned).>*²⁴⁸

[93] *C. Folio 69.*

As for Portugall kingdom, beinge in tymes past a part of *Gallicia*,²⁴⁹ which was wholie vnder *Alphonsus sextus*, kinge also of *Castile*, *Leon*, and *Asturias*,²⁵⁰ it was geven in dowrie with *Tarasias*, his basse daughter, married to Henry Earle of *Lorrain*, of which mariage cam *Alphonsus* the I that was called Kinge of *Portugale* about the yeare of

Christ 1110, who also recovered *Lisbon* from the Mores, after whom succeeded kinges of Portugale, *Sanctius*, *Alphonsus secundus*, *Sanctius Secundus*, *Alphonsus tertius*, and then his sonne *Dionysius*. To this *Alphonsus* 3, *Alphonsus* 10, Kinge of *Castile* and *Leon*, (for the preferment of his basse daughter *Beatrix* in mariage with hym), did both release all the homage of *Portugale* due to the kinges of *Castile* and *Leon*, and also gave vnto hym the countie of *Algarbe*.²⁵¹ And yet notwithstandinge that release, *Froisard*²⁵² recordeth (*Cap* 230 and 238) both that *Lisbon* (the cheife cittie of *Portugale*) was parte of *Peter* Kinge of *Castile* and *Leon* his iurisdiction, and also that they of *Lisbon* (as well as the rest of all *Spayn*) did com in and doe homage to the said *Peter*, kinge of *Castile* and *Leon*; after that he was fullie restored to his kingdom (*Anno* 1367) by the most valiant and famous champion, *Edward*, Prince of Wales. But in what respectes so ever *Lisbon* was so accompted and did homage that tyme, true yt is that *Ioannes primus*, sonne to this bastard *Henry* of *Spaine*, maryinge (*Anno* 1382) with *Beatrix* (who was divorced from *Edward*, sonne to *Edmond*, Duke of Yorke), she beinge the lawfull daughter and heire to *Ferdinand*, Kinge of *Portugale* (who succeeded *Peter*, who succeeded *Alphonsus quartus*, who succeeded the forenamed *Dionysius*), he in the right of his said wife was to enioye *Portugal* kingdome after the death of her father. Although in the right of his owne father, he could not lawfullie possesse *Castile* and *Leon*, and much lese make any lawfull covenant for the succession therof with *Iohn Duke* of *Lancaster* otherwise than that the first heire male of *Constance* and *Isabell* (daughters and heires to the said *Peter*) should enioye the inheritaunce of the same kingdoms, yf *Iohn Hardinge* his testimonie herein be irreprovable.

[94] *Folio 71.*

Seeinge *Anno* 1378 (a few years before his vndue *Spanysh* clayme) <he wanted the kingdom so much that he would brook no opposition whatsoever to his will>, as *Thomas Walsingham* noteth, vppon his vnsemlie request made to the peres of the realme (which they durst not denye hym) of having into his handes and orderinge the whole subsidy graunted to Kinge Richard the 2 by the last Parliament. What should or (rather) what could or durst Duke *Edmond* his brother then attempt against hym for recoverie of the right of his yonge sonne *Edward* to be kinge of *Castile* and *Leon* with the alligation, witnes, and due proof of this Duke Iohn such his former lawfull covenant made? Which by the said Mr. Hardinge about 80 years after was sene in faire evidence and monument yet remaininge, wherein <one eye-witness is better than ten recipients of hearsay>.

Notes for Document III

¹ As discussed in Chapter 1 of my Introduction, Documents I and II occur on pages four through nine of the codex *Brytanici Imperii Limites*, Document III beginning on page thirteen. See p. 27.

² Dee often refers to America as “Atlantis,” a continent that Plato, in the *Timaeus* and *Critias*, placed in the North Atlantic. While the legendary continent was believed by the ancients to have been swallowed by the Atlantic Ocean, there is some evidence that Dee and others thought that the continent named “America” by the Spanish was actually Plato’s Atlantis. The sixteenth-century navigators Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, Adrian Gilbert and John Davies, all associates of Dee’s and perhaps following his example, tend to call America “Atlantis” in their writings. For these imperially-minded Englishmen, one attraction of equating America with a land known by the ancients was certainly to attenuate some of the glory of Christopher Columbus’ “discovery” of a new world.

³ This phrase was added to the bottom, right corner of folio 13 with an asterisk to indicate its placement in the main text. Both asterisks have been retained here even though the phrase has been relocated.

⁴ In the *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder uses the name “Albion” to refer to all of Great Britain [IV.xvi.102]. This usage was adopted by medieval authors, although in the Middle Ages the name could also variously refer to England or Scotland (the Gaelic name for which is “Alba”). An ancient name that possibly predates Celtic languages, “Albion” was later associated with the Latin for “white,” *albus*, and was thought to refer

to the “white cliffs of Dover,” a continental traveller’s first view of Britain. Considering the antiquarian interest in Dee’s time in national and cultural origins, the use of this name for either England or Britain connotes knowledge of an ancient history, though an incomplete knowledge that is perhaps tinged with nostalgia and even romanticism, as is evidenced in the subtitle of William Warner’s *Albion’s England* (London: George Robinson, 1586), wherein he proposes to recount the history of the English from the “*Occasion of the Brutans their first aryvall in Albion*,” an effort of historiography so impossible as to make this work, rather, one of romance.

⁵ Cathay is an ancient and poetic name for China. Dee’s *Of Famous and Riche Discoveries* (1577) is a significantly longer work than the “Limits,” but sounds many of the same themes, most pertinently, British imperialism. The territories that Dee claims for Britain in this paragraph are the entire northeastern coast of North America, all the islands—including Greenland—off the coast of Canada and New England, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and all the islands in the Arctic, North, and Baltic Seas. The Baltic Sea ends at the coast of Russia (“the Duke of Moscovia his domynions”), and here, too, Dee’s projected “Septentrionall [Northern] Britishe Impiere” ends.

⁶ In the manuscript, the enumeration and dates of each item appear in the left margin of the manuscript, centred on the text to which they pertain. Consistent with modern convention, I have relocated these to the beginning of each item. In the right margin the scribe wrote the name of the areas discussed in the main text, which have not been included since they seem redundant.

⁷ There is no evidence that Owain Gwynedd (1137-1169) even had a son named Madoc although the story that this prince discovered and colonized America was repeated

in Renaissance antiquarian works, such as David Powel's *Historie of Cambria* (London, 1584), Humphrey Llwyd's *History of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (Unpublished, c. 1568), as well as Dee's *Of Famous and Riche Discoveries* and *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the the Perfecte Arte of Navigation*. For more about the various ways this myth took form, see Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Legend of the Welsh Discovery of America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) and Richard Deacon, *Madoc and the Discovery of America: Some New Light on an Old Controversy* (London: Frederick Muller, 1967).

⁸ On maps of this period, Norombega roughly corresponds to New England. Apalchen and Mocosa are territories south of it, so on the basis of Madoc's voyages, it appears that Dee is claiming the mainland of America stretching from New England as far south as Florida. Dee was likely consulting maps and charts by Abraham Ortelius and Mercator, amongst the leading geographers of the time and both of whom he had befriended on his continental travels. For information on Ortelius as well as to consult beautiful reproductions of his maps, see Paul Binding's *Imagined Corners: Exploring the World's First Atlas* (London: Hodder Headline, 2003). I have been unable to locate a similarly comprehensive work for Mercator, though some of his maps can be consulted in Philip D. Burdern, *The Mapping of North America* (Rickmansworth, England: Raleigh Publications, 1996) and Carl Moreland and David Bannister, *Antique Maps* (London: Phaidon, 1983, rpt. 2002). For a biographical analysis, see Nicholas Crane's *Mercator: The Man Who Mapped the Planet* (New York: Henry Holt, 2002).

⁹ The explorer Sebastian Cabot (c.1484-c.1557) worked variously for both English and Spanish interests. His voyages remain a matter of some debate, a situation that may have originated in his own accounts of them. Peter Martyr (1457-1526), royal chronicler for the the Spanish court, affirms in *De Orbo Noue Decades* (1516) that Sebastian Cabot did discover an island which he called “the land of the Baccalai,” so Dee is reporting on good authority (the *LC* does not record that he owned a copy of *Decades*, although Richard Eden’s 1555 translation of the work made it easily accessible to the English, and it is difficult to believe that Dee would not have at least passing familiarity with this popular work). For more on this voyage and the controversy surrounding it, see Kenneth Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 50-52. For contemporary accounts, see *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII*, edited by J.A. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

¹⁰ Dee’s use of the word “peculiar” is not meant to imply that he finds the name strange or eccentric, but rather it connotes something singular about the isle, since this isle was distinguished from the others by this particular name. On Gerard Mercator’s *Typus Orbis Terrarum* (1569), Baccalaos appears to be a large island off the coast of what corresponds today with southeastern Canada.

¹¹ John Cabot, or Giovanni Caboto, was born in Genoa c. 1455. After his offer of service to the Spanish crown was rejected, Cabot moved to England, settling in Bristol, where he remained through his life. He is commonly credited with having discovered Newfoundland and Labrador although it is possible that Bristol fishermen preceded him

to these shores. *Terra Corterealis* was named for its alleged discoverer, Gaspar Corte-Real, and, as Kenneth MacMillan points out, Dee's renaming it *Terra Cabotina* emphasizes who he thinks should receive credit for first discovery. See *John Dee: The Limits of the British Empire* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004) 129 (n.10).

¹² Christians dedicated Midsummer Day, 24 June, to St. John the Baptist. Along with Christmas, Lady Day, and Michaelmas, it was one of the great quarter-day feasts of the year.

¹³ "Circa Anno 560" is placed in the margin to refer to Dee's items five through eight.

¹⁴ The travels of the Irish St. Brendan the Navigator (c.486-c.575) are the subject of the work *Navigatio Brendani sancti abbatis*, the popularity of which is attested by the existence of 116 medieval Latin manuscript copies, the earliest dating from the tenth century. Medieval and Renaissance interpretations of the work postulated that Brendan and his monks sailed to the Hebrides, Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland, and along the east coast of America as far south as the Caribbean (for an account of these interpretations, see John L. Allen, "From Cabot to Cartier: The Early Exploration of Eastern North America, 1497-1543," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82 [1992]: 500-521 and Geoffrey Ashe, *Land to the West: St. Brendan's Voyage to America* [London: Collins, 1962]). Brendan's Island cannot be positively identified although it has variously thought to be situated among the Canaries, Madeira, the Azores, as well as amongst more northerly islands. "[T]he excellent Cambrien Machutus," or St. Malo, who is identified in the *Navigatio* as Brendan's favorite pupil, is perhaps singled out here due to the tradition of his hailing from Cambria, or Wales (according to a ninth-century *Vita*),

which would possibly bear more significantly on Dee's argument than Brendan himself. Malo is best known for founding the monastery Aleph in the eponymous town St.-Malo in Brittany in the course of a journey purportedly undertaken with Brendan. See Séamus Mac Mathúna, "Contributions to a Study of the Voyages of St Brendan and St Malo," *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature: An Anthology of Criticism*, edited by Jonathan M. Wooding. (Dublin: Four Courts, 2000) 157-174.

¹⁵ According to the *Navigatio*, the Isle of Demons provided Brendan's crew with the kind of "almost incredible eventes" one might expect to encounter in Hell. See "The Voyage of St. Brendan," *The Age of Bede*, 211-246 at pp. 238-241.

¹⁶ Estotiland appears on Mercator's *Typus Orbis Terrarum* (1569) as a large island just off the coast of northern Canada, and Drogeo is a smaller island south and slightly to the east of that.

¹⁷ Brendan's explorations in search of the Blessed Islands of the Saints lasted for seven years, during which time they did indeed travel in a kind of circuit as they were duty-bound to celebrate Easter in the same place every year.

¹⁸ On the *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, the River of Torment separates the mainland of the New World from the large island Estotiland, located between Greenland and what is now Northern Canada. A league is roughly three nautical miles, so a distance of between thirty and thirty-six miles is meant.

¹⁹ This phrase means, "To the west and a quarter to the north," which is approximately west-northwest.

²⁰ The date given for this enterprise is too early for Sebastian, and Dee seems to be confusing him with his father John, who made a well-documented voyage in 1497

though the specific location of his landfall is uncertain. See L.A. Vigneras, “New Light on the 1497 Cabot Voyage to America,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 36 (1956): 503-506. In 1508-1509, Sebastian Cabot, on the other hand, did indeed seek a northeast passage to “Cathay,” or China, perhaps navigating the Hudson Strait before his crew convinced him to return to England. Later in his life, as governor of the Muscovy Company, he once again sought the northeast passage, this time around the north of Russia.

²¹ Today, Labrador is a large peninsula attached to the mainland of Canada and forming the eastern shore of the Hudson Bay. Considering Dee identifies it here as an eastern coast of “Atlantis,” we might assume he had this approximate location in mind.

²² Martin Frobisher (c.1535-1594) made three voyages to the New World, in 1576, 1577, and 1578. His aim was to discover the Northwest passage on the 1576 voyage, and on the second two, both partially funded by the crown, the more ambitious projects of finding precious metals and establishing a colony were undertaken, neither of which succeeded. Dee advised Frobisher on these voyages and even invested in the 1577 enterprise. *Meta Incognita*, or “beyond the unknown limit,” was the name given to those Arctic lands Frobisher claimed for Elizabeth in 1576. For more about the Frobisher voyages, see chapter 6 of E.G.R. Taylor’s *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (New York: Octagon, 1968).

²³ The *Archiaonomia, sive de priscis Anglorum legibus libri* is a collection of Anglo-Saxon laws compiled by William Lambarde (1536-1601), an antiquarian and legal scholar, and printed for the first time by John Daye in London in 1568. This is one of Dee’s main sources throughout the “Limits” (LC no. 681). Dee refers frequently to the

section he calls “The Laws of Good King Edward,” the final section of the work called by Lambarde merely “Leges Edourdi Regis,” named for Edward III (1042-1066). On folio 138, Lambarde does indeed cite these territories as belonging to the British crown.

²⁴ “Island” here means “Iceland.”

²⁵ Dee might mean “bowelled,” which, literally, is “to disembowel,” but could imply getting to the gist or heart of a matter, as he has done in uncovering the alternate name “Gelandia” for Friseland.

²⁶ According to Mercator’s *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, Ireland, Iceland, Groenland, and Friseland are all located in the Atlantic between Great Britain (called “Anglia” on Mercator’s map) and the coast of the New World. The smaller islands off the coast of Friseland, of which Dee gives the examples Duilo, Monaco, Ledovo, and Ilofe, are unnamed on the *Typus*, but can be clearly seen on Abraham Ortelius’ *Septentrionalium Regionum Descriptio* (1570), which is reproduced in Carl Moreland and David Bannister’s *Antique Maps* (London: Phaidon, 1983; rpt. 2002) 96.

²⁷ This list includes conquered lands cited by Geoffrey as well as those New World lands insinuated by Gerard Mercator in his letter to Dee (reproduced in the “Limits;” see folio 58). All of these islands can be identified on Ortelius’ *Septentrionalium Regionum Descriptio*. Griseland is a tiny island off the southeastern coast of Iceland; the Farre Islands occur about halfway between the Shetlands and Iceland; Podalida is located between the Hebrides and Friseland, Groeland is, as Dee says, just north of Greenland; and Icaria is a small island in between Estotiland, Greenland, Iceland, and Friseland.

²⁸ This way of indicating the possessive through an additional possessive pronoun is increasingly archaic in Dee's time, though he uses it throughout this work.

Modernized, it would simply read "King Arthur's subjects."

²⁹ In this paragraph, Dee postulates that Arthur is responsible for the settlements on Grocland, given the evidence of civilization found there, particularly the Christian books since Arthur was known to have been "merveilous zealous." Dee says that this colony had been forgotten until it was described in *De I Commentarii del Viaggi* (1558), which tells of the voyages, most likely fictional, of the late fourteenth-century explorers Antonio and Niccolo Zeno, the "two noble Venetians" mentioned by Dee. The map of the New World furnished in this account was incorporated by both Abraham Ortelius and Gerard Mercator, causing navigational confusion thereafter given that one of the islands represented thereon—Friseland—is misplaced. Another feature of the Zeno map is that it makes a passage to China from the northeast look more manageable than from the northwest, a misprision that fueled English exploration for centuries. See *Tudor Geography*, 102.

³⁰ No date is associated with this point.

³¹ See note 24.

³² The Comprovincial (or Collateral Isles, as Dee also refers to them in this work) are Ireland, Iceland, Gothland (or Friseland as Dee will argue in point 15), the Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, they were conquered by Arthur, and recovered by King Malgo, as Dee discusses in point 15. See Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, translated and introduction by Lewis Thorpe (London and New York: Penguin, 1966).

³³ It is characteristic of Dee to remind his reader throughout the manuscript, particularly after a digression, both that he intends to be brief and that he proceeds logically through his quadripartite argument as it is outlined at the beginning of Document III.

³⁴ See Geoffrey's *Historia*, IX.vii.263.

³⁵ Here Dee is concerned that Gelandia (for which he prefers the name "Friseland"), and island in the Atlantic, will become confused with Gothland, an island in the Baltic Sea, as Dee says, in between Sweden and modern-day Russia.

³⁶ King Edward III ruled from 1327-1377, so the year in question is 1361.

³⁷ Dee describes these "indrawing seas" at some length later in the work. See pp. 171-172, and 177.

³⁸ "Which book begins at 54 degrees and continues to the pole." The *Inventio Fortunata* (alternately *Fortunæ* or *Fortunatae*), a description of the northern regions surrounding the pole, is one of the most influential lost books of the middle ages, and, surrounded by hearsay and reportage, appears to have been as elusive to Renaissance geographers as it is to modern historians (See my introduction, p. 50). Its author remains anonymous although here Dee suggests he might be Hugo de Hibernia. Richard Hakluyt surmised that Nicholas of Lynn fit the description of "a frier of Oxford" who was a "good astronomer," but neither identification is factually supported. It is possible that Jacobus Cnoyen of s'Hertogenbosch, a fourteenth-century explorer (and others, such as John Day who, in a 1497 letter, laments having left his copy at home) saw the actual work, but it seems just as likely that Cnoyen wrote his abstract of it based on the accounts of eight Greenlanders who told him of having come upon the mysterious author en route. (See

Mercator's letter to Dee, reproduced in the "Limits," p. 170.) Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cartographers such as Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, Martin Beheim used information from the *Inventio* when creating their own maps and globes, thus perpetuating an erroneous understanding of the geography of the North Pole that persisted into the nineteenth century. See Tryggvi J. Oleson, "Inventio Fortunata," *Annals of the Icelandic National League* 44 (1963): 64-76; and B.F. DeCosta, "Inventio Fortunata: Arctic Explorations with an Account of Nicholas of Lynn" (New York: Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, 1881).

³⁹ Stephen Borough (1525-1584), a student and friend of Dee's, was esteemed as a navigator and author of technical and geographical treatises, succeeding Richard Chancellor to the coveted office of Grand Pilot of the Muscovy Company. Queen Mary ruled England from 1553 to 1558. The islands mentioned are north of modern-day Russia. For a description of this voyage, see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement*, 69-71.

⁴⁰ "The Conclusion" appears in the right margin centred on the concluding paragraph.

⁴¹ I.e. Law of Nations, Civil Law, and Canon Law. Dee received his notions of these from Justinian, according to MacMillan in his article "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.

⁴² This phrase appears in the right margin and refers to Lambarde's *Archaionomia*. The quotation can be found on f. 131.

⁴³ "May the truth prevail."

Notes for Document IV

⁴⁴ Pages 22 through 24 are blank in the codex.

⁴⁵ Dee has added this asterisk to the text to refer the reader to the parenthetical comment, also marked by an asterisk, he makes immediately following the end of the paragraph.

⁴⁶ I.e., Document III.

⁴⁷ “Man proposes, but God disposes.” This comes from Thomas a Kempis’ (1380-1471) *Imitation of Christ* (book I, chapter 19), which was not part of Dee’s collection according to the *Library Catalogue*. The sentence continues, “and man’s way is not in man to carry out.” See *Imitation of Christ* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910; rpt. 1947). Dee seems to be suggesting that God has been a collaborator in this project, enforcing Dee’s own position as a prophet rather than as mere propagandist.

⁴⁸ By “other parte,” Dee means document IV.

⁴⁹ Here Dee addresses a serious problem facing British historians at the time, specifically, the dearth of reliable archival materials to support the kinds of claims made by Geoffrey of Monmouth and thereafter repeated by succeeding historians. Due to Henry VIII’s dissolution of the monasteries in 1538 and 1539, many historical documents were lost, damaged, or destroyed, and Dee countenances this unfortunate reality by expressing hope that the kinds of historical records needed to confirm Geoffrey’s account of Arthur’s foreign conquests will surface the libraries of lands allegedly conquered and settled by Arthur and his followers.

⁵⁰ Dee is referring to the popular medieval tradition of the Nine Worthies, comprised of three pagan warriors—Hector, Alexander, and Julius Caesar—three Jewish warriors—Joshua, David, and Judah Maccabee—and three Christians—King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon. The Nine Worthies are first mentioned in Jean de Longuyon’s early fourteenth-century poem *Voeux du Paon* and thereafter became a stock image in the European and British chivalric traditions, frequently referred to in poetry, art, drama, and masque. For further reading on this tradition, see Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1984) and particularly chapter 6, “The Historical Mythology of Chivalry.”

⁵¹ The idea that Arthur won twelve battles against the Saxons stems from the *Historia Brittonum* (believed to have been compiled c.830) of Nennius (or Pseudo-Nennius, now that the attribution has been discredited) although it is unclear whether Dee got this fact directly from “Nennius” or from one of the many historians who later repeated it. The *Library Catalogue* does not show Dee to have owned a copy of the *Historia Brittonum*, a useful modern edition of which is *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals*, edited and translated by John Morris (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1980). Geoffrey’s is the first source to claim that Arthur is the son of Uther Pendragon.

⁵² Here Dee addresses one of the most serious criticisms of the Galfridian history: Arthur’s foreign conquests are repeated enthusiastically by British historians, but ancient historians of those lands allegedly conquered by Arthur make no mention of these events. Dee will attempt to deal with this criticism in a number of ways; see my introduction, p. 72-73.

⁵³ The *Annales Cambriae*, or *Welsh Annals*, a series of brief historical notes covering the period between 447 and 600, records for the year 537 “Arthur and Modred slain at Camblann,” without a suggestion that they were even fighting on opposing sides. Yet Geoffrey portrays Mordred as Arthur’s treacherous nephew, insinuating that Arthur would have succeeded in fully subjecting Rome had he not been warned that Mordred had seized Arthur’s crown and queen, thus usurping Arthur’s kingdom. This act of treachery caused both the fragmentation of the British kingdom Arthur had striven to unite and ultimately Arthur’s death. For a modern edition of the *Annales Cambriae*, see the citation in note 51.

⁵⁴ In this interesting passage, Dee implies that amongst the fables that have crept into the Arthurian History are the details surrounding Arthur’s alleged victories in Gaul and Rome, certainly regions that play no part in Dee’s “British Impiere.” While these components are essential to the legend and repeated widely in romances as well as in works claiming to be histories, Dee treats them as fabrications and excuses them as such by acknowledging the general prevalence of enthusiasm for national heroes resulting in embroidery of their deeds.

⁵⁵ *Scotorum Historia* (1527) of Hector Boethius (1465-1536) valorizes Scottish resistance to Arthurian rule and depicts Arthur as a worthy but flawed king, not least because he reneged on a promise to make the Scottish Loth and his sons heirs to the throne of Britain. While Caratacus, or Caradoc of Llancarffen, is Duke of Cornwall in Geoffrey, Boethius does indeed “transubstantiate” him into a Scottish prince [I.13-14]. For valuable treatments of how Scottish historians dealt with Arthurian history, see Nicola Royan, “‘Na Les Vailyeant Than Ony Uthir Princis of Britaine’: Representations

of Arthur in Scotland, 1480-1540,” *Scottish Studies Review* 3 (2002): 9-21; Steve Boardman, “Late Medieval Scotland and the Matter of Britain,” *Scottish History: The Power of the Past*, edited by Edward J. Cowan and Richard J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002) 47-72; and Karl Heinz Goller, “King Arthur in the Scottish Chronicles,” translated by E.D. Kennedy, *King Arthur: A Casebook* (New York and London: Garland, 1996) 173-84.

⁵⁶ Caratacus, who fought against the Roman invasion in the first century A.D., is praised in Tacitus’ *Annals*, and Dee seems to be implying that had Tacitus known of Arthur (who, of course, postdated Tacitus), Arthur would have made a similar appearance in his work, but as it stands, it is fitting that other historians take up this task. See Cornelius Tacitus, *The Annals*, translated with an introduction and notes by A.J. Woodman (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2004).

⁵⁷ This “Sweden Archbishop” is Johannes Magnus Gothus (1488-1544), Primate of Sweden and Archbishop of Uppsala; Dee refers to him in various ways throughout the manuscript, drawing on one or more of these identifiers. Magnus’ *Historia de omnibus gothorum sueonumque regibus* (1554) (LC no. 253) enjoyed some popularity in the Renaissance, but has since been criticized as a romantic and patriotic view of the Goths rather than an objective history, and it has not been published since 1617. For more about this work and its author, see Kurt Johannesson, *The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden*, translated by James Larson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

⁵⁸ “Tanais” is the ancient name for the river Don in Russia, which in antiquity marked the border between Asia and Europe.

⁵⁹ John Leland (c.1506-1552) was Renaissance England's premier antiquarian, drawing on artifacts as well as texts to support his arguments for Arthur's existence in his *Assertio Inclytissimi Arturij Regis Britanniae* (1544). According to the *LC*, Dee at one time owned this work but had lost it before drafting his catalogue (90; n. 597). John ap Rhese (or, Price) wrote *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio Adversii Polydor Vergilius* (published in 1573; *LC* no. 285). Although Dee claims he will not cite these authors, he does indeed go on to use "parcell[s]" of Leland's argument, such as the seemingly incontrovertible physical evidence of Arthur's "carkas" (happened upon by monks during renovations of Glastonbury in 1191) and his "seale."

⁶⁰ King Edward I of England (1239-1307) completed his conquest of Wales with great violence by 1284, carrying away Arthur's royal seal, symbolic of Brittonic sovereignty. Such artifacts, together with Arthur's grave and body discovered by monks at Glastonbury in 1191, satisfied antiquarian demands for historical evidence supporting textual histories. In 1278, Edward I "translated" Arthur's alleged bones from the spot in which they were found to a grave beneath the main altar of the Abbey. For more about Edward I, see R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093-1343* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). For a more specific treatment of Edward's interest in Arthur, see Roger Sherman Loomis, "Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast," *Speculum* 28 (1953): 114-127.

⁶¹ Roger of Hovedon, or Howden (first half of the thirteenth century) was a chronicler of York, his chronicle covering the years from 732 to 1201. Dee continues in his antiquarian vein, citing Hovedon's physical evidence of Excalibur, or Caliburn,

Arthur's sword. See *The Annals of Roger de Hovedon* v. II, translated by Henry T. Riley (London: H.G. Bohn, 1853) 94.

⁶² Godfrey of Viterbo (c.1120-c.1196) wrote a chronicle of the world for the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI (1165-97), a work that was later revised and became known as the *Pantheon* (LC no. 285). There is no modern edition of this work.

⁶³ Dee has provided the citation, though it's difficult to know what he means by "Col." without looking at the book.

⁶⁴ Dee refers to this work several times as a "plate" or "plat," a word used in the sixteenth century meaning a plan of action or a scheme. William Sherman suggests that Dee's use of this word likely indicates that he is not merely laying out the boundaries of the British Empire in a theoretical way, but assumes that this text is a precursor to action (*John Dee* 153).

⁶⁵ Here Dee's reference to "later days" reveals anticipation of the Apocalypse, which fuels his urgency to convert non-Christians to the "true faith." As discussed in my introduction (see p. 107), Dee also expects that Elizabeth's establishment of a British Empire extending to the New World is central to God's plan of destroying and remaking the world, as Dee interprets the Book of Revelation.

⁶⁶ Presumably William the Bastard confirmed these English laws after he became William I of England (1066-1100). The following quotations from the *Archaionomia* (see note 23, "Notes to document III") illustrate that not only Anglo-Saxon kings drew on ancient reports of Arthur's conquests in order to delineate their rightful holdings in Scandinavia, but that the new regime of Normans also validated Arthurian material by confirming the lands and laws for which it was the basis.

⁶⁷ F. 127, *Archaionomia*.

⁶⁸ This is Dee's geographical definition of "Britain," a definition which includes Ireland, according to ancient sources, here referred to by its ancient name of *Iernia*, alternately, *Hibernia*, both of which roughly translate to mean "land of the west." "Septentrionall" refers to the North.

⁶⁹ The phrase reads "the northernmost part of Britain." Dee seems to want to clarify what he means by "Britain" in geographical terms, and the "ancient authore" he refers to is likely either Pliny or Ptolemy, both of whom wrote notable works of geography represented in Dee's *LC*. He had two copies of Pliny's *Natural History* (*LC* 305 and 603) and five copies of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (*LC* 140, 166, 402, 458, and 1301). In Ptolemy's *Atlas* (c.150), Albion and Hibernia are each called "one of the islands of Britain." *Ptolemy's Geography*, edited by J. Lennert Berggren and Alexander Jones (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000) VII.v.110.

⁷⁰ Although both Bede and Geoffrey recount the conversion of Lucius (c.110-180) and his kingdom to Christianity with the aid of the Pope Eleutherius (c.100-192), neither mentions this annexing of of the Northeast Atlantic isles to British rule. See Geoffrey's *History*, IV. xix-xx.124-126 and Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, translated by Leo Sherley-Price (New York and London: Penguin, 1955; revised by R.E. Latham, 1990) I.iv.49.

⁷¹ This marginal note is actually added at the end of the *Archaionomia* quotation on page 32 of the manuscript. But since the quotation is quite long, I have moved Dee's note to the margin closer to the section, according to the asterisks, to which it refers.

⁷² These are all lands along the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas, Flanders being the southernmost, positioned just above the narrowest part of the English Channel, and extending to the north and east from there. Lippe, a German lordship in the Middle Ages, is a district in Westphalia, Germany to the east of the Rhine.

⁷³ In the Middle Ages, the North, being on the left or sinister side of the East, had diabolical connotations. The belief that evil came from the North was strengthened during various Germanic and Scandinavian invasions throughout the late Classical and medieval periods.

⁷⁴ Even by Dee's time, corn as we know it was not yet a crop known to the British; what is meant here is "wheat."

⁷⁵ F. 138, *Archaionomia*. The Age of the Viking raids in Britain is commonly dated c.800-c.1169, and here we are provided an interesting Anglocentric explanation of the causes of the invasions of the Northmen in Britain, the epitome of their success being the conquest of Britain and the placement of three Scandinavian kings—Cnut (r.1016-1035), Harold I (r.1035-1040), and Harthacnut (r.1040-1042)—on the English throne. Yet, in this passage of the *Archaionomia*, Scandinavians claim their rights as *a conquered people* to live in Britain, a wish to which King Edward (r.1042-1066) apparently consented after re-establishing Anglo-Saxon rule over Britain, having succeeded Cnut and his two sons (see ns. 198 and 199 below for further details on Cnut's rule). This representation shows that through mutual conquests, a shared religious belief, and intermarriage, Scandinavians and British should not necessarily be considered two peoples, but one, equally sharing in the benefits of all holdings of the English Crown.

⁷⁶ The Onega River flows into what is now called Onega Bay in the Southeast of the White Sea. The demarcation Dee describes would include Karelia, now a district in Russia, as Scandinavia.

⁷⁷ In the following section, Dee finds it necessary to elaborate on the geographical territories Pliny considered to be “Scantia,” or Scandinavia, apparently because he considers them to rightfully belong to the British Crown. Livonia, Samogitia, Prussia, Vandalia, Pomerania, and Meckelburgia are all found on mainland Europe along the Baltic Sea. Dania (Denmark) separates the Baltic and North Seas, while the rest of these territories (Frisia, Holandia, Zelandia, Brabantia, Flandria, and Picardia) can be found extending southward into central Europe along the North Sea.

⁷⁸ Here Dee attempts to clear up some geographical confusion regarding two places called “Zeland” and two places called “Gothia.” In a quotation on page 35 of the “Limits,” for example, Boethius mentions that “Zealand” and “the other Zealand” were among territories conquered by Arthur. Here Dee points out that “Zeland” is the name of the Danish island where Copenhagen is located as well as a territory in the Netherlands across the Channel from the mouth of the Thames. Likewise, that part of Sweden called “Gothia” should not be confused with the island “Gothland” of the coast of Sweden in the Baltic Sea. All of these are rightfully British, according to Dee. “Thems” refers to the river Thames.

⁷⁹ As Dee claims, Solinus and Pliny do call Scandinavia an island. Although the name Solinus does not have the same resonance for modern scholars as the name Pliny, Caius Julius Solinus (first half of the third century) was no less popular with Renaissance geographers. In fact, his only twentieth-century editor claims, “It is indeed safe to say

that no other book of geography has remained popular as long as Solinus” (n.p.). See *The Excellent and Pleasant Worke Collectanea Rerum Memoribilium of Caius Julius Solinus*, translated by Arthur Golding (1587), edited with an introduction by George Kish (Gainesville, FL: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1955). Dee owned a copy of his *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, also known as the *Polyhistory* (LC no.898A), as well as commentaries on and other works by Solinus.

⁸⁰ Dee explains how the positioning of these various bodies of water around Scandinavia make it difficult to determine which land bodies are islands and which peninsulas.

⁸¹ “Dacia” can refer to that territory of the Roman Empire that corresponds to modern-day Romania, but here Dee points out that it refers to Denmark, also called *Cimbrica Chersonesus*.

⁸² Gothia, or alternately, Gothland (Swedish ‘Götland’), is an island in the Baltic Sea (see note 78). The rest of the places mentioned in this section lie along the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland (or “Finnish Bay,” as Dee calls it).

⁸³ Bergen is in Norway on the coast of the North Sea at approximately the same latitude as the Shetland Islands.

⁸⁴ Fair Isle and Foula (Fouly, as Dee calls it) both lie between the Orkney and Shetland Island groups off the Northeast coast of Scotland. The other isles listed extend further north past Norway and into Arctic regions.

⁸⁵ According to Mercator’s account of the *Inventio*, the four Indrawing Seas converged at the center of the North Pole (see his map of the Arctic, entry 88 in Burden, *The Mapping of North America* [Rickmansworth, England: Raleigh Publications, 1966]),

creating a whirlpool of insuperable force. Giraldus Cambrensis also mentions rapid streams in the polar region in his *Topographia Hibernica* [II.xlv.67].

⁸⁶ “In the mouths of two or three is all truth,” which comes from Matthew 18:16.

⁸⁷ According to the *Library Catalogue*, Dee owned three copies of Geoffrey’s *History* (nos. DM16, DM64, and DM82), the latter of which is described by the editors as “very copiously annotated by Dee, perhaps, indeed, more than any other of his MSS” (170). By “ancient monument,” Dee is referring to the “liber vertustissimus” that Geoffrey claims to be the authority for his own *History* (I.i.51). Given widespread skepticism regarding the existence of this work from the Middle Ages through the present-day, it is notable that Dee is claiming here to have actually seen it.

⁸⁸ This quotation comes from Hector Boece, *History and Chronicles of Scotland* vol. 2, translated by John Bellenden (Edinburgh: W. and C. Tait, 1821) IX.xi.82-83.

⁸⁹ Aristarchos of Samos was a third-century B.C. mathematician and astronomer. Dee may be calling him “reasonable” here due to his prescient theory of a heliocentric universe. For further reading on Aristarchos, see Albert Van Helden, *Measuring the Universe: Cosmic Dimensions from Aristarchos to Halley* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985) or, more specifically, Sir Thomas Little Heath, *Aristarchos of Samos: The Ancient Copernicus* (New York: Dover, 1901; rpt. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913).

⁹⁰ Polydore Vergil (c.1470-1555), an Italian humanist living in England, wrote the *Anglica Historia* (1531), a popular work at the time and one still admired by historians. Arguing from antiquarian and philological grounds, Vergil condemns much of Geoffrey’s history as “old wives’ tales.” Although his criticisms do not differ much from those of the likes of Ranulph Higden, for example, as a foriegner and suspected papal agent,

Vergil and his work instigated a great furor among proponents of the British history, inspiring counterattacks from Leland, Price, and others. See Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1952).

⁹¹ John Caius (or Keys [1510-1573]) was president of Cambridge University and co-founder of Gonville and Caius College. He published *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae* in London, from which this quotation is taken (I.70-71), in 1568.

⁹² Herold and Tordo do not appear in Geoffrey's *Historia*, although we can gather from this quotation that Herold, king of Denmark, has asked for and received help from Arthur against Tordo, king of Swedes and Goths. For Geoffrey's account of Arthur's Scandinavian exploits, see *History*, IX.xi.222-23.

⁹³ In Geoffrey's *History*, Arthur restores Augustus to the throne of Scotland. See IX.ix.221.

⁹⁴ The Ostrogoths (literally, "Eastern Goths") were a Germanic tribe that exerted much power over Europe until the mid-sixth century when they were wiped out. Presumably, Scara was a district in their native lands. Uppsala is a city near the eastern coast of Sweden.

⁹⁵ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "fleshed" means "inured to bloodshed" or "eager for battle."

⁹⁶ See Geoffrey's *History*, IX.ii.223.

⁹⁷ "Our first *Maxima*," or fundamental proposition, refers to the point he cites from Magnus. Detractors of the Arthurian history pointed out that chroniclers of supposedly defeated nations make no mention of Arthur or his conquests. Addressing this sore point, Dee has promised to satisfy foreign as well as "homish" antiquarians, and

the “second sorte of recordes” in this sentence refers to Magnus, I believe, and other foreign sources.

⁹⁸ The subject seems to be missing here, but it is quite clear that Arthur is meant.

⁹⁹ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “cuttedly” means “concisely,” sometimes with the insinuation of brevity bordering on rudeness (examples of this usage stem from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).

¹⁰⁰ John Major (c.1469-c.1549) records this in his *Historia Majoris Britanniae* (Paris, 1521), II.vi.82. Dee had this edition in his library (*LC* no. 378).

¹⁰¹ Dee refers to Major’s *Historia Majoris Britanniae*.

¹⁰² The Salic Law was developed by Merovingian and Carolingian kings between the sixth and ninth centuries for the Salian Franks. According to late medieval and Renaissance understanding of the “Salic Law of Succession,” women were forbidden to inherit either property or rule, and Dee is pointing out that, for the French, this law interferes with Elizabeth’s claim to the Kingdom of France. See John Theodore Rivers, *The Laws of the Salian and Ripurian Franks* (New York: AMS, 1986) and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History* (London: Methuen, 1962).

¹⁰³ I have compared quotations from Major with Archibald Constable’s translated edition (1892) rather than the original Latin, and so I cannot tell if Dee has truly transcribed “*verbatim*” as he claims. Still, my translation of this quotation is in its sense similar to Constable’s barring the one exception noted. The following passage can be found in Constable, *John Major’s A History of Greater Britain* (Edinburgh: University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1892) II.vi.82-83.

¹⁰⁴ Here Dee has neglected to include Major's parenthetical conditional: "(if we are to credit British chroniclers)." Although Dee does address Major's skepticism regarding Arthurian history a bit further along in this passage, leaving out this comment might make Major appear less consistently circumspect than he is.

¹⁰⁵ Throughout his marginalia in his own works and those of others, Dee often uses the delta as his personal symbol. In this work, it is one way of indicating an addition to or comment on something in the text.

¹⁰⁶ By *Arthuri Gestis*, Major could be referring generally to the large body of historical, legendary, and romance material dealing with the deeds of Arthur, or he could be referring specifically to the lost work also mentioned by Gerard Mercator in his letter to Dee, extracts of which Dee includes in Document IV (see p. 170).

¹⁰⁷ John Trithemius (1462-1516), Abbot of Spanheim, wrote the work mentioned, translated as *Of the Seven Secondary Causes of the Heavenly Intelligences*, in 1505; it was first published in 1515. Dee owned three copies: LC nos. 678, 969, and 1884. Maximilian I (1459-1519) became Holy Roman Emperor in 1493.

¹⁰⁸ Felix Maleolus, more commonly known as Felix Hemmerlin (c.1388-c.1460), finished his *de Nobilitate et rusticate* in 1450. Although Dee obviously had access to it, or parts of it, it is not listed in the LC. There is no modern edition of it against which to check the quotation for accuracy although since the theme of the work was "nobility," it is very likely to include some such information about King Arthur, who was largely taken throughout medieval Europe as not only an historical king, but an exemplary one.

¹⁰⁹ Translated as *The Bouquet of Times*, this work was written by Werner Rolevinck (1425-1502) and published in Cologne in 1474 (LC no. 367). Although this

work was tremendously popular in its own day, printed in over thirty editions before the author's death, it does not exist in a modern edition.

¹¹⁰ Dee's citations differ from the Thorpe edition of Geoffrey's *History* that I am using, though the sense of his quotations is consistently accurate. In Thorpe, this passage is found IX.10.222.

¹¹¹ Ibid., IX.11.222-225. Dee has edited out large portions of these pages, as indicated by his use of "& cæt." throughout his quotation.

¹¹² According to Geoffrey, the City of Legions was founded by Belinus on the bank of the River Usk near the Severn Sea (III.x.99). Identified by modern scholars with Caerleon, the city was first named Kaerusc, but later the name was changed for the Roman legions that wintered there. What Dee is now rehearsing for us is Geoffrey's account of Arthur's Whitsuntide plenary court for all Europe that took place in this city (IX.xii.225).

¹¹³ Ibid., IX.xii.227.

¹¹⁴ I cannot locate this passage in Thorpe's translation of the *History* although given the great number of versions of this work that had been circulating since its appearance in 1136 and the many variants these were likely to contain, it is possible that Dee is transcribing faithfully from somewhere.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, XI.vii.263.

¹¹⁶ This is Pope Boniface VIII (r.1294-1303), who was intent on extending papal authority to secular matters and earned a reputation for meddling in the affairs of foreign princes.

¹¹⁷ By “peterlicke,” Dee means Peter-like, Peter having been Christ’s own election for first head of the Church, from whom the popes saw themselves as successors to this office.

¹¹⁸ Interrupting his argument for the limits of Arthur’s empire is this digression on the subject of Scottish subjection to England. The following quotations come from Thomas Walsingham’s (c.1340-1422) *Historia Brevis, ab Edwardo primo, ad Henricium quintum* (London, 1574), which covered British history from 1272 to 1422. Dee owned this edition (LC no. 301), and there are also letters from Walsingham to Dee listed in his LC (LC no. DM154). Here Dee refers to the correspondence between Pope Boniface and Edward III “Longshanks,” who ruled England from 1272 to 1307. In a letter to Edward dated 27 June 1299, Pope Boniface VII offered to arbitrate between England and Scotland by asserting himself as “lord paramount” over both nations. As Dee shows here, the English Council of Lincoln rejected the Pope’s rights in temporal matters in a written response dated 27 September 1300.

¹¹⁹ The story of Dunwallo and his sons Brennius and Belinus is found in Geoffrey (II.xvii.88-91). Geoffrey traces the custom of hereditary primogeniture to the ancient Trojans; the practice was allegedly brought to *Britannia* by the legendary Brutus who, like Aeneas, fled Troy to found his own nation. The strength of primogeniture as a practice rests in its warding off contention between siblings and other relations for the throne while keeping hereditary lands whole and undivided. The weakness, on the other hand, was that sometimes the eldest son was simply unfit to rule; for example, Henry VI was an infant when he succeeded his father in 1422. But there could be many other reasons why an eldest son might be undesirable as a leader. To avoid these problems,

many Celtic societies, including Scotland until about the mid-twelfth century when Norman practices were increasingly adopted, practiced succession by tanistry rather than by primogeniture. In this paradigm, every male descended from a king or the offspring of a king was eligible for kingship himself, the process of election a more or less democratic one amongst the royal family, carried out with varying degrees of contention. Tanistry was not declared illegal in Scotland until the reign of James VI, and these distinct mores around the notion of kingship could explain, at least in part, why John Major, a Scot, and Dee, an Anglo-Welshman, disagree so absolutely on the rightful heir in this succession.

¹²⁰ See Geoffrey's *History*, IX.xiii.228. The fact that Augustus acts as sword-bearer to Arthur indicates a subsidiary position.

¹²¹ The previous three passages are likely to be found on pages 40-45, *Historia Brevis*, although in the copy reproduced by Early English Books Online these pages are so damaged I cannot properly locate the quoted passages or check them for accuracy.

¹²² The "certaine Scott" is the same "sophisticall Scote" referred to earlier, the historian and dialectician John Major, with whom Dee disagrees on the matter of a very complicated succession. Since this situation informs much of what is to follow, a brief overview seems necessary. Alexander III (r.1249-1286) left his kingdom to his infant granddaughter Margaret, the "Maid of Norway," who herself died shortly thereafter, leaving no heir. After her death, the children of David, Earl of Huntingdon (d.1219) were next in line of succession. The descendents of David's three daughters became the strongest competitors for the Crown: John Baliol was the descendent of the eldest daughter Margaret, Robert Bruce of the middle daughter Isabella, and John Hastings of

the youngest daughter Ada. Edward I of England decided John Baliol (II), Lord of Galloway (1249-1315; r. 1292-1296), had the best right to the kingdom, insisting on judging the case as overlord, rather than kinsman or neighboring king, to the distress of the Scots. The alliance between John II and Edward I became strained when John refused to supply England with Scottish armies in their impending war with France. In 1295, Baliol made an alliance with Philip IV of France, an act of treason for which he was ritually humiliated and imprisoned after English and Welsh forces routed the Scots at Berwick. Scotland then remained subject to Edward's overlordship, the Scottish kingship effectively unmade, until Edward's death, when the succession of his weaker son Edward II (r.1307-27) and the uprisings of the Scots inspired initially by William Wallace and carried on by Robert Bruce (VII), Earl of Carrik (1274-1329), who later became Robert I of Scotland, contributed to the liberation of the Scots. After Scottish victory at the Battle of Bannockburn (1314), the English were completely repulsed from their Scottish garrisons, yet the legal battle for Scottish sovereignty continued amongst historians and jurists for centuries to come. For an introduction to the Scottish wars, see J.D. Mackie, *A History of Scotland* 2nd ed. (London and New York: Penguin, 1964, rpt. 1978) especially chapter 4, "The Wars of Independence, 1286-1371," 62-87. For a more detailed study, see Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland, 1214-1371* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

¹²³ Major contends that although Baliol was the son of the eldest daughter, the fact that Robert Bruce was born before Baliol made him the rightful heir to the throne. He goes on to say that kings cannot be chosen by other kings, as Baliol was by Edward I, but by the people they rule. According to Major, Robert Bruce was the choice of the Scottish

people. These points, as well as the ones listed by Dee below, are found in *John Major's History of Greater Britain*, IV.xvii.213.

¹²⁴ It is often repeated amongst English historians and kings that Scottish kings had always paid homage to English kings, a claim that Major, for example, answers by acknowledging that Scottish kings may have paid homage for their lands and titles in England, but never for the kingdom of Scotland, which, Scottish historians are just as adamant in claiming, has always been sovereign and distinct from England. See *John Major's A History of Greater Britain*, IV.xviii.216.

¹²⁵ “In a position to act freely.” The Scots sought Edward I’s aid in deciding this accession because he was related to the Scottish family and also because he was a powerful neighbor, so Edward’s insistence on arbitrating in the capacity of overlord of Scotland was extremely undesirable for the chieftains, who were nonetheless driven to capitulate by their desperation to establish a king and end the increasing factionalism over the succession. Michael Brown notes that “[t]he oath [of fealty] which was sworn by John [II] had altered the status of the king of Scots both inside and outside his realm” (169). The question of whether John was “acting freely” when he made his oath is indeed a polemical one.

¹²⁶ “Plainly and simply”

¹²⁷ According to Geoffrey, Doldonius (whom he calls “Doldavius”) and Malvasius were the kings of Gotland and Iceland respectively and gave Arthur homage at his Whitsuntide Plenary court [IX.xii.227].

¹²⁸ In every instance that Dee cites “Norham” in the “Limits,” the word appears as “Northumb:” in Walsingham’s *Historia Brevis*.

¹²⁹ Marianus Scotus was an eleventh-century Irish monk whose influential chronicle covered history from Creation to the year 1082. William of Malmesbury (born c. 1095) wrote the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, the *Gesta Novella*, and the *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, together with hagiographies and translations. Henry of Huntingdon, archdeacon of Huntingdon from 1109 to 1155, wrote *Historia Anglorum*. Ralph of Diceto, dean of St. Paul's from c.1180 to 1201, wrote *Ymagines Historiarum*, which covers the years 1148-1200. For Roger of Hovedon, see note 61. For further reading on all of these historians, see Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.500 to c.1307* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

¹³⁰ Edward the Elder (born c. 870) ruled England from 899 to his death in 924. "Cumbria" is in the northwest region of England, also called the Lake District. This name for the area consisting of Cumberland and Westmorland, together with parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, has been used for centuries, and is etymologically related to "cymry," the name by which the ancient Britons knew themselves.

¹³¹ King Athelstan succeeded the throne in 924 and held it until his death in 939. Records show that he had great success in subjecting neighboring kings, and his charters name him "King of the English and ruler of all Britain" (*Kings and Queens of Britain* 70).

¹³² This is Constantine II, who ruled Scotland from 900 to 943, when he abdicated the throne to become a monk. He died in 952.

¹³³ Edgar (born in 943) ruled England from 959 to his death in 975.

¹³⁴ This is Kenneth II of Scotland, who ruled from 971 to 995.

¹³⁵ At the height of his power, Cnut (995-1035) ruled England, Denmark, Norway, and southern Sweden. He acceded to the throne of England in 1016.

¹³⁶ Malcolm II (born c.954) ruled Scotland from 1005 to 1034.

¹³⁷ P. 17, *Historia Brevis*.

¹³⁸ Dee makes extensive use, through Thomas Walsingham, of these letters patent throughout the text. “Letters patent” are legal documents written in the form of an open letter from a monarch to the general public granting rights, privileges, or status to an individual. In this case, the individual to whom Edward I is granting rights appears to be himself.

¹³⁹ The word is obscure; “here” is a good guess as to what the given characters represent. It could alternately be “so.”

¹⁴⁰ This is written in Dee’s hand next to the following text. It is meant to refer the reader of the manuscript to his additions, in this case a genealogical chart.

¹⁴¹ These are some of the lords of Scotland who participated in the administration of the “community” of Scotland in the six and a half years between the death of Alexander III and the accession of John in 1292. Note that Robert Bruce (VI) is here called “Lord of Annandale”; he had passed on the earldom of Carrik to his son Robert Bruce (VII), who noticeably declined to sign this letter acknowledging both Edward I and John. This is the Robert Bruce who would join the resistance of William Wallace and become Robert I, ruling Scotland from 1306 to 1329. For further reading on this king and the circumstances of his accession, see G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (London: Eyre and Spottiswode, 1965).

¹⁴² Dee's Latin gives "confirmaverit," and I have translated it so, but in his source the word given is "informaverit," which means to form or give shape to, often in terms of ideas. The mistranscription, deliberate or not, strengthens Dee's argument for English supremacy over Scotland, making Edward's overlordship seem not a notion of his own devising but a verifiable fact.

¹⁴³ *Historia Brevis*, 18. The Ascension is a moveable feast, celebrated forty days after Easter.

¹⁴⁴ "Seisin" means "to have" or "to take," but can sometimes bear the connotation of "to confiscate." It is etymologically related to the word "seize."

¹⁴⁵ *Historia Brevis*, 18-19.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁴⁷ Here Dee has altered the text, likely in an attempt to correct it. He gives "discussione" for "discutione," which means to strike asunder or shatter. It is difficult to see the sense of this word in this context.

¹⁴⁸ *Historia Brevis*, 19-20.

¹⁴⁹ Eric II of Norway (c.1268-1299) had married Margaret of Scotland, Alexander III's daughter, in 1281, and was the father of Alexander's intended heir, Margaret, "the Maid of Norway." Given these relationships, here he extends his own claim to Scotland.

¹⁵⁰ Here either Dee or his amanuensis has skipped a line. Walsingham's Latin reads, "& ad petendum nomine nostro, tanquam per superiorem dominum regni Scotiae," which translated is "and to pursue our title, on the ground of our superior lordship over the kingdom of Scotland . . ."

¹⁵¹ *Historia Brevis*, 21.

¹⁵² Here we discover that not only is Robert Bruce, the original Bruce claimant to the throne, older than John Baliol, but that he is a grandson of David of Huntingdon while Baliol is a great-grandson, and thus Robert is “closer in degree,” as well.

¹⁵³ The Feast of St. Andrew is celebrated on 30 November. Again, a line has been skipped. Only a few words can be made out due to damage of the text, by which my attempts to make sense of the line were thwarted.

¹⁵⁴ The word “*recognosco*” is not in Dee’s source, but he likely added it as an emendation, completing the sense of the sentence.

¹⁵⁵ *Historia Brevis*, 22.

¹⁵⁶ This refers the reader to one of Dee’s endnotes, which can be found on page 203.

¹⁵⁷ This asterisk refers the reader to the marginal note above beginning, “And even though...”.

¹⁵⁸ *Historia Brevis*, 25.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁶⁰ All of these strongholds are in lowland Scotland within about fifty miles of the English border with the exception of “Strivelyn,” or Stirling, which is closer to one-hundred miles of the border.

¹⁶¹ This marginal note refers readers to another endnote, which can be found on the bottom of page 203. While not exact, this flower approximates the sketch drawn by Dee to further guide readers to his endnote.

¹⁶² *Historia Brevis*, 31-32. Brythin is in Shropshire.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁶⁴ Here Major's points are not so much "disgraced" as shown to be in disagreement with Walsingham's, and it is not difficult to see why Scottish and English historians might interpret and represent these events differently. Major, too, seems very aware of discrepancies in the reports of English and Scottish chroniclers throughout his work.

¹⁶⁵ Edward Balliol (c.1283-1367) was intermittently king of Scotland through the years 1332 to 1336, as the Bruces and Balliols continued their struggle for the throne into the next generation. Edward III of England (1312-1377), after wresting power from his father in 1327, ruled England for fifty years.

¹⁶⁶ "Kalends" is the first day of each month of the Roman calendar, indicating a new moon cycle. "5 kalends October" would be 6 October.

¹⁶⁷ *Historia Brevis*, 114.

¹⁶⁸ *John Major's History of Greater Britain*, 270.

¹⁶⁹ This marginal note directs us to the endnote found on page 205.

¹⁷⁰ I.e., Edward III.

¹⁷¹ These feasts are celebrated 19 June.

¹⁷² *Historia Brevis*, 115-116.

¹⁷³ King David II (1324-1371), Robert Bruce's son, was captured at the Battle of Neville Cross west of Durham in October 1346 and spent the next eleven years imprisoned in England. He was released by a condition of the Treaty of Berwick in 1357 and returned to rule Scotland ably, though without leaving an heir.

¹⁷⁴ Modern historians give the year of Edward Balliol's surrender of the Scottish crown as 1356.

¹⁷⁵ This marginal note indicates an addition which can be found on page 205.

¹⁷⁶ This work was first published in London in 1542 and can now be found as an appendix to J.A.H. Murray's edition of *The Complaynt of Scotlande* (London: EETS, 1872). It was composed against the developments in Anglo-Scottish relations that led to what has been called the "rough wooing" of the infant Mary Queen of Scots by Henry VIII on behalf of his son, the young Prince Edward. Under James V, Scotland had retreated from diplomatic overtures made by Reformation England into renewed alliances with France and loyal adherence to Catholicism. Upon James' death in 1542, Scotland found itself in circumstances remarkably similar to those of Alexander III's succession in 1286, with an infant girl heir to the throne and an aggressive English king eager to prove himself suzerain of Scotland, a position Henry ultimately failed to achieve by conquest, marriage, or otherwise.

¹⁷⁷ Here Dee silently corrects Henry's history, as the original text begins with Edward the Elder (r.899-924) receiving homage from the Scots in 800 AD. That this is no printer's error but a genuine miscalculation of history is evident since Henry affirms that this was "DC XLII. yeres by past" (200 *Complaynt of Scotland*) which is obviously one-hundred years short of Henry's present composition. Dee has altered the year to 900 to accord with Edward the Elder's actual rule.

¹⁷⁸ Dee refers to Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587) and her son James (1566-1625), who was not only King of Scotland (acc. 1567), but succeeded Elizabeth to the throne of England in 1603. Here Dee suggests that oaths of allegiance had not previously been exacted from them due to Elizabeth's "princlie clemencie and reasonable forbearinge," but it is possible that Elizabeth did not share the enthusiasm of many of her

royal ancestors for subduing Scotland to English rule. Indeed, her achievement of setting one king as lord paramount over both kingdoms was probably not what Edward I had in mind.

¹⁷⁹ “Owls to Athens,” similar to the expression “bringing coals to Newcastle,” means bringing something to a place where it is already plentiful. Diogenes Laertius quotes in his *Plato*, XXXII, “Like sending owls to Athens, as the Proverb goes.”

¹⁸⁰ Dee often refers to Document IV as an “appendix” to Document III.

¹⁸¹ “As Truth, the daughter of Time, teaches.” For more about this phrase, see my Introduction, p. 66.

¹⁸² Gerard Mercator wrote this letter in response to Dee’s request for information on the Arctic. Dee includes Mercator’s letter in his *Famous and Rich Discoveris*, and for centuries this provided all scholars knew of the content of the *Inventio*, summarized here by Mercator. E.G.R. Taylor reproduced the letter together with Dee’s marginalia in *Imago Mundi* (1956), using ellipses for passages lost when the manuscript was damaged in the 1731 Cotton Collection fire. Although the present version is physically intact, it is truncated, as is evident by the many instances of “& cæt.” (provided by Dee rather than Mercator). In the “Limits” version, Dee has pared away material that does not pertain to his present argument, which draws more from Jacobus Cnoyen’s other source, *Arthurī Gestæ*, than the *Inventio* (see note 38 in “Notes for Document III”).

¹⁸³ The anonymous *Book of John Mandeville*, which first appeared c.1356/1360 and proliferated widely in various manuscript versions and languages thereafter, was an immensely popular work in the Middle Ages. Its content is often highly fanciful, engendering doubts as to whether “Mandeville” had indeed travelled to the East. Dee

owned a manuscript version of this work (*LC* no. DM122). Cnoyen also wrote a travel narrative, the *Itinerary*, now lost, but the information given here appears to come from two other sources, *Inventio Fortunatae* and *Arthuri Gestis*, rather than from his own experience.

¹⁸⁴ The *Arthuri Gestis* is a lost work that depicts King Arthur as an explorer and colonist of the Arctic regions. This appears to have been an ancient work and seems to have been considered a genuine travel narrative, unlike Layamon's *Brut* and other romances that also give accounts of Arthur's Arctic activity. We can gather that, together with the exploits and activities of Arthur and his followers, the *Arthuri Gestis* presumably described the landscape, climate, and inhabitants, called "pygmies," of the North.

¹⁸⁵ A league being approximately three nautical miles, this is a distance between 150 and 300 miles wide.

¹⁸⁶ In the next two paragraphs, Cnoyen's two sources merge in a potentially confusing way. The eight men from Greenland are believed to be descendents of Arthur's lost colonists. They returned to Europe in 1364, one of them carrying an astrolabe. Apparently he had traded a "testament" for the astrolabe with an "English frier" or "Minorite of Oxford" who had come to the Arctic for scientific study. This anonymous friar described to the Greenlanders the content of his book, *Inventio Fortunatae*, and they in turn described it to the Norwegian Royal Court, with Cnoyen in attendance. This story is therefore built upon two travel narratives that have been missing for hundreds of years.

¹⁸⁷ The “noble man” refers to one of Arthur’s followers, Bruxellensis, whose story is told here. Mercator claims that the priest with the astrolabe is the descendent of Bruxellensis.

¹⁸⁸ That this parenthetical comment is “Additio Gerardi” is indicated in the margin.

¹⁸⁹ See note 38 in “Notes for Document III.”

¹⁹⁰ The “first record of this second parte” is Document III, the second part being Documents III and IV together.

¹⁹¹ In quoting Mercator’s letter (the *Autographum* he offers to show Elizabeth), Dee seems eager to demonstrate the personal friendship he has with the internationally-famed cartographer, and by quoting this information from a cartouche on Mercator’s printed map—which repeats much of what was in the letter—Dee seems to wish to verify that these are not merely Mercator’s private speculations aimed at pleasing his friend, but valid scholarly conclusions.

¹⁹² Again, a marginal note informs us that this is Mercator’s addition.

¹⁹³ Also known as Gerald of Wales, Giraldus (c.1136-1213) wrote *Topographia Hiberniae*, the second book of which is called “The Wonders and Miracles of Ireland.” Although Dee cites chapter 57 for this anecdote, in John J. O’Meara’s edition it is given in chapter 47 under the heading “A Whirlpool in the Sea That Swallows Ships” (67). Chapter 57 is entitled “A Lion That Loved a Woman,” which may indicate the fabulous nature of this source. See Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, translated with an introduction by John J. O’Meara (London and New York: Penguin, 1951; rpt. 1982).

¹⁹⁴ In his *Expugnatio Hiberniae*, Gerald of Wales refers to himself as “Silvester,” meaning “prophet.” This work, subtitled “The Prophetic History,” was written to detail Henry II’s conquest of Ireland, and in it Gerald *pro phemi*, or speaks for, Henry’s interest. I have argued in my introduction that Dee considers the “Limits” to be a “prophetic history,” as well. See p. 107.

¹⁹⁵ See page 67, *The History and Topography of Ireland*. This final sentence does not occur in the modern editions I have seen, so it appears that Dee is indicating that it is a note added by Mercator.

¹⁹⁶ This is another marginal reference to an endnote, which can be found on page 210.

¹⁹⁷ Here the scribe neglected to write *de Appendicijs* in italics.

¹⁹⁸ The following section is quoted in its entirety from Lambarde’s *Archaionomia* (folio 130), but germane to Dee’s argument here is the point that when King Cnut of Denmark (c.994-1035) had sovereignty over the lands and islands of *Britannia* (1017-1035), the law of the land was so mishandled that King Edward, Cnut’s successor, attempted to revoke Scandinavian law, as well as royal gifts of land and titles to Cnut’s followers, and restore England to its former stability. For this reason, Dee postulates, northern isles still under the rule of contemporary Scandinavian kings ought to be returned to British rule. The quality of Cnut’s government and administration of justice is still a matter of some debate; see, for example, M.K. Lawson’s *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London and New York: Longman, 1993).

¹⁹⁹ This list consists of Cnut’s royal family and allies. His father Sweyn Forkbeard, who ruled Denmark from c.985 to his death in 1014, helped conquer England

and was acknowledged as its king a few weeks before his death. Lacman of Sweden and Olaf of Norway were important allies. Harold Harefoot (c.1017-1042), Cnut's son by Aelfgifu of Northampton (here called Elwina), briefly acted as regent of England after his father's death before Hardicanute (c.1018-1042), his half-brother became king in 1042. Hardicanute's mother Emma of Normandy (c.985-1052), before Cnut conquered England and married her, had been Aethelred's queen and had born him children, and so when Cnut's progeny died out, her son by Aethelred, Edward "the Confessor" (c.1005-1066) took the throne, briefly re-establishing Anglo-Saxon kingship in England before the Norman conquest.

²⁰⁰ The Isles of the Spices, corresponding to modern-day Maluku in Indonesia, posed a potentially lucrative trade opportunity. Sebastian Cabot offered his services to Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) before coming to England.

²⁰¹ Dee refers to the *Bull inter caetera* (1493) issued by Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503) which divided the New World into two unequal portions and bequeathed these to Spain and Portugal. A Spaniard himself, the Pope favored Spain in his reckoning.

²⁰² Dee refers to Document I of the compilation *Brytanici Imperii Limites*. See "Concerning a New Location for the Island of Estotiland and the Province of Drogio," in *The Limits of the British Empire*, edited by Kenneth MacMillan with Jennifer Abeles (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004) 37-38.

²⁰³ Here Dee demonstrates the unfamiliarity of both Spain and Portugal with the northeast sections of the New World, so busy they are arguing between themselves. The "most marveilous, and great rocke" mentioned is likely the same brought home by Frobisher by the ton in the hopes it would produce gold, which it was not marvelous

enough to do, making this a financially disastrous expedition. On maps by both Ortelius and Mercator, Brasill is an island in the Atlantic in between Ireland and the New World.

²⁰⁴ This date alerts us that Dee is referring to the second *Bull Inter Cetera*, which dates 4 May, one day after the first. Both bulls, in Latin as well as in translation, can be found in *Italian Reports on America, 1493-1522: Letters, Dispatches, and Papal Bulls*, edited by Geoffrey Symcox and Giovanna Rabitti and translated by Peter S. Diehl (Turnout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2001).

²⁰⁵ “Toward the west and the south.” Dee’s geographical argument hinges on this phrase, which leaves the northeast of the Americas available to British enterprise. For a more discursive analysis of Dee’s argument here, see Kenneth MacMillan’s “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.

²⁰⁶ On modern maps, the 45th parallel intersects, for example, Minneapolis and Salem, OR, and it forms the boundary between Vermont and Montréal. On the map of the Americas in Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), Tuchano and Quiuira lie near the 45th parallel in what is now northern California. Quinsay is on the same parallel in China.

²⁰⁷ “Toward the east and south.”

²⁰⁸ A counterpane is a “copy” or “[o]ne of two parts which fit together and complement each other,” according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

²⁰⁹ “To the sons of men.”

²¹⁰ “Rob the Egyptians to pay the Hebrews,” in other words, “rob Peter to pay Paul.”

²¹¹ John Hardyng (1378-c.1464) is the author of a chronicle spanning the mythological beginnings of British history through the reign of Edward IV (1442-1483), for whom the work is written. That Hardyng had imperialist tendencies is clear from the “proem” of his work, where he makes claim to English supremacy over nearly every region of the known world. The digression following argues the reasons that Elizabeth I, through her ancestors of York, is rightful heir of Castile and Leon, granting her legitimate access to the New World in yet another way. Hardyng’s *Chronicle* can be consulted in the following edition: *The Chronicle of John Hardyng. . . together with The Continuation of Richard Grafton*, edited by Henry Ellis (London, 1812. rpt. New York: AMS, 1974). For further reading on Hardyng and the production and reliability of his chronicle, see Felicity Riddy, “Chivalric Nationalism and the Holy Grail in John Hardyng’s *Chronicle*,” in *The Grail: A Casebook*, edited by Dhira B. Mahoney (New York: Garland, 2000), 397-414 and *ibid.*, “John Hardyng’s *Chronicle* and the Wars of the Roses,” in *Arthurian Literature* 12, edited by James P. Carley and Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1993) 91-108.

²¹² These two marginal notes refer the reader to geneological tables located in Dee’s endnotes. See p. 213.

²¹³ *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, 20-21. All the quotations Dee chooses from this work describe the deal struck between King Pedro I of Spain (1334-1369) and Edward, the Prince of Wales, also known as the Black Prince (1330-1376). Pedro’s daughters Constance and Isabell married Edward’s brothers, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (1340-1399), and Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (1341-1402), in the understanding that the first male issue would inherit Castile and Leon. While this claim

became a point of contention between the Yorks and Lancasters in succeeding generations, the details hardly matter in the case of Elizabeth I, who is descended from both houses. The “lord *Vmfrevill*” referred to is one of Hardyng’s main patrons, Sir Robert Umfraville. For further reading on this claim, see Anthony Goodman and David Morgan, “The Yorkist Claim to the Throne of Castile,” *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985): 61-69.

²¹⁴ *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, 418-419.

²¹⁵ Henry of Trastámara murdered his Pedro I, his half-brother, in 1369 and usurped his throne. John of Gaunt pursued his claim to Castile and Leon until 1388, when he accepted a handsome settlement to quit his claim in favor of Henry’s son, John I.

²¹⁶ According to Harding, Richard of York (1411-1460) inherited his claim to Leon and Castile through his uncle, Edward of York.

²¹⁷ This note directs us to an endnote found on page 211.

²¹⁸ This note directs us to an endnote found on page 217.

²¹⁹ This note directs us to an endnote found on page 215.

²²⁰ The second parenthesis is missing in the manuscript, but this seems to be where it belongs.

²²¹ Dee’s *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte Of Navigation*, also known as the *Pety Nauy Royall*, was printed in 1576 but had a very small circulation as it was intended for elite rather than public discussion.

²²² *Qveen Elizabeth, Her Tables Gvbernavtik* is no longer extant, but there is evidence that it consisted of tables of longitudes and latitudes. Dee reminds his queen of the many works he has presented her for the benefit of the nation as he goes on to request

her further patronage of his scholarship. For further reading on Dee's other political treatises, see William Sherman's *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985).

²²³ Dee had dedicated two astronomical treatises to Edward VI (1537-1553) shortly after his ascension to the throne in 1547, for which he was awarded 100 crowns a year. Although here it sounds as though Dee considers this remuneration modest, it was indeed the most generous royal contribution to his learning he was to receive.

²²⁴ "If anyone should dare to harm Potamon son of Lesbonax, let him see if he can make war with me." Suidas (or, sometimes, Suda, which is Latin for "fortress") is a tenth-century Greek historical encyclopedia with over 30,000 entries. Three versions of it were in Dee's possession (*LC* nos. 4, 1357, 2169). Mytilena is the city where Potamon lived wherein there is a plaque proclaiming him as one of the saviors of the city.

²²⁵ Here Dee is referring to the kingdoms of Scandinavia, Castile, Leon, and possibly Scotland (although this would be more northerly than "easterlie and sowtherlie"), which, as he has argued throughout this treatise, owe homage to Britain.

²²⁶ Although the amanuensis has clearly written "1576", this should read 1578 for the reasons set out in the introduction. See page 28.

²²⁷ "I shall not die but live and declare the works of the Lord." This is now Psalm 118.

Notes for Dee's Endnotes

²²⁸ In the following passages, Dee attempts to problematize the claim that Robert Bruce V, the original Bruce claimant, is closer in degree than John Baliol. Part of the confusion is likely due to the ambiguity of language, for Bruce is described as “nepote” to David of Huntingdon, a word which can be translated as “grandson,” “great-grandson,” “nephew,” or simply “descendent.” Further, Dee may be getting confused—understandably—due to the fact that the original Bruce claimant to the throne was Robert Bruce V, son of Isabella and grandson of David, but the first Bruce king, who seized the crown from John Baliol, was Robert Bruce VII, great-grandson of Isabella. This kind of dynastic confusion might be avoided if parents could think of names other than “Robert.”

²²⁹ This may be a case of ambiguous translation, for the original Bruce claimant was not Isabella's grandson, but her son.

²³⁰ P. 246, *Chronicles of Scotland*.

²³¹ Turnberry is a Carrik stronghold, but in the edition I consulted, the place in question is called simply “his palace.”

²³² P. 240-241, *The Chronicles of Scotland*. Dee seems to be assuming that the Robert Bruce who became king is the same as the original claimant, his grandfather, who passed his claim on to his son and grandson. This passage, while interesting, does not support his argument against the Bruce claim in general.

²³³ In the edition I am consulting, Major says nothing of the kind, but rather launches an argument in favor of the Bruce claim in terms that have nothing to do with

propinquity of descent. On that subject, he says only, “And if in addition [Robert Bruce] had a claim to urge as lineal successor, far be it from me to gainsay that claim” (IV.xvii.215).

²³⁴ “Exivit” means “issued” or “sprang”; “exitus” means “issue,” and “recta linea” is a direct line.

²³⁵ The following section quotes extensively from “Towre Records,” and I am not certain how or where Dee accessed these.

²³⁶ In fact, Robert Bruce V *is* of the same degree as Dergovilla, John Baliol’s mother.

²³⁷ It seems that Dee is trying to make a complicated genealogy tremendously more complicated by suggesting that two of these Robert Bruces are not father and son, but brothers, a theory the historical record does not support. His persistent, almost perseverating, attention to the line of descent seems not only an attempt to distract readers from the more theoretical ideas of kingship outlined in Major’s history, but also to nullify the successes of King Robert in freeing Scotland from direct English overlordship and control.

²³⁸ An “indiction” is any of the years in a fifteen-year cycle used to date medieval documents. 1291 was evidently the fourth indiction in such a cycle.

²³⁹ “In his own voice.”

²⁴⁰ The breaking of the royal seal was a symbolic maneuver to dismantle the kingship of Scotland. Similarly, the Holy Rood of St. Margaret and the Stone of Destiny were removed to England in 1292, representing stages of Edward’s quest for overlordship.

²⁴¹ English supremacy over Scotland is one of the great themes of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. He spent much time in Scotland unearthing (or, some would say, forging) documentary evidence of homage paid to English kings by Scottish kings which he then presented to Henry VI. Dee seems to suggest that these were gathered into a "booke" which was extant in his own day.

²⁴² Robert of Avesbury wrote a history called *De gestis mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii* (c. 1356). See Edward Maunde Thompson's edition (London: Rolls Series, 1889), although Dee's given quotation appears to be an addition in a particular manuscript.

²⁴³ The Feast of St. Luke the Evangelist is celebrated 18 October. For a summary of the relevant political situation, see note 165 above.

²⁴⁴ A word has been left out, but this emendation is likely what was meant.

²⁴⁵ "Summa summarum" is literally "sum of sums," meaning "in summation." "Pro et contra" is "for and against."

²⁴⁶ Denmark increasingly exercised control of Norway from 1397 to 1521, a process formalized by a series of unions collectively known as the Kalmar Union.

²⁴⁷ P. 19, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*.

²⁴⁸ See note 213 above.

²⁴⁹ A region in Northern Spain.

²⁵⁰ Asturias is part of Northern Iberia.

²⁵¹ In all this history, though concisely given, Dee seems to be accurate. See Chapter 1 of H.V. Livermore's *A New History of Portugal* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966, rpt. 1976).

²⁵² The *Chronicles* of Jean Froissart (c.1337-c.1404) were first published in 1523.

The *LC* does not record this work as part of Dee's collection.

Appendix of Latin Quotations

This section is for those interested in consulting the original Latin of the manuscript inasmuch as I have been able to transcribe it. I have not offered my emendations or given emendations from Dee's sources since it seems likely that someone working without these might produce alternate and feasible translations. Unlike my transcription of the main text, I have indicated where I have expanded abbreviations by underlining them and have retained the capitalization of the text. I have also indicated where interlineal additions are by including them in the main text with upward-facing carets. In instances where one page holds more than one Latin quotation, I have introduced each with the last four words of Dee's text preceding it.

[21] *Debet vero de Iure Rex omnes Terras & Honores, omnes dignitates, & Iura, & Libertates Coronæ Regni huius, in integrum cum omni integritate, & sine Diminutione, observare, & defendere Dispersa, & dilapidata, & amissa Regni Iura, in Pristinum statum, & debitum, viribus omnibus revocarj.*

[27] *Verum, non tam Pugilum quam Arthuri famam (tametsi dignus fuerit, cuius Memoria clara sit ad Posteror) Circulares atque aniles fabulum incertis Authoribus de eis confictæ, plurimum videntur maculasse.*

[28] a littell before that. *Verum, vt res se habuit (non enim detrahendæ alicuius Gloriæ haec partes agimus) fuit Rex Arthurus, rerum egregie gestarum gloria, & ampletudine,*

*non minus quam Brytanniæ Reges, qui ante * eum vixere, Insignis: Vnde Opes et vires
Brytanis (eo Regnante) plurimum.*

*his Arthur Suetius saynge Hic est ille Arthus de Suetia quem ^non^ nullj inter novem
Præstantissimos Principes accollare Volunt: quamvis nonnullj sint qui eum locum
Arthuro Brytanno assignent. Principi quidem, ob rerum gestarum magnitudinem
incomparabilj; Cui tamen hic Arthus Sueticus in nullo cecisse videtur. Præfuit ^1.^ ille
multis Populis* & Regnis: huius ^2.^ autem Imperium, Fluvio Tanaj ad Orientem, &
Albia ad Occidentem; longissimo Terrarum tractu continebatur.*

** “ Populi multi, & Regna multa sub Imperio Arthuri Brytannj*

And before that .

Præerat eo tempore Brytannis ille Invictissimus Rex Arthurus, de cuius Amplissimo
Imperio, et mirificis Triumphis, plura in historicis* Monimentis traduntur, quam facile*
credj possint.*

Imperium Arthuri Amplissimum.

[29] *all manner of men. Fuisse Arthurum, et illum Inuictissimum Brytanorum
Monarcham fuisse: Saxones, Pictos, Scotosque multis superasse, & subiugasse prælijs:
aliaquæ multa, quæ nisi illorum opportuna intervenisset Diligentia, hac nostra ætate,
Visa vix fuissent fide digna.*

true historiographer Roger Houedon. Anno 1191. Initio mensis Martij, Richardus Rex Angliæ dedit Regi Tancredo illum gladium optimum quem Brytones, Caliburn vocant; qui fuerat Gladius Arthurj quondam Nobilis Regis &cæt.

(written by Godefridum Viterbiensem, olim Notarium Regis Conradj tertij, Fridericj Primj Imperatoris, & filij eius Henricj Sexti et cæt.)

his three forsaid verces *Arthurus, qui tantus erat, si Bella requiris, Omne Solum varijs potuit devincere miris: Viribus & Gladijs præfuit ille viris.*

[30] anciently, amonge the lawes, *Boni Regis Edwardi, quas Gulielmus Bastardus postea confirmavit.* Which lawes begin thus, *Post acquisitionem Angliæ Præfatus Rex Angliæ Gulielmus quarto Anno Regni suj, consilio Baronum suorum fecit summoniri per Vniversos Angliæ Consulatus, Anglos Nobiles, Sapientes & sua lege eruditos, vt eorum leges, & Iura, & Consuetudines ab ipsis audiret. Electi igitur de singulis totius patriæ Comitatus viri duodecem Iureiurando coram Rege primum confirmaverunt, vt quoad possent recto tramite incedentes, nec ad dextram nec ad sinistram divertentes, legum suarum et Consuetudinum sancita patefacere, nihil prætermittentes, nil addentes, nil prævaricando mutant. & cæt.*

wth the Record ensuinge.

De Iure et Appendicijs Coronæ Regni Brytaniæ.

Arthurus, qui fuit quondam Inclytissimus Rex Brytonnum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles Illustris: parum fuit ej Regnum istud, non fuit Animus eius contentus Regno Brytanniæ: subiugavit igitur sibi stremiæ **Scantiam totam, quæ modum Norweia vocatur, & omnes Insulas vltra Scantiam, Silicet Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ sunt de Appendicijs Norweicæ, & Suechordam, & Hiberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam [31] Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherrelam, Lappiam & omnes alias Terras & Insulas Orientalis Oceanj vsque Russiam (in Lippia scilicet posuit Orientalem Metam Regni Brytanniæ) & multas alias Insulas vltra Scantiam, vsquedum sub septentrione, quæ sunt de appendicijs Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt Gentes feræ, & indomitæ, & non habuerunt dilectionem Dej, nec Proximi, quia ab Aquilone pandetur omne Malum. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occulte {Desiderantur nonnulla in Exemplavi:} Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit & fecit eos Baptizari, & vnum Deumper totam Norweiam Venerari, & vnam fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire & suscipere. Cæperunt vniversi Procere Norweicæ Vxores suas de Nobili Gente Britonum tempore illo: vnde Norwegienses dicunt se exijsse de gente et sanguine Regni huius. Impetravit enim temporibus illis Arthurus Rex a Domino Papa & a curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia in perpetuum Coronæ Brytanniæ, in augmentum Regni huius; vocauitque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Brytanniæ. Hac vero causa, dicunt Norwegienses se debere in Regno isto cohabitare, & dicunt se esse de Corpore Regnj huius, scilicet de Corona Brytanniæ. Maluerunt enym manere in Regno isto quam in Terra eorum propria Terra enim eorum arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibj segetes nisi per loca: Istavero opulenta est, et fertiljs, et crescunt hic segetes & cætera vniversa. Qua ex causa sapius per vices gesta sunt Bella atrocissima inter*

Anglos et Norwegienses, & interfecti sunt innuberabiles. Occupaverunt vero Norwegienses Terras multas, & Insulas Regnj huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerent vnquam postea penitus euellj. Tandem modo confæderatj sunt nobis fide & Sacramento, & per Vxores suas postea cæperunt de Sanguine nostro, et per Affinitates, & per coniugia. Ita demum constituit, et eis concessit bonus Rex Edwardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune Consilium totius Regnj. Qua de Causa, possint & debent prædicti de cætero nobiscum cohabitare, & [32] remanere in Regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostrj.

[34] *Lappam, followeth this parcell. Et omnes alias Terras, et Insulas Orientalis Ocianj, usque Russiam: Quatouor illæ Magnæ' circa Septentrionem Insulæ, cum minoribus eisdem adiacentibus.*

of the former Recorde. *Et multas alias Insulas, Vltra Scantiam, Vsque dum sub Septentrione:*

[35] And because, *In Ore duorum vel trium stabit omne verbum*

of this matter. *Sunt* qui scribunt* Arthurum Regem par hæc Tempora, Scotiam, Hiberniam, Islandiam, Finmarchiam, Orcades Insulas, Daniam Suetiam, Livoniam, Lituaniam, Prussia, Pomeraniam, Zelandiam, Gothiam, Hollandiam, Zelandiam alteram; Brabantiam, Flandriam, Morinum, Northmaniam, Armoricam, Brytanniam,*

totam denique Galliam, vi expugnasse: Suamque accepisse in ditionem, Incolis Gentiumque Ducibus victigalibus factis.

[36] of Boethius registred thus: *Arthurus falso dicitur plurimas Regiones subiugasse.*

** Quem ne aliquando intelligerentur errores, fama percrebuit, atque etiam cognitum, & compertum certo est, tot Historicos nostros vetustos & manuscriptas (immani scelere) igni commendasse, quot ne plastrum quidem posset capere atque sustinere, arbitratus, vt credo, se eius generis omnes solum habuisse. Vt testatur Io: Caius, in libello de antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Accademiae. pag. 70. lib: i.*

[37]

<i>*Arthur amplissimum Imperium, et mirifici Triumph. Scotia. Iste Scotores Rex quibusdam *Auguselus ab alijs Ancelmus</i>	<i>Præerat eo tempore Britannis, ille Invictissimus Rex Arthurus, de cuius Amplissimo *Imperio & mirificis Triumphis, plura in historicis Monimentis traduntur, quam facile credj possint. Hic igitur ab Heroldo contra Tordonem opem ferre rogatus, non gravate amici præcibus annuit; præfatus, se nihil libentius vnquam egisse; quam illud Bellum cum Rege potentissimo acturus esset, quj illa fortissima Gothorum, & Sueonum Gente, cæterisque validissimis Populis stipatus esset. & ducitur itaque ex Britannia Gallia, Hollandia, maxima Classis, in qua innuberabilis Pugnatorum multitudo ad Daniæ liberationem euehebatur: quæ etiam maximis Scotorum Copijs, quas eorum Rex. *Angnischelus ducebat; adaucta, a</i>

nominatur.	<i>Tordone, non minore potentia (ad Navale Bellum præparato), inter illud fretum, quod Cimbros a Gothis separat, excepta est: statimque ad acerrimum prælium deventum est: quod toto triduo adeo pertinacibus animis, ob summam vtriusque Partis Virtutem, agebatur, ut neutra earum saltem coniecturare posset, quorsum Victoria sese inclinaret. Tandem Germanica Classis Gothos, Sueonesque a tergo invadens, Arthurum cuius signa sequebatur, victoriæ compotem sine mora effecit, ipsosque ut potius se, suamque Patriam conservare, quam Danis imperare curarent, coegit. Itaque Arthurus tam gloriosam victoriam assequutus Daniam ipsam, non Danis (ut sperabant) sed sibi suisque Britannis, ac Scotis subiectam esse volebat. Quo facto infelices Dani, cum se ab vno Sueonum Gothorumque ingo liberatos putarent, geminum, immo multiplex, idemque longe atrocius sibi impositum experiebantur: sub quo diutius oppressi, non modo ab Anglis, et Scotis, Verum etiam a Norwegianis, quibus Arthurus (teste Historia Scotia) Consanguineum suum Loth in Regem præfecerat Præterea a Vandalis, & Teutonibus, a Gallis, et Frisijs, cæterisque Populis Arthuro subiectis, plurimum divexabantur quamvis Anglorum iugum sæpius excutere tentantes, Arthurum ad Pertinacem Indignationem Provocasse videbantur. & cæt.</i>

same chapter, It followeth

Sed nunc ad Tordonem redeamus: qui Pace vel [38] Inducijs inter se & Arthurum positus, ad plures annos quieto fœliciterque regnavit: quem alij apud vestrogothes in Civitate Scarensi, alij apud Suetios in Vpsalia sepultum affirmant. Nec apud me illæ Historiæ probiles Videntur, quæ asserunt Arthurum Suetiæ, Gothiæque, Imperasse, quam vis eas (vt nunc diximus) aliquando expugnare contendebat.

that he became there, *Sine mora, victoriæ Compos,*

[39] Wherefore this Phrase *Nec apud me illæ Historiæ probabiles videntur & cæt.*

that Kinge Arthur, beinge *Rei Militaris, & Gloriæ appetentissimus*

[40] *Britonum Rex Arthurus declaratus est, in Viridi etiam ætate. Sed præclarissima erat indole: pulchro et formoso corpore, et generossimo animo: rei Militaris et gloriæ appetendissimus. Saxones ab Insula eiecit: Scotos Pictosque (si * Brytonum Annalibus sit danda fides) domuit, & sibi inservire coegit. Edimburgi Scotiæ, Regia erat Arthuri sedes. Adhuc, nomen, locus ille prope Edimburgum habet: Et in Arce Striviling moram traxisse fertur: sed ea tempestate, partes illas Scoti non habuerunt. Cum hoc Arthuro ad bellum Scotorum Rex (vt * referunt) processit. Ergo Arthuro erat subiectus, vel magna Amicitia, et necessitudine iunctus. Scoto omnes delere semel proposuit, & id fecessit si ad eum supplices Scoti non venissent; Ita * Galfredus Monemutensis recitat. Et non modo totam Britanniam suo Imperio adiecit: sed & Hiberniam, Northuegiam, Insulas &*

Chersonesos omnes Occidentis circa Britanniam sitas: & non solum illas sed & Gallos, et Germanos vicinos domuit. & suis viris illustribus magna Dominia contulit. Loth consanguineo Regnum Noruegiæ, & Laudaniam omnem (de qua onundus sum) dono dedit. Propterea in Arthuri Gestis, Loth Laudonensis communiter dicitur. Ex omni parte, viri illustres & rei militaris cupidj ad eum conuenerunt: quos omnes comiter & liberaliter suscepit: & eis Munera munificentissime contulit, &c.

[41] Arthure and his conquests. *Arcturus, (quem vulgo Arcum appellant) Rex Brytanniæ famosissimus, Barbaros vicit, pacem Ecclesiæ reddidit multa prælia victor gessit, fidem Christi ampliavit Galliam totam Northvegiæ, Daciam, et multas Provincias suo Imperio subiugavit. Erat omnium sui temporis Regnum gloriosissimus; qui post multa egregia patrata, nusquam comparuit multa annis expectatus a Britonibus redire de quo mirabiles olim Mimi Cantilenas ediderunt. Quo regnante, Anglia in flore fuit. Cui ter dena Regna seruierunt. &cæc.*

his incomperable Title imperiall. *Arthurus, gloriosissimus totius Nobilitatis in Orbe Monarchia, & Rex Christianissimus, et pacificus Regni Britannicæ: de quo Miranda ac præeminentia per Regnorum Mundi Climata scribuntur Gesta generosa.*

he titleth Kinge Arthure *Rex Arthurus, Princeps Britannicæ, totius Humanæ Nobilitatis Monarchia.*

Testemony of Kinge Arthure *Arcturus Rex Britanniae nominatissimus in victorijs* 460.
viros Gladio interfecit, Ecclesiae Dei subuenit & Fidem Valde ampliavit, Omnesque
Terras Franciae, Daciae, Noruegiae, & caet. sibi seruire coegit.

[42] thus it is recorded. *Lib. 7. Cap^o: 3.*

<i>*Gelandia olim, nunc</i> <i>Frislandia.</i> <i>Orcades.</i>	<i>Subiugatis itaque totius Hiberniae partibus, Classem suam dirigit</i> <i>in Islandiam, eamque debellato Populo subiugavit Exinde</i> <i>diuulgato per caeteras Insulas rumore. Quod ei nulla Provincia</i> <i>resistere poterat, Doldonius Rex *Gelandiae, & Gimnasius Rex</i> <i>Orcadum, vltro venerunt, promisoque vectigalj, subiectionem</i> <i>fecerunt.</i> And wth in a few lines after that: <i>Paratis inde Navigijs, Norwegiam primum adivit, vt illius</i> <i>diademate Loth sororium suum insigniret & caet. Victoria igitur</i> <i>potiti, Scs Britones Civitates accumulata flamma inuaserunt;</i> <i>dispersique pagensibus, seuitiae indulgere non cassaverunt, donec</i> <i>tamen Norwegiam, nec non & Daciam Dominio Arthuri</i> <i>submiserunt. Quibus subactis, cum Loth in Regem Norwegiae</i> <i>promovisset, navigavit Arthurus ad Gallias, factisque turmis,</i> <i>patriam vndique vastare caepit et caet. Nam Arthurus Inventus</i> <i>Insularum omnium, quas subiugaverat, comitabatur. Vnde tantum</i> <i>perhibebatur habere Exercitum, quantum erat difficile ab vllo</i> <i>posse superari Famulabatur quoque ei melior pars galicanae</i>

Atr. interim.

<i>*In Vrbe scilicet legionum celebrandam.</i> <i>*atr. Gillomarus.</i> <i>*atr. Attilius.</i> <i>*Homagium Seruitiumque præstant Arthuro: Quæ Regna dicuntur sex Insularum Comprovincialium, vel Collateralium ipi Britanniæ.</i> <i>*Silicet Vortiporio. Erat enim, Malgo,</i>	<i>Provinciæ; *iterum novem annis, cum totius Galliæ partes suæ Potestati submisisset, venit iterum Arthurus Parrhisium: tenuitque ibi Curiam & cæt.</i> And in the chapter followinge. <i>Dimissus deinde in diversa Regna Legatis, invitantur tam ex Gallijs; quam ex Collateralibus Insulis Oceani, qui ad curiam* venire deberunt. Venerant ergo Auguselus Rex Albanicæ, (quæ nunc Scotia dicitur) Vnanus Rex Murefrensiū & cæt. Ex Collateralibus etiam Insulis Gillomanus* Rex Hiberniæ, Maluasius Rex Islandiæ, Doldonius Rex Gelandiæ, Gimnatus Orcadum Rex, Loth Rex Norvegiæ [43] *Acellius Rex Dacorum, & cæt.</i> In the 5. Chapter of the same Booke, thus it is written. <i>Postquam etiam cæteri, ad hæc, qua dicenda erant, dixerunt, promiserunt ei singuli, quot in obsequium eius debebant. Ita vt præter eos quos promiserat Dux Armoricæ, ex sola Insula Britanniæ Sexaginta Millia, (omnibus armis armatorum) computarentur. At Reges cæterarum Insularum (quoniam non duxerant in morem, Equites habere) Pedites, quot quisque debeant, promittant: Ita vt ex sex Insulis*, Videlicet, Hiberniæ, Islandiæ, Gelandiæ, Orcadum, Norvegiæ, atque Daciæ; Sexies Viginti millia essent annumerata.</i> And in the 8. booke. and first chapter thus.

<i>quartus post Arthurum Brytanniæ Rex. Impressus liber corrupte habet Golandiam.</i>	<i>Cui* successit Malgo, omnium fere Britannicæ pulcherrimus; multorum Tyrannorum depulsor: robustus Armas, et cæt. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit; & sex Comprovinciales Oceani Insulas: Hiberniam videlicet atque Islandiam, Gelandiam*, Orcades, Norvegiam, Daciam adiecitque eas dirissimus prælijs Potestati suæ.</i>

Scotland, and the same (*Ex deliberato apud Lincolniam convocato Concilio*) ... avouched to Kinge Edward *Ab Antiquis temporibus Regnum Scotiæ pleno Iure pertinuisse, & adhuc pertinere ad Ecclesiam Romanam.*

[44] *Altissimus Inspector cordium, vestræ serenitatis memorie, indelebili stilo novit inscribi, quod Antecessores nostri, Reges Angliæ, Iure Superioris & directi Dominij, ab antiquissimis retro temporibus, Regno Scotiæ, & omnibus ipsius Regibus in temporalibus, & annexis eiusdem, præfuerunt; & ab eisdem pro Regno Scotiæ, & eiusdem proceribus (a quibus habere volebant) legatia Homagia receperunt, & fidelitatis debita iuramenta. Nos iuris et Dominij possessionem continuantes huiusmodi, pro tempore nostro, eadem Iuramenta recepimus, tam a Rege Scotiæ, quam a Proceribus ipsius Regni. Quinimo tanta iuris et Dominij Prærogatiua super Regnum Scotiæ, Et eiusdem Reges gaudebant, vt & Regnum ipsum fidelibus suis conferebant: Reges etiam ex iustis causis amovebant: & constituerunt sub se, loco ipsorum, alios regnatueros: quæ, procul dubio, ab antiquo notoria fuisse & esse creduntur apud omnes: & cæt.*

And afterward in the same letter.

Postea, Dunwallo Rex Britonum, Staterium Regem Scotiæ, sibi rebellem, occidit, et terram eius in Deditionem accepit. Ita duo filij Dunwallonis, scilicet Belinus, & Brennius, inter se Regnum Patris sui diviserunt. Ita quod Belinus senior, Diadema Insulæ cum Britannia, Wallia, & Cornubia, possedit. Brennius vero sub eo Regnaturus, Scotiam accepit. Petebat enim Troiana consuetudo, quod dignitas hæreditatis primogenito perueniret. Item Arthurus Rex Britanum famosissimus. Scotiam sibi rebellem subiecit: & pene totam Gentem delevit. Et postea quendam nomine Anguselum in Regem Scotiæ præfecit. Et postea cum idem Rex Arthurus, apud Civitatem Legionum, festum faceret celeberrimum, interfuerunt ibidem omnes Reges sibi subiecti; inter quos Anguselus Rex Scotiæ servicium pro Regno Scotiæ exhibens debitum, gladium Regis Arthuri detulit ante ipsum: & successive omnes Reges Scotiæ, omnibus Regibus Britonum fuerunt subiecti: Succedentibus autem Regibus Angliæ, in eadem Insula, ipsius Monarchiam, & Dominium obtinentibus consequenter. & cæt.

[45] considered & thought upon *Et cum iure plenj Dominij, in possessione eiusdem Regni existere dinoscatur, non possumus, nec debemus, quin insolentiam subditorum nostrorum rebellium, si quos in venerimus, præheminentia Regia, prove expedire viderimus, reprimamus. Quia vero, ex præmissis, & alijs constat euidenter, et notorium existit, prælibatum Regnum Scotiæ, tam ratione Possessionis quam Proprietatis, ad nos pertinere pleno iure, nec quicquam fecerimus vel caverimus, scripto vel facto, (sicuti nec possemus) per quæ, iuri aut possessioni prædictis debeat aliquo modo derogari: Sanctitati*

vestræ humiliter supplicamus, quatenus præmissa, provida meditatione pensantes, ex illis vestri animi motum dignemine informare, & ct.

...other Kinge of England) *ratione Regni Scotiæ*; but *ratione Comitatum Huntindoniæ, Cumbriæ, & Northumbriæ & cæt.* And thirdlie, that, *Anglum Scotis Superiorem, Scoti nunquam recognovere.*

[46] *Northumberland, and at Norham, Consultis Prælati, ac Vtriusque Iuris peritis, revolutisque priorum temporum Annalibus, vocari fecit Prælatos ac Maiores Regni Scotiæ, et eorum eis in Ecclesia parochiali de Norham; Ius suum in superius: Dominium Regni Scotiæ fideliter declaravit:*

[47] *Petivitque vt hæc recognoscerent. Protestando, se ius Coronæ suæ, vsque ad effusionem sanguinis defensurum. Ob quam causam, Rex isto anno, omnia Monasteria Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Walliæ perscrutari fecerat, ad dinoscendum quale ius posset sibi competere in hac parte. Et repertum est, in Chronicis Mariani Scoti, Wilhelmi de Malmesburia, Rogeri de Houeden, Henrici de Huntingdon, Radulphi de Duzeto, quod Anno Domini Nongentesimo decimo, Rex Edwardus Senior subegit sibi Reges Scotorum & Cumbrorum, Item, ibidem, Quod Anno Domini Nongentesimo vigesimo primo, prædictæ Gentes elegerunt sibi Edwardum prædictum in Dominum et Patronum. Item ibidem Anno Domini 926. Rex Angliæ Adelstanus, devicit Regem Scotiæ, Constantinum, et iterum, sub se permisit regnare Item Edwardus frater Adelstani Rex Angliæ, devicit Scotos & Northumbranos, qui se submiserunt ei, & fidelitatum iuraverunt. Item ibidem*

Edgarus Rex Angliæ superavit Rinedum filium Alphini, Regem Scotorum: qui iuravit ei fidelitatem. Item ibidem Rex Angliæ & Daciæ Canutus Anno Regni sui 16. perdomuit Malcolinum, &cæt.

and immediat Lord. Thirdlie. *Repertum est in Bullis Papalibus, Scotiæ directis, Reges Scotorum excommunicatos fuisse, quia noluerant obedire Dominis suis, Anglorum Regibus. ffourthly, Maiores Scotiæ, et Angliæ qui vendicabant Ius Successionis in Regnum Scotiæ, per literas suas patentes recognoverunt se vellesponte recipere Iusticiam coram dicto Rege Edwardo, tanquam coram Capitali Domino, & firmum tenere quicquid ipse decreverit in præmissis Literarum Dominorum Vtriusque Regni, qui Ius successionis in Scotorum Dominium vendicabant.*

followinge doth appere [so]. *Omnibus Presentes literas visuris vel audituris: Florentius Comes Hollandiæ, Robertus le Brus Dominus Vallis Amandiæ, Ioannes de Balliolo Dominus Galoidiæ, Ioannes de Hastings Dominus Abergavennæ, Ioannes Comin Dominus de Badenaw. Patricius de Dunbar Comes Marchiæ, Ioannes de Vesci vice patris sui, Nicholaus de Sules, Wilhelmus de Ros, Salutem in Domino. Cum nos in Regno, Scotiæ Ius habere credamus, & ius illud coram illo qui potiozem habet [48] potestatem, iurisdictionem; et rationem examinandi ius nostrum; declarare vendicare, et probare intendamus: Nobilisque Princeps Dominus Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Anglia, per bonas sufficientesque rationes nos confirmaverit, quod ad eum spectat, et habere debet superius Dominium Regni Scotiæ, et cognitionem in audiendo, examinando, et definiendo ius nostrum: Nos de propria nostra Voluntate, sine omnj Violentia, et*

coactione, volumus, annuimus, & concedimus vt recipiamus ius coram eo, tanquam superiori Domino Terræ. Volumus insuper, & promittimus, quod habebimus et tenebimus firmum et stabile factum suum, & quod ille habebit Regnum, cui, coram eo ius potius illud habit. In testimonium isterum, nos literis, istis apposuius Sigilla nostra. Data apud Norham, feria tertia post ascensionem: & cæt.

ffiftly, Facta recognitione superioris Domini, et submissione recipiendi quod coram Rege Angliæ iure fuerit definitum; petiuit Rex, Castra & Terram totam sibi reddi: Vt per Seysinam pacificam, ius superioris Dominij, quod iam per suas Literas recognoverant, clareret Vniuersis. Annuerunt statim Regiæ petitioni, confectis super hoc literis, et ab eisdem signatis continentibus in Gallico (sicut prioris Literæ) hunc tenorem.

Literæ Seysinæ datæ Regi Angliæ, de toto Regno Scotiæ.

Omnibus præsentis literas visuris vel audituris. Florentius Comes Hollandiæ, Robertus le Brus Dominus Wallis Anandiæ, Ioannes de Balliolo Dominus Galwidæ, Iohannes de Hastings Dominus Abergavenne, Ioannes Comin Dominus de Badenaw, Patricius de Dunbar Comes Marchiæ, Iohannes de Vesci vice Patris sui, Nicholaus de Sules, Wilhelmus de Ros, Salutatem in Domino. Quia de bona voluntate nostra, & communi assensu, sine omni coactione, annuimus et concessimus nobili Principi Domino Edwardo Dei gratia Regi Angliæ, quod ipse tanquam superior Dominus Terræ Scotiæ possit audire, examinare, & definire, vindicationes nostras, quas intendimus [49] ostendere, & probare pro iure nostro recipiendo, coram eo tanquam superiori Domino Terræ; Promittentes

insuper, quod factum suum habebimus firmum et stabile: & quod ille obtinebit Regnum Scotiæ, cuius Ius potius, declaratur coram eo. Cum autem non possit præfatus Rex Angliæ isto modo cognitionem facere, nec complere sine iudicio, nec iudicium debeat esse sine executione, nec executionem possit debito modo facere sine possessione, & Seysina eiusdem Terræ, et Castrorum eius: Volumus, annuimus, & concedimus, quod ipse tanquam Dominus Superior, ad perficiendum prædicta, habeat Seysinam totius Terræ Scotiæ, et Castrorum eius, quousque Ius in Regnum petentibus fuerit Satisfactum. Ita tamen, quod antequam habeat Seysinam, bonam et sufficientem Securitatem faciat Petitoribus, & Custodibus, communicati Regni Scotiæ restituendi, & idem Regnum cum tota Regalitate, Dignitate, Dominio, Libertatibus, consuetudinibus, iusticijs, legibus, vsibus, possessionibus, & quibuscunque pertinentijs, in eodem statu, in quo erant ante Seysinam sibi traditam, liberabit illi cui iure debetur secundum iudicium Regalitatis, Saluo Regi Angliæ Homagio, illius qui Rex erit. Et debet hæc restitutio fieri infra duas menses, a die quo fuerit hoc ius discussum, atque firmatum. Exitus dictæ Terræ medio tempore recipiantur, & in saluo deposito reponantur, & bene custodiantur per manum Camerarij Scotiæ qui nunc est. Et illius quem assignabit ad hoc Rex Angliæ: & hoc sub Sigillis eorum, salua rationabili sustentatione Terræ, et Castrorum, Ministrorumque Regni. In Testimonium istorum omnium prædictorum, apposuimus ad has literas, Sigilla nostra. Data apud Norham die Mercurij Proxima post assensionem Domini: Anno Et cæt.

(Has duas literas misit Rex Angliæ, sub sigillo suo privato, as diversa Monasteria Regni sui, vt ad perpetuam rei gestæ Memoriam in Chronicis ponerentur.)

Rex assecurat reddere Regum Scotiæ cui debetur .

Idcirco (facta Scotis securitate ex parte Regis Angliæ; de restituendo, provt præfertur, Regno Scotiæ infra duos menses, illi cui de iure hoc competeret, sub pena centum millium Librarum sterlingorum, Romæ, in subsidium [50] Terræ Sanctæ soluendarum, ac etiam sub pena Excommunicationis, & Interdicti in Regis personam et Regnum Angliæ, si non restitueret fulminandum) Scoti, per Chartas suas tradiderunt Regi Edwardo, Regnum Scotiæ cum Castellis, iuribus, et Consuetudinibus, posueruntque Custodes, qui medio tempore exitus, et appromanenta Terra ad opus illorum quorum intererat custodirent, quousque videlicet debita discussione habita, de legitimo constaret hærede.

Sixtly, at the same tyme, Ericus Rex Norwegiæ venit coram Consilio Domini Regis Angliæ per attornatos suos, & protulit quoddam Scriptum in Hæc Verba. Omnibus præsentis literas inspectaris, vel audituris, pateat evidenter, quod nos Ericus Dei gratia Rex Norwagia, tenore præsentium, fecimus, Constituimus, et ordinavimus, provt de iure et facto melius facere potuimus, nostros veros, et legitimos Attornatos, & Procuratores, et nuncios speciales, Nobilem Virum Aven de Hagr, et Magistrum H: Plebanum, plebis de Castillione arretino, Domini Papæ Capellanum, et Magistrum Petrum Algoti ad Comparendum pro nobis, et vice nostra, coram Excellenti Principe Domino, Dei gratia Edwardo, Rege Angliæ illustri, & superiori Domino Regni Scotiæ, nobis adiudicarij Regnum Scotiæ supradictum, cum omnibus iuribus et pertinensijs suis: cum ipsum Regnum per mortem Domine Margaretæ filię nostræ, olim Domine et Reginae Regni Scotiæ, sit ad nos iure hæreditario devolutum legitimæ. Et cæt.

Seventhly, *Post diligentem huius negotij discussionem inter cæteros, de assensu communi IOANNI de BALLIOLO, qui de filia Davidi Regis Scotorum descenderat seniore, adiudicavit Rex, ex integro Regnum ipsum. Robertus nempe de Brus, inter quem et ipsum Ioannem de Balliolo (exclusis cæteris) questio vertebatur, licet vno gradu esset proponquior, tamen descendit a fila Regis Davidi secunda. Ioannes de Balliolo in Festo Sancti Andreae sequenti collocatus super Lapidem Regalem, in Ecclesia Canoniorum regularum de Scone solemniter coronatur, Post Coronationem vero accedens ad Regem Angliæ, qui festum Nativitatis Dominicæ apud Novum Castrum tenuit super Tynam, eidem fecit homagium sub his virbis.*

[51] * <i>Et licet nos simus Superior, & directus Dominus ipsius Regni, et exercitium seu executio Iuris Superioritatis, et directi Domini huius ad nos pertineat (sicut Seitis) non intendimus propter hoc nos a iure hæreditario quod nobis competit id idem Regnum quo ad proprietatem ipsius excludere. Quamvis utamur Iure nostro exhibendo alijs Iustiam: Sed Ius nostrum inter ipsos Vendicantes velle prosequi, & declarare, vijs et temporibus quibus de Iure poterimus et viderimus expedire.</i>	<i>Domine Edwarde, Rex Angliæ Superior* Domine Scotiæ; Ego Ioannes de Balliolo Rex Scotiæ [51] recognosco me hominem vestrum, de toto Regno Scotiæ, et omnibus pertinentijs & hijs quæ ad hoc spectant, quod Regnum meum teneo, et de iure debeo, et clamito tenere hæreditario de vobis, et hæredibus vestris Regibus Angliæ, et de vita et membris, et terreno honore, contra omnes homines qui possunt vivere et mori.</i> <i>Et rex Angliæ recepit Homagium in forma predicta: suo et alterius Iure* saluo. Recepto autem Regis Ioannis homagio, Rex Angliæ eidem Regnum Scotiæ integraliter, cum omnibus</i>

	<i>pertinentijs restituit indilate.</i>

[52] came to pas, that *Ioannes Rex Scotorum Homagij et fidelitatis suæ immemor destinatis, ad Regem Francorum literis, & cat. Clari contra Regem Angliæ fædus inijt, et cæt. Spondens se velle Regnum Angliæ totis viribus impugnare, & a werra cum Rege Franciæ Impedire & cæt.*

And, *Scoti per idem tempus elegerunt sibi duodecem Pares: quatuor Videlicet Episcopos, quatuor Comites, & quatuor Barones, quorum consilio, Rex Regnum suum gubernare debebat. Per quos etiam vt in hanc consentiret prodicionem fuit inductus & cæt.*

Walsingham thus recordeth farther. *Dum hæc agerentur, videns Ioannes Scotorum Rex quia non haberet potestatem resistendi, missis ad Regem Angliæ nuntijs, pacem, et misericordiam imploravit. Cui Rex benigne annuens, remandauit vt ad Castrum de Brithin cum Magnatibus terræ suæ veniret, cum his quos Rex illuc mitteret nuncios infra dies quindecim tractaturus. Missitque illuc Rex, Anthonium Dunelmensem Episcopum; cum plena potestate Regia: ad quem venerunt infra præscriptum tempus, Rex Scotorum Magnatesque sui. Qui post multos variosque tractatus, nude et pure subiecerunt se) et Regnum Scotiæ Regiæ voluntati. Pro qua submissione obseruanda, Ioannes Rex Scotiæ filium suum obsidem tradidit, literasque confecit, continentes in gallico hunc tenorem.*

Iohannes Dei gratia Rex Scotiæ, Omnibus præsentis literas visuris, vel audituris, Salutem. Quia nos per malum consilium falsumque, simplicitatemque nostram graviter offendimus, et provocauimus Dominum nostrum Edwardum, Dei Gracia Regem Angliæ, Dominum Hiberniæ, Ducem Aquitaniæ, videlicet in eo, quod existentes et manentes in

fide sua, & suo Homagio, alligauimus nos Regi Franciæ, qui tunc hostis eius erat, et adhuc est Matrimonium procurantes fieri, cum filia Domini Caroli, fratris [53] eius: & vt Dominum nostrum gravaremus, Regemque Franciæ iuvaremus, cum omni potestate nostra, per Werram, modisque alijs: Deinde per nostrum peruersum Consilium antedictum, diffidauimus Dominum nostrum Regem Angliæ, & posuimus nos extra fidem & homagium suum, & missimus Gentes nostras in Terram suam Angliæ, ad incendia facienda, et prædas abducendas, homicidia, et alia damna plurima perpetranda: & Terram Scotiæ, quæ est de feodo suo contra eum muniendo: ponentes, et stabilientes Gentes Armatas, in villis, Castris et alibi ad defendendum Terram contra eum, de feodo suo. Pro quibus transgressionibus, Dominus noster Rex Angliæ antedictus ingressus terram Scotiæ in fortitudine sua, eam conquisivit et cæpit; non obstanti omni quod facere potuimus contra eum, sicut potest de iure facere, tanquam Dominus de feodo suo: quia nos ei Homagium nostrum reddidimus, & fecimus Rebellionem antedictam. Nos igitur existentes adhuc in plena Potestate nostra, & libera voluntate, reddimus ei Terram Scotiæ, et Gentem totam cum Homagijs. In cuius rei Testimonium, fecimus fieri has literas Patentes. Dat apud Brithin: Decimo die Iulij, Regni nostri anno quarto. Consignata litera fractoque* Sigullo communi Regni Scotiæ, processit Rex vt videret Montana Scotiæ, præcedente eum semper per vnam dietam Episcopo Dunelmensi & cæt.*

their owne letters patentes. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Eo tempore, Rex apud Berwicum convocato Parlamento, omnium magnatum Scotiæ Fidelitates recepit, & Homagia, qui ad Rei gestæ memoriam perpetuam, consecerunt super hoc, literas Patentes; eorum Sigillis munitas, continentes in Gallico hunc tenorem:

Omnibus Præsentes literas Visuras, vel audituris, Iohannes Comin de Badenauz, & cæt. qui ad fidem et voluntatem Illustrissimi Principis, ac Charissimi Domini nostri Edwardi, Dei gratia, Regis Angliæ, Domini Hiberniæ, ac Ducis Aquitaniæ, venimus, promittimus pro nobis, et hæredibus nostris, sub pena corporum nostrorum, et Castellorum, ac omnium quæ habere possumus, quod nos serviemus ei [54] Bene & fideliter contra omnes gentes, quæ vivere et mori possunt, omnibus vicibus quibus requiremur, vel præmonebimur per antedictum Dominum nostrum, Regem Angliæ vel hæredes suos; Et quod nos non sciemus Damnum eorum, quin illud impediemus, omnibus viribus nostris, Et eos præmo[^]nebimus. Et ad ista tenenda, et seruanda, obligamus nos, et hæredes nostros, et omnia bona nostra. Insuper & iuravimus, tactis sacrosanctis Evangelijs; et postea nos omnes, et quilibet nostrum, per se fecit homagium dicto Domino Nostro Regi Angliæ in hæc verba. Ego vester homo ligeus efficior, de vita et membris, ac terreno honore, contra omnes homines qui possunt vivere et mori. Et idem Dominus noster Rex recipit hoc Homagium sib his verbis: Nos illud recipimus pro terris quibus estis seysiti, salvo iure nostro, aut alterius, et exceptis Terris quas Ioannes de Balliolo, quondam Rex Scotiæ, nobis contulit, postquam nos ei Regnum Scotiæ liberauimus, si forte aliquas terras dedit. Insuper nos omnes, & singuli nostrum, per se fecimus Fidelitatem Domino nostro Regi prædicto, in his verbis: Ero fidelis et legalis, fidemque et legalitatem servabo Edwardo Regi Angliæ, & hæredibus suis, de vita et membris et terreno honore, contra omnes qui possunt vivere et mori: & nunquam pro aliquo portabo Arma, nec ero in Consilio vel Auxilio contra eum, vel hæredes suos, in aliquo casu qui possit contingere, sed fideliter recognoscam, et fideliter faciam, servicia, quæ pertinent ad tenementum*

quod de eo tenere clamito, sic me Deus adiuuet, & omni, Sancti eius. In harum rerum Testimonium factæ sunt istæ literæ Patentes, et Sigilles nostris Signatæ: Dates apud Berwicum, Anno Regni Regis Angliæ Edwardi Dominj nostri vicessimo quinto.

[55] *Hoc anno .5. Kalendas Octobris Edwardus de Balliolo filius Ioannis de Balliolo, apud Monasterium de Scone in Scotia in Regem Solemniter coronatur.*

to our great comfort. *Rex Angliæ, considerans multa vituperia sibi et Antecessoribus suis per Scotos illata, Et quod Concordia facta inter ipsum et Scotos, fuit irrita: per* Proditionem, ipso in minori ætate notorie constituto, et in Custodia Matris suæ existente, iam contra consilium Matris suæ, collecta multitudine Armatorum, ad Berwik potenter accessit: vbi tenentes Castrum et villam multos dolosos tractatus habuere cum eo, vt ab extra adiutorium expecterent.*

Anno 1334. In festo Sanctorum Gervasij et Prothasij, Edwardus de Balliolo, verus Rex Scotiæ fecit Homagium Edwardo Regi Angliæ apud Novum Castrum super. Tynam, in præsentia trium Episcoporum, Comitum, ac Baronum, ac copiosæ Plebis.

with other circumstances registred. *Hoc Anno Rex Edwardus 14. Kalendas Iulij apud Novum Castrum Super Tynam, in Domo Fratrum prædicatorum, fecit et iuravit Homagium & Fidelitatem Regi Angliæ Edwardo tertio, pro toto Regno Scotiæ adiacentibus.*

Edward was in ffraunce: *A^o 1355. Scoti fraudulenter et subdole cæperunt villam de Berwick. Castrum tamen capere nequiuuerunt. Ob quam causam Rex in Angliam cum festinatione reversus est.*

Hervppon.

Rex Edwardus adivit partes Boreales, cum grandi [56] exercitu, vt villam suam de Scotorum manibus recuperaret. Quam Scoti 13. die Ianuarij, sibi sine vlla resistentia prævia reddiderunt.

Die 25. Ianuarij; Dominus Edwardus Baliol Rex Scotiæ, apud villam de Rokesburgh Regnum et Coronam eiusdem transtulit in Edwardum Regem Angliæ: literis suis Patentibus et Autenticis inde confectis.

[57] *Ex præmissis et alijs constat euidenter, & notorium existit, Quod prælibatum Regnum Scotiæ tam ratione Possessionis quam Proprietatis ad nos pertinet pleno iure: Nec quicquam fecerimus vel cauerimus scripto vel facto, (sicuti nec possumus) per quod Iuri; ac Possessionis prædictis debeat aliququaliter a quoquam derogari.*

[58] *Clarissimo viro D^o: Ioanni Dee, Domino et fautori suo Plurimum colendo. In ædibus Mortlacensibus, iuxta Tamesim prope Londinum.*

<i>*Maria attractiua</i> <i>Montes maximj Septentriones ambientes et in quibus Civitates</i>	<i>Clausis literis (vir Clarissime) vidi Nuntum aliquantisper apud me retinere posse. Pronide postpositis omnibus negotijs, operam dedi, vt quæ maxime a me desideras perscriberem, vnaque mitterem: metuens ne tam cito quam tibi ijs opus erit, eadem transmittere non daretur. Scripsi itaque omnia quæ de situ Septentrionis habeo, & his literis alligavi & cæt.</i> <i>Jacobus Cnoyen de Tsertoghenbosch, Orbem paragravit, vt Mandevillanus: Sed meliori paulo iudicio visa annotavit. Scripsit Belgica Lingua. Quæ autem in eo ad Regiones Septentrionales spectancia inueni, sic vt sequitur (ad verbum) excerpsi. Nisi quod quædam (brevitatis & accelerandi causa) Latine reddedi: si non semper verbum verbo, sententiam tamen reposui.</i> <i>In Septentrionali Norwegia (quam et obscuram Norwegiam homines appellant) ad tres menses continuos obscuritas est: Sole nunquam supra Horizontem elevato: Est ibi tamen interea quasi diluculum quoddam & cæt.</i> <i>In Septentrionalem Norwegiam non est facilis traiectus, propter Maria* rapida, quæ post Groelandiam sunt. Vltius enim aliquanto ista Septentrionalis Norwegia versus Septentrionem sita est.</i> <i>Septentrionalis ista Norwegia ad ipsos montes pertingit, qui circa Septentri= [59] onem, quasi quodam gyro circulone eminent et cæt.</i> <i>Istique sunt Montes * de quibus scriptum est, quod in eisdem certæ sunt Civitates: veluti supra, in Arthuri Gestis inuenire poteris, & cæt.</i>

<i>erant Regis Arthuri tempore.</i> <i>*Forte Tyleæ. *potius, Freta multa</i> <i>*Omnes Insulæ Septentrionales (vsque ad Polum feres) Arthuro subiugate erant. Δ4000 homines (Arthuri subditi) ab attrauis istis abscorpti fretis.</i> <i>*Immo 25°. Sic enim vnicumque Generacioni circiter 33 anni</i>	<i>Et ex opposito habiat Populus stature exiguæ: de quo in Arthuri Gestis fit mentio, & cæt. Hæc & plura de situ Septentrionis inveniuntur in principio Gestorum Arthurj & cæt. Olim Insulæ Septentrioni Subiectæ, vocabantur Cileæ*, nunc Septentrionales: in quibus Septentrionalis Norwegia, & multi parvi fluvij* & cæt. qui dicuntur Maria attractiua eo quod versus Septentrionem, perpetuo tantoque impetu ibidem feratur aqua, quod nullus ventus Nauem contrario possit repellere cursu & cæt. Et in hac latitudine altissime sunt montes vsque ad Nubium regionem, & cæt. Et in hac latitudine sepissime caliginosus & obscurus est aer & ct. In isto septuagesimo octavo Gradu latitudinis (quasi Corona Circulusue) circa Polum Arcticum, sunt maxima ex parte altissimi Montes: In aliquibus vero locis ad 50. 60. vel 100. leucas (aliqua latiora alia autem angustiora) sunt illa commemorata Maria attractiua quæ vbique ad Septentrionem rapiuntur. Huc appulit pars vna Nobilium Arthuri, quando ille Insulas* Septentrionales expugnabat, illasque omnes sibi subiectas efficiebat. Et in Scriptis habetur veterum, quod illi Arthuro Maria ista attractiva circiter 4000Δ homines abripuerint: qui nunquam sunt reversi verum Anno Dominj 1364 rediere octo {ex posteris} illorum hominum, in Norwegiam, ad Regem: inter quos, duo Sacerdotes: quorum vnus habebat Astrolabium: qui quinto* gradu descenderat ex Bruxellensi. Vno inquam octo Germanorum qui cum primis Navibus penetrarunt in has regiones Septentrionales. Nobilis</i>

respondebunt. <i>*Omnes Insulæ inter Scotiam; et Groelandiam, et etiam Groelandia ipsa ab Arthuro suis hominibus concedebantur in habitande.</i> <i>Colonia magna ab Arthuro missæ erat ad Septentrionales istas insulas.</i> <i>*Additio Gerardi.</i> <i>Minorita Anglus omnes Insulas Septentrionales perlustrabat, et earum omnia mirabilæ describebat. An^o: 1360.</i> <i>*Scilicet, Regi E:3^o</i>	<i>ille vir qui Arthuro inserviebat, Anno Domini 530. per totam hyemem commoratus fuerat in Insulis Septentrionalibus Scotiæ, et eorum vna pars traiecit in Islandiam 3^o: Maij. Eo tempore rediere a Septentrione illarum duodecimi Navium quatuor: quarum Præfecti Arthurum præmonebant de attractiuis illis fretis: vnde Athurus ab illa loca non ivit. Nihilo tamen minus omnes* Insulas inter Scotiam et Islandiam, & Groelandiam, etiam ipsam, populo suo [60]</i> <i>Inhabitandas commisit et cæt. Vbi reuersæ fuissent 4 Naues illæ, erant Nautæ qui affirmarent se scire vbi essent Magnetini scopuli sub aquis: Itaque octo illas propter ferreos Clavos perijisse. Propterea Arthurus instituit Classem 12. iterum Navium sine omni ferro, imponens, 1800 viros, & circiter 400. Mulieres. Versus Septentrionem navigant 5.^o Maij, anno proximo quam priores Naves discessissent. Atque harum 12. Navium 5: per tempestatem impegerunt in Scopulos, reliquæ penetrarunt altos Scopulos 18, Iunij 44. die postquam soluissent {strictum* forte aliquod penetrarunt}</i> <i>Sacerdos in Astrolabium habebat, narrabat Regi Norwegiæ, venisse in Insulas Septentrionis An^o: Dominj 1360 Minoritam Anglum ex Oxfort, qui erat bonus Astronomus, & cæt. Hic ab alijs discedens (qui in Insulas has venerant) profectus est vltius per totam Septentrionem; & descripsit omnia mirabilia earum Insularum: deditque Librum Regi* Angliæ quem. Inscriptis, Inuentio fortunæ. Qui liber incipit ab vltimo Climate, videlicet a Gradu. 54. perueniens</i>

	<i>vsque ad Polum. Minorita iste retulit Montes istos inter Muri, Septentrionem ambire: exceptis locis illis in quibus Attractiua illa erant Maria, & cæt.</i> <i>Hæc sunt ad Verbum omnia quæ ex hoc Authore ante multos Annos excerpsi & cæt.</i> <i>Bene vale vir doctissime, mihique amantissime colende. 1577.</i>

Gerardus Mercator.

[61] *In subiectam Septentrionis Discriptionem.*

25°	<i>Quum in Polum extendi tabula nostra non posset (Latitudinis Gradibus in infinitum excurrentibus) & descriptionis aliquid haud quaquam negligendus sub ipso Septentrione haberemus, necessarium putauimus, extrema Descriptionis nostræ hic repetere, & reliqua ad Polum vsque annectere. Figuram sumpsimus quæ illi parti Orbis maxime congruebat, quæque situm & faciem Terrarum [62] qualis in sphaera esset redderet. Quod ad Descriptionem attinet, eam nos accepimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis, qui quædam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat: maiorem autem partem & potiora, a sacerdote quodam apud Regem Norwegiæ an^o Dominj 1364 didicit. Descenderat is quinto* gradu ex illis, quos Arturus ad has habitandes Insulas miserat: et Referebat anno 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxoniensem, Mathematicum, in eas insulas venisse; ipsisque relictis, ad vltiora profectum, descripsisse omnia: et Astrolabio dimensum esse, in</i>

*Girard Additio *voraginis.	<i>vltiora profectum, descripsisse omnia: et Astrolabio dimensum esse, in hanc subiectam formam fere vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos 4 dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt Naves semel ingresse nullo vento retroagi possit: neque vero vnquam tantum ibi ventum esse, vt molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis in lib: de Mirabilibus Hiberniæ: sic enim scribit: Non procul ab Insulis {Ebudibus*, Islandia et cæt} ex parte Boreali, est Maris quædam miranda vorago: ad quam a remotis partibus omnes vndique marini fluctus tanquam ex conducto confluent & concurrunt: qui in secreta Naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in abyssum vorantur. Si vero Navem hac forte transire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum, violentia, vt eam statim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis* absordeat.</i>

it is to wete. *Quatuor huius Oceani Voragines, a quatuor oppositis Mundi partibus, Philosophi describunt & cæt.*

[64] *De Inuentione Murdri.*

Murdra quidem inuenta fuerunt, & constituta in diebus Chnuti Dani Regis, qui post acquisitam Angliam, & pacificatam, rogatu Baronum Anglorum remisit in Daciam exercitum suum. Ipsi vero Barones exstiterunt fideiussores erga Regem, quatenus quotquot in terra secum retineret firmam Pacem per omnia haberent. Veruntamen si quis Anglorum aliquem eorum interficeret, si se super hoc defendere non posset, iudicio Dei

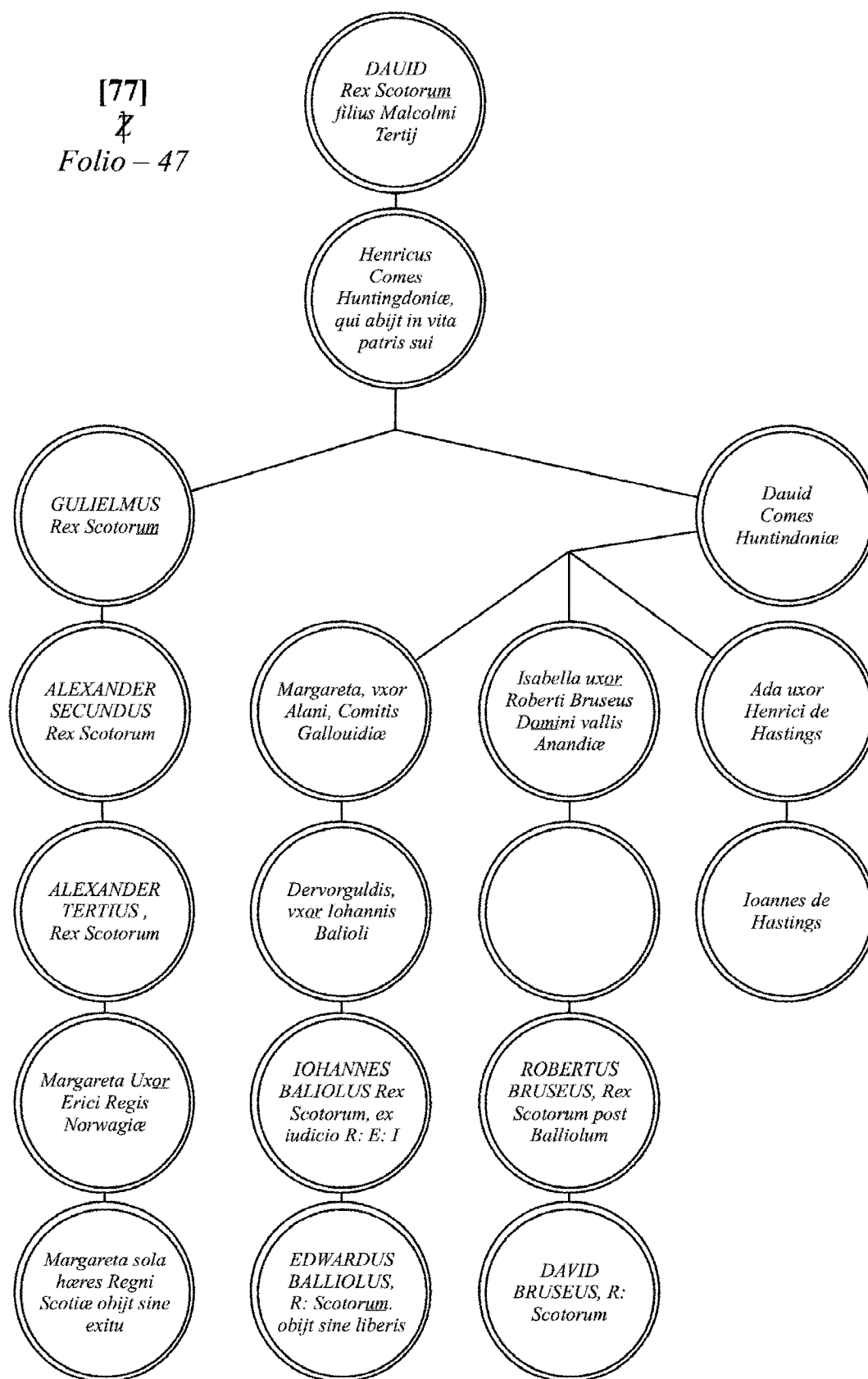
scilicet Aqua vel ferro) fieret de eo iusticia: Si autem aufugeret, solueretur vt supra dictum est. Iste vero Chnutus præfatus Rex, & Sueinus Rex Danorum pater eius, & Lachmann Rex Suevorum, & Olavus Rex Norwegiæ, & Haraldus Harefote Rex Danorum, filius Chnuti prædicti, & Elwinæ, & Hardocanutus Rex Danorum, frater suus, filius Chnuti prædicti, & Emmæ, sororis Roberti Normannorum Ducis, et matris Vltime Edwardi, multa Iura & dignitates, et terras, & Insulas a Corona Regni huius alienaverunt, & delapidaverunt, & Dacis suis, & Norwegiensibus illas dederunt: qui, Regnum infestantes destruxerunt. Idcirco Donationes & alienationes eorum in irritum reuocari debent, et in nihilum reduci, et omnino extirpari. Ita fecit Bonus Rex Edwardus: Facta eorum, in quantum potuit, revocauit; sed non potuit omnia revocare. Non habuit vim, quod potuit Regnum in pristinum statum reducere, & reformare; servauit sacramentum: fecit enim quod potuit. Temporibus vero Regum Danorum sepultum fuit Ius in Regno; Leges et consuetudines simul sopitæ: temporibus illorum prava voluntas, vis et violentia magis regnabant quam Iudiciam in terra.*

[67] that his Limitation granted *Versus Occidentem, & meridiem*, excepteth (divers tymes) *Terras quæ per alios preus reperte fuerant*; and geveth them such libertie onlie, *huiusmodi per Mare vbi hactenus navigatum non fuit. And Omnes Insulas & Terras firmas quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possesse ante initium Anni Domini 1493.*

[70] Mox (as Thomas Walsingham recordeth) *Dux inclinas caput (vt erat Eques) amarissime flevit super Equum; tacite fundens præces Omnipotenti Deo commemorans in*

corde suo, quod antea in fœlicitate, & rerum opulentia, nec Deum Vt debuit cognovisset, nec vt decuit coluisset. Tacitus ergo subortis suspirijs implorat pro gratia, precatur pro misericordia, spondens in posterum correctionis [71] vitæ practicam, et apud Cordis oculos futuram iugem Dei sui noticiam et cæt.

[77]
 ‡
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[78] *Duo erant præcipui qui propinquitate cæteros longe anteibant: Ioannes Baliolus & Robertus Brusius, nepos illius qui filiam Daudidis natu minorem Isabellam duxit: ex qua ille procreaverat eadem nomine filium Robertum (singularem ob animi præstantiam) cognomine Nobilem, Carictæ Comitem, ex quo, hic, de quo agimus, genitum est. Ioannes vero iste Baliolus, ex filia Daudidis natu maiore Margarita. Nam Alanus Galuidianus ex ea duas suscepit filias: quarum Dervogila nomine; nupta Domino Ioanni Baliolo, peperit ex eo filium nomine Ioannem Baliolum, de quo nunc sermo est.*

And in the 13. Booke.

Cæterum Edwardus Henrici Regis Angliæ filius cum Lodovico, in Africam etiam profectus, vbi primum patris morte revocatus est, prospero cursu domum redijt. Eadem tempestate, Martha filia Comitis Carictæ, (inter cæteros in Africa absumpti) adulta iam ætate, ac viro matura, cum in Syluis (animi gratia) feras prosequens venaretur, obuiam forte habuit Robertum Bruis Dominum vallis Anandicæ, in Scotia, & Cleuelandicæ in Anglia, nepotem (ex Isabella, secunda filia) Daudidis Huntingdonicæ Comitis ac ex complexu formosissimi adolescentis amore prestricta in [79] Castellum nomine Tuburi illum secum assumpsit, ibique celebratis quam citissime (ne quis forte impediret) nuptijs, matrimonio iuncti sunt. Eo conubio natus est Robertus Bruis, is qui postea (Alexandri Regis stirpe deficiente) Regnum Scotiæ adeptus est.

amphibologie of the phrase *De Isabella exivit Robertus de Bruis qui nunc petit:*

then seeing *An.^o 1292. Oct: 15* at Barwik. *Et, quo ad hoc quod idem Robertus dicit, quod est proximior in gradu, in eo quod dicit quod prædictus Daudid habuit tres filias,*

Margaretam, Isabellam, et Adam, de qua Margareta exivit Deruogilda, & de ipsa Ioannes qui nunc est: & de prædicta Isabella, Robertus qui nunc petit, & sicut proximior in gradu: per quod dicit se habere melius ius ad Regnum prædictum, secundum consuetudines quorundam Regnorum: dicit idem Ioannes quod quicquid dicit de alijs Regis, & Regionibus, vel eorum consuetudinibus, in Regnis tamen Angliæ, & Scotiæ, in quibus Reges regnant per successionem in recta linea, & Comites, & Barones eodem modo succedunt in hæreditatibus suis, exitus postnatæ Licet in gradu proximior, non excludit exitum primogenitæ Licet in gradu re-motioem, in ipsa recta linea successione durante. Dicit etiam quod ex quo prædictus Robertus concedit quod Margareta antecessor prædicti Ioannis fuit primogenita prædicti Daud; & prædicta Isabella mater prædicti Roberti, postnata: & quod prædictum Regnum Scotiæ non est partibile: per quod dicit, quod ius ipsius Regni; et ipsum Regnum vnica personæ debeat remanere: videtur ei quod in huiusmodi successione, secundum Leges, & Consuetudines [80] Vtiusque Regni, antenata est præferenda post-natæ: & eadem ratione, exitu antenatæ est præferendus postnatæ tam ratione primogenitura quam impartibilitatibus Regni prædicti: vnde per rationes prædictas, durante exitu primogenitæ nihil iuris exitu postnatæ accrescere potest. & cæt.

and place) may suffice *Et sic ius ipsius Regni, prædicto Roberto tanquam masculo, & in æquali gradu cum prædicta Deruogilda existeti, sine medio debet resortiri & cæt.*

[81] *Anno a Natiuitate Dominj 1291. Indictione quarta, mensis Iunij die tertiodecimo: Congregatis coram excellintissimo Principe, et Domino, Domino Ed: Dei gratia Rege*

*Anglæ, illustri Superiori, & directo Domino Regni Nobilibus, et Prælati, alijsque de
Communitate Regni Scotiæ, & cæt.*

and office, yt followeth *Adhæc dicti venerabiles Patres & Domini & cæt. Tactis eisdem
Euangelijis, et osculatis, per se, eorum quilibet iuramentum fidelitates eidem Domino
Regi Angliæ, tanquam superiori et Directo Domino Regni Scotiæ præstiterunt, et cæt.
Nec non et Nobiles viri, Dominus Robertus de Brus, Dominus vallis Anandæ, Ioannes de
Balliolo Dominus Galwidæ, Dominus Robertus de Brus Comes de Carrik, Patricius de
Dunbar Comes de Marchiæ, & cæt.*

of this Acte, Thus. *Acta fuerunt suprascripta & cæt. Præsentibus venerabilibus in
Christo pribus, Domino Ioanne Dei gratia Ebor Archiepo, Angliæ Primate, & cæt. Ac
Nobilibus Viris, Dominjs Edmundo Lancastriæ, Willo de Valene Penbrok, Henrico de
Lascy Lincoln, Rogero Bigod Norfolchiæ, & Mareschallo Angliæ, Donoualdo de Mar,
Gilberto de Anegos, et Roberto de Brus de Carrik Comitibus, & cæt.*

[82] recordes, (so often repeated) *Saluo Iure nostro & hæredum nostrorum, cum
voluerimus inde loqui.*

Latin, is thus Recorded *Et licet nos simus superior & directus Dominus ipsius Regni &
exercitium seu executio Iuris Superioritatis et directi Dominij huius ad nos pertineat
(sicut scitis) non intendimus propter hoc nos a Iure hæreditareo, quod nobis competit, ad
idem Regnum quo ad proprietatem ipsius excludere: Quamuis Vtatur Iure nostro*

exhibendo alijs Iustiam: Sed ius nostrum inter ipsos Vendicantes velle proseguire, et declarare, vijs et temporibus quibus de iure poterimus et viderimus expedire.

[83] *Et eodem die, in Aula Castri de Berwico super Twedam, coram vtriusque Regni Nobilibus, et Prælatiis, de præcepto dci Domini Regis Angliæ, Superioris, et Directi Domini Regni Scotiæ, confractum fuit Sigillum ad regimen Scotiæ deputatum, quo vsi fuerunt Custodes eiusdem Regni per ipsum Regem deputati, a tempore obitus Alexandri vltimi Regis Scotiæ, vsque illum diem) in quatuor partes. Et ipsius frustra sigilli in quadam bursa de corio reposita, in Thesaurario Domini Regis Angliæ conservanda, in signum et euidentiam plenioris, Superioritatis, & directi Dominij sui quod habuit, et ipse, & hæredes sui, Reges Angliæ habere debuerunt in prædicto Regno Scotiæ, perpetuis temporibus: et declarationem Iuris sui huiusmodi Superioritatis et directi Dominij sui vt præmittitur posteris ostendendam. Acta apud Berewicum super Twedam, Anno Indictione, mense, diebus et Locis prænotatis: Præsentibus dicto Domino Ioanne de Balliolo tunc Rege Scotiæ, & venerabilibus in Christo patribus, Domino Ioanne Archiepo Dublinensi, et Dominis Ioanne Winton, Antonio Dunelm, Willo Elien, Ioanne Carleolen, Willo S: Andreæ, Roberto Glascuen, Marco Sodoren, & Henrico Aberdon, cum multis alijs vtriusque Regni Epis. Abbatibus et Prioribus; Ac Nobilibus Viris, Dominis Henrico Lincoln, Vmfredo Herford, Rogero Norfolchiæ, Ioanne de Bowghan, Douenaldo de Mar, Gilberto de Anegos, Patricio de Marchia, & Malisio de Stratherne, Comitibus; et viginti quatuor Angliæ, & octoginta Scotiæ Auditoribus nominatis electis, & vt præmittitur assignatis: nec non Magris Henrico de Newark Decano Ebor, Ioanne de Lasce Cancellario Cicestrien, & Willo de Grenefeld Canonico Ebor: Magtro Ioanne Ercuri de*

Cadomo publico Aplica auctoritate Notario. Alijsque Nobilibus, Clericis, & Laicis quam pluribus.

[84] *Qualiter Dominus Edwardus de Balliolo noster Rex Scotiæ transtulit Regnum, et Coronam Scotiæ in Regem Anglorum apud Rokesburgh, David Rege Scotorum adhuc existente in Anglia Captiuato, qui captus fuerat iuxta Dunelmen Civitatem in festo Sancti Lucae Evangelistæ Anno Dominj Millimo CCC.^{mo} XLVI^{to}.*

*Vniuersis pateat per præsentis quod nos Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Scotores, attendentes qualiter super possessionem Regni et coronæ Scotiæ, quæ post mortem claræ memoriæ Dui Ioannis de Baliolo nuper Regis Scotiæ patris nostri sunt ad nos iure hæreditario legitime deuoluta: & de quorum possessione, ac etiam de homagijs et seruitijs tam Prelatorum & Procerum quam aliorum ipsius Regni fuerimus per nonnullum tempustanquam de hæreditate nostra legitima inuestiti: per **[85]** Induratum malitiam, & continuatam rebellionem quorundam inimicorum, et rebellium nostrorum dicti Regni qui contra fidei, & legiantie suæ debitum, contra nos hostiliter, & proditorie surrexerunt, a diu fuimus et adhuc sumus contra Deum & iusticiam nequissime impediti, pro quorum recuperacone magnos & graves labores hucusque sustinuimus, nec ad continuationem laborum huiusmodi (attenta debilitate nostri corporis iam vrgentis in senium) sufficimus nec volumus propterea circa hoc vlterius occupavi: ac nolentes ius nostrum huiusmodi deperire, nec maliciam ipsorum rebellium transire impunitam quod absit: Pensantesque multiplices benevolentias, gratias, & honores, quibus Serenissimus Princeps, et Dominus noster carissimus Dominus Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ multotiens et liberaliter nos præuenit, ac etiam propinquæ consanguinitatis vinculum quo ipse, & nos*

*noscimur adinuicem fore coniuncti, nec non ob spetialem affectionem, & sinceram
dilectionem quas erga personam suam super omnes alios de sanguine nostro, merito
gerimus et habemus; Ac pro eo quod ipse qui alios Principes instrenuitate præcellit
melius quam aliquis alius poterit malitiam dictorum rebellium per Dei gratiam refrenare;
mero motu, ac nostra pura ac spontanea voluntate, diligenti, et matura deliberatione
præhabita in hac parte. Dedimus concessimus, & præsentī carta nostra confirmauimus
prædcom Domino Edwardo Regnum et Coronam Scotiæ supradcam vna cum dignitate
Regali, ac Insulis maris, & omnimodis Regalitatibus nostris Dominijs homagijs &
seruitijs, tam Prælatorum & Procerum quam aliorum feodis, aduocationibus,
Episcopatum, Abbathiarum, Prioratum, Eccliarum, ac oibus alijs, singulis quæ ad
dicta Regnum et Coronam Scotiæ vbicunque pertinent, seu pertinere poterant
quouis modo, ta plene et intigre sicut aliqui vel aliquis progenitorum nostrorum quondam
Regum Sotiæ ea retroactis temporibus tenuerunt. Ac etiam omnes alias Insulas
adiacentes de quibus progenitorum nostros aliqui aliquo tempore seisisi fuerunt, nec
non omnia Castra, Dominia, terras, tenementa, possessiones, & iura quæ ad nos vt
præmittitur tam infra dictum Regnum Angliæ, quam in Galwidia, & alibi infra præfatum
Regnum competunt, vel competere poterunt, iure hæreditario, vel alio quocunque
colorem, titulo siue iure. Habendum et tenendum, a die confectionis præsentium præfato
Domino Edwardo, hæredibus, & assignatis suis, in perpetuum, Omne insuper ius, &
clameum quæ in Regno et corona prædcis vna cum dignitate Regali, et alijs eorum
pertinentijs [86] Quibuscunque: nec non Insulis, et alijs Castris, Dominijs, terris,
tenementis, possessionibus, & iuribus suprascriptis nobis competunt vel qualitercunque
competere poterunt in personam dicti Domini Edwardi, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris ex*

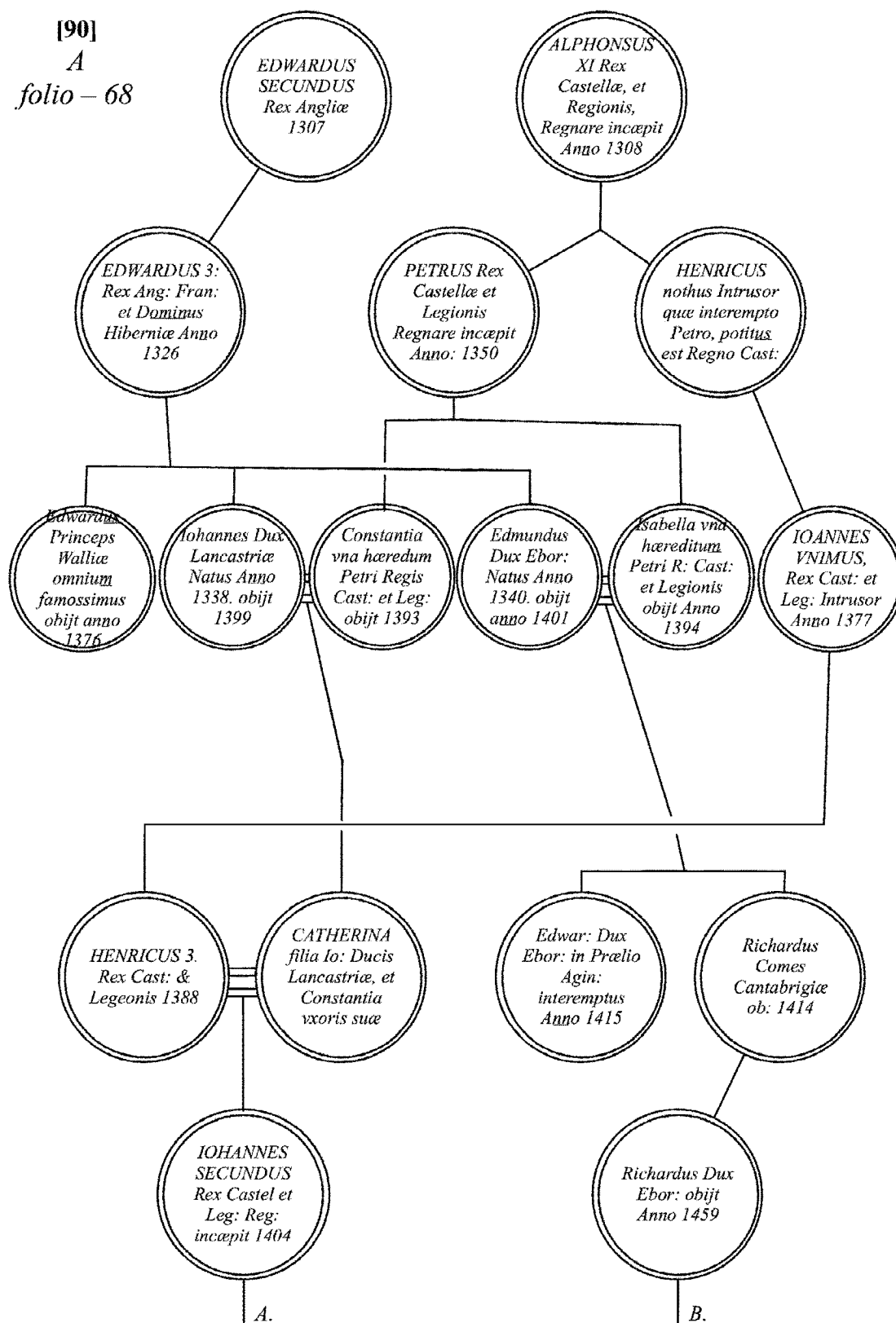
nunc integre, & plenarie transferemus sibi & assignatis suis perpetuis temporibus remansura, absque ea q^d: nos vel aliquis hæredum nostrorum aliquid iuris vel clamei in dcis Regno, et Corona Scotiæ vel in aliqua parte eorundem seu in aliquibus pertinentijs ad eadem, aut etiam Insulis vel alijs Dominijs, terris, tenementis, possessionibus, et iuribus supradcis, vel eorum aliquo, seu ad ea ^erga^ præfatum Dominum Edw: hæredes, et assignatos suos exigere, vendicare, seu habere poterimus in futurum: Sed omne ius, & clameum huiusmodi quæ ad nos, vel hæredes nostros in hac parte competunt seu competere poterunt quovismodo, eidem Domino Edw: hæredibus, et assignatis suis tenore præsentium remittimus, relaxamus, et omnino quietum clamamus, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum. Ilijs Testibus Venerabili patre Domino Thoma Dunelm Epo, Dominis Leonello Vlton, & Richemun Comitibus, Henrico Duce Lancastr, Willom de Bohun North: Rogero de Mortuo-mari March: Radulpho Stafford, & Gilberto de Angos Comitibus: Abbatibus de Melros, et de Kelchen, Iodworth, et Driburgh: Henrico Domino de Perci, Ioanne Domino de Moumbray, Radulpho Domino de Neuile, Waltero Domino de Manny, Ioanne de Charleton Domino de Powys. Ioanne de Grey Domino de Rotherfeld, Galfrom Domino de Say. Guil^o: Domino de Latimer, Ioanne Striuelin, Thomæ de Rakby, Roberto de Erlee. Willom de Warennæ, Willom de Aldeburgh., Militibus, et Alijs. Dates apud Rokesburgh xxv.^{to} die Ianuarij Anno Domini 1355.

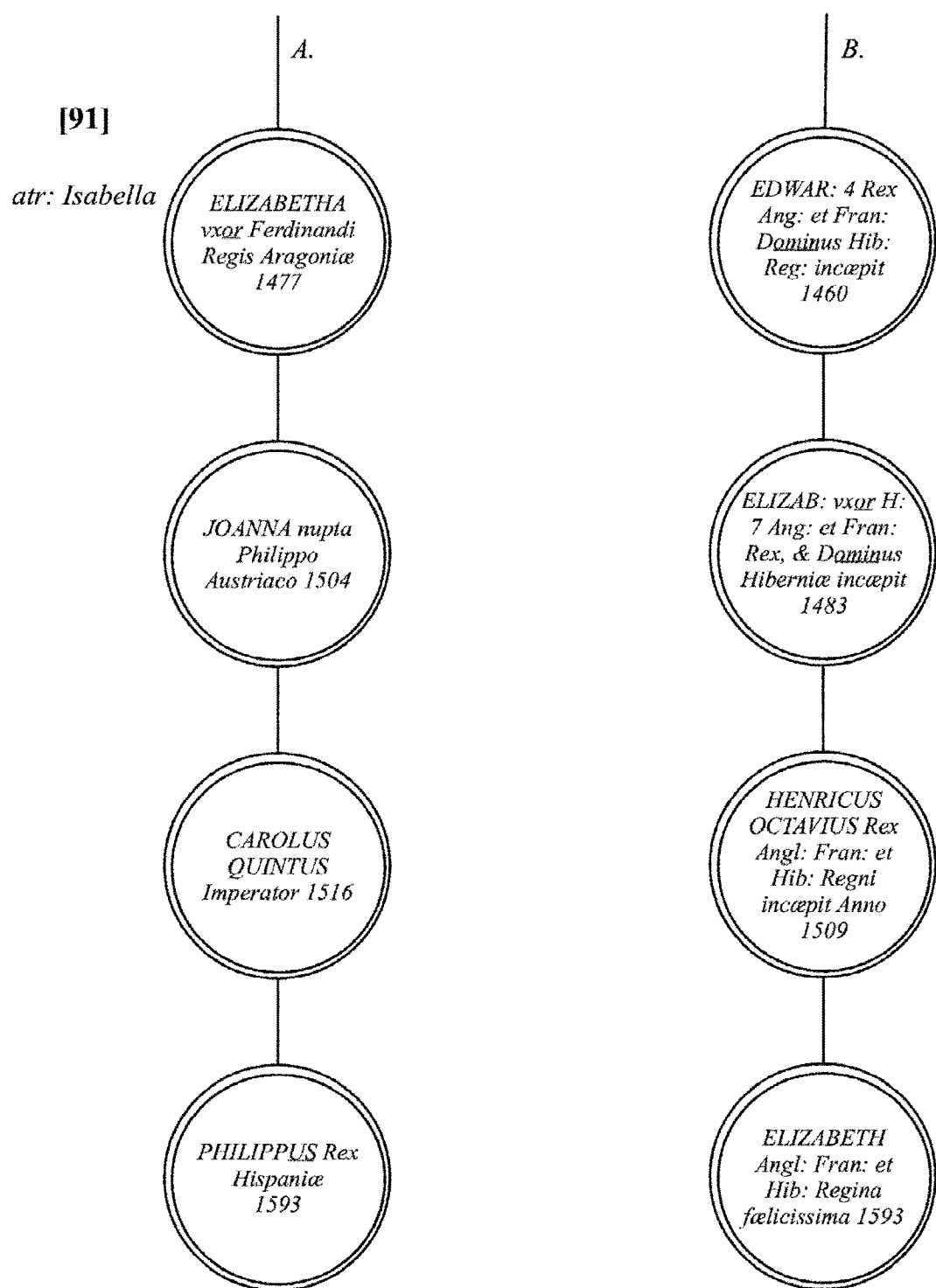
made, as hereafter followinge. Vniuersis pateat per præsentis, quod cum nos Edwardus de Balliol, filius claræ memoriæ Domini Ioannis de Balliolo, quondam Regis Scotorum, dederimus, et concesserimus, pro nobis, & hæredibus nostris, Serenissimo Principi, & Domino nostro Edwardo Dei gratia Regi Angliæ, & Franciæ, Regnum et Coronam

Scotiæ per mortem præfati patris nostri iure hæredetario ad nos deuoluto, vna cum Dignitate Regali, & omnibus alijs ad eadem Regnum, et Coronam qualitercunque, & Vbicunque spectantibus: Ac etiam omnes [87] Alias Insulas Scotiæ adiacentes, de quibus aliqui progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Scotiæ aliquo tempore præterito seisiſij fuerunt: Nec non omnia Castra, Dominia, Terras, tenementa, possessiones, & iura, quæ ad nos tam infra Regnum Angliæ, quam in Galwidia, & alibi infra Dominium Regni Scotiæ iure hæreditario, vel alio iure seu titulo quocunque pertinent, vel pertinere poterunt quovismodo. Habendum eidem Domino Edwardo, hæredibus et Assignatis suis in perpetuum. Et in super omne ius et clameum quæ in dictis Regno et Corona Scotiæ & omnibus alijs supradictis, vel in eorum aliquo seu ad ea habuimus vel habere possemus, in personam præfati Domini Edw: pro nobis & hæredibus nostris transtulerimus, prout in carta nostra inde confecta & sub Sigillo nostro consignata plenias continetur, sibiſque inde seisinam facerimus Liberari: nos ob multiplicatam affectionem quam erga dictum Dominum Edw; suis exigentibus meritis, firmiter gerimus, & habemus Volentes securitatij suæ, et hæredum suorum, pro futuris temporibus in quantum nobis possibile fuerit prouidere, ex habundanti, remissimus, & quietum clamauiſimus, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris præfato Domino Edw: hæredibus, & assignatis suis totum ius, & Clameum quæ habuimus vel habere poterimus in Regno, & corona prædictis, ac etiam in Dignitate Regali, Honoribus, Dominijs, castris, villis, manerijs, homagijs, fidelitatibus, seruitijs, redditibus, proficuis, & quibuscunque alijs iuribus, et possessionibus prædictis, tam videlicet in Galwidia, ac Insulis prædictis, quam alibi vbicunque fuerint, etiam si forte aliquæ dictarum Insularum dicantur seu dici possint ad Regnum seu coronam Scotiæ minime pertinere. Et præterea, vt in ea parte omnis ambiguitas amputetur intentionis

nostræ, non extitit nec existit, quod nos vel hæredes nostri, aliquid iuris vel clam ei de cætero vindicare poterimus in præmissis, vel in aliquibus ad ea spectantibus quocunque modo, etiam si in dicta Carta nostra specialiter nullatenus exprimantur. Ilij Testibus: Venirabile Patre Domino Thoma Dunelm Epom, & cæteris, vt in superiori Carta. Dates apud Rokesburgh 27. die mensis Ianuarij. Anno supradicto.

[90]
A
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[92] *Et ventum est ad illud vt acciperet Rex Casteillæ filio suo, Ducis filiam in uxorem, quorum posteritas Hispaniæ Regno gauderet. Et si nulli libiri prouenirent inter illos, hæreditas volueretur, ad filium Ducis Eboraci, qui frater erat Ducis Lancastriæ, et desponsauerat filiam Regis Castellæ, quondam Petronis iuniorem: & si contingeret eum discedere sine prole legitima, vis Regni revolueretur ad Sobolem inter Ducem Lancastriæ & Constantiam (filiam Petronis antedicti) procreandam.*

[94] *his vndue Spanysh clayme Tantum in Regno Valuit, vt omnino non expediret eius contradicere voluntati:*

moniment, yet remaninge, wherein Plus valet oculatus testis vnus, quam auriti decem.

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